# Managing Emotions in the Middle Ages

*Edited by*

Flocel Sabaté

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Managing Emotions in the Middle Ages

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Flocel Sabaté

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This project was funded by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad del Gobierno de España (Research Projects HAR2016-75028-P and PID2022-136257NB-I00PID).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Sabaté, Flocel, editor.
Title: Managing emotions in the Middle Ages / edited by Flocel Sabaté.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2025] | Series: Later medieval Europe, 1872-7875; volume 26 | Includes index. | Summary: "The life experiences of men and women take on meaning through the emotionality they entail, and the intensity of these experiences build certain memories which link the individuals within a society.
Identifiers: LCCN 2024052685 (print) | LCCN 2024052686 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004713864 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004713871 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Emotions–History–To 1500. | Middle Ages.
Classification: LCC BF531 .M2663 2025 (print) | LCC BF531 (ebook) | DDC 152.409/02–dc23/eng/20241226
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024052685
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024052686

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1872-7875
ISBN 978-90-04-71386-4 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-71387-1 (e-book)
DOI 10.1163/9789004713871

Copyright 2025 by Flocel Sabaté. Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Plantijnstraat 2, 2321 JC Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.
Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

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# Preface

*Flocel Sabaté*

The study of emotions in the Middle Ages has earned a prominent place in the historiography in recent decades. This book, *Managing Emotions in the Middle Ages*, benefits from this prior journey and focusses on the question that gives it its title: how emotions were managed in the Middle Ages. We do not ask about which emotions were expressed, or how these were expressed. We take it for granted that people in the Late Middle Ages felt and expressed emotions. However, it is also clear that men and women always convey their emotions in line with the values that bind the society in which they live. Thus, the question of the management of emotions is very pertinent, and it is necessary to develop this by concentrating on the different clefts that late-medieval society offers us in order to analyse it through specific cases as studied by prominent researchers.

Precisely because we assume the route followed by previous historiography, we believe it appropriate to dedicate a first part ("Historiographical thoughts") to exploring new paths for research into emotions in the Middle Ages. Flocel Sabaté, and Barbara Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani present their respective propositions. *Flocel Sabaté* begins by asserting that the emotions of late-medieval men and women have actually been present in the works that have studied medieval society from different perspectives since the eighteenth century. It could not be otherwise given that, in reality, all human behaviour is guided by emotions. In this sense, Sabaté goes on to claim that the study of emotions links to other vectors that, similarly to emotions, have attracted the attention of the historiography in recent decades and that are really intrinsically and inextricably grafted onto the (emotional) behaviour of the inhabitants of the epoch studied. These vectors are, above all, memory and life experience.

Then, *Barbara H. Rosenwein* and *Riccardo Cristiani* begin by retracing the specific studies into emotions. These were based on the universalist vision established by Darwin in the nineteenth century until the cognitivist theories provided a new vision in the 1960s. In turn, these were contested in the 1980s through social constructionism. On top of these theoretical bases, various historians have outlined interesting perspectives of analysis around emotions. Attention can be drawn to William Reddy, who tried to combine the three previous hermeneutics (universalist, cognitive and social constructionist), Barbara Rosenwein, who emphasised the varieties of emotional communities

in any society, and Gerd Althoff, who highlighted the function of the body in the transmission of emotions. The authors delve into the historiography that has investigated the body in pain, the practicing body, the affective body and the gendered body to end up concluding that the body occupies a central point in the study of emotions. This, at the same time, suggests a wide range of work for the future, especially with regard to the convergence between the theories that emphasise the role of the body and those that stress judgement and words.

After the historiographic reflection, the book dedicates a second part ("How to deal with emotions") to analysing a medieval society faced with the challenge of deciding how to deal with emotions. That is why we begin with the chapter by *Carla Casagrande,* which reconstructs how the emotional education of men and women was established in the Middle Ages. This is a question of paramount importance, because the training and orientation received conditions the attitude with which humans respond to different stimuli and challenges. Christianity, which provided the ideological framework with which to interpret and govern European medieval society, placed its starting point, in this aspect, in Augustine of Hippo and his influential *Civitas Dei.* This work states that, before the original sin, there were no bad emotions, precisely no desire, no sadness, fear, pain, melancholy or need for audacity, hope or compassion. Before, love was the only feeling. All negative emotions derived from the original sin and expulsion from Paradise. Humanity's salvation came thanks Christ's sacrifice, an event surrounded by feelings of sorrow and, at the same time, leading to salvation. These facts framed the sentimental education of medieval men and women, who had to learn to manage their emotions in order to distinguish between the good and the bad. This model spread in the Late Middle Ages because behaving according to this model was the only way to ensure eternal salvation, a belief which obviously had great psychological resonance. The model emphasised the role of penance, in accordance with the sacrament regulated in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Penance was conditioned by contrition, which forced the sinner to feel pain, a rational and voluntary pain. From here came a gradation of the pain felt according to the degree of the sin committed. The other key element was prayer, with which emotions were explicitly involved, encouraging some emotions (love, admiration, joy) and fighting other emotions (indignation, zeal and audacity). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, preachers and theologians, such as Jean Gerson, focused on the management of the emotions felt by laypeople, so that they practiced daily prayer, which should be accompanied by such feelings as joy, pain, fear, hope and compassion, or piety. At the same time, the involvement of the body was demanded in order to pray with gestures, attitudes and tears to show the sincerity of the emotions felt. Thus, the management of one's own

emotions in accordance with the socially established religious model became the central point of existence, a way to earn eternal life while conditioning the religious experience and, in short, the vital attitude required of late-medieval men and women.

The model of social behaviour was thus based on the dictates of a religion shared as an emotional community, in which the population had to focus their beliefs and behaviour on the management of emotions through the guidance offered by the Church. An essential relationship between clergy and laity derives from this, one that was reflected in the Late Middle Ages by, among others, the adaptation for lay people of the books of piety that emerged from the ecclesiastical environment. That is why, in the second text of this second part, *William Marx* analyses the *Liber de passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus Matrius eius*, a work of Cistercian spirituality that was adapted for dissemination among the laity. This work focuses on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ from a very singular perspective. It is located inside the Virgin Mary, who is very human, that is to say, emotional. Through her own words, she expresses very painful feelings, highlighting her anxiety, grief, sorrow and even despair. It is a way to encourage the reader to share Mary's anguish, suffering with her to culminate the emotional journey to compassion. If you consider that angels do not experience grief, you quickly understand that human beings must necessarily suffer on the path to eternal salvation through prayer. This is how the theology of redemption was transmitted to the population. By comparing this spiritual love with the more physical love contained in such late-medieval non-religious books as the *Roman de la Rose*, it can be seen that there was no contradiction, because both combine well as parts of the same formative model of Christian human emotions.

Despite the strong pressure that the models of social behaviour imposed on the men and women of that time, there were openings through which alternative visions could be formulated. This is what *Josep Maria Ruiz Simon* studies in the third chapter of this second part. He focusses on the debate that flourished in the twelfth century about whether sexual relations could be acceptable outside marriage, a controversy which became really marked although it has received little historiographical attention. Certainly, an intense discussion around the so-called "community of women" broke out. It was based around the passages from Plato's 'Timaeus' on sexual and reproductive behaviour through the quotes from Boethius and the translation of the Timaeus into Latin by Calcidius, as well as references in some Fathers of the Church, like Tertullian and Lactantius. Intellectuals, poets, jurists and also learned people argued about free sexual relations, the legitimacy of sexual contacts outside marriage and the legal relationships between 'potestas', 'ius utendi' and 'ius fruendi'. As early

as 1118, Guibert of Nogent was concerned that he knew from 'many wiser persons' that all women could be shared and that this sin was of no consequence. Characters of great weight, like Duke William IX of Aquitaine, defended these theories and, for this reason, some churchmen called him a sexual libertine. In order to correct this view, Bernard of Chartres reinterpreted Plato's passage to integrate it into "honest doctrine", through arguments that were completed by other authors, like William of Conches or Peter Abelard. This opens a specific interpretation based on affection, leading to legality related to the feeling of love. The long debate with the involvement of so many authors highlights that governing desire was a political problem, one that influenced the establishment of a clear Christian model in the contemporary contribution to religious moral and social order.

Beyond the emotional model, what was the real behaviour of men and women of the Middle Ages? One way to find out is to delve into the interior of some of these people, as if trying to obtain "Emotional portraits". This is the aim of the third part of the book, which deliberately penetrates inside three specific characters. *Alberto Velasco* analyses Blanche of Aragon and Anjou, daughter and sister of kings, who has been characterised as emotionally unstable, sometimes debauched and usually shifting abruptly from joy and happiness to grief and depression, and whose health was always poor. Born around 1302, she lived from the age of five in the monastery of Sigena in rural Aragon, of which she was elected prioress in 1321. She felt absolutely attached to her sister Mary, who always went everywhere with her. She also felt such genuine veneration for their brother John of Aragon, Archbishop of Tarragona, to the extent that, when he died in 1335, she, absolutely flustered, ordered him exhumed and stole the cadaver to keep it beside her. This plunged her into deep despair, and obliged the immediate intervention of their brother King Alfonso to stop the scandal and sacrilege. Immediately afterwards, she attributed her illness and depression to Sigena's unhealthiness, explaining her fear of death, and consulted physicians in Valencia and Barcelona in search of a cure. She died in 1348 from the Black Death. Her will, written shortly before and unknown until now, is at the core of present chapter because it shows the emotive intensity with which she experienced piety, devotion and contrition.

Then *Eduard Juncosa* penetrates inside Violant of Bar, wife of John I of Aragon and thus queen, between 1387 and 1396, and later dowager until her death in 1431. Emotionality surrounded the various stages of her life, beginning with her training in the royal court of Charles V of France and the expectations of her marriage to the king of Aragon. Subsequently, the abundant epistolary correspondence with her husband highlights the conjugal model, which, like her balance in decision-making, was praised by such contemporary writers as

Bernat Metge. However, her sudden widowhood altered her personal balance, both because of the pain caused by her husband's death and the feelings of failure at not having been able to provide an heir with which to fulfil her duties as queen. In fact, unable to accept the harsh reality, she insisted for as long as possible that she was pregnant by her husband even though it was not true. The tensions at court brought her many unpleasant emotions. Firstly, before acceding to the throne, with her parents-in-law, King Peter the Ceremonious and his wife, Queen Sibila (who did not want her as a consort for their son and stepson respectively), and later, once a widow, for the stuffiness of a court where three competing queens (the two widows and the reigning one) had to survive a conspiratorial climate in the midst of the strong tensions experienced in the Crown of Aragon. The crisis that arose with the death of her brother-in-law, King Martin, in 1410 added to her anger at failing to defend the throne for her grandson and of seeing, instead, the entry of the new Trastámara dynasty from Castile. She would later spend her last days seeking a balance, through religious expressions, between expressing the sorrow she felt as a widow and avoiding excessive displays of despair and grief.

The effort to adapt personal emotions to the religious model that gave meaning to late-medieval society conditioned these individual portraits. However, it could be that, in some cases, rather than adapting to the model, these emotions sought a hiding place behind the words and apparent forms. That is what *Karen Stöber* explores in the case of Guto'r Glyn in the fifteenth century. One of the great Welsh poets, he lived under the protection of two abbots in the Cistercian monastery of Strata Florida or Valle Crucis, in Wales. Indeed, he maintained a special affective relationship with Abbot Rhys. The abbot was patron and benefactor to the young poet at the beginning of his career, and the latter dedicated a small group of fascinating poems to him. The two men came to have close personal ties, which the bard articulated in his work and which went beyond mere convention. In this emotional work, Guto expresses thoughts and feelings and lays bare his joys and fears in relation to Abbot Rhys. Bound by strict poetic convention and complex metre, at first glance, the kind of praise poetry composed by Guto for his patron meets the expectations of a regulated patron-poet relationship. Look more closely at the texts, however, and considering the particular circumstances of each of the poems, a different picture emerges, one which reveals, so this chapter argues, the genuine emotions felt by the young poet towards his aged patron.

Emotions are, one way or another, shared in society. That is why we can talk about emotions as collective experiences. The fourth part of the book explicitly aims to explore the expressive tools put in place in Middle Ages with the purpose of generating collective emotions. First of all, there is music,

the sharing of an auditory experience, as *Mauricio Molina* studies by analysing the poetry and melody of one of the oldest extant medieval lyrical songs with music, the piece known as *Ut quid iubes pusiole*, a composition by the irreverent Carolingian monk, Gottschalk of Orbais (8oo–868). The analysis of the piece, bearing in mind the contemporary rhetorical and musical treatises, shows that, following the usual conventions of that time, the composer carefully planned the poetic and musical construction of the piece to trigger an emotional response from the audience. Elements such as biblical references, poetic imagery, text accentuation and poetic lines were masterfully combined in this song to portray and project emotions through the poetic-musical medium of song. This was not an exceptional case but rather habitual behaviour as medieval composers and performers were aware that projecting emotions through their songs was an essential part of the construction of meaning.

The second text of this fourth part analyses the intention to generate collective emotions through the visual experience of contemplating epigraphic pieces, as *Vincent Debiais* analyses. The purpose of epigraphic texts engraved or painted in visual works of art during the Middle Ages was for these to become artefacts that established a relation between an acting object and a feeling subject. The inclusion of epigraphic texts in the decoration of the temples always aimed at generating aesthetic experiences, invariably linked, ultimately, to experiences of faith and devotion. Texts and images show the path to follow by triggering prayer, devotion, fear and admiration, with a very direct appeal to the body, both for the mortification to which it should be subjected and for the punishments of torture that could await one in Hell. Precisely, the epigraphic texts often highlight the dialogue between living and dead bodies typical of funerary decoration, always through an intense emotional experience (empathy, sadness, affliction, fear, anguish, anger). The theological connection between beauty and good, as established by Thomas Aquinas, emphasises the value of the aesthetic emotion inherent in religious images, starting with Christ on the Cross, while contributing to forming a specific memory of the path to salvation, always fuelled by the emotions induced by the visual. The texts included on the walls of the temples combined with the images with the same objective, because what was intended was to stir physiologically and psychologically, in order to transmit specific individual and collective behaviour to the men and women of that society, always taught through the language of sensitivity to history.

Emotions were also shared collectively through the decoration of books, as *Anna Caiozzo* analyses in the literature of the Near East in the Late Middle Ages. Entering the thirteenth century, the rising interest of the bourgeoisie for the arts of the book spread book illustrations that portray the language of the

body through its emotions. The multi-ethnic nature of Islamic society combined different traditions, with Muslim, Iranian and Mongol features, although in all cases, it gives way to the liveliness of the emotions. The stories included in the Al Hariri's Maqamat, written in the twelfth century and decorated in the early thirteenth, lend themselves to provoking varied emotions in the viewer or reader, whether laughter, indignation, anger, admiration or piety. In a very different way, the books of Universal History, like those written by the vizier Rashid al-Din and illuminated at the beginning of the fourteenth century, evoke the great dramas of humanity with finesse. Finally, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, poetic texts in Persian, such as the *Khamsa* (Five Tales), Nizami of Ganja's main work, or the famous *Shah nama*, or *Book of the Kings*, written by Firdawsi of Tus (d. 1030 c.), were illustrated for the Turco-Mongol rulers. These epic poems dedicated to the famous heroes of Ancient Iran also included some famous love stories, such as *Layla and Majnun* or *Khusraw and Shirin*, *Bijan and Manija*. So, while illuminating these stories, the painter offered the reader the whole gamut of emotions: anger, despair, grief, but also tenderness and even the varied expressions of love. The images allow a whole range of emotions to be spread, shared by those looked at them, even beyond the exercise of reading the books.

There are always certain moments suitable for outbursts of emotions. Sometime these are in a surprising way and others, in a more predictable manner. For the first of these situations, we have placed the focus, very intentionally on judicial action, which occupies the fifth part of the book. The people who, as the subject of an accusation, are put under pressure by the magistrates and officials in charge of applying justice and can suffer serious consequences in the event of a conviction, experience an emotional tension, and in some cases, can glimpse a way out through expressiveness. In the first chapter of this fifth part, after presenting a good overview of the history of emotions, *Iñaki Bazán* analyses those attributed to adulterous women in legal sources and judicial documentation from late-medieval Castile, as well as the emotional reactions of their husbands. Adultery was considered exceedingly serious, because the woman inflicted enormous harm on her husband, the whole lineage and society itself. This means that adultery provoked an extremely emotional social reaction, as reflected in legal sources. On the one hand, the sources present women characterised as dominated by a loving passion that does not justify their behaviour, but on the contrary, emphasises their sinful image and, therefore, that they were driven by bad passions. Above all, the husband was always perceived as a victim, so the normal reaction expected from him was anger, to the point that it was popularly accepted that he would, if possible, kill his wife and her lover, perhaps humiliating the latter with specific aggressions to the

genitals. The popular reaction against the adulterous women was extremely emotional, calling for her public shaming. Pain was accepted as the usual and normal feeling for her, because she should suffer agony for her behaviour, thus justifying the death sentence and also her being in public view while suffering physical punishment.

In the second chapter of this fourth part, *Jonas Holst* and *Miguel Ángel Motis* analyse the emotions expressed by Jewish women converted to Christianity who were accused of Crypto-Judaism before the Inquisitorial trial in Aragon between 1484 and 1492. Taking into account the anthropology of emotions and gesturality, the polysemy of the emotions, the disquisition between contrition and persuasion, and the relation between suffering, tribulation and mourning, can be grasped. At the decisive moments of their interrogation, confession and abjuration, the women expressed emotions through words or through non-verbal gestures, either weeping (*lacrimali*) or the *planctus* motivated by the death of a loved one. All this took place within the context of the patriarchal discourse of the inquisitors, built upon stereotypical codes of conduct and a fictional language, with which the women affected and treated as 'daughters of Eve' tried to align themselves to obtain the desired *benevolentia* and *misericordia* from their judges. Pain and repentance are linked to expressions of emotions that can actually have very different meanings depending on how they are interpreted by the accused women or the ecclesiastical judges. The most serious thing is that the expression and interpretation of the emotions led to vital consequences in the sentencing or pardoning of the accused women.

Another scenario linked to the experience of emotions, although of a more leisurely and pleasant nature, is the journey. As Eric J. Leed has remarked, the journey occupied a central point in the assumption of the values, especially religious, with which medieval society was articulated as well as in the discovery of new knowledge in the Renaissance,[1] something which always implied experiencing emotions. That is why we have dedicated a sixth and final part to emotional travellers. This naturally moves from the end of the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century, with the clear intention of approaching the evolution of the emotions expressed. In this part, in first place, *Maravillas Aguiar* compares the Riḥla ('travel account') of two travellers from Granada: the mathematician Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Qalaṣādī (d. 891/1486), a scholar from late Naṣrid al-Andalus who gave a detailed account of his travels (1436–1451) to several cities where he took lessons in mathematics; and the Morisco Aḥmad ibn Qāsim

1 Eric J. Leed, *The Mind of the traveller. From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York, 1991), pp. 174–208.

al-Ḥaǧarī (1570–1642), who travelled to Marrakech and France as an advocate in a trial for robbery. The rihla is a literary genre, based on the narration of the pilgrimages to Mecca, which emerged in the twelfth century with Ibn Gubayr's journey, so we can speak about a stable literary model. However, the comparison of both travellers' stories shows the adaptation to reality, in which emotions play a central role. Thus, the former is an account faithful to the model of a travel book to acquire knowledge. It lists teachers and books without the need to express emotions, because the author was convinced he was part of a stable and permanent society, despite living just years before the disappearance of the Kingdom of Granada to which he belonged. The second book, also written by a Granadan but more than a century and a half later, follows the same parameters of the style of travel books. However, here the traveller expresses very intense emotions, in the form of the lamentations of someone who seeks meaning from his life in very difficult circumstances, because he has even been outlawed from Spain on account of his cultural and religious identity.

In the second text of this sixth part, *Alexandra Velissariou*[2] retraces the steps of Jacques Le Saige, a silk merchant from Northern Burgundy, who undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land around 1520 with a notebook in which he wrote down his impressions, with the intention of later writing a book. Reading the notes taken during the trip allows us to appreciate the emotions felt by a member of the bourgeoisie, who was also interested in collecting these in writing. As he travelled, he felt motivated not only to note down the curiosities and peculiarities he encountered but also to register his own emotions on paper. The notebooks portray the behaviour of a person who travelled and they express pleasant emotions about the landscapes he saw, or feelings of melancholy for not being able to share these pleasant experiences with loved ones now far away. This personal and conscious perception of emotions includes all sorts of specific feelings, such as surprise, fear or empathy linked to the situations he had to deal with. His writing gathered not only experiences, such as seeing someone being sentenced to death, or other specific events, but also his own feelings. In this sense, he expressed pleasant emotions in details from daily life, such as tasting food and drinks. He clearly distinguished his own feelings from those of the group, given that he did not travel alone, sharing the companions' laughter or fear, for example. Thus, the development of personal awareness meant a specific perception of one's own emotiveness fitting with the vital context.

2 Between the submission of the text and its publication, the author passed away very prematurely, so when publishing the text that the author had carefully corrected, we pay sincere homage to her memory.

The third text of this sixth part aims to analyse the emotions expressed on journeys to unknown places that had to lead to a change of life. *Andrea Knox* analyses this based on journeys from Ireland to Spain, which began at the end of the fifteenth century and increased in the following century. In this framework, marriage negotiations were established. These contrasted two distinct cultures, because Brehon law (the secular law which governed Irish society from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries) defined different types of matrimony, recognised the rights of a mother over her own children and allowed women to own property in various cases, and even established certain circumstances in which divorce was accepted. All these aspects were very different from those found by the women who moved to Spain. Together, this contributed to the establishment of exogamous marriages and the development of negotiations to establish marriages based on business interests and political alliances, which did not fail to leave chinks where the emotions of the contracting parties and their families showed through.

Through the six-part structure of the book, we aim to show how emotion was managed in the Middle Ages. The collection of sixteen texts with which to delve deeper in these parts aims to ensure a geographical depth and breadth that enriches the overview of the whole. The coherence of the question and of the answer we give with this book aim to take a leap forward in the knowledge of how medieval society managed the emotions of its men and women. It is an axial question with which to contribute to research into emotionality in the Middle Ages. We have actually asked ourselves three axial questions, because in two other books we have tried to answer "the emotional expression of authority and power in the Middle Ages" and "defining and perceiving feelings in the Middle Ages". This effort has been made possible thanks to the support of the Spanish ministry of research, which financed the research project *Expressiveness, Feelings and Emotion in the Middle Ages* (*12th–15th centuries*) (HAR2016-75028-P) between 2016 and 2020. This framework fostered an environment for research work that included reflection between international researchers through various scientific meetings and congresses. The meeting held in Lleida in 2018 directly addressed the theme of how emotions were managed in the Middle Ages, giving rise to the texts gathered here. Then the scientific acumen of the Brill publishing house instilled confidence in this project and subjected it to its rigorous review. We sincerely thank the Publisher for submitting the works to anonymous peer-reviewers to whom we express our appreciation for their comments that have significantly enriched this book.

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# PART 1

## *Historiographical Thoughts*

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CHAPTER 1

# Human Beings as Emotional Subjects: The Study of Their Experiences in the Middle Ages

*Flocel Sabaté*

Human beings are emotional subjects because they face challenges in life by managing their emotions in accordance with the values of the society in which they live. In earlier times, such as the Middle Ages, humans lived emotionally different lives, not because their society was "primitive," but rather because of the values around which each society was structured. That is why our analysis must take into consideration the experiences of its men and women, because they reflect the specific code of values assumed by that society in the search for unity, founded upon shared memory. It is no coincidence then that the historiographic revisions of the historical memory and the analysis of the life experiences have led historical science to pay attention to the men and women who experienced emotionally the course of history. Despite different interpretative approaches, from the eighteenth century onwards studies concerning medieval society have paid attention to the emotive nature of medieval men and women. Research that focuses on the emotional experience of human beings will help us to understand what the men and women of the Middle Ages were really like.

## 1 The Historiographic Tradition

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the triumph of the bourgeoisie stigmatised the Middle Ages. After all, the disruptive nature of a revolution like the one that began in Paris in 1789 was visualised as a break with the medieval tradition. Feudalism was officially abolished in August 1793[1] with a sense of liberation that was immediately projected onto Voltaire's memory. The thinker had died on the eve of the revolution, but then, in 1791 he was given a place

1 John Markoff, *The Abolition of Feudalism: Peasants, Lords and Legislators in the French Revolution* (University Park, 1996), pp. 516–559.

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of honour in the Pantheon among "the great men recognized by the fatherland,"[2] as the inspiration for the ideas that guided the change, given that "he claimed the rights of man against the servitude of feudalism" ("*il réclama les droits de l'homme contre la servitude de la féodalité*"), as engraved on the side of his tomb. At that time, medieval feudalism was interpreted as the root of all evils, even, as Henri Grégoire emphasised, the fragmentation of France itself, both territorially and linguistically.[3]

Contempt for the Middle Ages came at a huge cost in terms of the loss of documentary and monumental heritage. As early as 1793, Henri Grégoire warned that there was a common public heritage that had to be preserved and integrated into collective memory.[4] This is the path that led the Guizot government under Louis Philippe to create the post of Inspector of Historic Monuments in 1830, first filled by Ludovic Vitet and then, Prosper Mérimée. An appreciation for the architecture and works of art created in the Middle Ages, one that was distanced from their original ideological meaning spread from this attitude. This approach is what, in different ways, would be accepted simultaneously in European countries and included in their legislation, with varied fortune.[5] Romanticism had already encouraged a new appreciation for landscapes and romantic ruins[6] and shown admiration for the ideals attributed to Christian knights, as Chateaubriand pointed out.[7] In Europe at that time, universalist models derived from enlightened thought were set aside and, in contrast, national authorities instead gradually imposed a political model based on the State-nation understood in an ethnographic sense, as a 'nation-génie'.[8] In order to foster some consistency, the historical roots of a supposed common national identity based in the past, especially in the Middle Ages, in each European country.[9] This supposed shared national history was anchored

2 "*Aux grands homes la patrie reconnaissante.*" Alexia Lebeurre, *Le Panthéon. Temple de la nation* (Paris, undated), pp. 20–21; Alain Garrigou, "Panthéon, on y entre, on en sort," *Le Monde diplomatique* 68/812 (November 2021), 22.

3 Henri Grégoire, *Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir le patois, et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française* (Paris, 1794), p. 2.

4 Joseph L. Sax, "Heritage preservation as a public duty: the Abbé Grégoire and the origins of an idea," *Michigan Law Review* 88/5 (1990), 1142–62.

5 For example: Joan Ganau Casas, *La protección de los monumentos arquitectónicos en España y Cataluña 1844–1936: legislacion, organización, inventario* (Lleida, 1988), pp. 11–29.

6 Núria Perpinyà, *Ruins, Nostalgia and Ugliness. Five Romantic Perceptions of the Middle Ages. And a spoonful of 'Game of Thrones' and Avant-garde Oddity* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 15–95.

7 François René de Chateaubriand, *The Beauties of Christianity* (London, 1813).

8 Patrick Cabanel, *La question nationale au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1997), pp. 13–14.

9 Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton-Oxford, 2002), pp. 37–40.

in the memory of a certain set of glorious traits that were intended to build the national soul of the state's population, and which constructed a specific historicist narrative. This specific historicist narrative dominated the conceptual environment, the emerging school system, and a physical landscape shaped by street names, monuments and all kinds of artistic expression.[10] In this context, there was real, and even popular, interest in the customs of earlier men and women, how they dressed,[11] what their homes were like and how these were decorated,[12] in short, what their *moeurs et usages* were, to put it in Paul Lacroix's words[13] So, knowledge of the Middle Ages not only had to contribute arguments for a teleological continuity in the national story, but it also had to feed popular curiosity for the traits that aspects of medieval life furnished, like leisure, superstition, culture, the family as well as paternity, love, friendship and the religious experience.[14]

Inquiry into the emotional perspective of medieval men and women was not unknown in the nineteenth century. On the contrary, the emotional values attributed to the Middle Ages, especially the chivalrous code of values, religious fervour and the bonds of feudal solidarity not only permeated literature[15] and art,[16] but also influenced thinkers as varied as Karl Marx, who valued the paternalism of feudalism,[17] or Wilhelm Dilthey, who highlighted the era's mysticism.[18] All this together shows that, in the nineteenth century, the Middle Ages were perceived as a historical period with their own emotiveness.

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10 Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIIIe–XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2001), pp. 23–235.

11 José Puiggarí, *Monografia histórica e iconográfica del traje* (Barcelona, 1886); Albert Charles Auguste Racinet, *Le coutume historique*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1888); José Puiggarí, *Estudio de indumentaria española* (Barcelona, 1890).

12 Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonnée de l'Architecture française*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1856–1869); Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonnée du Mobilier Français de l'époque carlovingienne à la Renaissance*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1868–1875); Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine depuis les temps préhistoriques jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1875).

13 Paul Lacroix, *Le Moyen Âge et la Renaissance. Histoire et description des moeurs et usages, du commerce et de l'industrie, des sciences, des arts, des littéératures et des beaux-arts*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1847–1851).

14 Flocel Sabaté, "Emotions, Feelings and Middle Ages," in *Defining and Perceiving Feelings in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Leiden-Boston, forthcoming).

15 Among others: Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (Barcelona, 1982); Ramon López Soler, *Los bandos de Castilla* (Geneva, 1973); Enrique Gil y Carrasco, *El señor de Bembibre* (Geneva, 1974).

16 William Gaunt, *El sueño prerrafaelista* (Mexico City, 2005).

17 Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London, 2002), p. 222.

18 Wilhelm Dilthey, *Selected Works, Volume III: The Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences* (Princeton-Oxford, 2002), pp. 257–64.

In this context, Dilthey saw history as being the sum of its people's experiences, duly interrelated: "the course of life consists of parts, of lived experiences that are inwardly connected with each other. Each lived experience relates to a self of which it is a part."[19] The experiences of human beings, including their thoughts and emotions, were thus at the core of understanding historical pasts. Interest in specific experiences – "what is singular, what happens only once" – might lead to fragmentation, which Dilthey avoided by resorting to statistical and comparative methods, as Robert Bonnaud has emphasised.[20] In any case, if history is assumed to be a succession of individual events, it would be necessary to find the cohesive intersections of society. The idealist perspective encounters these intersections in the transcendent values that make up shared culture, as Heinrich Rickert proposed when contrasting "cultural science" and "natural science."[21]

The possible subjectivism inherent in these idealistic approaches is contrasted with the emergence of positivism at the end of the nineteenth century.[22] Anchoring the history in the document turns the historian into a kind of judge, because he or she has to choose which figures and events are worthy of being told. In any case, the documents place the roots of history in human beings; they are the protagonists, even when they can only be sensed behind the fiscal pressures, seigneurial demands or working practices. Thus, basing history on the document also allows widely differing varied readings, while shining light on individuals affected by the historical events.

Two works were published at the beginning and the end of the second decade of the twentieth century (respectively, 1911 and 1919) that, from different perspectives, sought to understand medieval society by investigating the emotionality that permeates culture, seeing this as the backbone of society. I refer to the contributions by Henry Osborn Taylor[23] and Johan Huizinga,[24] two books whose fates were very different, as the former, after enjoying various reprints in the first third of the century, has since been unfairly marginalised,

19 Dilthey, *Selected Works, Volume III: The Formation of the Historical World*, pp. 214–15.

20 "*Ce qui est singulier, ce qui ne se produit qu'une fois.*" Robert Bonnaud, *Histoire et historiens depuis 68. Le triomphe et les impasses* (Paris, 1997), pp. 109–10.

21 Manuel Cruz, *El historicismo* (Barcelona, 1981), pp. 52–59; Pelai Pagès, *Introducción a la Historia. Epistemología, teoría y problemas de método en los estudios históricos* (Barcelona, 1983), pp. 195–97.

22 Estevão de Rezende Martins, ed. *A história pensada. Teoria e método na historiografia europeia do século XIX* (São Paulo, 2010), pp. 187–215.

23 Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind. A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1911).

24 Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* (Harlem, 1919).

while the latter, fortunately, enjoys a strong presence a century later, judging by the continual translations and reprints.

In 1929, the Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset, stated that "we live under the brutal rule of the masses," noting a dominance of the crowds (*aglomeraciones*) in which it was necessary to ask "who rules the world?"[25] Aldous Huxley responded in 1936 by drawing attention to the fact that the equilibrium, between the set of population that apparently decides its own fate and the elites who hold the reins of power (both political and economic), is balanced by propaganda. Propaganda does not encourage rational thinking but rather appeals to their emotions, the primary stimuli of the population. Feelings, like fear, continue to mobilise living beings, whether human or animal.[26] The ideologies consolidated from the third decade of the twentieth century invoked grand ideals, such as homeland or an egalitarian society, but sought to garner popular support through emotional appeals. However, these same ideologies required people to dilute themselves within the whole of the so-called ideal society, because the individual in himself or herself is unimportant; what is important is the supreme entity, that is, the society, the political party, the nation or the state. The idealistic philosophical approach inherent in all totalitarian ideologies from the first half of the twentieth century interpreted the human being as a part of the social whole. That is how this higher collective body, called the ideal state or society, fully justified its political behaviour and, if necessary, the sacrifice of individuals.[27]

Political evolution seems to accentuate this path. The evil protagonist of Graham Green's novel, *The Third Man*, published in 1950, tries to justify himself by echoing the generalisation of this situation: *Nobody thinks in terms of human beings. Governments don't. Why should we?*[28] All sociology—from its emergence with Émile Durkheim, and continuing with Max Weber's rethinking and the later structuralist concerns about detecting the infrastructure of each social system—agreed with the statement by Juan Francisco Marsal that,

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25 "*Vivimos bajo el brutal imperio de las masas*"; "*¿Quién manda en el mundo?*" José Ortega y Gasset, *La rebelión de las masas*, (Madrid, 1960), pp. 49–264 (1st edition, 1929).

26 "By appeals to such well-organized sentiments as snobbery and the urge toward social conformity; by playing on the animal instincts such as greed, lust, and especially fear in all its forms." Aldous Huxley, "Notes on Propaganda," *Harper's* (December 1936), 32.

27 Diverse approaches to ideological dissemination among the affected population testify to this: Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Europe of the Dictators, 1919–1945* (London, 1966), pp. 243–54; Conxita Mir, ed., *Jóvenes y dictaduras de entreguerras* (Lleida, 2007); Hans Magnus Eizensberger, *Hammerstein ou l'intransigeance. Une histoire allemande* (Paris, 2010).

28 Graham Green, "The Third Man," *The Third Man & Other Stories* (London, 2017), p. 121.

"the 'actor's point of view' is irrelevant."[29] From this perspective, what the individual feels or thinks is an insignificant anecdote that must be avoided in order to avoid losing sight of society as a whole, that which guided the sense of the history.

This is the context in which Lucien Febvre, writing in 1941—when history was being experienced under the invocation of emotional adhesions and through the pain of many humans—called for linking sensitivity and history in order "to reconstitute the emotional life of the past" in his article published in the journal *Annales*, so often cited by later historiography.[30] By combining the rigour of the documentary base, with a contextualisation based on knowledge of the values around which the society under study was built and a historical approach that does not ignore the sensibilities of each of the people involved, these three ideas together became an integrative and recommended path for those wishing to undertake research into earlier societies. This is how the *Annales* school emerged, founded on the so-called history of mentalities, which sought to go in depth into the fundamental and emotional axes of human beings. The perspectives of authors like Duby, Ariès, Vovelle, Delumeau, Mandrou or Le Roy Ladurie, among others, are varied, but they all delve into the values that governed human behaviour in the period and scope studied. Their perspectives have familiarised the historiography with such terms as culture, imaginary, ideology, the unconscious or forms of consciousness. In any case, it is clear that the history closest to the real past is that which seeks knowledge of the men and women of the period studied. This is because this approach leads us to understand what guided them in aspects that earlier researchers could have considered insignificant, beginning with valuing the daily life of all members of society.[31] Peter Burke pointed out that in doing so, "the territory of the historian [expanded] to unexpected areas of human behaviour and to social groups neglected by traditional historians."[32] In reality, these are places where light needs to be shed to grasp the societies studied fully. It is not a matter of increasing the number of social strata to be studied—to avoid excluding certain sectors of the population—but rather of finding a

29 "*El 'punto de vista del actor' carece de importancia.*" Juan Francisco Marsal, *La sociología* (Barcelona, 1975), p. 124.

30 "*Reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois.*" Lucien Febvre, "La sensibilité et l'histoire: Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?," *Annales d'histoire sociale*, 3 (1941), 5–20.

31 Carlos Antonio Aguirre Rojas, *La Escuela de los Annales. Ayer, Hoy, Mañana* (Vilassar de Dalt, 1999), pp. 141–70.

32 Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution. The Annales School 1929–1989* (Stanford, 2015), p. 142.

better approach to the study of society by examining the values with which it was regulated. These values generated a code of emotional behaviour that was followed or challenged by the contemporary population.

This approach sees the study of the past as the actions of men and women whose interactions generate society. That is why historical research delves into the interconnections between people. Changes within the discipline of philosophy have also contributed to a renewal of perspectives. Foucault's warnings about the traps of power[33] and Derrida's distrust of the texts that historicism presented as a guide, while at the same time warning about incorporating 'the difference' in the analysis,[34] forced us to rethink how history should approach the subject of its research.[35] The past is always made up of emotive humans, and the incorporation of new perspectives, either such emerging fields as environmental history[36] or a more balanced view that includes other beings, like animals,[37] does not alter, but rather highlights even more, the emotional traits that make up the human being.

At the same time, these approaches also encouraged us to look at the relationships established by the subjects studied. Both the philosophy of history and ethics[38] invited researchers to look at the course of history not as the construction of a particular teleology but as the analysis of the relationships between human beings in each historical period. Thus, the study of societies based on the analysis of the connectivity between their members involves integrating the transversality of perspectives and leads to talking about individuals and assessing the effects of the sensitivity inherent in their relations.[39]

With all this behind us, the historiography in the early twenty-first century is mature enough to grasp that medieval society was made up of emotional subjects who acted collectively.[40] It is necessary to emphasise the collective sense of the human being in the Middle Ages, because at that time a person was always seen as belonging to a group, thus included into circles of solidarity and identity that could be intertwined or overlap. These groups could be family,

33 Miguel Morey, *Lectura de Foucault* (Madrid, 1983), pp. 231–358.

34 José María Ripalda, "Derrida, Foucault y la Historia de la filosofía," *Anthropos* 93 (1989), 57–63.

35 Jan Goldstein, ed., *Foucault and the Writing of History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

36 Manuel González de Molina, Juan Martínez Alier, eds., *Historia y ecología* (Madrid, 1993).

37 Eric Baratay, *Le Point de vue animal. Une autre version de l'histoire* (Paris, 2012).

38 Miguel Bueno, "Ética y filosofia," *Tareas* 1/1 (1960), 95–107.

39 Among the works that have focused on studying the relationship in the Middle Ages, it is worth highlighting María Milagros Rivera Garretas, ed., *Las relaciones en la Historia de la Europa medieval*, (Valencia, 2006).

40 Piroska Nagy, Damien Boquet, eds., *Le sujet des emotions au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2008).

faction, municipal, feudal or other types, but there always existed a shared sense of belonging.[41] Medieval humans, then, only made sense when viewed as one piece of a larger whole, which, when sharing the same reactions, acted as an emotional community.[42] Some of the difficulties experienced by the historiography may be due to the historian's own baggage, given that he or she lives in a very different environment, characterised by the social model based on the contract between the individual and the society that Hobbes proposed and that spread after the French Revolution.[43] However, it is undoubtable that the correct analysis requires placing the perspective on the point where the men and women under study found themselves, in this case, the Middle Ages.[44] The authors at that time did not hesitate to write about emotion,[45] precisely because they fitted into the values inherent in the contemporary interpretative framework.

On the other hand, the dramatism of the twentieth century, with so many conflicts in different parts of the world, with confrontations not only between armies but also societies either in a state of total war or that have subjected individuals to the omnipotent and arbitrary behaviour of state powers, has increased the perception that historical events affect humans in the depths of their identity and in the way they perform their emotionality.[46] It is history as pain. When political and social history are filled with pain, this conjunction brings views of our past and present closer together.[47] The historian can find himself or herself faced with the dilemma about how to write about trauma.[48] A historical investigation under these parameters forces us to consider pain and death as a fate that conditions our lives, according to Teo Ruiz: "We

41 Flocel Sabaté, "Identities on the move," in *Identities on the Move*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern, 2013), pp. 14–22.

42 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca-London, 2006).

43 Josep Olives i Puig, "Del pactisme medieval al contractualisme modern," *Finestrelles* 6 (1994), 205–41.

44 Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2015).

45 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feelings. A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 2016).

46 We can mention here the famous—and painful—account by Zweig in his posthumous book, *Die Welt vin Gestern*: Stefan Zweig, *El mundo de ayer. Memorias de un europeo* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 9–16.

47 Keth Wailoo, *Pain. A Political History* (Baltimore, 2014).

48 Dominick Lacapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore-London, 2001), pp. 181–219.

survive, against time and history, in memory, in earth, air, water, plants, and other men."[49]

Writing history under these parameters of the uncertainties of life requires valuing emotion, but also forces us to fit the memory of the past into our current society.

## 2 Managing the History Experienced: Memory and History

The last third of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of an obligation to remember, based precisely on history as anguish for the many silenced victims. Massacres and cruel ideological confrontations have accompanied all humankind's progress through history,[50] although it is true that the combination of ideology and technical means in the twentieth century has enabled a greater capacity to exterminate.[51] Moreover, the twentieth century gave birth to a truly global information network.[52] Access to information has not given the population real access to the management of power, but rather to participation in the circulation of opinion on a global scale.[53] In this way, the characteristics of identity and social cohesion most widely accepted among the people incorporate a certain memory, one which strengthens the link between history, experience and emotion. Historical accounts of recent painful events refer to social treatment very close to individual behaviour, where emotions, procedural memories and trauma are intermixed.[54] Not only is history expected to judge the past, but history itself is judged. From this position,

49 Teofilo F. Ruiz, *The Terror of History on the Uncertainties of Life in Western Civilization* (Princeton-Oxford, 2011), p. 172.

50 David El Kenz, ed., *Le massacre, objet d'histoire* (Paris, 2005); Elie Barnavi, Anthony Rowley, eds., *Tuez-les tous! La guerre de religion à travers l'histoire, VIIe–XXIe siècle* (Paris, 2006).

51 "The Shoah is an exceptional, unique and monstrous phenomenon. The permanent proximity of programmed death gave the deportation a particularly atrocious and unforgettable character." ("*La Shoah est un phénomène exceptionnel, unique et monstrueux. La proximité permanente de la mort programmée a donné à la déportation un caractère particulièrement atroce et inoubliable*"). Simone Veil, "Préface," in *Les juifs de France dans la Shoah,* Jacques Fredj (Paris, 2011), p. 5.

52 Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass. 1996–98).

53 Zygmunt Bauman, *Dentro la globalizzazione. Le conseguenze sulle persone* (Rome-Bari, 2006), pp. 9–31.

54 Peter A. Levine, *Trauma and Memory. Brain and Body in a Search for the Living Past* (Berkeley, 2015), pp. 27–48.

society becomes co-responsible for the evil committed by its predecessors,[55] in an attitude that not only recalls the "infinite responsibility" of which Lévinas spoke,[56] but which has clear links to the Christian tradition of original sin as well as Freudian thinking.[57] Thus, memory is assumed with a restorative will that involves the promotion of civic values that make it impossible to repeat previous horrors,[58] thus contributing to a social model for "living together" in democratic societies.[59]

Memory as a social practice fulfils two goals. First, memory is a reparation for the silenced victims, generally doubly victims: for the unjust actions that mistreated them or took their lives, and often for the later official accounts that have tried to ignore them. It is necessary to reconstruct the historical narrative to reincorporate these victims into society to stabilise a historically objective account of past events.[60] The connection between the historical past and the present feeds a specific model of social cohesion. However, in the opposite

55 This can be appreciated in museographic stories. Here are two examples: in the Museo Etnográfico in Buenos Aires, "Juan B. Ambrosetti" begins the story of the extermination of the Selk'nam or Ona, who lived in the south of current Argentina, warning on a panel: "Those peoples who fascinated Westerners are gone, they were massacred in a few decades, and not by the conquerors of the sixteenth century, but by our grandparents, and less than one hundred years ago." ("*Esos pueblos que fascinaron a los occidentales, ya no están, fueron masacrados en pocas décadas, y no por los conquistadores del siglo XVI, sino por nuestros abuelos, y hace menos de 100 años*"). And in Paris, in narrating the serious crimes against Jews committed in France between 1940 and 1944, the Memorial of the Shoah exposes the link between historical events and present-day society: "this story is close to us, it took place in our country, in our towns and villages […] It is up to all of us to appropriate it, to live and to build with this crime, and despite this crime." ("*cette histoire est proche de nous, elle s'est déroulée dans notre pays, dans nos villes et nos villages* (…) *À nous tous de nous l'approprier, de vivre et de construire avec ce crime, et malgré ce crime*"). Jacques Fredj, *Les juifs de France dans la Shoah,* (Paris, 2011), p. 11.

56 In an informative way it can be seen summarised in: Rafael Narbona, "Emmanuel Lévinas, la huella infinita," *El Cultural* (August 2020), <https://elcultural.com/emmanuel-levinas-la-huella-infinita>.

57 Alain Houziaux, "La péché original, Freud et le devoir de mémoire," in *La mémoire pour quoi faire?,* ed. Alain Houziaux, (Paris, 2006), pp. 13–46.

58 Joan Wallach Scott, *On the Judgment of History* (New York, 2020), pp. 1–88.

59 Alicia Maria de Mingo Rodríguez, "Nación cotidiana, democracia creativa e interculturalidad. El cuidado por lo irrepresentable como espíritu de la Comunidad," *Recerca. Revista de Pensament i d'anàlisi* 10 (2010), 141–61.

60 There are several areas where social reintegration must take place: Elizabeth Jelin, ed., *La commemoraciones: Las disputas en las fechas 'in-felices'* (Madrid, 2002); Elizabeth Jelin, Victoria Langland, eds., *Momentos, memoriales y marcas territoriales* (Madrid, 2003); Elizabeth Jelin, Federico Guillermo Lorenz, eds., *Educación y memoria. La escuela elabora el pasado* (Madrid, 2004).

sense, this connection also provokes political interference from those who wish to maintain their position by disseminating a distorted historical narrative, whether in Latin America, Spain or the countries of Eastern Europe. Second, memory becomes a selection of the values of the past that current society seeks to embrace as references. In this sense, not only each society but also each generation must adopt the elements of the past that are interpreted as evocative of the construction of its own cohesive story. The figures, facts and explanatory profiles fluctuate with the evolution of societies. Street names, the images on banknotes, or monuments thus transmit the specific memory with which the social majority identifies itself.

Memory alone will not achieve the desired social cohesion; more important still, it will damage the historical account and all related elements, such as heritage. In the early decades of the twenty-first century, when the Afghan Taliban destroyed the giant Buddhas of Bamiyan and people in Western Europe and the United States of America removed statues of historical figures that had hitherto decorated streets, they were clearly demonstrating a change in the memory with which society wanted to mirror itself. However, at the same time, it is evident that they were reliving the ravages suffered by the heritage in the years following the French Revolution and after the subsequent liberal revolutions in Europe. This is why we should also expect to see a resurgence in appreciation for the value of heritage. The management of monuments began not because of what they meant ideologically nor what values people projected upon them, but because monuments are like artistic objects and referents of a historical past that should not be forgotten but rather integrated into the research and the narrative of the history of society. In this way, each item should be displayed where it might have greater sense in a 'vital landscape' in terms of the values and emotional evocations of each society.[61]

Is a society so based on memory socially viable? "Without at least the option of forgetting, we would be wounded monsters, unforgiving and unforgiven … and, assuming that we have been paying attention, inconsolable," David Rieff concluded on writing "*In Praise of Forgetting*."[62] Various people have testified that they suffer from an excessive burden of memory weighing on their shoulders. In his delightful play, *Monsieur Ibrahim et les fleurs du Coran*, Eric-Emmanuel Schmitt portrays a character who experiences his Jewish identity as a painful burden of memory ("To be Jewish is simply to remember. A bad

61 Emmanuel Fureix, "Déboulonnages et dévoilements: l'histoire en morceaux," *Écrire l'histoire* 20–21 (2021), 229–32.

62 David Rieff, *In Praise of Forgetting. Historical Memory and its Ironies* (New Haven-London, 2017), p. 145.

memory"). Therefore, his happiness increases as he detaches himself from this memory by ridding himself of the books associated with this identity: "Every time I sold a book, I felt freer."[63] José Luis Borges also proposed an ideal world, in which there would be no libraries or museums, because "We want to forget yesterday, except for the composition of the elegies. There are no commemorations, no centenaries or effigies of dead men."[64] However, the truth is that the absence of memory does not lead to objectivity, not even when it invokes purely technical aspects,[65] which is why it always becomes a synonym of complicity with those in power who seek to dominate the historical narrative.[66] Therefore, managing memory must recall the past while caring for the challenges of today's society[67] and must fulfil a restorative function by combining an epistemological renewal, a psychological requirement and an impact on the story accepted by society.[68] All this indicates that memory has a duty with a specific social function,[69] but memory alone cannot manage the past. Thus, Antoine Prost pointed out that, "History should not be put to the service of memory, but, on the contrary, it should accept the demand for memory, but only to transform it into history."[70] In this sense, on talking about the Jews in France under the Shoah, Jacques Fredj presents memory as a prerequisite to writing history: only after recovery and resettlement can memory become history: "from memory to history."[71] But it is a necessary step in order to secure an objective version of history that integrates the circumstances experienced (normally, suffered) by the men and women of the period studied.

The recovery and study of memory through this path requires integrating the emotional experience of human beings into historical analysis. The social

63 "*Être juif, c'est simplement avoir de la mémoire. Une mauvaise mémoire*"; "*à chaque fois que je vendais un livre, je me sentais plus libre.*" Eric-Emmanuel Schmitt, *Monsieur Ibrahim et les fleurs du Coran* (Paris, 2001), pp. 40–51.

64 "*Queremos olvidar el ayer, salvo para la composición de las elegías. No hay conmemoraciones, ni centenarios ni efigies de hombres muertos.*" José Luis Borges, "Utopía de un hombre que estaba cansado," *Prosa completa*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1985), 4:163.

65 Félix Duque, *El mundo por de dentro. Ontotecnología de la vida cotidiana* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 36–54.

66 "Every technical act, every scientific gesture, oozes ideology" ("*Tot acte tècnic, tot gest científic, regalima ideologia*"). Pere Casaldàliga, *A l'aguait del Regne* (Barcelona, 1989), p. 29.

67 Tzvetan Todorov, *Les abus de la mémoire* (Paris, 2004), pp. 9–61.

68 Paul Ricoeur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (Paris, 2000), pp. 167–369.

69 Johann Michel, *Le devoir de mémoire* (Paris, 2018), pp. 9–120.

70 "*La historia no debe ponerse al servicio de la memoria, sino que, por el contrario, debe aceptar la demanda de memoria, pero solo para transformarla en historia.*" Antoine Prost, *Doce lecciones sobre la historia*, (Valencia, 2000), p. 302.

71 "*De la mémoire à l'histoire.*" Jacques Fredj, *Les juifs de France dans la Shoah*, pp. 196–201.

assumption of memory has had several positive effects. On the one hand, it has established reconciliatory links between the past, the present and future proposals that have to coexist in society. On the other hand, it has become another path towards the requirement that the historical account of the past should incorporate the emotional experience of the people of the time studied. As is logical given their social function, treatments of memory have focussed mainly on recent historical periods, but, in any case, they have offered a clearly humanised view of the past. Thus, the dissemination of specific treatments of memory have contributed, even if indirectly, to accepting history not as an abstract narrative but one filled with the real (and thus, emotive) experiences of men and women.

## 3 Emotiveness and Experience

As Reinhart Koselleck highlights, historians share much with other social researchers, but what most clearly distinguishes them is that the subject of their study involves temporal experience: "if we, the historians, want to develop a genuine theory that is to be distinct from the theories of the social sciences in general, it obviously has to be a theory that makes it possible to accommodate the changes in temporal experience."[72] Indeed, experiences reflect human beings who feel, in one sense or another. Michel de Certeau called for studying "the practices" precisely to reach the true reality. To do so, he adapted the "wander lines" mapped and popularised by Fernand Deligny in his work with autistic children.[73] As François Dosse explained, "De Certeau resumed what Deligny called 'The Wander Lines', that is the paths traced outside the paths travelled by autistic children, solitary itineraries, efficient wanders that cut the path of adults."[74] Thus, the "practices" refer to specific facts that provide an unusual perspective, based on "the inner experience," which allows the development of a fresh perspective.

These approaches, with a strong epistemological content, link easily to the above-mentioned incorporation of the everyday path into historical research,

72 Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History. Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford, 2002), p. 121.

73 Fernand Deligny, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 2017).

74 "*De Certeau retomaba lo que Deligny llamaba 'las líneas de errancia', o sea los trayectos trazados fuera de los caminos transitados por lo ninos autistas, itinerarios solitarios, vagabundeos eficades que cortan el camino de los adultos.*" François Dosse, *Paul Ricoeur – Michel de Certeau. La historia: Entre el decir y el hacer* (Buenos Aires, 2009), pp. 119–20.

that is, the interest of historians in people's everyday experiences, in interpreting that these were the places where the structures of domination and exploitation that governed society were visible.[75] From this perspective, before the end of the twentieth century, the study of experience had become a well-established field of social[76] and gender history.[77]

In this context, Joan W. Scott claims that the past must be studied through "historising 'experience'." Putting human experience at the centre of the analysis requires a review of perspectives. The source used to know the past must be the subject of specific questioning, because it is necessary first to investigate its use and the circumstances of its creation and management to respond to the central point: how the reality of the subject of study has been experienced. This becomes the starting point that enables the reality experienced by the men and women of the period under study to be reached: "when experience is taken as the origin of knowledge, the vision of the individual subject (the person who had the experience or the historian who recounts it) becomes the bedrock of evidence on which explanation is built."[78]

This way, a specific history of experiences can be defended, because history is, at the end, a reconstruction of the lives of the men and women who preceded us. Over recent decades, various initiatives have been undertaken in this sense by different research groups. For instance, two examples far removed from each other can be mentioned. In 2018 in Finland, the University of Tampere promoted the Centre of Excellence in History of Experiences, financed by the Finnish National Research Council, in order to delve into such concepts as lived religion, the lived nation, and the lived Welfare State.[79] The following year at the University of Lleida in Spain, the research project *Power experienced in the Late Middle Ages* was launched with financing from the Spanish ministry of research (PID2019-104085GB-I00). This was aimed at enquiring into the experience of power in late-medieval society, both by those who wielded it and those subjected to it. This research project was the natural continuation of an earlier project between 2016 and 2019 that studied emotion: *Expression,*

75 Geoff Eley, "Labor History, Social History 'Alltagsgeschichte': Experience, Culture and the Politics of the Everyday—a New Direction for German Social History?," *Journal of Modern History* 61/2 (1989), 297–343.

76 William H. Jr. Swell, "How Classes are Made: Critical Reflections on E. P. Thompson's Theory of Working-Class Formation," in *E. P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives*, Harvey J. Kaye, Keith McClelland, eds. (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 50–77.

77 Kathleen Canning, "La història feminista després del gir lingüístic. Historiar el discurs i l'experiència," *Afers* 33–34 (1999), 303–41.

78 Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17/2 (1991), 777.

79 <https://www.tuni.fi/en/research/hex-centre-excellence-history-experiences>.

*feelings and emotion* (*12th–15th centuries*) (HAR2016-75028P).[80] Emotion and experience have thus come to be accepted as two lenses through which to interpret the management and experience of power.

The connection between emotion and experience has deep roots, as Keith Oatley states when noting that since the nineteenth century, the study of emotions has adopted two pillars: culture and experience.[81] Indeed, in 1985 Peter and Carol Stearns proposed the term "emotionology" to cover "the collective emotional standards of a society," while contrasting this with "the emotional experiences of individuals or groups."[82] They understood the concept "emotional experience" as intertwining a strong cognitive and introspective capacity with the cultural standards of the time studied.[83] Similarly, since then, various initiatives have focussed research on delimiting and conceptualising the elements that constitute emotional experiences within different fields and perspectives.[84] In the end, what really motivates human beings, and often sticks in their memories, is the experience of an instant. As Joseph Ratzinger has written, "there are times that should not pass. What you achieve there should never end. That it passes yet it is only the experience of a moment, therein lies the real melancholy of the human experience."[85]

## 4 An Approach to the Experience of Emotion in the Middle Ages and the Evidence of Explicit Management Thereof

In the Middle Ages, the term "experience" was very common and usually associated with memory. What we remember happening becomes the template for decision-making. That is the origin of an oft-repeated expression: "experience

80 <http://www.medieval.udl.cat/en/Research-projects/Projects-from-Spanish-institutions/>.

81 Keith Oatley, *Emotions. A Brief History* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 19–38.

82 Peter N. Stearns, Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), 813–36.

83 Peter N. Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York, 1994), p. 3.

84 Javier Moscoso, "La historia de las emociones, ¿de qué es historia?," *Vinculos de Historia* 4 (2015), 23–24.

85 "*Il y a des instants qui ne devraient pas passer. Ce qu'on y atteint ne devrait jamais finir. Que cella passe pourtant et ne soit que l'expérience d'un instant, là se trouve la véritable mélancolie de l'expérience humaine.*" Joseph Ratzinger, *La mort et l'au-delà* (Paris, 2005), p. 101.

which is the teacher of all things,"[86] or "because experience is an effective teacher of things."[87] If we follow the lead of the unpublished Catalan documentation, we see that the experience of previous events was often invoked in the exercise of power. In Vic in 1403, the phrase "from experience that is a true teacher and mother of knowledge" was invoked when the king had to intervene to pacify the tensions between the divided factions of the city.[88] Similarly, experience was invoked as a series of specific facts from the past that supported the most diverse provisions in public management.[89] The experience of the past thus justified present decisions.[90] When a public appointment was made, it became formal practice to invoke the experience of the person designated, as the monarch often did,[91] along with such other values as proficiency and ability.[92] Thus, experience became synonymous with expertise: "*pro assidua experiencia.*"[93] In order to justify a post being given to someone who lacked enough experience, authorities drew attention to complementary experiences which might compensate for the shortcomings.[94] In fact, experience laid the foundation for other merits that, beyond expertise in the specific job, also justified an appointment, as the king detailed in 1388: "trusting fully confident in the often proven experience of your loyalty and sufficiency."[95]

These examples show that the men and women of the Middle Ages had various reasons to scrutinize and invoke specific experiences. From the start, they perceived their surroundings and built the framework of their lives through memory and the evocation of specific events, above all those events worthy of mention, experienced personally or by others and that remained in the memory. This is very clear in the mechanism used to remember time, based not on a sequence of years but on experiences worthy of remembrance. These were

86 "*Experiència qui és mestra de totes coses.*" Among others: Próspero de Bofarull, *Procesos de las antiguas cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, 8 vols. (Barcelona, 1850), 6: 72.

87 "*Quia Magistra rerum efficax experiencia edocuit.*" *Cortes de Cataluña*, 26 vols. (Madrid, 1900), 3: 305.

88 "*Per experiencia que est verum magistra et mater cognice.*" Vic, Arxiu Municipal de Vic, Llibre de Privilegis X, pergamí 189.

89 Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 221, fol. 42v; 2220, fol. 7v.

90 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1912, fol. 140r; 2218, fol. 145r.

91 ACA, Cancelleria, reg, 952, fol. 150r; 1912, fol. 108v; 1913, fol. 5v, 37v; 40v; 1914, 165r, 167r; 1915, fol. 1r, 1916, fol. 136r; 2217, fol. 17v-175v; 2219, fol. 41v-42r; among many others.

92 ACA, reg. 1915, fol. 70v.

93 Lleida, Arxiu Capitular de Lleida, Llibre Verd, fol. 59bis r.

94 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 951, fol. 129r.

95 "*Confiants plenament per experiència moltes vegades provada de la leyaltat e suficiència de vós.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1913, fol. 178r.

often painful events, in the form of shared experiences that remained as milestones in the memory, both private and shared. In 1399, in the Catalan town of Igualada, a judicial process was initiated to find out if a person who wanted to act as attorney for another had the required minimum legal age of twenty-five years. A large number of the inhabitants of the village where this man has lived since he was born attended the court to answer the same question regarding how old he was. No one remembered the year in which he was born, but all remembered that it was the year that French troops passed through the village, alluding to the company under Bertrand du Guesclin in 1366. Similarly, another one who had dealt with this person did not remember when he maintained this relationship, but knew that it was the earthquake's year (*l'any que fou la terratremol*), in reference to the earthquake that affected Catalonia in 1373.[96] This case shows us that the men and women of that age remembered time though a series of emotional experiences that were retained in the memory.

In 1357, when King Peter the Ceremonious explained to his uncle, Prince Peter, how he was preparing to face the recent Castilian invasion, he hoped to model his approach on dynastic memory, mentioning how each of his predecessors (his great grandfather, Peter the Great, his grandfather, James II, and his father, Alfonso the Benign) had faced similar events.[97] It is clear that this explanation was part of the Crown's discourse of affirmation based on the continuity of the dynasty, which is why it pursued a specific memory,[98] but it also demonstrates a reasoning based on the analysis of specific events, facts worthy of memory which, after all, were one's own and other's experiences. In short, the Crown drew on life and models of life as a sum of experiences deserving to be recalled.

James I, king of the Crown of Aragon between 1214 and 1276, was the first monarch to dictate, in the first person, his own record of events worthy of being remembered from his long reign.[99] The account that he presents of his reign is a sum of emotive experiences. That is why he entertained himself, "to record small scenes of his daily life, seemingly lacking in any other interest than the purely personal, and not to hide from exposing his emotional reactions or

96 Flocel Sabaté, "Quina edat té l'Arbert Sescorts? Memòria, fama pública i alletament," in *Histoire et archéologie en Pays catalans. Mélanges offerts à Aymat Catafau,* ed. Nicolas Berjoan, Olivier Passarrius (Perpignan, 2024), pp.176–178.

97 Ramon Gubern, *Epistolari de Pere III* (Barcelona, 1955), pp. 142–43.

98 Flocel Sabaté, "L'invisibilità del re e la visibilità della dinastia nella corona d'Aragona," in *Il principe invisibile*, eds. Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella, Stefano Caroti, (Turnhout-Mantua, 2015), pp. 27–64.

99 Josep Maria Pujol, "Composició oral interactiva en el 'Llibre dels feits': el testimoni de la retòrica," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2011), 2: 741–59.

those of the people."[100] If, in a dictated narrative, the monarch flaunts his feelings, it is because these form part of the contemporary expressive code. What he reveals, above all, is having cried in various situations. The king cried when he was nine years old and, while held in Monzón castle, the count of Provence presented a plan to free him. Both cried: "and we cry with him."[101] However, the king also wept when he was an adult and had achieved a heroic feat, such as when he conquered the island of Majorca. In 1230, when gathered with all the participants in the conquest—"we convened a general council, that is, a meeting of all the knights and all the settlers who were in Majorca" ("*faem justar consell general, ço és, tots los cavallers e tots los pobladors que eren en Mallorques*")—on bidding farewell to the island to return to Catalonia, the king, according to his own story, burst into tears and found it difficult to talk because of the pain he felt upon leaving Majorca: "and we cried when they tried to say goodbye. We and they were unable to speak because of the pain felt. And when we could recover we proclaimed that we appointed Bernat de Santa Eugènia as their head, and they should respect him as they would myself."[102] Ferran Soldevila describes it as "the weeping of the heroes."[103] However, the weeping of monarchs was fully incorporated into the management of their relationships with their subjects. A little over a century later, Peter the Ceremonious, mentioned above,[104] returned to the autobiographic model pioneered by his great-great-grandfather when he wrote in the first person in the vernacular to describe his 1337 stay in Borriana, a town eager to remain under royal jurisdiction, which is why emotion dominated everything when the king crossed the town to meet his subjects in the town's church. According to the monarch's tale, both sides melted into tears of joy:

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100 "*A deixar constància de petites escenes de la seva vida quotidiana, aparentment mancades de cap altre interès que el purament personal, i que no s'amagui d'exposar les reaccions emocionals seves o dels personatges.*" Josep Maria Pujol, "Jaume I, 'rex facetus': notes de filologia humorística," *Estudis Romànics* 25 (2003), 215.

101 "*E nos ploram ab ell.*" Jaume I, *Llibre dels fets del rei En Jaume*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2007), p. 67.

102 "*E ploram nós, e ells preseren llur comiat. E, quan haguem estat una peça, nós e ells, que no podíem parlar per la dolor que havíem, dixem-los que els lleixàvem per cap En Bernat de Sancta Eugènia, e que faessen per ell així com farien per nós.*" Jaume I, *Llibre dels fets del rei En Jaume*, p. 198.

103 "*El plor dels herois.*" Ferran Soldevila, "Prefaci al Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume o Crònica de Jaume I," in *Llibre dels fets del rei En Jaume*, Jaume I, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2007), p. 22.

104 Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past. History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia*, (Chicago-London, 2012).

> Going to the church we found all the people on the streets, some here, others there, and all of them feeling huge pleasure because of seeing us, which is why they were crying and showing so great reverence that they touched the ground with their elbows. They said: 'Lord, don't forget us!' And we went right to the church. In the church all the people cried, and we also cried with them, as well as all our entourage that went to the church with us.[105]

On the other hand, both James I in the thirteenth century[106] and Alfonso the Magnanimous in the fifteenth[107] boasted about being likable and ingenious, each as an "amusing king" ("*rex facetus*"). However, neither of them would display uncontrolled laughter. Francesc Eiximenis cautioned against royal displays of excessive humour in 1392 to the man who would become King Martin four years later:

> You should always have a cheerful face. This does not mean so much laughing but a kindly expression, because too much laughing, too much speaking and moving the eyes and head too much are reasons why the prince is scorned. The opposite behaviour leads the prince to be loved, because this is a sign of wisdom, which adding a composed joy show him as an amiable prince.[108]

This advice was fully coherent with the Christological model: Jesus Christ's face always appeared serene, not sad but thoughtful, without laughing ostentatiously.[109] These models of emotional behaviour were suitable for all society.

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105 "*E nós, anant a l'esgleia, trobam tot lo poble per les carreres, los uns deçà, los altres dellà, qui hagué de nos gran goig, plorant e faent-nos reverència, amb los colzes en terra, dient-nos: -Senyor, no ens vullats oblidar! E anam-nos-en dret a l'esgleia, e com fom dins l'esgleia, plorà tot lo poble, e nós ab ell ensems, e aquells qui ab nós eren entrats.*" *Crònica de Pere III el Cerimoniós*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2014), p. 110.

106 Pujol, "Jaume I, 'rex facetus'," p. 215.

107 Alberto Montaner Frutos, "La palabra en la ocasión. Alfonso V como 'rex facetus' a través del Panormita," *e-Spania* 4 (2009), <http://e-spania.revues.org/1503>.

108 "*Detvez esser tostemps ab cara alegra, mas no molt rient, mas bé acuyllent, car masa riura e masa parlar e masa moura los uyls e·l cap fan menysprear lo príncep, e·l contrari lo fa prear, car és indici de saviea, la qual ab composta alegria fa lo príncep amabbla per excés.*" Ramon Ferrer Navarro, *Eximenis i la seva obra* (Valencia, 2010), p. 34.

109 Albert G. Hauf, "La 'Vita Christi' de Fr. Eiximenis O.F.M. (1340–1409) como tratado de Cristología para seglares," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 71 (1976), 37–64; Albert G. Hauf, *D'Eiximenis a Sor Isabel de Villena. Aportació a l'estudi de la nostra cultura medieval* (Valencia-Barcelona, 1990), pp. 19–55.

Feelings must be shown, but it is better to cry than to laugh because weeping purifies the soul, which is why, softly, sweetly and abundantly, it is a gift that mystical women possess, the benefits of which any good Christian can also access through worship.[110] Vincent Ferrer was moved to hold mass until he wept during the consecration, his crying shared with all those in attendance.[111] Similarly, nobles and members of the people shared in mourning the death of the corresponding lord, each expressed their sadness according to their estate,[112] ostentatiously enough that they were often accompanied by the sorrowful whinnying of horses and howling of dogs.[113] Openly crying and shedding tears was part of the explicit expressive code that was naturally shared and spread in late-medieval European society.[114]

The expression of sentiments was part of the reality of a studied and interested game of political strategies in the fifteenth century. In this context, attempts by municipal governments to force the whole population to participate in ceremonies designed to express grief for the death of the sovereign, and then the care taken in writing detailed reports about these displays of emotion to send to the new sovereign, as done in the major Catalan towns and cities, was part of these strategies.[115] Late-medieval power was a game of emotional experiences, played according to political interests. Communication between rulers and the ruled was at the centre, and full of emotional messages. Depending on the circumstances, the monarch, like other lords, would choose between "producing terror"[116] or showing that his was a "soft lordship."[117] Governing through fear and attracting the love of the lord were strategies adapted depending on which was calculated to be more effective. These were not rhetorical resources, because the messages were transmitted through gestures. To pressure the municipal government of Vic in 1366, the king not only threatened the local magistrates explicitly with death but also had gallows built in the main square

110 Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2000), pp. 171–420.

111 Joan Fuster, "L'oratòria de Sant Vicenç Ferrer," *Obres Completes* (Barcelona, 1968), 1: 46–7.

112 Francesca Español, "El 'correr las armas', un aparte caballeresco en las exequias medievales hispanas," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 37/2 (2007), 867–905.

113 Flocel Sabaté, *Vivir y sentir en la Edad Media. El mundo visto con ojos medievales* (Madrid, 2011), p. 89.

114 Elina Gerstman, ed. *Crying in the Middle Ages. Tears of History* (New York-Abingdon, 2012).

115 Flocel Sabaté, *Lo senyor rei és mort! Actitud i cerimònies dels municipis catalans baixmedievals davant la mort del monarca* (Lleida, 1994), pp. 247–63.

116 "*Donar terror.*" Flocel Sabaté, "Por política, terror social," in *Por política, terror social*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2013), pp. 13–14.

117 "*Suau senyoria.*" Flocel Sabaté, "Discurs i estratègies del poder reial a Catalunya al segle XIV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995), 642–43.

for that purpose.[118] In general, instilling fear of terrible punishment was considered the best way to rule a society. That is why late-medieval Catalonia was a forest of gallows, because each of the numerous jurisdictions displayed these beside roads or even in central squares at moments of tension.[119]

As physical representations of power, gallows provided a means of emotional communication between rulers and the ruled, whether it was between lords and their subjects, or municipal councillors and townspeople. Similarly, the ideological guidance provided by Christianity, was carried out by transmitting the religious message emotively. In no other historical period did preachers enjoy such prominence and popular acceptance – "perhaps never had so many people based their prestige on the power of seduction of their words as in this time!"[120]—, precisely because religion was at the centre of social behaviour and the transmission of codes of behaviour, not through intellectual reasoning but rather blunt emotional reaction. Language, expressions and even liturgy were centred almost exclusively on gestures and expressions of emotion—that included suffering—experienced and shared.[121]

The shared nature of these experiences exacerbated the effects on society as a whole. As stated, in the Middle Ages, human beings were rarely alone. They were part of multiple groups within society, beginning with the family and then continuing into other circles of collective solidarity, such as the faction, feudal ties or the municipal collective, and they could even share a wider common identity through the concept of nation.[122] When the death penalty was applied and, with it, the rupture of the social fabric that so displeased God was repaired, popular participation was required to visualise how society as a whole participated in the satisfaction of recuperating the lost order and shared in the indignation towards those who had dared to break it. As a whole, the people jeered as the accused passed through the streets and suffered the torture meted out.[123] In this way, people acted in group solidarity, as an emotional community sharing the traits with which it identified.[124] In this concatenation

118 Eduard Junyent, *La ciutat de Vic i la seva història* (Barcelona, 1976), pp. 104–05.

119 Flocel Sabaté, "Les fourches patibulaires en Catalogne au bas Moyen Âge," *Criminocorpus* (2015), <http://criminocorpus.revues.org/3062>.

120 "*Jamais peut-être autant d'hommes ne durant leur prestige à la séduction du verbe !*" Francis Rapp, *L'Église et la vie religieuse en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1999), p. 133.

121 Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *Être chrétien en France au moyen Âge* (Paris, 1996), pp. 145–48.

122 Flocel Sabaté, "Els referents històrics de la societat: identitat i memòria," in *L'Edad Mijana. Món real i espai imaginat*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Catarroja-Barcelona, 2012), pp. 48–49.

123 Flocel Sabaté, *The Death Penalty in Late-Medieval Catalonia Evidence and Significations* (London-New York, 2020), pp. 183–214.

124 Flocel Sabaté, "Identity in the Middle Ages," in *Identity in the Middle Ages. Approaches from Southwestern Europe*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Leeds, 2021), pp. 9–25.

of identities, the outer circle was marked by religion: the "common hatred" (*comune odium*) of Jews united Christians,[125] because they perceived the Jews as being obsessed with deicide and as enemies of the faith. In all cases, joint displays of solidarity and aggression erupted sporadically from specific events – experiences – that allowed emotion to burst free from containment.

Humans interrelate at a given time and in a specific place, anthropomorphising the landscape. History can thus be likened to cartography, where everything is a matter of scale. From a certain distance, we can explain the Middle Ages according to their structures, and describe the main features of the economy, institutions, cultural forms and social structure. But, as the scale widens and approaches the living space, we will appreciate, without any contradiction, that the structural supports equate to specific people who preceded us, endowed with names and feelings, who shared emotional experiences according to a code of values commonly accepted at the time, and derived from a specific adaptation to the Christian ideology adopted to regulate society.

This may seem obvious, but it may be worth noting that, when studying the past, what one finds is people who shared, emotionally, vital experiences. Surely it should not be necessary to state this, because it is too obvious amongst almost all historians that these people were not mere data in a database, but rather human beings not very different from us, yet it is also good to remember it.

125 Perpignan, Archives Départementales des Pyrénnes-Orientales, 1B-94, fol. 45v.

CHAPTER 2

# The Bodily Turn: New Directions in the History of Emotions

*Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani*

It is fair to say that the modern field of the history of emotions began in 1985 with an article on "emotionology" written by Peter and Carol Stearns.[1] Thereafter, the field took off, and it is now enjoying success, each year witnessing new books and articles and important initiatives by centres devoted to the topic.[2] To understand the Stearnses' contribution, some scientific background is required given that their article depended on some changes in psychological theories of the emotions.

## 1 Science

Early scientific theories of the emotions certainly emphasised the role of the body, but in ways unhelpful for historians. Charles Darwin (d. 1882) argued that emotions were "innate and instinctive" in both animals and humans.[3] They were the result of strong excitations of the senses which, in turn, produced a strong "nerve force" that was expressed in bodily movements—very often shown on the face. These movements were originally useful for the survival of the species, and remained habitual even when ceasing to be serviceable. So, for example, in the case of rage, the pulse accelerates, the face reddens, "respiration is laboured, the chest heaves, and the dilated nostrils quiver," and

1 Peter N. Stearns, Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), 813–36. The authors wish to thank Polity Press for permission to reuse here some parts of our *What Is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge, Eng., 2017).

2 For example, at the Max Plank Institut für Bildungsforschung in Berlin (<https://www.mpib-berlin.mpg.de/en/research/history-of-emotions>) and the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions at The University of Western Australia (Perth).

3 Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (New York, 1898), p. 15.

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so on.[4] These gestures were once useful in preparing to strike an enemy, but by Darwin's day, they hampered civilised behaviour.

Soon after Darwin wrote, William James (d. 1910) proposed that emotions were nothing other than physiological changes in or on the body:

> If we fancy some strong emotion, and then try to abstract from our consciousness of it all the feelings of its characteristic bodily symptoms, we find we have nothing left behind, no 'mind-stuff' out of which the emotion can be constituted, and that a cold and neutral state of intellectual perception is all that remains. [...] What kind of an emotion of fear would be left if the feelings neither of quickened heart-beats nor of shallow breathing, neither of trembling lips nor weakened limbs, neither goose-flesh nor of visceral stirrings, were present.

Like Darwin, James thought that these bodily changes were automatic. Excited by some perception, "*the bodily changes follow directly … and our feeling of the same changes as they occur* IS *the emotion*." It follows that "we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble." The names that we give these feelings—sorrow, anger, fear—are by themselves "pale, colourless, destitute of emotional warmth." Only the body really knows the emotion.[5]

Both these theories made emotions bodily phenomena, unrelated to thought, and inborn. In the 1960s, they were challenged by cognitivist theories of the emotions that made these a kind of judgment or assessment that something was or was not for one's wellbeing.[6] To give an example, cognitive theory says that if, while I am driving, the person behind me honks, and I judge the sound to be loud, I am certainly assessing it, but not emotionally. However, if I judge the honk to be harmful to my well-being, as for example, if I take it as an insult to me and my driving, then that is an emotional judgment. We call it anger. The emotion is mental and absolutely related to thought—indeed, according to cognitivist theory, emotions are kinds of thoughts, although they often produce bodily changes, such as yelling back out the window at the honking driver.

Cognitivists nevertheless agree with earlier theories in saying that emotions are inborn, in the sense that any stimulus that we judge to be insulting will

4 Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions*, p. 74.

5 William James, *Principles of Psychology*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1890), 2:446–85, at 452, on-line at <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/James/Principles/prin25.htm>; William James, "What is an Emotion?," *Mind* 9 (1884), 188–205, at 189–90, on-line at <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/James/emotion.htm> (emphasis in original).

6 A key pioneer of this theory was Magda B. Arnold; see her: *Emotion and Personality*, 2 vols. (New York, 1960).

cause us to feel anger. But soon some philosophers and sociologists proposed that society itself constructs the emotions, which, rather than being inborn, are induced and managed by social rules and norms.[7] Thus, the idea of anger is socially constructed by our society.[8] Other societies do not feel it the way Westerners do, and even when they feel it, it is not quite the same. For example, in the Semai culture in Malaysia, people rarely display angry, and react to situations that most Westerners would consider insulting with laughter or fear.[9]

## 2 Original Approaches

Social constructionism is the background to the Stearnses' article of 1985, which was in effect a programme to reinvigorate the history of emotions. There had been earlier attempts, to be sure. For example, in the 1940s, Lucien Febvre was already calling for histories of emotions.[10] However, such ventures were stillborn. The Stearnses asked historians to look at what they called "emotionology," defining it as "the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression."[11] The Stearnses argued that historians need not worry about how people "really felt." Rather, they should study which emotions were expressed and how, according to the standards of their time. Those standards were made clear in advice books, and, as the Stearnses maintained, that advice changed—often dramatically—over the years. The Stearnses' method consisted of collecting books on good manners or child rearing, seeing when the advice changed, and finally assessing whether real behaviour changed to follow the advice. This method was quite social constructionist, even though the Stearnses adhered to the view that there were innate "basic" emotions, for they postulated that social standards could work to exaggerate, diminish, or even ignore the inborn

7 See: Rom Harré, ed., *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford, 1986).

8 See: James R. Averill, *Anger and Aggression: An Essay on Emotion* (New York, 1982) and, for the medieval period, Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1998).

9 Robert Knox Dentan, *The Semai: A Nonviolent People of Malaya* (New York, 1968).

10 Lucien Febvre, "La Sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois," *Annales d'histoire sociale* 3 (1941), 5–20; translation: Lucien Febvre, "Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past," in *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke, trans. K. Folca (New York, 1973). For more on the early pioneers, see: Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe (Oxford, 2012), pp. 40–60.

11 Stearns, Stearns, "Emotionology," p. 813.

emotion. Thus, regarding anger, the Stearnses noted a two-hundred-year "long campaign against anger" in the American "character ideal"—an ideal that yielded real results by the 1980s, when the Stearnses were writing and when, as they observed, people were indeed controlling their tempers.[12]

Soon after the Stearnses wrote, William Reddy saw a way to put universalist, cognitive, and social constructionist theories together.[13] He hypothesised that emotions were assessments of what was for or against one's well-being (in that sense cognitivist). However, in his view, people changed their goals and thus their assessments continually. He used the word "emotive" to describe the (universally) chameleon-like character of emotions as well as their impact on both their objects and their subjects. Thus, as we express our anger, we change both ourselves and those against whom we aim our spleen; our goals and theirs are theoretically in constant flux. However, emotional regimes—normally the same as political regimes—determine which emotives will be permitted (here Reddy was social constructionist). Under free regimes, many emotives are allowed, meaning that people can change their assessments and goals quite freely. Under repressive regimes people are locked into only feeling and expressing very few emotives.

Reddy applied this idea to explain the French Revolution which, for him, was an emotional rebellion. The repressive regime of the monarchy allowed for only a very few emotives. People sought relief in "emotional refuges" such as in salon society and the theatre, where many more emotives were allowed, all very high-flown and passionate. In the Revolution, the norms of the salons became the emotional regime. However, its insistence on certain emotions expressed at high pitch was equally repressive in turn, engendering emotional suffering. The reaction led to a regime more attuned to emotives, allowing for a variety of goals and modes of expression.

The work of Barbara Rosenwein came in the wake of Stearns and Reddy.[14] It was cognitivist in that it too assumed that emotions changed with assessments of well-being, and it was social constructionist in assuming that different

12 Carol Zisowitz Stearns, Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago, 1986), p. 211.

13 William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, Eng., 2001). See also his application of similar ideas in his discussion of love in: William M. Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia, and Japan, 900–1200 CE* (Chicago, 2012).

14 Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), 821–45; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 2016).

groups (she called them emotional communities) had and expressed different emotions even when they co-existed. Unlike Stearns and Reddy, she denied the existence of "basic emotions," and was careful to draw up lists of the words that these groups considered to be emotions. Above all, she wanted to see which feelings were emphasised, which deplored, and how they were expressed. In that sense, she adopted the idea of emotionology, but without needing advice books to tell her what the standards were. Rosenwein emphasised the varieties of emotional communities in any society, which she discovered by compiling a dossier for each social group that interested her and analysing their texts for words and emphases.

Similarly rejecting the notion that emotions are automatic responses, while also seeing them as cognitive, Gerd Althoff looked at the emotional displays of medieval rulers. However, unlike the three previous theories, Althoff focused on how medieval rulers used their bodies (above all) to communicate their political will. They wept to show their piety; they fumed to demonstrate their disfavour. In short, they "performed" their emotions more often than they used words.

## 3 Newer Approaches

Althoff provides a bridge from the original schools of the history of emotions to the new. For, to sum up the new orientation briefly, the body is the focus, and with it a rejection of the sway of cognitivism. However, we are not right back to the Darwinian and Jamesian models of the body, which made it static. It is true that Darwin, pioneer of the theory of evolution, postulated constant biological flux and variation. However, Darwin's work on emotions contradicted his evolutionary stance; he assumed that anger, fear, and other emotions were universal and unchanging entities, "naturally" expressed in the same ways by all peoples, and therefore most clearly by infants, the insane, and "several of the most distinct and savage races of man": in short, by people unhampered by social conventions.[15]

The body postulated by the "new schools" of emotions history is, by contrast, changeable, changing, and socially constructed. Indeed, some scholars go so far as to think of it as merging into its ever-shifting social, material, and spatial environment. Their thinking is influenced by sociological theories about the "practices of the body": as it acts, the body reinforces and even creates mental

15 Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions*, pp. 16–17.

states.[16] Of the many paths that the new directions have taken, we have chosen here to highlight four: the body in pain; the practices of the body; the affective body, and, finally, the gendered body.

## 4 The Body in Pain

Although today we ordinarily consider pain something to avoid, historians of emotion have made clear that other periods in Western culture valued pain. In the medieval period, Christian religious discourse made pain and suffering desirable because they recalled and imitated the tormented body of Christ. In the words of Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen and Karl A. E. Enenkel, referring to the period between 1300 and 1700, there was "something like a *theological pain contest*."[17] Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy present Christ's body as the central fact of medieval thought, ethics, and emotion.[18] As interpretations of the meaning and importance of Christ's passion changed, so too did people's sensibilities. In a sense, ideas about Christ's body determined the emotionology of the entire period. Beginning with the "Christianization of emotion," their book continues with monastic communities, which institutionalised what Jean Leclercq famously termed "the desire for God." Monks exercised the right emotions in the right ways and for the right purposes, which included denial of many of the needs and desires of their bodies. Soon, the authors show, the practices of the monastery opened out to society at large, creating "a Christian society" that was continually reinfused by the values and emotions of newly invigorated religious groups, such as the twelfth-century hermits and the ecclesiastical courtiers who surrounded the German emperor. A sort of call and response among lay aristocrats and princes, town citizens, and specialists in prayer, theology and medicine allowed for enriched emotional possibilities that increasingly validated bodily pains, emphasising contemplation of the suffering Christ. A fourteenth-century depiction of Christ on the Cross, his body entirely red with blood gushing from every pore, sums up the intensity of the pain so coveted in the later Middle Ages. As the authors remark in their comment on this depiction: "the emotions of suffering, of love, and of joy felt

16 See especially: Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," *Economy and Society* 2 (1973), 70–88; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, 1990).

17 Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen, Karl A. E. Enenkel, eds., *The Sense of Suffering: Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture* (Leiden, 2008), p. 10 (emphasis in original).

18 Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, trans. Robert Shaw (Cambridge, Eng., 2018).

by the devout were amplified to an extreme in order to express the fullness of their union with the tormented Christ."[19]

Considering pain from a wide variety of viewpoints—from scientific to anthropological to literary—Joanna Bourke points out that "the body is never pure soma: it is configured in social, cognitive, and metaphorical worlds." She finds a way around the mind-body dualism by conceptualising pain as a "type of event," as a "way-of-being in the world." The meanings of such pain events changed historically. "From the moment of birth, infants are initiated into cultures of pain. What … infants in the 1760s learnt about the cognitive, affective, and sensory meanings arising from the interface between their interior bodies and the external world was very different to what their counterparts in the 1960s learnt."[20] Bourke noted that what they learned was often political, for learning is determined by those in power, whether parents or rulers. Even the names of various pains, says Bourke, lay bare the exercise of power. Today "hunger," for instance, is less serious than "being in terrible pain," and it calls forth less sympathy, less money, and less social organisation.

Although her focus is the body, Bourke is very much a social constructionist. However, for her, it is not just thoughts and emotions that are socially constructed, but the very way in which people experience and use their bodies as they make their way through life. Further, while not speaking of emotional regimes per se, Bourke is very much interested in how the powerful determine what we will feel. This is where she pays careful attention to words: not so much for how they *express* emotions as how they are used to *elicit* them.

## 5 The Practicing Body

Bourke's conceptualisation of pain as a "way of being in the world" leads directly to the practicing body. Already Althoff's interest in performance was compatible with this view. However, Althoff had seen emotions as an expressive tool for rulers; whereas in the hands of a practice theorist like Monique Scheer, emotions are generated and enhanced by the practices of everyone's bodies, and not just expressed by them. In an early article setting forth her theory, Scheer faulted the old school of emotions history—the Stearnses,

19 Boquet, Nagy, *Sensibilities*, Plate 9.

20 Joanna Bourke, *The Story of Pain: From Prayer to Painkillers* (Oxford, 2014), p. 17. See also: Keith Wailoo, *Pain. A Political History* (Baltimore, 2014); Javier Moscoso, *Pain: A Cultural History*, trans. Sarah Thomas, Paul House (New York, 2012); Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (Oxford, 1985).

Reddy, Rosenwein—for detaching emotions from the body and for dividing emotionology from emotional experience. They "tend to reduce [emotion] to either mechanical processes of the body or cognitive processes of the mind." For Scheer, emotions—and thought, too, for that matter—are "embodied."[21] The body in turn is not a biological given but is shaped by its emotional practices. Elsewhere, Scheer gives the example of the religious practices of German Methodists who followed Christoph Gottlob Müller (d. 1858).[22] A German butcher who learned about Methodism during a lengthy sojourn in England, Müller adopted the Methodist's bodily practices—their constant singing, sitting, standing, and kneeling—in his own religious worship. When he returned to Germany, he introduced them to people who already had some of this "bodily knowledge" as it had been shaped by their local Pietism. However, the Methodists had forms of pious practices beyond Pietism—at church meetings penitents wept, sighed, groaned, fell to the floor—and Müller attempted to make those practices habitual and thus automatic. Scheer argues that rituals such as these evidence a particularly emotional form of Protestant Christianity. "The revival experience should be regarded as a collective practice of producing an experience using emotions." Moreover, it is never static but "is subject to historical and cultural changes."[23]

Studying the practices of the body may depend less on texts than the older approaches. This is especially true when sources such as photographs, movies and videos become abundant, as is true in more modern periods. Researchers Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani looked at the emotional message of "love in the rain"—the final scene of the Bollywood film *Veer Zaara* (2004)—in which the lovers, after a long separation and much self-sacrifice, are reunited at last They do not say a word, and that gives Pernau and Rajamani the chance to critique all the approaches to the history of emotions that depend on texts: "The scene would be lost for a history of concepts that focuses only on language." Practice theory tells them to listen to the melancholy music, and the lyrics of the Hindi song (here they do admittedly have some words) and look at the close-ups of the lovers' happy, tearful faces. Finally, they consider the symbolic

21 Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51 (2012), 193–220, at 219.

22 Monique Scheer, "Feeling Faith: The Cultural Practice of Religious Emotions in Nineteenth-Century German Methodism," in *Out of the Tower. Essays on Culture and Everyday Life*, eds. Monique Scheer, Thomas Thiemeyer, Reinhard Johler, Bernhard Tschofer, trans. Michael Robertson (Tübingen, 2013), pp. 217–47.

23 Scheer, "Feeling Faith," p. 227.

meaning of the rain in which the reunion takes place: "the monsoon [is] a season of erotic love."[24] This is part of practice theory because the context—in this case the rain—shapes bodies and is itself a sort of body. Indeed, in one scene in the trailer for the film, the rain has such presence and solidity as to be another character in the drama.

## 6 The Affective Body

The idea that the rain or anything else surrounding a person—whether an object, a space, or another person—shapes the body as the body shapes it in turn is a tenet of "affect theory." Affect theory itself, in its modern form, was and remains a reaction against cognitivism, a way to bring back emotions' automaticity and irrationality à la William James. This idea of affect has been embraced in particular by scholars in cultural studies and literature. They postulate a body that "affects" everything around it even as it is "affected" in turn; it is an open and unbounded body, an integral part of the sounds, sights, smells, colours, air, flesh, warmth, cold that surround it. The frontiers that separate us from everything else are false constructions; even our biological body is nothing without its surroundings, which shape it, just as it shapes the environment in turn. Bruce R. Smith suggests that we understand this as a trick of perspective, like the picture of a vase "that can also be read as the profiles of two faces.[25] The affective body feels and acts before it thinks and before we say a word. Thus, affect is ever-present in everything that we do.

Wilhelm Wundt (d. 1920) is often credited as the pioneer of affect theory. He spoke of "an affective process": the constant flux of feelings of pleasure or displeasure, of tension or release, of strong or weak intensity. Combined with "an ideational process,"—the process by which we give them a name and all the other conscious associations that we have about them—affects become emotions (if of brief duration) or dispositions (if longer lasting). So, "joy, delight, merriness, hope are emotions in which the predominant feeling is pleasure; anger, grief, sorrow, and fear are emotions in which displeasure predominates. […] The quieting feeling combined with displeasure we call depression."[26] Silvan Tomkins (d. 1991), a later affect theorist, viewed "the affect system [as …] the primary motivational system because without its amplification, nothing

24 Margrit Pernau, Imke Rajamani, "Emotional Translations: Conceptual History beyond Language," *History and Theory* 55 (2016), 46–65 at 63.

25 Bruce R. Smith, *Phenomenal Shakespeare* (Chichester, 2009), p. xviii.

26 Wilhelm Wundt, *An Introduction to Psychology*, trans. Rudolf Pintner (London, 1912), p. 61.

else matters, and with its amplification, anything else *can* matter. It thus combines urgency and generality. It lends its power to memory, to perception, to thought, and to action no less than to the drives."[27] Tomkins's point about drives reveals that he was, in effect, in dispute with Freud. In the process, he became a proponent of what was later called the "basic emotions" theory: his affects were excitement, joy, terror, anger, shame, contempt, distress, and surprise.[28] Yet, ironically, other recent affect theorists are battling that same essentialist, "basic" paradigm. James Russell does so from the point of view of a neuropsychologist who sees no "convincing evidence of a unique pattern for each emotion," whether in the autonomic nervous system or in facial expressions.[29] Cultural critic Brian Massumi cares very little about emotions altogether. For him, affect is "a nonconscious, never-to-conscious autonomic remainder. It is outside expectation and adaptation."[30] That never-to-consciousness makes affect both utterly intense and totally inexplicable. Like a quark, it is known only by its effects.

## 7 The Gendered Body

If bodies are bounded and isolated, they come in genders. But if they are defined in relation to others, as affect theory has it, they are more complicated. Perhaps they are gendered only by their differences from those with whom they have relations. Perhaps their gender is simply a kind of performance. The key question for the historian of emotions is whether gender determines, changes, challenges, or is irrelevant to emotional life. But what is gender? Is it the same as sex? Are there two genders, or more—or fewer? Historians have different takes on the topic, and it must be said that notions of gender are changing very fast: it is not just historians who are of different minds.

Until the 1970s or so, historians—and scientists as well—made the male subject the standard. This changed with the women's movement. Studies of women in history appeared, and, in a sort of parallel, the American

27 Silvan S. Tomkins, "Affect Theory," in *Approaches to Emotion*, eds. Klaus R. Schere, Paul Ekman (Hillsdale, 1984), pp. 163–95, at 164.

28 See the critique in: Ruth Leys, *The Ascent of Affect: Genealogy and Critique* (Chicago, 2017).

29 See, for example, James A. Russell, "My Psychological Constructionist Perspective, with a Focus on Conscious Affective Experience," in *The Psychological Construction of Emotion*, eds. Lisa Feldman Barrett, James A. Russsell (New York, 2015), pp. 183–208.

30 Brian Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect," *Cultural Critique* 31 [= *The Politics of Systems and Environments,* part 2] (1995), 83–109, at 85.

Psychological Association set up a division on the Psychology of Women. The most straightforward historical studies of the emotions of the gendered body asked quite simply whether the emotional lives of women were different from those of today. For example, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg wrote about passionately affectionate female relationships in nineteenth-century America. "My darling how I long for the time when I shall see you," wrote one woman to a dear woman friend, using language that today we might associate with erotic love. Smith-Rosenberg rejected that interpretation. She thought that amorous feelings between loving women were socially constructed and served the important social function of ratifying the "rigid gender-role differentiation within the family and within society as a whole."[31]

Same-sex friendship was (and still is) a lively topic in the history of emotions, generally linked to the issue of homosexuality. When John Boswell found rituals that bound men together in what he called "obviously the same-sex equivalent of a medieval heterosexual marriage ceremony," he denied that these ceremonies were proof of homosexuality. Rather, he thought that the distinction between "heterosexual acts and relationships and homosexual acts and relationships was largely unknown to the societies in which the unions first took place."[32] C. Stephen Jaeger argued that in the Middle Ages, love among men could be expressed with the most erotic language and yet have nothing to do with sex—and everything to do with ennobling virtue.[33] Alan Bray's history of same-sex friendships downgraded the importance of the nuclear family—mother, father, children—documenting "other kinds of kinship formed (as marriage is) by ritual and promise."[34]

Similarly, historians have shown that gender roles themselves have varied over time. Consider weeping. Piroska Nagy found that for much of the Western Middle Ages, crying was understood as a virtuous act of moral purification for both men and women. It was, indeed, often considered a gift of God.[35] The chivalrous knight, as Ruth Mazo Karras has revealed, was known to weep: "it

31 Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1/1 (1975), 1–29. See also: Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton, 2007).

32 John Boswell, *Same-sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York, 1994), pp. x, xxv. In response to Boswell, see: Claudia Rapp, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual* (Oxford, 2016).

33 C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Pennsylvania, 1999).

34 Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago, 2003).

35 Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution* (*Ve–XIIIe siècle*) (Paris, 2000).

was manly to have deeply held feelings, and important to display them."[36] While in the seventeenth century, ideals of masculinity followed Stoic notions of self-control, in the century that followed, the culture of sensibility led high-pitched emotions once again to take centre stage.[37] And so on.

However, is gender itself an essential category? Historians are now asking whether there are only two genders. This follows changes within society at large: in the United States, one must start a discussion with young people by asking what pronoun they use: he (the singular for a male), she (the singular for a female), or zie (one of the many singular gender-neutral pronouns). Transgender, multigender, intergender, and agender people call for new studies attuned to their emotions. Already psychologists are considering this question as they work toward effective support therapies.[38] Caroline Bynum's pioneering article, "Jesus as Mother," pointed the way for much subsequent research from a historical point of view. Cistercian theological writings talked about Jesus as a woman; Bynum explored the significance of this new "emphasis on breasts and nurturing, the womb, conception, and union."[39] More recently, Kathryn Ringrose has suggested that, since the Byzantine court welcomed eunuchs, "Byzantine society was not wedded to a rigid bipolar gender structure."[40]

In conclusion, we may say that the body currently predominates in today's histories of emotion, though for different reasons and in different ways. Some of the reasons have to do with the frisson of automaticity, irrationality, of emotions out of control and overwhelming us. Others concern the revolution in gender and gender relations taking place today. Finally, there is the undeniable importance of the body, as we all know. Yet, we are also struck by a sort of

36 Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), 65.

37 George J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992); for the nineteenth century, see: Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch, and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford, 2016).

38 Douglas Schrock, Daphne Holden, Lori Reid, "Creating Emotional Resonance: Interpersonal Emotion Work and Motivational Framing in a Transgender Community," *Social Problems* 51/1 (2004), 61–81; Stephanie L. Budge, Joe J. Orovecz, Jayden L. Thai, "Trans Men's Positive Emotions: The Interaction of Gender Identity and Emotion Labels," *The Counseling Psychologist* 43/3 (2015), 404–34.

39 Caroline Walker Bynum, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing," *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (1977), 257–84, especially 262.

40 Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2007), p. 31.

oscillation in theories of Western emotions between those that give primacy to the body and those that privilege judgment and words: the Jamesians, then the cognitivists, then the swing back again. The ideal—and here many psychologists and historians both agree—is to fuse these two views. That is one major task for the future.

# PART 2

## *How to Deal with Emotions*

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CHAPTER 3

# Feelings and the Saving of Souls: Penance and Prayer

*Carla Casagrande*

In Augustine's telling of the story of original sin, there was once a time in human history, at the dawn of time, when desires, sadness, hope, fear, pain, courage and compassion, but also melancholy, exaltation and desperation – that is almost all human feelings in their infinite range of degrees and nuances – did not yet exist. The only feelings known to man and woman were love, an ordered love by which they loved God for himself and other creatures as a function of God, and the immense and constant joy involved in enjoying what they loved, desired and possessed. With sin, a sin of pride, born from a desire for excellence in which humankind wanted to rule itself and deny its subordination to God, disordered love, perverse desire and, with it, hope, fear, pain, sadness and all the other feelings, were born.[1]

What had happened? Augustine had no doubt. Man and woman had been punished for their sin. Driven out of their earthly paradise, they experienced within themselves the disobedience they had shown to divine command: their will was weakened and they became unable to achieve what they wanted immediately and constantly. At that point, an excessive and disordered desire (*concupiscentia*) began to dominate the whole human soul and, in its most uncontrollable manifestation, carnal lust, which stimulates the reproductive organs, enslaved the soul to the body. If, before, man wanted to do only what he could do, now, after sin, he wanted what he could not do and suffered for what he did not want. He continued to feel joy, albeit always fleeting and often in vain. At the same time, he experienced new passions, hitherto unknown: the pain and sadness resulting from not being able to obtain or keep what he loved, the hope that this might be possible in the future and the continual fear that he would lose it. The passions, presented by Augustine as inclinations or expressions of a weak will, asserted themselves even when they were unwanted and were frequently conflicting, troubling the soul and the whole of people's

1 Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, XIV: 10, eds. Bernard Dombart, Alphonse Kalb (Turnhout, 1955), p. 430.

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lives. Not only did they multiply but they were also frequently sinful, turning towards ephemeral and marginal goods such as money, power, revenge, glory and pleasure.[2]

In these pages of *The City of God*, the passions emerge as consequences of sin and full-blown diseases of the soul. However, in these same pages in which Augustine binds the emotions to man's decayed nature – considering these to be evidence of his fragility – he also explains how this weakness can be turned into strength by emulating Christ, whose earthly life showed all human passions and redeemed humankind through his Passion. Testifying to the decayed state of sin-induced human nature, these same emotions, he argued, can be a powerful and indispensable tool for salvation if turned to a just cause. The pain of sin, hope in God's forgiveness, fear of divine justice, anger at sinners and compassion for the suffering: these are all feelings through which man can achieve salvation and regain the emotional perfection lost via sin.[3]

This Augustine text, in which the passions are both signs of sin and a tool for salvation, can be seen as a first, founding act of an emotional education. Men and women were called to save their souls by knowing their passions, gauging their intensity and turning them in the right direction.[4] Over the centuries which followed, ancient and new doctrines from the Byzantine East and the Muslim West reshaped the psychology and ethics of emotions.[5] Other ways of conceiving and using the passions appeared alongside and, sometimes, in opposition to the one indicated by Augustine. From the twelfth century onwards in particular, court culture played an important part in the formation of models of emotional behaviour.[6] Nevertheless, the bond through which

2 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XIV: 15, pp. 437–39.

3 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XIV: 9, pp. 426–27; on Christ as the foundation and model of the good use of the passions for man, see also: Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, CXXIX, 60, 2, ed. Radbod Willems (Turnhout, 1954), p. 479.

4 For a broader analysis of Augustine's theory of the passions, see: Carla Casagrande, "Agostino: passioni e salvezza," in *Passioni dell'anima. Teorie e usi degli affetti nella cultura medievale*, eds. Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio (Florence, 2015), pp. 19–41.

5 It is not possible here to go beyond this generic but necessary reminder of the plurality of emotional models present in a time span from the fourth to the fifteenth century. I will limit myself to recalling the influence that the main philosophical traditions (Platonism, Aristotelianism and Stoicism), already variously intertwined in the Augustinian pages recalled here, continued to exert on medieval thought. For the history of the theories on emotions, see: Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and the Peace of Mind: from Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford, 2000); Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, 2004); Dominik Perler, *Transformationen der Gefühle. Philosophische Emotionstheorien: 1270–1670* (Tübingen, 2011); Casagrande, Vecchio, *Passioni dell'anima.*

6 See: Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2015), in particular pp. 151–86; see also: Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy,

Augustine linked the passions and salvation remained solid and with it the need to produce models and rules on the good use of the passions. Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the theoretical efforts of theologians on the one hand and the pastoral action of preachers and confessors on the other played a fundamental role in the elaboration, diffusion and long duration of these models and rules.

From this general starting point, I would like here to offer two examples of this emotional education for the purposes of salvation, attempting to highlight the psychological skills it required and, at the same time, generated, together with its ethical implications. For this I consider texts from the theological and pastoral tradition between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. These are all texts produced by members of the Church (mostly *magistri theologiae* working in schools and universities and mendicant friars engaged in pastoral action) who elaborated and proposed doctrines and models of behaviour necessary for a virtuous life and future happiness in which an important role was assigned to the discipline of affect. Most of these texts were written in Latin: some by clerics for other religious people to support them in their common path of spiritual perfection, others by theologians to make available a coherent doctrine based on Scripture to clerics and friars engaged in pastoral care, and still others by clerics and preachers for others like themselves who were to act as intermediaries between the clergy and the laity for the values and models proposed. A few texts, dating from the fourteenth century onwards, were written directly for the laity in the vernacular. At the centre of my research will therefore be the monks, theologians, clerics, and preachers, their texts, ideas, and collective effort to construct and propose to themselves and to the faithful, men and women, a regulated and virtuous use of affectivity.

## 1 Penance

The first of these examples relates to the context in which the emotional dynamics were applied for the purposes of salvation to a greater extent than

eds., *Politiques des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Micrologus' Library 34) (Florence, 2010). The court, understood as an 'emotional community,' has often been the subject of analysis, through the study of specific cases, in the works of Barbara H. Rosenwein. See, in this regard: *Emotionals Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca-London, 2006) and *Generations of Feelings. A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 2016). See also: Bernard Andenmatten, Armand Jamme, Laurence Moulinier-Brogi, Marilyn Nicoud, eds., *Passions et pulsions à la cour* (*Moyen Âge – Temps modernes*) (Florence, 2015).

any other, i.e. penance. The institution of the sacrament of penance was an outcome of a long process beginning at the end of the eleventh century and culminating in the early thirteenth century with the Fourth Lateran Council decree of 1215 which required all the faithful to confess their sins once a year. This event has been at the heart of the interests of a range of historians with diverse orientations, who have seen this not only as an important event in the history of the Church and the sacramental doctrines but also as the sign of an epoch-making change in the way people lived and thought. It is no coincidence that the sacrament of penance has sometimes been associated with the discovery of conscience and the individual. It is not my intention to discuss the validity of this interpretation, which has generated different and variously modulated positions.[7] What I would like to highlight is that the institution of this sacrament, in the form destined to survive over the centuries—the one we know today—has undeniably emphasised the emotional sphere, making it a sort of testing ground on which to monitor emotional dynamics and learn to govern them. Penance thus became an object of study and intervention by the "specialists of the soul" (confessors, preachers, theologians and spiritual counsellors), but also, at times, a space for personal experimentation, because the experience of repentance, at least in the intentions of those who had promulgated the 1215 decree, was meant to concern all believers, male and female, above the age of discretion.[8]

7 Roberto Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati. La confessione tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna, 2002), pp. 9–55 (chapter "La confessione dei peccati e il sacramento della penitenza negli ultimi secoli del Medioevo"); Robert Emmet McLaughlin, "Truth, Tradition and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden-Boston, 2008), pp. 19–95.

8 "Concilium Lateranensis IV (1215)," in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Giuseppe L. Dossetti, Perikles-P. Joannu, Claudio Leonardi, Paolo Prodi, (Bologna, 1991), p. 245 (cap. 21): "Once they have reached the age of discernment, all believers of both sexes must faithfully confess at least once a year, in private, all their sins to their priest." ("*Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti*"). See: Nicole Bériou, "Autour de Latran IV (1215): la naissance de la confession moderne et sa diffusion," in *Pratiques de la Confession. Des Pères du désert à Vatican II*, ed. Groupe de la Boussière (Paris, 1983), pp. 73–93. In the following pages, I refer only to the period between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but certainly the problem of the penitent's emotional involvement was also present in the literature from previous centuries. See, for example: Karen Wagner, "'Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem': Penitential Experience in the Central Middle-Ages," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden-Boston, 2008), pp. 201–18, which particularly emphasises the problem of external manifestations of penitential emotionality. More in general, see Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream. Pain in Medieval Culture* (Chicago-London, 2009), pp. 28–32 (subchapter "Penitence as Pain").

The key to the sacrament of penance was an inner act called *contritio* on the basis of its ability to break down or crush sin, to reduce it to dust (*tritura* from *tero*, *trivi*, *tritum, terere* = crush).[9] Some, such as Abelard, held that contrition alone was sufficient for forgiveness from sin.[10] This radical contritionism was later abandoned in favour of a progressive conception of penance involving three stages (*contritio*, *confessio*, *satisfactio*). However, the decisive role of contrition was never entirely set aside, as evidenced by a wide and varied literature that includes both theoretical works (treatises on the sacraments, but especially commentaries on the fourth book of *Sententiae*) and works more directly related to sacramental practice (the *summae* on penance, the interrogation schemes for penitents).[11]

Contrition is a frequent subject of sometimes extremely detailed analyses throughout this literature. The fundamental point of these analyses consists in defining contrition as a specific type of sorrow not only because it focuses on a specific object, sin, but above all, because it is the result of the combined action of will, reason and sensibility.[12] It is rational and voluntary pain: as pain, it is passion but as rational and voluntary it is action. On this point, the texts agree: if a text of canon law, such as the *Summa de poenitentia* by Raymond of Pennafort, limits itself to defining contrition in a rapid but nevertheless precise way, "sorrow for sins assumed with the aim of confession and amend,"[13]

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9 See, for example: William of Auvergne, *De sacramento poenitentiae* (Opera omnia, 1.2) (Paris, 1674, ed. anast. Frankfurt, 1963), p. 462: "We say, then, that contrition is the breaking and crushing, and the reduction, as it were, to dust of the old man." ("*Dicimus ergo quia contritio est confractio et comminutio et quasi pulverem redactio veteris hominis*").

10 Peter Abelard, *Scito te ipsum*, ed. Rainer M. Ilgner (Turnhout, 2001), p. 51: "But penance is properly called pain of soul over that in which he transgresses." ("*Penitentia autem proprie dicitur dolor animi super eo in quo deliquit*"); p. 58: "With this groaning and brokenness of heart, which we call true penance, sin does not remain." ("*Cum hoc autem gemitu et contritione cordis, quam veram penitentiam dicimus, peccatum non permanet*"). See: Paul Anciaux, *La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Leuven-Gembloux, 1949), pp. 176–86.

11 Leonard Boyle, "*Summae confessorum*," in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales. Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve 25–27 mai 1981*, ed. Robert Bultot (Leuven, 1982), pp. 227–37; Joseph Goering, "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession," *Traditio* 59 (2004), 175–227, in particular 208–26.

12 Here I summarise the results of the analysis carried out on the texts on penance between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Carla Casagrande, "Le emozioni e il sacramento della penitenza," in *La penitenza tra I e II millennio. Per una comprensione delle origini della Penitenzieria Apostolica*, eds. Manlio Soldi, Renata Salvarani (Vatican City, 2012), pp. 213–31; reprinted in: Casagrande, Vecchio, *Passioni dell'anima*, pp. 305–25.

13 "*Dolor pro peccatis assumptus cum proposito confitenti et satisfaciendi.*" Raymundus de Pennaforte, *Summa de paenitentia*, ed. Xaverio Ochoa, Aloisio Diez (Rome, 1976), p. 803.

in theology, more complex definitions are elaborated based on theories of the faculties of the soul. According to theologians, there are two types of contrition: a spiritual pain generated by the higher faculties of the soul, will and reason, which constitutes the essence of contrition, and a sensible pain produced by the lower faculties related to the senses, which is considered instead a passion.[14]

This distinction between spiritual and emotional pain has been used in relation to a key issue in regard to sacramental repentance, namely the intensity and quality of pain. How much suffering is needed and of what sort if people are to be freed of their sins? It is by no means a banal question. On the one hand there was the idea that the pain one suffered for one's sins must be greater than any other pain, because the good of which sin has deprived one is greater than all other goods, namely eternal salvation. Hence, the idea that repentance for a mortal sin must involve more suffering than the loss of all earthly goods, including the loss of an only-begotten son or young bridegroom.[15] On the other hand, there was also an awareness of the weakness of

14 See: Alfred Vanneste, "La théologie de la pénitence chez quelques maîtres parisiens de la première moitié du XIII siècle," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 28 (1952), 24–58, in particular 38–40. Here I limit myself to mentioning two of the most famous theologians of the century: Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in quartum librum Sententiarum*, d. 17, q. 2, a. 1, qc. 2 ad 1m (Opera Omnia 7.b) (Parma, 1858), p. 783: "in contrition there is a double sorrow for sin. One in the sensitive faculty, which is the passion; and here it is not essentially contrition, as an act of virtue, but rather an effect of it [...] There is another sorrow in the will, which is nothing other than the displeasure of some evil, as the affections of the will are named by the names of the passions [...] and so contrition is sorrow by its essence, and is the act of the virtue of repentance." ("*in contritione est duplex dolor de peccato. Unus in parte sensitiva, qui passio est; et hic non est essentialiter contritio, prout est actus virtutis, sed magis effectus ipsius* [...]. *Alius dolor est in voluntate, qui nihil aliud est quam displicentia alicujus mali, secundum quod affectus voluntatis nominatur per nomina passionum* [...] *et sic contritio est dolor per essentiam, et est actus virtutis poenitentiae*"); and Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *In IV librum Sententiarum*, d. XVI, p. I, a. I, q. I (Opera Omnia IV) (Quaracchi, 1889), pp. 383–384: "sorrow has a twofold signification: dissent of the will and the consequent feeling; the former is the essence of contrition, the latter is its effect." ("*dolor dicitur dupliciter: uno modo ipse dissensus voluntatis, alio modo passio resultans in sentientem ex illo dissensu, per quam prorumpit homo in lachrymas; et ille dissensus est de essentia contritionis, sed illa passio est effectus eius*"). In another passage, Bonaventure distinguishes a movement of the will in contrition, *dolor per essentiam*, from a *passio* which is instead defined as *dolor per concomitantiam*, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *In IV librum Sententiarum*, d. XVI, p. I, a. I, q. II, p. 386.

15 In both cases, the reference is scriptural: Jer. 6, 26: "morn with bitter wailing as for an only son" ("*Luctum unigeniti fac tibi planctum amarum*") and Joel 1, 8: "sob like a virgin who is dressed in black clothes, given that she is sad because she has lost the young man she was going to marry." ("*Plange quasi virgo accincta sacco super virum pubertatis suae*").

human affections, confirmed by experience, together with a shared awareness that people suffer more over the loss of earthly than spiritual goods, over the loss of an earthly rather than a heavenly father.[16] It was also noted that some are more sensitive than others, by nature or temperament, and these individuals have a natural "tenderness" ("*teneritudo*"), and may thus suffer more for the same sin than others equipped with an equally natural "hardness or heaviness" ("*duritia vel spissitudo*").[17] In the face of these problems, the distinction between rational and emotional pain is especially useful. Without going into the details of the individual theological analyses concerned, it was believed that the presence of rational and voluntary pain – the essence of

16 See, for example, the disconsolate consideration of William of Auvergne: "Now a question arises about the sorrow of contrition and the other motions which we have mentioned, because in a few penitents they seem to be strong, vigorous, and powerful enough to crush the old man but in many others they are so weak that these penitents seem almost insensitive and even perverse and ridiculous; in them, the pain of the loss of a small temporal thing is so great and so sensitive, that it is almost inconsolable, when the pain for the loss of God and eternal inheritance, except in the few and rarest repentants, is almost insensitive. Further. For the loss of a carnal father, or of a brother, who does not see the inconsolable pains, and the screams, and the intolerable cries of men? For the loss of a spiritual father, God, and of a spiritual brother, that is, of himself, how light is the pain, how rare the tears, how easily they dry up?" ("*Quod autem quaeritur de dolore contritionis, et aliis motibus quos nominavimus, quia in paucis poenitentibus videntur esse fortes, validique et potentes ad conterendum veterem hominem; in multis vero adeo debiles, ut pene insensibiles videantur, videntur etiam perversi et ridiculosi: tantus enim dolor est de amissione modicae rei temporalis, adeoque sensibilis, ut sit pene inconsolabilis; de amissione Dei et aeternae haereditatis, praeterquam in paucissimis rarisque poenitentibus, pene insensibilis est dolor. Amplius. Pro amissione patris carnalis, aut fratris, quis non videat dolores inconsolabiles, et ejulatus, et planctus intolerabiles hominum? Pro amissione patris spiritualis Dei, et fratris spiritualis, videlicet ipsius, quam levis sit dolor, quam rarae lachrymae, quam facile arescentes?*"). William of Auvergne, *De sacramento poenitentiae*, p. 468.

17 Peter the Chanter, *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis II*, ed. Jean Albert Dugauquier (Leuven-Lille, 1957), pp. 70–71: "It is said that there may well be a greater contrition in one than in another […] that majority of contrition may be either from charity or from pious ignorance, as it is said of the blessed Paula that she complained of minor sins as well as major ones […] or from a certain natural tenderness with which it happens some are more and quicker moved to tears than others, or to some compassion or compunction." ("*Dicimus quod bene potest esse maior contritio in uno quam in alio* […] *illa maioritas contritionis potest esse uel ex caritate, uel ex pia ignorantia, sicut dicitur de beata Paula quod minora peccata plangebat sicut maiora* […] *vel ex naturali quadam teneritudine qua accidit aliquos magis moveri et citius quam alios ad lacrimas vel ad compassionem aliquam, uel compuncionem*"); William of Auvergne, *De sacramento poenitentiae*, p. 465: "some are hard and, so to speak, hard-hearted, that when they are struck by a great painful wound, they feel it for a short time." ("*quidam enim sunt duri, et ut ita dicam, spissi cordis, ut magno vulnere doloris percussi ad modicum illud sentient*").

contrition – lessened the importance of the intensity of emotional pain, which could vary from very intense to just perceptible. This was not the final word on the intensity of the pain of repentance. Quite the opposite. The issue exploded once again in the fourteenth century, although it was then less a matter of the relationship between rational and emotional pain than the relationship between contrition and grace. At this point, reference was made to *attritio*, meaning a lesser form of contrition which was always considered sufficient, in the presence of grace, for sins to be forgiven.[18]

These discussions on the nature and intensity of contrition in no way imply that repentance was considered solely a matter of educating for the appropriate use of pain. It was much more than that. It was education in a whole emotional dynamic, because the pain associated with contrition was considered to be bound up with the feelings from which it derived, which co-existed in it and which it, in turn, generated. Contrition thus ushered in a complex and structured emotional system which acted as its architectural principle. When Abelard began his discourse on repentance with the argument that, if it is to be effective, contrition must derive from love of God and not fear of punishment, his is a twofold undertaking: he is imposing an emotional hierarchy on repentance (from love to pain) and asserting that this hierarchy is a conversion from an earlier one (from fear to pain).[19]

Over time, the penitential order of emotions becomes more and more articulated. The sums of penance never lack a chapter on the impediments to penance, specifically an emotional sequence encompassing the shame involved in confessing sins, fear of punishment, desire to avoid divine justice and desperation over the impossibility of forgiveness.[20] Converted to a new end—just as Augustine taught—, all these emotions give rise to a new emotional order

18 Hyacinthe-François Dondaine, *L'attrition suffisante* (Paris, 1943); Pierre Adnés, "Pénitence, V. La doctrine médiévale du sacrement de la pénitence," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique,* eds. Marcel Viller, Ferdinand Cavallera, Joseph de Guibert, André Rayez, André Derville, Aimé Solignac, 16 vols. (Paris, 1936–94): 12.1 (Paris, 1984) 970–80.

19 Abelard, *Scito te ipsum*, p. 58: "And this indeed is a fruitful penance for sin, since this sorrow and contrition of mind proceeds from the love of God, whom we regard as so kind, rather than from the fear of punishment." ("*Et hec quidem reuera fructuosa est penitencia peccati, cum hic dolor atque contricio animi ex amore dei, quem tam benignum attendimus, pocius quam ex timore penarum procedit*").

20 See, for example, Raymundus de Pennaforte, *Summa de paenitentia*, pp. 877–82, who lists four main impediments, *pudor*, *timor*, *spes* and *desperatio*, to which he adds "alleviation of one's own guilt, consideration of the guilt of the ancestors, consideration of the multitude of transgressors, the habit of sinning, pride of heart, delight in sin." ("*levigatio propriae culpae*, *consideratio culpae maiorum*, *multitudinis deliquentium consideratio*, *consuetudo peccandi*, *superbia cordis*, *delectatio peccati*").

which is to begin with feelings of shame for one's sins and fear of punishment and continue through hatred of one's sins, love of God and sorrow for the offence caused to him by the sin and, finally, moving on to hope of forgiveness, pain of contrition and, ultimately, joy at the remission of sin.

It was not simply a matter of learning how to transition from one feeling to another but also of feeling more than one, sometimes conflicting, emotions at the same time. An example would be fear and hope, "the two millstones that grind the Christian to make Christ's bread," as in a frequently cited extract from Peter Lombard's *Commentary on Psalms*.[21]

Another example is the co-existence of pain and joy. Considered in the literature on penance as a distinctive trait of true repentance and proof of the efficacy of the sacrament, in Thomas Aquinas' *Commentary on the Sentences*, coexistence became the occasion for a sophistical psychological analysis that anticipated his analysis of the *Treatise on the Passions* in his *Summa theologiae*. Although pain and joy are conflicting *secundum genus* – moving in opposite directions – they are not conflicting *secundum speciem*, for Aquinas, unless they relate to the same object (pain for one's sins cannot co-exist with joy at one's sins). If they relate to contrary or diverse objects, one could cause the other in accordance with the principle through which joy at presence implies sadness at absence as when the sorrow for sin coexists with the joy of the hope of forgiveness, of which it is the cause. Alternatively, joy and sorrow can coexist because one is the matter of the other, as in the case of the joy of experiencing the virtuous sadness for sin. But, however much they may co-exist, joy and pain cannot be equally intense and one will always be more perfectly intense than the other because, when the soul is occupied by one of these two emotions, it withdraws from the other and thus, in accordance with the various phases of penance, on occasions, pain will be more intense and, at others it will be hope in forgiveness, which is most intense.[22]

21 Peter Lombard, "Commentarium in Psalmos," in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1854), 191:803: "These are the two millstones between which the Christian is ground in order to become the bread of Christ, namely hope and fear." ("*Haec sunt duae molae, inter quas molitur Christianus, ut fiat panis Christi, scilicet spes et timor*").

22 Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in quartum librum Sententiarum*, lib. 4 d. 14 q. 1 a. 4 qc. 2 co., pp. 693–94.

## 2 Prayer

Another way in which men and women learn to get to know and make use of their feelings works in parallel with penance, as we have seen, and consists of prayer.[23]

The idea that feelings have an important part to play in prayer was widespread throughout the Middle Ages. For Augustine, prayer was an "exercise in desire," a "continually excited and devoted heart beat" a cry to God "not with the clamour of the lips but the affections of the heart."[24] Augustine's idea that it was the emotions which were the true words of prayer was pervasive across medieval culture. It was present with an especially powerful force in the twelfth century, when the practice of affective prayer was accepted in monastic and canonical circles, finding its most fortunate definition in the work of Hugh of Saint Victor. "Prayer," Hugh wrote, "is none other than the devotion of the mind, that is conversion to God through pious and humble affection."[25]

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23 The bibliography on prayer in the Middle Ages is very extensive; see: Jean Châtillon, "Prière au Moyen Âge," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique*, eds. Marcel Viller, Ferdinand Cavallera, Joseph de Guibert, André Rayez, André Derville, Aimé Solignac, 16 vols. (Paris, 1936–94): 12.2 (Paris, 1986), pp. 2271–88; and the collective volume: Roy Hammerling, ed., *A History of Prayer. The First to the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden-Boston), 2008). On the affective dimension of prayer: Piroska Nagy, "Au-delà du Verbe. L'efficacité de la prière individuelle au Moyen Âge entre âme et corps," in *La prière en latin de l'Antiquité au XVIe siècle. Formes, évolutions, significations*, ed. Jean-François Cottier (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 441–71. On the art of prayer and in particular on the texts of Hugh of Saint Victor, William of Auvergne and Gunther of Paris, see: Giacomo Gambale, *La lingua di fuoco. Dante e la filosofia del linguaggio* (Rome, 2012), pp. 242–58.

24 Augustinus, "Epistula 130. 17," in *Epistulae*, ed. Klaus-Detlev Daur (Turnhout, 2009), p. 225 (CCSL 31 B): "Our Lord and God does not want to know our will, which He cannot ignore, but to exercise our desire in prayers, by which we can receive what He is preparing to give." ("*dominus et deus noster non voluntatem nostram sibi velit innotescere, quam non potest ignorare, sed exerceri in orationibus desiderium nostrum, quo possimus capere, quod praeparat dare*"); Augustinus, "Epistula 130. 20," p. 227: "To pray much, on the other hand, is to knock with a continuous and devoted fervour of the heart the one to whom we address our prayer." ("*multum autem precari est ad eum, quem precamur, diuturna et pia cordis excitatione pulsare*"); Eligius Dekkers, Johannes Fraipont, eds., *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 141. 2 (Turnhout, 1956), pp. 2046–47: "The inner man, then, in whom Christ began to dwell by faith, cries out to the Lord with his voice, not in the noise of the lips, but in the emotion of the heart." ("*Homo ergo interior, in quo coepit habitare Christus per fidem, voce sua, non in strepitu labiorum, sed in affectu cordis clamet ad Dominum*").

25 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, in *L'œuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor,* eds. Hugh Feiss, Patrice Sicard, Dominique Poirel, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1997), 1:132: "Prayer, then, is nothing else than the devotion of the mind, that is, the conversion to God through a pious and humble affection." ("*Nihil ergo aliud est oratio quam mentis deuotio, id est, conuersio in Deum per pium et humilem affectum*").

Even those not accepting the identification of prayer with affection, arguing, as Thomas Aquinas did, that prayer is essentially a petition (*petitio*), acknowledged the determinant role of emotions all the same. Whilst believing that prayer, as a petition, can only be an act of reason, Thomas considered it *desiderii interpres*, a statement of the desire which precedes the petition and is its cause.[26] Thus, whether they are a condition (Thomas) or substance (Hugh) the *affectiones* were considered to play a fundamentally important role in the act of prayer by everyone.

But, what emotions are marshalled in prayer? In what sequence do they appear? The attention paid by the prayer texts to the variety and sequence of the passions is noteworthy. Some examples: Hugh of Saint Victor proposed a series of nine distinct emotions organised into three groups in accordance with the meditation theme which gave rise to them. The first group was made up of emotions deriving from the memory of God's compassion, namely love, admiration and joy, the second from the emotions deriving from a consideration of human misery, i.e. humility, sadness and fear, whilst the third comprised the emotions arising when the enemies of the soul come to mind, namely indignation, zeal, courage.[27] If there does not seem to have been a fixed sequence in this list of emotions, we can nevertheless recognise in it a progression of intensity that culminated in the *concupiscentia vehemens* and the *amor magnus* of *pura oratio*, that is, what Hugh calls perfect prayer.[28]

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26 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II, II, q. 83, a. 1: "Whether prayer is an act of the appetitive power" ("*Utrum oratio sit actus appetitivae virtutis?*"); ad 1m: "The Lord is said to hear the desire of the poor, either because desire is the cause of their petition, since a petition is like the interpreter of a desire, or in order to show how speedily they are heard, since no sooner do the poor desire something than God hears them before they put up a prayer." ("*desiderium pauperum dicitur dominus exaudire, vel quia desiderium est causa petendi, cum petitio sit quodammodo desiderii interpres. Vel hoc dicitur ad ostendendum exauditionis velocitatem, quia scilicet dum adhuc aliquid in desiderio pauperum est, Deus exaudit, antequam orationem proponant*"); see also: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II, II, q. 83 a. 12: "Whether prayer should be vocal?" ("*Utrum oratio debeat esse vocalis*") where Thomas lists, among the reasons that justify oral prayer, the ability of words to excite the affection with which one rises to God.

27 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, pp. 152–54.

28 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, p. 156: "It must be known, however, that this characteristic of extending a single affection to the whole series is not present in all the psalms, but often the transition from one affection to another occurs according to the different ways in which the mind of the one praying is usually touched by affections." ("*Sciendum tamen est hanc proprietatem in omnibus psalmis non esse ut per totam seriem unus affectus extendatur, sed sepe de alio affectu transitus in alium, secundum quod mentes orantium diversis modis affici solent*"); Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, p. 136: "Pure prayer is when, from the abundance of devotion, the mind is so inflamed that when it has turned itself to God to beg Him, it forgets even its own request because of the greatness

For Hugh, the list of prayer emotions was functional to a trajectory of spiritual perfection of which prayer was an integral part (*De virtute orandi* was written for regular canons, probably his fellows at the Abbey of Saint-Victor). The list proposed in the thirteenth century by William of Auvergne on the subject of prayer, entitled *Divine Rhetoric*, and designed for the use of the Parisian clergy and, through them, the congregations of the diocese of which he was bishop, is a list which had more to do with penance than contemplation. This list enumerates ten *affectiones* making up the repentance pain sequence or, in William's repentance metaphor, the ten medicinal aromas which made up the *saluberrima theriaca* of compunction. These were, in the following order, *timor*, *pudor*, *ira*, *dolor*, *horror*, *odium*, *verecundia*, *abominatio*, *indignatio*, *execratio.*[29]

In the fourteenth century, in *La Mendicité spirituelle*, Jean Gerson proposed a text on prayer written for a readership of devout women. This contained a list of twenty emotions culminating in love of God, the highest emotion which brought the soul into a closer and more familiar relationship with God, similar to that of a groom with his bride.[30] Later, in his texts on the "song of the

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of His love, and while it is with the love of Him whom it sees, it ardently desires to enjoy itself, and desires to devote itself entirely to Him." ("*Pura oratio est quando ex abundantia devotionis mens ita accenditur ut cum se ad Deum postulatura converterit, pre amoris eius magnitudine etiam petitionis sue obliviscatur, et dum amore eius quem videt, perfrui vehementer concupiscit, totaque iam illi vacare desiderat*"); regarding the "the pure prayer" ("*pura oratio*"), see: Dominique Poirel's comment on the text (Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, nº 32, p. 167) in which he recalls how the expression belongs to the monastic tradition; in fact it occurs in the *Regula Benedicti* (xx, 4) and is the subject of analysis in: Cassiano, *Conlationes*, 9, 3, ed. Eugène Pichery (Paris, 1958), pp. 41–43 where it is defined as a resolution of the mind in the contemplation of God.

29 William of Auvergne, *Rhetorica divina*, xxii–xxv (Opera Omnia 1) (Orléans-Paris, 1674; ed. anast. Frankfurt, 1963), pp. 362–65; about this work, see: Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Oraison et art oratoire: les sources et le propos de la 'Rhetorica divina'," in *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne* (+ *1249*), eds. Franco Morenzoni, Jean-Yves Tilliette (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 203–15; see also the recent English translation: William of Auvergne, *Rhetorica divina, seu ars oratoria eloquentiae divinae*, ed. Roland J. Teske (Leuven, 2013).

30 Jean Gerson, *La mendicité spirituelle,* in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–73), 7 (Paris.1966):238–40. The list of affections includes in order: "reverence and submission to God, fear or uncertainty or trembling, great humility, anguish and anxiety, languishing of the heart, great shame, hatred, sorrow, horror and contempt towards oneself, good anger and indignation (against sins), good jealousy, great compassion or pity, great admiration [for God], holy trust and hope, repentance, good despair, horror and loathing, holy desire or holy covetousness, sober joy and gladness and pleasure, jubilation and exultation, praise or blessing and glorification, thanksgiving, love towards God." ("*reverence et subieccion envers Dieu, paour ou doubtance ou fremeur, grant humilité, angoisse et anxieté, langueur de cuer, grande honte, haynne encintre soy meismes et desplaisance et abhominacion et detestation, bonne ire et indignation, bonne jalousie, compassion grande ou pitié, admiracion grande, saintte confiance et esperance, repentance, bonne*

heart," the music which the emotions play when they turn to God, Gerson proposed another list of the passions which echoes the Stoic classification of the four main passions, joy, pain, fear and hope, to which he added a fifth passion, compassion or pity. A multitude of secondary passions then branched off from these five passions.[31] For Gerson, the role of *compassio* or *pietas* was

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*desesperance, horreur et abhominacion, saint desir ou sainte convoitise, joye et leesse sobre et plaisance, loenges ou beneisson et glorification, regraciacion, amour envers Dieu*"). On the role of prayer and affections in Gerson's mystical theology, see: Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio, "Les passions, la mystique, la prière. Affectivité et dévotion dans la pensée de Jean Gerson," *Revue Mabillon* 24 (2013), 99–129; republished in: Casagrande, Vecchio, *Passioni dell'anima*, pp. 343–83, to which I refer for further bibliographical references.

31 Gerson, *De canticis*, II, 3, 36–40, in Isabelle Fabre, *La doctrine du chant du coeur de Jean Gerson. Édition critique, traduction et commentaire du 'Tractatus de canticis' et du 'Canticordum au pèlerin'* (Geneva, 2005), pp. 441–42: "joy (happiness, enjoyment, joviality, hilarity, alacrity, liquefaction, failure, drunkenness, satiety, pleasure, union, exultation, jump, jubilation, applause, dance, thanksgiving, praise); hope = desire for good things to come (tendency, expectation, hunger, thirst, ardour, good boldness, good wrath, good zeal, yearning, good emulation, good sigh, good concupiscence); compassion (pity, mercy, commiseration, gentleness, meekness, kindness, liberality, munificence, charity); fear (escape, good despair, good laziness, good astonishment, admiration, good erubescence, good shame, horror, agony, trepidation, fear, abhorrence of sin, nausea of bad pleasure, good disgust, good weariness of this life, reverential fear); sadness (contrition, pain, good hatred, disgust, good envy, torment, moaning or groaning, wailing, roaring, howling, languishing." ("*gaudium* (*letitia, voluptas, iocunditas, hylaritas, alacritas, liquefactio, defectio, ebrietas, satietas, fruitio, unio, exsultatio, tripudium, iubilatio, plausus, saltatio, gratiarum actio, vox laudis*); *spes = desiderium boni futuri* (*tendentia, expectatio, esuries, sitis, ardor, audacia bona, ira bona, zelus bonus, anhelatio, emulatio bona, suspirium, concupiscentia bona*); *compassio* (*miseratio, misericordia, pietas, mititas, mansuetudo, benignitas, liberalitas, munificentia, elemosina*); *timor* (*fuga, desperatio bona, segnities bona, stupor bonus, admiratio, erubescentia bona, verecundia bona, horror, agonia, trepidatio, formido, abhominatio peccati, nausea voluptatis male, fastidium bonum, tedium bonum vite huius, timor reverentialis*); *tristicia* (*contritio, dolor, odium bonum, detestatio, invidia bona, cruciatus, torsio, planctus seu plangor, lamentum, rugitus, gemitus, ululatus, langor*)"). For an almost similar list in vernacular French, see: Gerson, *Canticordum au pèlerin*, XXXIX, 4–8, in Fabre, *La doctrine du chant du cœur de Jean Gerson*, pp. 509–10: "joy (happiness, enjoyment, joviality, hilarity, alacrity, liquefaction, failing for joy, drunkenness, satiety, transformation, dance, thanksgiving, praise, glorifying, magnifying, blessing); hope = desire (tendency, expectation, hunger, thirst, ardour, boldness, zeal, emulation, sigh, concupiscence); pity (mercy, commiseration, meekness or benevolence, gentleness, kindness, liberality, munificence, humanity, clemency, mercy); fear (escape, despair, laziness, astonishment, admiration, erubescence, shame, horror, rêverie, trepidation, fear, abhorrence, nausea, boredom, resiliency); sadness (contrition, pain, hatred, detestation, envy, torture, torment, complaint, moaning, roaring, wailing, languishing, howling" ("*joye* (*leesse, volupté, jocundité, hillarité, alacrité, liquefaction, deffection par joye, ebrieté, sacieté, transformacion, saulter, regracier, loer, glorifier, magnifier, beneir*); *espoir = desir* (*tendance, expectacion, fain, soif, ardeur, hardiesse, jalousie, emulacion, souspire, concupiscence*); *pitié* (*miseracion, misericorde,*

of primary importance, as it defined love for others as based on the kinship that unites men as children of God. It was not simply a matter of inserting a Christian element into this originally pagan classification, but of finding a rule and a measure for the other emotions, thereby Christianising the entire passion system. Compassion, by flanking the other passions, converted them into spiritually effective passions, as in the case of pain, which, through pity for oneself as a sinner and for the crucified Christ, could be transformed into good pain. However, compassion also presides over the transformation of one passion into another, as when it unites, for example, sadness and fear, turning them into joy and hope respectively.[32] Finally, compassion unites the voice of man with that of God through prayer, achieving what for Gerson was his ultimate goal, mystical union with God.[33]

But what kind of movements of the soul were involved in this multiplicity of emotions in those praying? Like the pain of contrition, the feelings involved in prayer are complex and elaborate psychological processes which mobilise various soul faculties, both inferior and superior, sensibility and reason. Hugh of Saint Victor describes the psychological process which triggers prayer very well: first an intellectual phase, an untiring inner meditation which generates an awareness (*scientia*) of one's condition, and then an emotional phase, in that this self-knowledge leads to *compunctio* (inner pain at one's sins) which thus generates the repudiation of inaction, devotion and, lastly, prayer.[34]

Yet the author who best defined the diverse nature of the emotions making up prayer was certainly Gerson. He distinguished between three types of

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*mittité ou debonnaireté, mansuetude, benignité, liberalité, munificence, humanité, clemence, benivolence*); *paour* (*fuite, desperacion, paresse, espoentement, admiracion, erubescence, vergoingne, horreur, resverie, trepidacion, formidacion, abhominacion, nauseacion, ennuy, resilicion*); *tristesse* (*contricio, doleur, haine, detestacion, envie, cruciacion, torcion, plainte, lamentacion, rugissement, gemissemens, languer, ululacion*").

32 Gerson, *Canticordum au pèlerin*, XX, 4-XXIV, 4, in Fabre, *La doctrine du chant du coeur de Jean Gerson*, pp. 494–97.

33 Gerson, *Canticordum au pèlerin*, XLIX.1-LXII, 1, in Fabre, *La doctrine du chant du coeur de Jean Gerson*, pp. 516–24.

34 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, p. 132: "Whoever has exercised his mind with such meditations before the time of prayer, comes to prayer neither improvident, perhaps, nor lukewarm. For constant meditation begets knowledge; knowledge, once acquired, dispels ignorance and gives birth to remorse; remorse, once begotten, banishes laziness and gives birth to devotion; devotion completes prayer." ("*Quisquis huiusmodi meditationibus ante orationis tempus animum suum exercuit, nec improvidus fortassis nec tepidus ad orationem venit. Meditatio namque assidua scientiam parit; scientia vero parta ignorantiam pellit et compunctionem parit; compunctio autem parta desidiam fugat et devotionem parit; devotio vero orationem perficit*").

prayer which he placed in order of increasing perfection on the basis of the animal, rational or spiritual emotions (i.e., produced by soul, mind or spirit) of which they consist.

First, there are "animal" emotions, which Gerson saw as more closely bound up with the body because they arise from a sensitive knowledge or perception of good and evil. These were seen as dangerous, frequently evil, emotions because we struggle to control them via our reason or will. These emotions, strong and violent, constitute a *simpliciter devota* prayer, in which there is often no lack of tears. Gerson viewed this prayer, to which women seem to be particularly inclined, with a certain mistrust on the grounds that whilst it may seem fervent, just, holy and even sublime, it is, however, a prayer free of rational control.[35] There are also "rational" emotions which consist of a movement of the will prompted by reason, which are considered good prayer. Lastly, there are the so-called "spiritual" emotions similar to, but distinct from, the other two, in which prayer is found in its pure and perfect form, what Gerson defines as the song of the heart capable of elevating man to God. These are emotions which derive from a divinely inspired *scientia*, intellectual understanding of moral principles ensured by a specific faculty of the soul, synderesis. These could vary in intensity in accordance with the corporeal complexion of individual human beings. However, if they were nurtured, shored up and protected, they were capable of bringing those praying to mystic union with God and also of guiding the other emotions, both rational but also animal, towards the ultimate goal, co-ordinating the three types of prayer into a single great concert.[36]

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35 Gerson's mistrust of women's more fervent and passionate prayer is based here, as in other passages, on one of the most enduring topoi of gender difference, that is the natural weakness of female rationality. On Gerson's distrust (but also great attention) towards female religiosity and more generally on the complexity of his relationship with female devotion, see: Wendy Love Anderson, "Gerson's Stance of Women," in *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. Brian Patrick McGuire, (Leiden-Boston, 2006), pp. 293–315.

36 Gerson, "A son frère, Lettre-traité 'De orationis conditione atque sanctitate'," in *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–73), 2 (Paris, 1960): 196: "As prayer is concerned not only with knowledge but with affection, for that reason it is said that prayer is not a request of any kind, but a devout one; but since devotion is an affection, it is to be noted how many kinds of affections there are: one follows an act of pure intelligence, another follows a voluntary choice of will, the last is naturally rooted in sensual knowledge. The first affection makes prayer pure, the third makes it simply devout in the way that the devout person is said to be fervent; however, the second affection, the one that arises from a voluntary choice and that may be accompanied by sadness and bitterness that upset our sensibilities against our will, is sufficient." ("*Oratio sicut non solum in cognitione sed in affectione versatur, pro eo dicatur oratio esse petitio non qualiscumque sed devota; devotio autem cum sit affectio, est attendendum quot affectionum species: alia est*

Therefore, even those who prayed, as well as those who repented, had to have a perfect knowledge of their emotional repertoire and the ability to use its whole range. But that was not enough. They had a further need: to make their emotions manifest externally. Penitents did not need to manifest the pain of repentance outwardly with tears and cries because what mattered for the purposes of the sacrament was the rational pain they felt in their hearts. Those who pray, on the contrary, must show their emotions outwardly by making them visible and audible in the form of voice, word or gesture, and this because they must convince and move. Who? Certainly not God, who "trieth the hearts and reins"[37] and who knows every request made to him before it is even formulated, but themselves; it is to themselves that they must make their emotions visible in order to make them purer and more intense. It was Augustine who first wrote this and many centuries later Hugh of Saint Victor did the same.[38] As did William of Auvergne, according to whom, it is certainly

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*quae sequitur actum purae intelligentiae, alia sequitur actum voluntatis elicitum, ultima vero in sensuali cognitione naturaliter radicatur. Affectio prima reddit orationem puram, tertia reddit eam simpliciter devotam pro eo ut dicatur devotus esse fervens; sufficit tamen affectio secunda ex voluntate electa consurgens, quae cum tristitiis et amaritudinibus nos invitos sensualiter inquietantibus stare potest*"); the distinction of the passions from the different faculties of the soul also occurs in Gerson, *De canticis*, I, 2, 2–3, pp. 338–40; II, 1, 18, p. 381 e II, 1, 38–40, pp. 391-4; on Gerson's distrust of women`s overly fervent prayers, see: Gerson, *De canticis*, II, 1, 41–42, pp. 394–5: "Always consider the passions of the carnal heart more suspicious the more fervent they are; you will realise that they do not follow the restraint of reason however holy, pious, just, sublime they may appear; for, as is often the case, in them and beneath them the meridian demon is hidden. Consequently, those who are judged to be most pious in sorrow and tears, to which the female sex, being inclined, is said to be devoted, are not always more virtuous." ("*Passiones autem cordis carnalis habeto semper eo suspectiores quo ferventiores nec rationis frenum sequentes attenderis quantumcumque sancte, devote, iuste, sublimes appareant; quoniam latet in talibus aut sub talibus, ut sepe, demonium meridianum. Habetur consequenter quod non semper illi sunt virtuosiores qui iudicantur devotiores in compunctionibus et lacrimis, ad quas sexus femineus quia pronus est, cantatur esse devotus*"). The threefold typology of the passions, taken up in these texts, is first formulated by Gerson in 1409 in his treatise *De passionibus animae* in *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–73), 9 (*L'œuvre doctrinale*) (Paris, 1973): 1–25, composed in 1409, immediately after the *Theologia mystica*; see: Casagrande, Vecchio, "Les passions, la mystique, la prière."

37 Ps 7:10.

38 Augustinus, "Epistola 130.18," p. 225: "But therefore, at certain intervals of hours and times, we also ask God with words, to remind us of these signs of things, and to make known to ourselves how much we have advanced in this desire, and to encourage ourselves more actively to increase this." ("*Sed ideo per certa intervalla horarum et temporum etiam verbis rogamus deum, ut illis rerum signis nos ipsos admoneamus, quantumque in hoc desiderio profecerimus, nobis ipsis innotescamus et ad hoc augendum nos ipsos acrius excitemus*"); Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, p. 144: "Let them [the words of the

not God the *orator spiritualis* is trying to move, as God is "completely unmoving at the highest degree of stability" ("*in ultimate stabilitatis immobilissimus*"). It is to themselves that those praying must show their emotions, in order to progress and make themselves worthy of receiving that for which they are praying.[39]

The crucial tool in this self-moving operation was words, and the words of the Holy Scriptures in particular, the most effective for moving, as Augustine taught.[40] However, words are not enough to achieve this; some may not understand the meaning of certain Biblical passages, many others might become distracted and bored during the recitation of prayers, especially the Psalms. But above all, words are not enough because the outer word is in inself incapable and inadequate for expressing the inner affection, as Augustine, and many after him, would again argue. Sometimes gestures speak louder than words, as do certain body postures, moans, tears, sighs, sobs and cries, as Augustine

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prayer] demonstrate not that they reveal to God, as if He did not know them, our secrets, but that we, while expressing our inner desire outwardly, can be more inflamed to love by our own words. Therefore, devotion of the heart alone could have been sufficient for God, if prayer had not also been formed in the voice, namely to inflame the mind of the person praying to greater devotion." ("*Demonstrent* [*verba orantis*] *autem, non ut Deum occulta nostra quasi nescientem doceant, sed ut nos, dum internum nostrum desiderium foris loquimur, ex ipsis nostris verbis amplius ad amorem inflammemur. Sola igitur cordis devotio quantum ad Deum sufficere poterat, nisi ad hoc etiam in voce formaretur oratio, ut mentem orantis ad maiorem devotionem accendat*").

39 William of Auvergne, *Rhetorica divina*, 11, p. 338: "For the spiritual orator, by the prayer which he pours out before the most high God, does not intend to move Him, whom he knows undoubtedly to be the most immovable in the ultimate stability, but rather to move himself from the evil, which he is in, to good, or from good to better, which is to say, because he intends to make himself suitable by prayer that he may be granted what he intends to obtain." ("*Orator enim spiritualis oratione, quam coram Deo altissimo fundit, non intendit ipsum movere, quem scit indubitanter in ultimate stabilitatis immobilissimum, sed potius semetipsum a malo, in quo est, in bono vel a bono in melius, quod est dicere, quia intendit semetipsum facere idoneum per orationem ut ei concedatur quod impetrare intendit*").

40 Augustine highlights and shows several times the capacity of Scripture to arouse passions, see *De doctrina christiana*, IV, XX, 42–44, ed. Joseph Martin (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 32) (Turnhout,1962), pp. 148–51, where he cites passages from the Pauline epistles as examples of the elevated style capable of inducing passions; see also *De civitate Dei*, XIV, 9, p. 426, where he associates the good passions of the citizens of the City of God to the scriptural verses that provoked them, or again, a passage from the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 30, 2, p. 213, in which he encourages the faithful to identify with the psalmist's passions: "And if the psalm prays, pray; and if it groans, groan; and if it is congratulated, rejoice; and if it hopes, hope; and if it is afraid, be afraid. For all that is written here is a mirror of us." ("*Et si orat psalmus, orate; et si gemit, gemite; et si gratulatur, gaudete; et si sperat, sperate; et si timet, timete. Omnia enim quae hic conscripta sunt, speculum nostrum sunt*").

again noted. This was taken up in the thirteenth century, above all, as has been highlighted by recent studies on prayer containing significant evidence promoting and regulating the use of gestures and body language during prayer.[41] Among these, it is worth mentioning here that William of Auvergne detailed the body postures best suited to fostering the emotions during prayer,[42] adding tears, bodily afflictions and fasting to this, and concluding with a series of ways of using the voice which can help to increase devotion. These included, in this order, crying out, wailing, groaning, weeping, moaning, sighing and sobbing (*clamor*, *ejulatus*, *rugitus*, *planctus*, *gemitus*, *suspirium*, *singultus*).[43] Gerson was not to be left behind in his list of the many ways in which the body can show inner emotion during prayer. In addition to the many forms of oral prayer (from simple interjection to proposition), he also listed the various ways of using the voice (crying, sighing, moaning, crying out like animals and children), tears, actions (wringing one's hands, raising one's eyes to heaven, beating one's breast, etc.).[44]

41 Nagy, "Au-delà du verbe," pp. 453–61.

42 William of Auvergne analyses the positions and gestures of prayer in detail; he considers prostrating one's self on the ground, kneeling, opening and raising the hands, raising one's eyes to heaven, positions of the body useful for making prayer more devout and firm; he believes, however, that everyone should adopt the position that helps them the most knowing well that too many genuflections can sometimes be more of an impediment than a help to prayer and that lying down on some support, for example a stool, on the left side is the best position to calm the body and leave the heart free to turn to God. *Rhetorica divina, XXVI, Quaedam dispositiones juvantes orare volentem*, p. 365.

43 William of Auvergne, *Rhetorica divina*, pp. 374–75 (chapter 26).

44 Gerson, *La mendicité spirituelle,* pp. 236–37: "And sometimes this (the prayer) is outward without resorting to voice: sometimes it shows itself in sighs, groans, weeping, tears, regrets, wringing of the hands, raising of the eyes, beating of the breast, ranting and wordless cries, as children and beasts do when they suffer." ("*Et ce fait cecy aucune foiz sans autre voys par dehors; aucune foiz se monstre par soupirs, gemissements, plaintes, larmes, regrez, en tordant ses mains, en levant ses yeulx, en batant son piz, en brays et cris sans parolez, comme li enffanz ou les bestes en leurs douleur*"); see also: Gerson, "A son frère, Lettre-traité," p. 193: "Finally, in addition to mental and vocal requests, all external signs instituted to signify a mental emotion or concept can be called requests in a certain way, even if improperly; this is the case with the sound or movement of the air made by bells or the collision of two beams with each other, as well as the various gestures of men, nods of the eye and other human signs…." ("*Denique praeter mentales et vocales petitiones possunt omnia signa extrinseca constituta ad significandum mentis affectum vel conceptum, dici quaedam petitiones, quamvis impropie, ut est sonus vel motus aeris factus per campanulas aut asserum collisiones ad invicem, ut sunt praeterea gestus hominum varii per nutus oculorum aut aliis signis humanis.*"); See: Casagrande, Vecchio, "Les passions, la mystique, la prière," pp. 118–19.

It was thus a multiplication of the forms of prayer, some of which appeared discreet and barely tangible, visually and audibly, while others were emphatic, theatrical, almost histrionic, in which the body is highly present in various ways. This significant, at times even cumbersome, presence of the body required by the rhetoric of prayer conflicted with the requirement that prayer emotions be intense, pure and spiritual, however. Too many words, gestures, tears, moans and sighs could suffocate emotions in prayer and make them dangerously similar to everyday emotions, as happened to the women of which Gerson was wary, because they prayed too fervently and passionately, with no rational control being exerted.[45] The solution was to gauge the situation every single time and remember that words, gestures, tears, moans and all other outward manifestations served to perfect and intensify emotions which, in respect to God, the true recipient of prayer, was the only word, action and cry which counted. It was thus a matter of resorting in the first phase to words and gestures capable of expressing emotion, culminating subsequently in the most intense and pure emotion of which one was capable alone, with no tangible outward signs, of addressing God.

It is a process which was demonstrated very clearly and elegantly by Hugh of Saint Victor in his prayer treatise *De virtute orandi*, in reference to words but also applicable to the other outward signs of prayer emotion. For Hugh, the most effective prayer, the *oratio pura*, consisted of emotion so intense as to be impossible to express in words. However, this intense emotion, he explained, can be triggered in those who pray with words only. This apparent contradiction prompted him to set out a hierarchy of increasing perfection in prayer in which the greater the emotional fervour, the lesser the recourse to words. "Emotion," wrote Hugh, "has this characteristic that the greater and more intense it is inwardly, the less it can be expressed in outward words" (*per vocem*).[46] Thus, the more words foster emotional intensity, the less they are capable of expressing it. Hugh returned to the Augustinian theme of the inadequacy of the outward word to express inner passion and exemplified it in a series of cases *in crescendo*: from sentences articulated in propositions, a complete discourse in which one initially addresses God, to prayer entrusted to a single verb (such as *respice*, *miserere*, *fac*) or to a single noun (*refugium meum*, *Deus meus*), as in the case of perfect prayer, the *oratio pura*. However, the series

45 See above note 36.

46 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, p. 136: "For affection has this peculiarity, that the greater and more fervent it is within, the less it can be expressed externally by the voice." ("*Affectus enim hoc proprium habet, quod quanto maior et ferventior intus est, tanto minus foris per vocem explicari potest*").

of examples does not end there and continues to the final stage when the *oratio pura* is transformed into jubilation (*iubilum*), an inarticulate sound without words, which Augustine called the voice of exultation capable of expressing the joy of the soul that words cannot express.[47]

## 3 Conclusion

To conclude this analysis of education for the good use of the passions in penance and prayer between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, a few words on those who, although necessarily present in these pages, remain undefined, as are their thoughts and actions, i.e. the recipients of this extensive and detailed sentimental education. From the texts I have analysed, I cannot know whether, how and to what extent clerics, monks, friars and, above all, lay people shared the doctrines and models of affectivity that were proposed to them. This question can only be answered, as has been done in many studies in recent years, on a case-by-case basis, according to specific times, spaces and contexts and by resorting to textual traditions and sources (chronicles, narrative works, images) other than the theoretical and normative ones analysed here.

From my point of view, I can only propose a few hypotheses. It is difficult to imagine that all the penitents who approached the sacrament of penance in those centuries and all the believers who addressed their prayers to God experienced the complex emotional dynamic required of them with full awareness and participation. As far as penance is concerned, a certain distance must be kept between the theory and practice of the sacrament, in which a certain mechanicalness must often have prevailed. Doctrines such as that, mentioned earlier, of *attritio sufficiens*, which require little emotional involvement on the part of the penitent, may have legitimised and encouraged a mechanical application of the sacrament. In the case of prayer, it should be remembered that the texts frequently addressed especially such highly motivated believers as

47 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De virtute orandi*, p. 138: "Therefore, what one does with single words seems to belong to pure prayer […] so that pure prayer becomes more jubilant and draws nearer to God, arrives more quickly [to its goal], and more effectively obtains [what it asks for]." ("*Illud igitur quod solis nominibus fit ad puram orationem pertinere videtur* […] *ita ut pura oratio magis in iubilum convertatur et appropinquet Deo, perveniat citius et efficacius obtineat*"). On the jubilation in augustinian texts, see: Cecilia Panti, "'Verbum cordis' e 'ministerium vocis': il canto emozionale di Agostino e le visioni sonore di Ildegarda di Bingen," in *Harmonia mundi. Musica mondana e musica celeste tra Antichità e Medioevo*, eds. Marta Cristiani, Cecilia Panti, Graziano Perillo (Florence, 2007), pp. 167–99, in particular pp. 181–89.

those who had embarked on a process of spiritual perfection in one of the religious orders or lay devotional groups. For all of them, the practice of prayer had an importance and centrality hardly comparable to what prayer could have in the daily lives of ordinary believers.

However, if the success of the emotional education promoted by the Church must be verified in relation to specific moments and users, the wide dissemination of the literature produced over the centuries in support of this education is such, in terms of its breadth, duration and variety, as to suggest that the project was at least partially successful in responding to the needs of those, including lay people, to whom it was addressed. Indeed, when this is not the case, there remains the scope of an ambitious emotional education that claimed to teach everyone how to govern the passions by demanding that they learn to convert their entire emotional apparatus to a right end by establishing the succession and intensity of emotions and safeguarding the balance between different and conflicting emotions.

CHAPTER 4

# Emotions and Orthodoxy in Medieval Latin Devotional Writing

*William Marx*

The invitation to contribute to the special strand of the International Medieval Meeting at the University of Lleida in June 2018, "Emotions in the Middle Ages: A Historiographical Appraisal," provided an opportunity to explore the medieval Latin *Quis dabit* (also known by the longer title, the *Liber de passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus Matris eius*) for the insight that it offers into the history of emotions in the Middle Ages.[1] With respect to this subject, the text has received little attention.[2]

## 1 A Singular Text

I became aware of the *Quis dabit* and, more generally, the representation of emotions as an aspect of medieval culture and in need of critical investigation,

1 The text is edited with an introduction in: William Marx, "The 'Quis dabit' of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 4 (1994), 118–29. Modern English translations appear in: Ogier of Locedio, *In Praise of God's Holy Mother* [and] *On Our Lord's Words to his Disciples at the Last Supper*, trans. Donald Martin Jenni (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 142–56; and Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 165–85.

2 I am grateful to the publisher Peter Lang for permission to reproduce here material from an earlier essay, of which this is, in part, a revised version that has been directed to the theme of the conference: "The Edge of Orthodoxy: The Virgin Mary, St Bernard and the 'Quis dabit'," in *Fact and Fiction: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times, Essays Presented to Hans Sauer on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday – Part II,* eds. Renate Bauer, Ulrike Krischke (Frankfurt, 2011), pp. 127–39. Of recent scholarship on the history of emotions in the Middle Ages, I am indebted to: Damien Bouquet, Piroska Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, trans. Robert Shaw (Cambridge, Eng., 2018), originally published as *Sensible Moyen Âge: Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2015); A. S. Lazikani, *Cultivating the Heart: Feeling and Emotion in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Religious Texts* (Cardiff, 2015); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge, Eng., 2016); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Theories of Change in the History of Emotions," in *A History of Emotions 1200–1800*, ed. Jonas Liliequist (London, 2012), pp. 7–20; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2006).

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through my work with Jeanne Drennan on an edition of the previously unpublished *Middle English Prose Complaint of Our Lady and Gospel of Nicodemus*.[3] This text is one of many medieval accounts of the passion and resurrection of Christ, but it is distinctive – although not unique – in that it casts Mary in the role of narrator; the trial, tormenting, crucifixion, suffering, and post-resurrection appearances of Christ are all related from Mary's point of view. The only exception is the harrowing of hell, for which the compiler used the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which has its own eye-witness narrators. The *Complaint of Our Lady and Gospel of Nicodemus* began life in the late fourteenth century, in Anglo-Norman or what is now referred to as the "French of Medieval England."[4] It was translated into Middle English, and for what is effectively the *editio princeps*, the two texts, the French and Middle English, are set in parallel.[5]

The medieval author's device of presenting the passion, crucifixion and post-resurrection appearance of Christ from the point of view of Mary means that the narrative is able to show her relating these events emotionally. Much is presented from Mary's inner self: her anxiety, grief, sorrow, and even despair. She is presented as overpowered by her emotions, and there is no suggestion of a personal belief or confidence that all things will be well. Her state of mind changes only when Christ appears to her after his resurrection. Presenting Mary in this state of mind, what we would term hopelessness or despair, goes against the traditional, orthodox view that, despite her grief, Mary remained constant in her belief in the resurrection. *Figure 4.1* illustrates this idea. This is an image from a fourteenth-century English book of hours (London, British Library, MS Egerton 2781, f. 171r). Mary is shown holding the resurrection standard and embracing the church and the host in a chalice, while the disciples are in attitudes of grief and despair. A prayer serves as a commentary on the image: "Hail and rejoice most holy lady and forever virgin Mary, you who on Holy Saturday, while the apostles were in doubt, alone remained

3 William Marx, Jeanne F. Drennan, eds., *The Middle English Prose Complaint of Our Lady and Gospel of Nicodemus* (Heidelberg, 1987).

4 On the Anglo-Norman text and manuscripts see: Ruth J. Dean, Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, 1999), item 957, pp. 479–80. The Marx and Drennan edition (see note 3) is the first to identify the Middle English version and investigate its manuscripts. On the term "the French of Medieval England," see: Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "General Introduction: What's in a Name: the 'French' of 'England'," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England* c. *1100*–c. *1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 1–13.

5 The latest manuscript of the Middle English text is dated to the late fifteenth century (Marx, Drennan, *The Middle English Prose Complaint*, pp. 12–13).

FIGURE 4.1 London, British Library, MS Egerton 2781, fol. 17r
PHOTO: © BRITISH LIBRARY

constant in the faith of the church" ("*Aue & gaude sanctissima domina uirgo semper Maria que in Sabbato Sancto uacillantibus apostolis sola pro fide ecclesie constanter perstitisti*"). The image is intended to convey the orthodox idea that alone of all the followers of Christ, Mary maintained faith in the resurrection and for that period preserved the church.[6]

## 2 Passion and Despair

The presentation of Mary in this Anglo-Norman and Middle English text raises questions: what is the source or precedent for the idea of Mary as narrator and what is its purpose? More importantly, why present Mary in this unorthodox

6 Yves Congar, "Incidence ecclésiogique d'un theme de devotion mariale," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 7 (1950), 277–92; see also: Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary 800–1200* (New York, 2002), pp. 204–11. The manuscript that contains this image also contains one of the Anglo-Norman texts of the *Complaint of Our Lady and Gospel of Nicodemus* but the image occurs in the context of a book of hours.

way, as close to despair, with no suggestion of personal faith or even hope in the resurrection? In response to the last question, it has been observed that some medieval religious texts appear purposefully to push at the edges or the boundaries of what is referred to as "orthodoxy," that is, "correct opinions" or "right views," or, to be more specific, "correct theological doctrine."[7] Such instances, however, are few and each case invites investigation.[8] The argument for the importance of the *Quis dabit* for the history of emotions in the Middle Ages rests on two themes: (1) the dynamics of the emotionalism of Mary in relation to the passion of Christ in the *Quis dabit*, and (2) the question of the purposes and effects of pushing at or testing the boundaries of "what is correct" or "orthodoxy."

In response to the question of the source of the idea of Mary as narrator of the passion, it is helpful to turn to the Latin *Quis dabit* or *Liber de passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus Matris eius*.[9] This provides a model for the Anglo-Norman and Middle English *Complaint of Our Lady* referred to above. It is Mary's account of the events of the passion, and it is highly probable that this text was one of the main sources for the tradition out of which Latin and vernacular texts such as the *Complaint of Our Lady* grew.[10] For it is generally agreed that the *Quis dabit* is among the most widely used devotional texts from the European Middle Ages, and one that had considerable influence on Latin and vernacular devotional writing.[11] In some respects, the extent of the popularity of the *Quis dabit* is probably similar to that of the Latin narrative of the life of Christ known as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (*MVC*), which was widely copied and used in its Latin version and also translated into European vernacular languages.[12] The *Quis dabit* may survive in more Latin manuscripts than

7 *orthos* = right, correct; *doxa* = opinion.

8 For another text that appears to verge on the unorthodox, see: William Marx, "The 'Conflictus inter Deum et Diabolum' and the Emergence of the Literature of Law in Thirteenth-Century England," in *Thirteenth Century England XIII: Proceedings Paris Conference 2009*, eds. Janet Burton, Phillipp Schofield (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 57–66.

9 *planctibus* = lamentations.

10 See: Pseudo-Anselm, "Dialogus Beatae Marie et Anselmi de Passione Domini," in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1854), 159:271–90. On the debt of the vernacular prose *Complaint of Our Lady* to the *Quis dabit*, see: Marx, Drennan, *The Middle English Prose Complaint*, pp. 32–6 and 137–72.

11 Henri Barré, "Le 'Planctus Mariae' attribué à Saint Bernard," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 28 (1952), 243–66; Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 247–48; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion,* pp. 127–34.

12 Iohannis de Caulibus, *Meditaciones Vite Christi*, ed. Mary Stallings-Taney (Turnhout, 1997). Scholarship on the *MVC* in its Latin and vernacular forms is extensive. See, for examples, essays in: Ian Johnson, Allan F. Westphall, eds., *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ*

the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, but as there is as yet no census or accurate list of the manuscripts of the text, it is not possible to confirm this impression.

In order to evaluate the importance of the *Quis dabit* as a mirror of medieval religious culture, it will be helpful first to locate it in the context of the emergence of the cult of Mary or the cult of the Virgin; second, to explore the structure and organisation of the *Quis dabit* and ways in which its dynamics – the relationships of the parts to the whole – complicate our reading of the text; and third, to assess what an investigation of the *Quis dabit* is able to contribute to our understanding of what emotions represented in medieval devotional or spiritual literature.

In medieval manuscripts, the *Quis dabit* is most often attributed to that most famous of Cistercian monks, Bernard of Clairvaux, and in the Middle Ages it was firmly believed to have been written by Bernard himself. Modern scholarship has concluded that Bernard was not the author but that the text is by an Italian Cistercian, Oglerius de Tridino (1136–1214), who was first monk, then abbot, of Locedio near Milan in the Piedmont region. As well as circulating as a distinct text, the *Quis dabit* appears as one of thirteen meditations or episodes in the life of Mary the mother of Christ, in a work by Oglerius de Tridino, known as the *Tractatus in laudibus Sancte Dei Genitricis*, which dates from 1205. The questions that the *Tractatus* raises about the origin and status of the *Quis dabit* are not relevant here, but it is suggestive that the *Tractatus* survives in very few manuscripts while the *Quis dabit* as an independent text was widely copied in the Middle Ages and used directly and indirectly for vernacular literature.[13]

It is important to emphasise that the *Quis dabit* grew out of monastic, specifically Cistercian, meditational or devotional writing. Another related cultural context for the *Quis dabit* is the emergence of the cult of the Virgin Mary. Kati Ihnat's book, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews*: *Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England* (Princeton, 2016), argues that the cult of the Virgin originated in Anglo-Norman Benedictine monasticism of the twelfth century, and that this was the basis for the cult of Mary in medieval Europe.[14]

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(Turnhout, 2013) and Stephen Kelly, Ryan Perry, eds., *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe* (Turnhout, 2014).

13 On Oglerius de Tridino, see above notes 1 and 11. For the *Tractatus* see: *Beati Oglerii de Tridino monasterii Locediensis opera quae supersunt*, ed. Johann Baptist Adriani (Turin, 1873), pp. 1–98.

14 See my review: William Marx, "Review: Kati Ihnat, 'Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England'," *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 7 (2018), 333–34.

This argument is open to challenge but there is no doubt that Anglo-Norman Benedictine monasticism developed a highly influential picture of Mary which can be summarised in this way: Mary is presented as supremely powerful, god-like with divine or supernatural power and mercy. Although there are references in the literature to Mary as "co-sufferer," that is, one who during her lifetime as mother of Christ experienced compassion for the suffering of Christ, there is relatively little emphasis on her inner self and her humanity.[15] The reason for this is that the Anglo-Norman Benedictine picture of the Virgin is based largely on Mary's significance *post mortem*, that is, after her assumption when she was granted the status of Queen of Heaven. Mary's power and authority are demonstrated by means of her *post mortem* interventions in contemporary human life through miracles and acts of mercy. One of the important cultural shifts in the European cult of the Virgin comes in the late twelfth and thirteenth century, in the representation of Mary that is embodied in the *Quis dabit*. Here, in addition to all that had gone before, Mary's personal expression of grief and sorrow – in her own voice – during the passion of Christ is introduced. In this way of presenting Mary, the emphasis is less on her divine power and authority after her death and assumption, and more on her human vulnerability during her earthly lifetime. This picture of Mary emerges from Cistercian monastic culture and comes at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, that is, some distance from the first phase of the cult of the Virgin as found in Anglo-Norman Benedictine monastic culture. Therefore, in addition to its interest as a text, we should see the *Quis dabit* as representative of an important development in the cult of the Virgin.[16]

The second part of this essay explores the dynamics of the *Quis dabit*, that is, how the different parts and narrative strategies of the text combine to generate meaning. As noted above, in the Middle Ages, the *Quis dabit* was incorporated into the canon of the works of Bernard of Clairvaux. This is not surprising given that Bernard is cast as a principal character in the text, which is conceived first

15 Anglo-Norman Benedictine monastic culture includes the work of Anselm who, in his "Oratio ad Christum," conceives of Mary as one who openly weeps before the crucified Christ: Anselm, "'Orationes sive Meditationes'," in *Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1946–61), vol. 3, pp. 6–9, especially p. 8. For a translation, see: *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, trans. Sister Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 96. Anselm's three prayers to Mary, *Orationes* 5–7 (*Orationes sive Meditationes*, pp. 13–20) give a picture close to what Ihnat has compiled.

16 It is important to note that the divine status of Mary was also central to Cistercian culture since all Cistercian monasteries were to be dedicated to Mary as Queen of Heaven and Earth. See: *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. and trans. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux, 1999), pp. 332 and 463.

as a mystical vision. The *Quis dabit* clearly derives from Cistercian spirituality, and Oglerius imagined a situation in which Bernard, in his meditations, has a dialogue with the Virgin about her suffering during the passion of Christ. Because the *Quis dabit* has received little attention in modern criticism, it is useful to outline its structure and content, and so to try to draw out the readings and responses that it generates. A characteristic feature of the *Quis dabit* is that it is based on paradoxes, and it is sometimes difficult to detect which of these are by design and which are the result of the different perspectives that modern readers bring to the text.

It is helpful to explore the dynamics of the text in terms of an underlying structure of eight parts:[17]

1. Prologue (ll. 1–58).
2. The Virgin's account of the passion from the arrest of Christ, including the road to Calvary, the fixing of Christ on the cross, and the visualising of Christ crucified (ll. 59–122).
3. Christ's words from the cross to the Virgin and the apostle John (ll. 123–45).
4. Grief of the Virgin and John for the dying Christ (ll. 146–63).
5. Death of Christ and the grief of the Virgin (ll. 164–203).
6. Deposition; the Virgin's despair (ll. 204–23).
7. Two passages of commentary (ll. 224–50).
8. Burial of Christ, and Mary's grief (ll. 251–299).

The title, *Quis dabit*, comes from the incipit or opening sentence of the text: "Who will give water for my head and a shower of tears for my eyes?" ("*O quis dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis imbrem lacrimarum* … (l. 1)"). The sentence is taken from the Old Testament book of the prophet Jeremiah, 9:1, and there introduces Jeremiah's grief for the suffering of his people. In the context of the *Quis dabit*, the speaker, St. Bernard, prays that he will have the power to weep, to such an extent that Christ will appear to him to console him in his grief ("*ut possim flere per diem et noctem, donec seruo suo Dominus Ihesus appareat consolans animam meam* (ll. 2–3)"). He draws a parallel with the grief of Mary, who followed Christ to his crucifixion and prays to her to "pour out to me the tears that you shed at Christ's passion. And in order that I may pour out my feelings more fully about the passion of your son, our God and Lord, let us speak to one another in turn so that my tears may be more abundant."[18]

17 The line numbers refer to the editorial lineation in the edition in Marx, "The 'Quis dabit' of Oglerius de Tridino." See note 1.

18 "*Michi tamen, obsecro, lacrimas illas infunde quas ipsa habuisti in sua passione. Et ut his affluam largius de passione filii tui, Dei et Domini nostri, uerba ad inuicem conferamus*" (ll. 39–42).

Later he says, "I desire to weep; I can do nothing else" ("*Flere peropto, et nil mihi aliud libet* (l. 55)").[19] The prologue is lengthy; Bernard says to the Virgin that, as a way of knowing Christ more fully, he wants to experience the intensity of what she felt as she lamented the suffering of Christ and asks her to describe her grief by telling of her emotions during the passion of her son. Central to this dialogue is the idea that weeping is the physical expression of grief. The first part, the prologue, embodies the dynamics of what is referred to as "affective meditation" or "affective devotion."[20] Here, the speaker, Saint Bernard, wants to empathise with, or feel, the anguish of Mary; he desires to experience "compassion," that is, he desires to "suffer with" the Virgin.

## 3 Cistercian Spiritually and Affective Meditation

The *Meditationes Vite Christi* (*MVC*) referred to above is the best-known example of a medieval text that uses rhetorical strategies designed to generate or encourage affective meditation. This is from the fourteenth century, but an important precedent is found in a text from the mid-twelfth century, the *De Institutione Inclusarum* by Aelred (1110–67), abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx in Yorkshire. A recent Modern English translation uses the title *A Rule for the Life of a Recluse*.[21] In both the *MVC* and the *De Institutione Inclusarum*, a narrator serves as an intermediary and encourages the reader to imagine and feel the emotions of the Virgin as she witnessed and responded to the passion of Christ. The significant difference between these two texts on the one hand, and the *Quis dabit* on the other, is that one of the principal characters in the opening dialogue in the *Quis dabit*, that is, Bernard, prays to be able

19 On the significance of tears, see: Felix Thürleman, "The Paradoxical Rhetoric of Tears: Looking at the Madrid 'Descent from the Cross'," in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (London, 2012), pp. 53–75, see especially p. 58; Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 417–28.

20 Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia, 2010).

21 "De Institutione Inclusarum," in *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia, I Opera Ascetica*, eds. Anselm Hoste, Charles H. Talbot (Turnholt, 1971), pp. 635–82 (see the first meditation, ll. 888–1245, pp. 662–73); "A Rule for the Life of a Recluse," trans. Sister Penelope, in *Aelred of Rievaulx*: *Treatises & Pastoral Prayer* (Kalamazoo, 1971; reprinted, 1995), pp. 41–102 (pp. 80–92). Damien Bouquet, "Affectivity in the Spiritual Writings of Aelred of Rievaulx," in *A Companion to Aelred of Rievaulx* (*1110–1167*), ed. Marsha L. Dutton (Leiden, 2017), pp. 167–96; Bouquet, Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, pp. 95–6; Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 417–28; Wolfgang Richte, *The Secret Within: Hermits, Recluses, and Spiritual Outsiders in Medieval England*, trans. Charity Scott-Stokes (London, 2014), pp. 27–32.

to suffer with Mary and Christ, and in what follows, Mary relates her emotions. This strategy is different from that which is used in the *MVC* and Aelred's text. In the *Quis dabit* the audience is not asked to imagine Mary's emotions; the narrative is conceived as personal and, as such, dramatises the interior, emotional responses of Mary.

It is important to recognise that it is a male figure – albeit an exceptional male figure, St. Bernard – who asks a woman – albeit an exceptional woman, the Virgin Mary– to help him experience the intensity of grief that the Virgin experienced during the passion and death of her son. Furthermore, the emotions of intense grief are presented as essential for the spiritual experience of knowing Christ. This is the theme of Bernard's prayer at the beginning of the text. Paradoxically, however, the emotions of grief and the ability to weep are seen as exclusively human. The Virgin says to Bernard: "because I am now glorified, I cannot weep" ("*Sed quia iam glorificata flere non possum* (l. 53)"). Yet here, the emotional responses generated by grief, which are characteristically human, and not divine, are nevertheless understood as the means to the spiritual, something that is above human experience. This is one of the central paradoxes of the text: the intensely human leads to the intensely spiritual. It is plausible that this paradox is a feature of the design of the text and something that it self-consciously exploits.[22]

In the second part of the *Quis dabit*, Mary describes to St. Bernard, as if in her own words, her emotions in response to the events of the Passion, from the arrest of Christ, to the road to Calvary, to the fixing of Christ on the cross. This is the Virgin's narrative and begins with the familiar episodes of the Passion, but it gradually narrows its focus to concentrate on her own emotions and reactions. Two metaphors are central to the Virgin's account of her grief. For the first, she uses emotions associated with family relationships. For example, the Virgin says to Christ: "You have been to me a father, a husband, a son. Now I am bereft of a father, widowed of a husband, and forsaken by my child" ("*Tu mihi pater, tu mihi sponsus, tu mihi filius eras. Nunc orbor patri, uiduorque sponso, deseror prole* (ll. 117–19)"). These are familiar family relationships of deep love

22 The Virgin's statement that because she has been assumed into Heaven she cannot weep, that is, express the emotions of grief physically, could suggest that all emotions are excluded from Heaven. In other words, emotions in general are to be understood as exclusively human. This idea needs further exploration, but it is useful to take the example of the Middle English *Pearl* in which a father, in a vision, has a dialogue with his daughter who, having died, now has a place among the daughters of Christ. While the father is driven by emotions, the daughter remarkably expresses and demonstrates no emotions of any kind. See Marx, "The Edge of Orthodoxy," p. 137.

and affection, and in invoking these, the text uses the device of paradox to suggest the intensity of the Virgin's relationship to Christ. The other central metaphor is speech itself. The Virgin says that her grief was so great that she lost the power to express herself, a form of the inexpressibility topos. Mary says:

> My whole voice had almost perished, but I poured out the sorrows and sighs of my grief. I wanted to speak but grief destroyed my words because the great pain in my heart called back as yet unfinished the words that I had already conceived in my mind while the words strove to be formed by my mouth. The voice of my sadness sounded abroad declaring the wounds of my mind. Love produced words that seemed harsh, for the tongue, the mistress of the voice, had lost the power of speech.[23]

This is an extended metaphor about the impossibility of expressing grief. Yet, paradoxically, what follows is speech or an expression of grief by the Virgin. Here again the dynamics of the text depend on a paradox, and, in this instance, it can be argued that the paradox is purposeful and part of the design of the text itself. The *Quis dabit* reveals a picture of profound human emotion in ways that few medieval texts are able to do; the Virgin's grief is laid bare for the audience. At the same time, the text is highly rhetorical. Its author was well practised in the arts and devices of persuasion. Grief is difficult to express, and it is a commonplace that one needs to turn to others literally "to find the words to express what one feels."

## 4 Orthodox Spiritual Emotions?

The third part of the text introduces yet another complication into a reading of the *Quis dabit*. This consists of the words of Christ to the Virgin from the cross, and the tone is surprisingly matter-of-fact:

> Through the fault of one man all his descendants perished; all now are saved through the merit of one man […] Woman, do not weep, do not

23 "*Vox mea fere perierat omnis, sed dabam gemitus suspiriaque doloris. Volebam loqui, sed dolor uerba rumpebat quia uerbum iam mente conceptum, dum ad formationem pertendere oris, ad se imperfectum reuocabat dolor non minimus cordis. Vox triste sonabat oris uulnus denuncians mentis. Verba dabat amor que raucum sonabant, nam lingua, uocis magistra, perdiderat loquendi*" (ll. 84–9). On a different passage, see: Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion*, pp. 426–27.

> mourn, most sweet mother. I do not desert you; I will be with you for all time. But, according to the flesh, I am subject to the power of death; according to my divinity, I am, I was, and I will be immortal and without sorrow.[24]

This passage is a lesson in the basics of orthodox theology of the redemption, and it is remarkably free from emotion. Indeed, Christ tells his mother not to weep and that she should not be mourning or grieving for him. This part introduces a different voice and different perspective into the text. It is the voice of reasoned theological argument. It contradicts what has gone before and any sense of the value and purpose of affective devotion. St. Bernard is shown at the beginning to want to understand and feel something of the emotion of the Virgin at the crucifixion of Christ so that he might understand and feel love for Christ. In this third part of the *Quis dabit*, however, the value of desiring to establish emotional bonds with the suffering Christ is implicitly questioned, and in its place are the facts of Christian doctrine. In this way, Part 3 introduces a further complication into our reading of the text.

The remainder of the text does not use Mary as narrator, but there is no doubt that what is related about her state of mind is to be understood as the expression of the Virgin's emotions, as if the second part is enough to indicate that all the other parts that convey the Virgin's emotional responses are personal. Another complication is that the fourth, fifth, and sixth parts of the *Quis dabit*, leading to Christ being taken down from the cross – the Deposition – take no account of what is said in Part 3. In this sequence, the grief of the Virgin is shown to be more intense, and it culminates in the sixth part with what can only be described as a state of absolute despair. That this is the effect that this part of *Quis dabit* had on some medieval readers is shown by the addition in some manuscripts containing the text – dating from as early as the mid-thirteenth-century– of the idea that the Virgin was in an emotional state of such hopelessness or despair that she wanted to commit suicide: "… nothing else remains (for me) but that I should kill myself because I am not able to live any longer. Come to me and pour out again your holy spirit upon me."[25]

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24 "*Vnius ob meritum, ceteri periere minores; saluantur cuncti nunc unius ob meritum.* […] *Noli flere, mulier, noli flere, dulcissima mater. Non te desero, tecum ero omni tempore seculi. Sed secundum carnem subiaceo imperio mortis; secundum diuinitatem sum, fui, et ero immortalis et impassibilis*" (ll. 132–38).

25 "*… nichil aliud restat nisi ut me interficiam quia plus uiuere non possum. Succur*[*i*]*te mihi & tuum sanctum spiritum in me iterim infunde*" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 750, fol. 123r).

This addition is finely judged: the prayer for the help of the Holy Spirit shows that Mary is not entirely overcome by despair, and yet the reference to suicide suggests the extent of her grief, which is what this part of the text aims to convey.[26]

Yet a further complication comes in the seventh part, which begins:

> Whoever wants to say so, let him say, if he can, how great was the grief that the Virgin endured. I do not believe that it is possible to describe her grief; nevertheless, this grief was right [or appropriate], demonstrating as it did the extent of her love. She did not despair, but piously and justly mourned the one whom she as a virgin bore; she grieved at the death of the just one, maintaining hope, nevertheless, that he would arise on the third day.[27]

As has been pointed out, it is a commonplace in medieval religious writing – and the theme is expressed visually (*Figure 4.1*) – that from Good Friday to Easter, the Virgin maintained the faith of the Church in the resurrection of Christ while others doubted. For much of the time, the text shows the depth and intensity of the Virgin's emotions, her grief, leading, as it would seem in the sixth part, to despair. Then, at this point, the text says that she maintained hope and faith in the resurrection. It is difficult to reconcile these different points of view in a reading of the text, and it is significant that this passage – Part 7 – does not appear in some later witnesses of the *Quis dabit*, as if not all medieval scribes and readers could accommodate these two contradictory perspectives on the Virgin's grief.[28]

Another point of orthodoxy that Part 7 invokes is that, because of their nature, angels do not experience grief:[29]

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26 On representing despair, see: Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Transmitting Despair by Manuscript and Print," in *Crying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Elina Gertsman, pp. 249–66; see especially pp. 249–57.

27 "*Dicat, si potest, quicumque dicere cupit, quam Christi mater tenebat mensuram doloris. Virginis dolorem posse narrari non credo; tamen, rectus erat amoris continens modum. Non desperabat, sed pie iusteque dolebat quem genuit uirgo; in iusti morte dolebat, sperans tamen ipsum tercio resurgere die.*" (ll. 227–31).

28 The evidence comes from the nineteenth-century printing of the *Quis dabit*, based on late medieval witnesses – four early printed texts – edited by: Wilhelm Mushacke, *Altprovenzialische Marienklage des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1890), pp. 41–50.

29 Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 2 vols, ed. Ignatius C. Brady (Grottaferrata, 1971 (3rd edition, 1981), 1:365–66 (book 2, distinction 8, chapter 1).

> Certain holy women with her, of whom there were few, and a small number of men who lamented for Christ, mourned with the Virgin mother. At the same time there were angels mourning with her, mourning if indeed it was possible for them to mourn. They mourned with pious and just grief. They were suffering with her, in grieving for Christ in his death and rejoicing that through him the human race was redeemed. They wept, as I think, troubled most severely in mind because they saw the mother of Christ bound by such grief. Oh, who among the angels or archangels, against their nature, would not weep when contrary to his nature the immortal God lay dead as man? I believe, because of this, and I say, that they wept if they were able to weep. But just as it was possible for God to die, having assumed man, so it was possible for the blessed angels to mourn the death of their Lord.[30]

Although it is not in the nature of angels to weep or feel grief, it is believed that they wept for the death of Christ. This reference makes the Virgin's profound grief understandable, and, at the same time, endorses the characteristically human act of weeping or lamentation. In this one event of universal significance – the death of Christ – divine beings expressed human emotions, and, for the audience, this has the effect of validating the expression of human emotions as an act of devotion.

The final part of the *Quis dabit*, Part 8, is the burial of Christ, and here the grief of the Virgin is as intense as it is elsewhere in the text, and briefly, the Virgin takes possession of the body of Christ and prays to be buried with her son:

> While Joseph and Nicodemus were laying down the Lord in his tomb, the sad mother wished to be buried with her son. She clung to her beloved, embracing him with all the tenderness of her love, and kissing him warmly she said "Pity me, pity me at least, my friends! Leave him to me a little longer so that I may see his face without this veil, so that in seeing

30 "*Quedam cum illa plorabant femine sancte quarum paruus erat numerus paucusque uirorum qui lugerent Christum simul cum uirgine matre. Erant et angeli simul cum illa dolentes, dolente tamen si poterat esse dolentes. Dolebant quidem pio et iusto dolore. Compatiebantur in morte Christo dolendo, quo redimebatur, gaudentes, genus humanum. Flebant, ut arbitror, amarissime mente turbati quia matrem Christi tanto uidebant dolore teneri. O, quis angelorum uel archangelorum contra naturam illic non flesset vbi contra naturam immortalis Deus mortuus homo iacebat? … Credo, propter quod et loquor, quia dolebant si dolere ualebant. Sed sicut possible fuit Deum per assumptum hominem mori, ita possibile fuit angelos beatos in morte dolere Domini sui*" (ll. 232–50).

> him I may be comforted a little. Do not so quickly hand him over to the tomb; give him to his wretched mother that I may have him with me, or at least his dead body. Or, if you place him in the tomb, bury me, a wretch, with him, because after he has gone, I will always grieve."[31]

This is a picture of profound grief and despair.

What might the *Quis dabit* suggest about how the representation of emotions could function in medieval devotional or spiritual culture? As argued above, the *Quis dabit* is built around paradoxes and contradictions and therefore lends itself to different readings. One of the most striking features is the extent to which the text exposes the suffering and tormented mind of the Virgin, her inner emotional turmoil. This is the most affective aspect of the text. Mental suffering is characteristic of the way female religious experience is often portrayed in the Middle Ages, from the Virgin to the English mystic Margery Kempe and other late medieval holy women. It has been argued that portraying women's religious experience as highly emotional was a male construct, and ultimately misogynous.[32] I am not convinced that this is true for the *Quis dabit*, for the grief of the Virgin is shown to be something that no less a figure than Bernard of Clairvaux longed to experience. The text places a high value on the human emotional experience of grief, and it is not exclusively female. The Virgin's grief is conceived in human terms, that is, in the terms of love for a member of one's family: son, father, husband. This is one of the controlling paradigms of the text.

The principal contradictions or paradoxes within the dynamics of the text emerge because of Parts 3 and 7, which express orthodoxy. In Part 3, in his words from the cross, Christ compels Mary not to weep, and explains the purpose of his death in the scheme of redemption. This is orthodoxy, the "right opinion" or "correct understanding" of the redemption. In Part 7, we are told that the Virgin's very human reactions were tempered all the while by faith in the resurrection, another instance of orthodoxy.

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31 "*Dum Joseph et Nichodemus Dominum ponerent in sepulchrum, uolebat mesta mater simul sepeliri cum illo. Hec erat innixa super dilectum suum, amplectens illum, et cum omni amoris dulcedine deosculans ipsum, dicebat, 'Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltim uos amici mei'*" (Job 19.21). "*Illud adhuc paululum relinquite michi ut faciem illius subtracto uelamine ualeam contemplari. Nolite eum tam cito tradere sepulture; date illum misere matri sue ut habeam illum mecum uel defunctum. Aut si illum deponitis in sepulchro, me miseram, sepelite cum illo; male post eum supererit*" (ll. 259–67).

32 Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 111–44 (chapter 4, "Gender and the Representation of Women in Medieval Passion Narratives").

What function do these expressions of orthodoxy have and how do they relate to the other parts of the text? Part 3 provides a doctrinal context for the Virgin's account of her grief; it gives meaning to the events. The passage, however, is also out of tune with the rest of the text, and even though it is part of the drama of the crucifixion, it in no way affects the Virgin's reactions, which appear to contradict what are patently orthodox teachings.

The *Quis dabit* is preoccupied with the Virgin's state of mind, her emotions, and examines these in minute detail. In the 1930s, in *The Allegory of Love*, C. S. Lewis opened up the subject of how the Middle Ages explored and presented human emotions and human psychology. For this project, Lewis adopted the concept of "courtly love" from the nineteenth-century French scholar of medieval romance Gaston Paris, but he took Paris's ideas much further. Lewis's principal text for his exploration of the dynamics of human emotions was the first part of the *Roman de la Rose*, by Guillaume de Lorris, which appeared around 1230, that is, twenty-five years after the latest possible date for the compilation of the *Quis dabit*.[33] The *Roman de la Rose* explores the psychology of two individuals as they experience the emotions surrounding human love for the first time. In the midst of one of the many crises that the male figure, the Dreamer or Lover, experiences, Reason enters and advises that he should abandon the folly of human, romantic love, and should cast his mind on higher things. The Dreamer at first recognises the truth of what Reason says, but nevertheless ignores Reason's advice and continues with his love experience, which leads him into a state of hopelessness or despair, much like that of the Virgin in the *Quis dabit*. The nature and role of Reason in the *Roman de la Rose* has been a continuing subject of debate. Is Reason a figure of authority and is the Dreamer's action in ignoring Reason an act of folly? Or, is Reason one state of mind, and is the text meant to show that human emotions are ultimately more powerful? In these respects, the *Roman de la Rose* can be compared to the *Quis dabit*. The statements of the doctrine of the redemption that make up Part 3 of the *Quis dabit* are of course authoritative in the sense that they reflect Christian orthodoxy, but the text also shows that human emotions and reactions are equally important as part of religious or spiritual life. The dynamics of the text work to suggest that one can know the truth of doctrine intellectually, but that the spiritual experience is more complex than that, and includes other

33 *The Allegory of Love* was first published by Oxford University Press in 1936 and has been constantly in print. The main chapters of interest here are the first three (pp. 1–156) of which the third chapter is Lewis's reading of the *Romance of the Rose*. *Le Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean à Meun*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 5 vols. (New York, 1965; first published 1914–24); *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Charles Dahlberg (Princeton, 1971).

aspects of human psychology, what might be called the irrational or emotional aspects of human feeling.[34] The argument here is that Part 3 of the *Quis dabit* disrupts and contradicts the direction of the text as a whole, but is purposeful in doing so, and is thus an important feature of the dynamics of the text.

As for Part 7, which stresses that the Virgin maintained faith in the resurrection, I can understand why some medieval scribes or medieval editors removed it from the *Quis dabit*.[35] I have no doubt that it is original to the text, but it seems to represent a retreat into orthodoxy from what the text had so successfully developed, namely a credible picture of human grief, and had opened up hidden depths of human emotions. I am speculating that Oglerius had begun to realise the power of human emotions and was unsure about what he had discovered and so sought to neutralise this by resorting to a commonplace of orthodoxy.

## 5 A Spiritual Legacy

The *Quis dabit* has a legacy in Latin and vernacular literature, much of which has yet to be explored. The following passage from a Middle-English stanzaic version of the *Quis dabit* reveals how one compiler dealt with the problem of Part 7:

> [first stanza] His love had bound me so firmly when I could not help weeping uncontrollably that it was always in my mind that he would arise on the third day. He instilled in me the true belief and I understood how I should conduct myself. I knew well enough that in the end I should see him among all his followers. [second stanza] And yet, Bernard, I was not able to cease from weeping sorely. I wrung my hands and tore my hair when he lay dead in front of me. I say truly, and I swear to it that if angels have any capacity for sorrow, they would weep many tears because of what I saw there.[36]

34 Damien Bouquet, Piroska Nagy (*Medieval Sensibilities*, pp. 128–29 (chapter 5)) refer to Gaston Paris and his formulation of the concept of "courtly love" but fail to appreciate how the dynamics of Love and Reason are played out in Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*.

35 See above, note 28.

36 "[*first stanza*] *His loue hedde bounde me so faste/ Þo wepen I moste in alle wyse,/ Hit was euere in my gast/ Þe þridde day he scholde aryse./ Þe rhite beleeue on me he caste,/ And I conceyuede þe rihte asyse./ Ich wuste ful wel ate laste/ I schulde hym seo among alle hise./* [*second stanza*] *And 3it my3t I not forbere,/ Bernard, forto wepe sore;/ Myn hondes I wrong;*

This Middle English stanzaic version of the *Quis dabit* was translated from an Anglo-Norman source which was in turn derived from the Latin text. It is of interest for a number of reasons. First, whereas Part 7 is presented by an anonymous narrator in the Latin, and in the Anglo-Norman the narrator is St. Bernard – in itself an interesting innovation –, in the Middle English, Mary is the speaker and thus Part 7 has been internalised and conceived in terms of a personal psychological conflict. In the first stanza, Mary acknowledges that she had faith in the resurrection and realised that she should not indulge in grief. Christ had instilled in her "rhite beleeue," that is, the correct belief, orthodoxy. In the second stanza, however, Mary presents her human side; no matter that she understood what she was to believe, she could not escape her grief and the power of her emotions. These two stanzas – exclusive in their conception to the Middle English version – dramatise the tension between orthodoxy and human emotions that is a central feature of the *Quis dabit*.

The *Quis dabit* is one of those texts referred to earlier in which the author or compiler, temporarily, ignored correct doctrine or orthodoxy. Inadvertently, he had brought the subject of the Virgin's grief to the edge of orthodoxy and taken it into an area that contradicted orthodox notions of how a figure such as the Virgin would react in grief. In the *Quis dabit* there is for the reader a conflict because there are two figures of authority, that is, Christ with his speech from the cross, and Mary whose account this is. One of these figures of authority is consumed by emotion and is shown to reach a state of despair.

The *Quis dabit* has the features of something experimental, but it was an experiment that got out of hand and implicitly challenged orthodoxy. Nevertheless, the *Quis dabit* seems to have struck a chord with medieval culture precisely because it appeared to give free rein to the imagination to explore the extremes of human emotion. Peter Dronke argued that it was in vernacular literature of the passion that medieval authors had more freedom to express the extremes of the emotions of Mary, but there can be little doubt that the Latin *Quis dabit* developed the most profound picture of the Virgin's emotional state at the Passion of Christ.[37]

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*myn her I tere,/ Whon he lay ded me before./ I sei3 wel, I durste swere,/ 3if eny serwe in angeles were/ Þei mi3te wepe mony a tere/ For þe del þat I seih þere*." "Þe Lamentacioun þat was bytwene vre lady and seynt Bernard," in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, Part 1, ed. Carl Horstmann (Early English Text Society, Original Series 98) (London, 1892; reprinted 1975), pp. 297–328 (ll. 641–56). On this text see: William Marx, "The Middle English Verse 'Lamentation of Mary to Saint Bernard' and the 'Quis dabit'," in *Studies in The Vernon Manuscript*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), pp. 137–57.

37 "Laments of the Maries: From the Beginning to the Mystery Plays," in *Idee, Gestalt, Geschichte: Festschrift Klaus von See*, ed. Gerd Wolfgang Weber (Odense, 1988), pp. 89–116.

It may be thought a final paradox that a text that was composed as a meditation for cloistered Cistercian monks, "far from the community of men", should have such a widespread readership or generate such a large textual community. In the light of Barbara Rosenwein's work, there is every reason to see the *Quis dabit* and its descendants in vernacular writing as one of the links in a broad and diverse "emotional community" descending from Cistercian monastic culture.[38]

38 Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 2: "I postulate the existence of 'emotional communities': groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression, and value – or devalue – the same related emotions." In their discussion of affective devotion in Aelred of Rievalux's *De Institutione Inclusarum*, Bouquet, Nagy (*Medieval Sensibilities*, p. 96) remark: "… the rising spiritual value of emotion and, what is more, the measuring of its worth by the quality of what was felt allowed for a form of deterritorialisation. The unique communal dynamic of monasticism was far from exhausted. But by becoming more intimate, it became more universal, preparing the ground for these models to spread beyond the cloistral walls."

CHAPTER 5

# The Art of Courtly Love as an Art of Government of Self and Others

*Josep Maria Ruiz Simon*

For many years, the origins of the art of courtly love have been an object of discussion. In this chapter, these origins are explored from the perspective of the twelfth-century reception of the Platonic doctrine of the community of women and its insertion into the legal and philosophical thought of the era. The purpose of this study is to show the function of courtly love as a form of emotional control, self-government, and a means to govern others, existing within a cultural context in which it was known that Plato had wanted to authorise a love which, despite being rooted in sexual desire, could foster the cultivation of virtues.[1]

## 1 The Passage from the *Timaeus* about the Community of Women

Plato wrote that "until philosophers rule as kings in cities or those who are now called kings and leading men genuinely and adequately philosophize, that is, until political power and philosophy entirely coincide [...], cities will have no rest from evils."[2] Learned persons in the twelfth century had no Latin translation of the *Republic*, the dialogue in which Socrates, one of its characters, made this statement, although they were familiar with this maxim from other sources and, in particular, from Boethius, who quoted it in *De consolatione philosophiae* to justify the dedication to public life that had led to his imprisonment.[3] Thanks to Calcidius's translation of the *Timaeus* into Latin and other

1 This chapter has been traslated by Sarah Davies.

2 Plato, *Republic* 5, 473c-d, trans. George Maximilien Antoine Grube, revised C.D.C. Reeve (Indianapolis, 1992), p. 148.

3 Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, 1.4.5, ed. S. J. Tester (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p. 146: "Yet thou hast enjoined by Plato's mouth the maxim, 'that states would be happy, either if philosophers ruled them, or if it should so befall that their rulers would turn philosophers'," trans. H. R. James. ("*Atqui tu hanc sententiam Platonis ore sanxisti beatas fore res publicas si eas uel studiosi sapientiae regerent uel earum rectores studere sapientiae contigisset*").

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sources, these same learned persons also thought that if philosophers ruled, they would establish a society in which men would hold women in common.[4]

Until the end of the eleventh century, Plato's *Timaeus* did not arouse great passions. However, in the twelfth century, during the era of urban renaissance and cathedral schools, it became essential reading for those who, ignoring the warnings of some ecclesiastics, wanted to explore philosophy more closely.[5] In keeping with the narrative fiction, the dialogue in the *Timaeus* would have taken place the day after the one described in the *Republic*, and this is why, at the beginning of the work, Socrates remembers what had been said on the previous day.[6] The passage in the *Timaeus* that speaks of a community of women is found in this summary, which focuses on the education and way of life of the guardians. Socrates begins by remembering what he had said about the importance of physical training and music to education.[7] He then points out that he had also established that those whose mission it was to protect the city should have neither gold nor silver nor any other superfluous object, and that they should all live jointly on the salary paid to them by the rest of the citizens.[8] He adds that, given that men and women share a common nature and have the same concerns, individuals of both sexes should be ruled by the same principles.[9] Immediately after this evocation he remembers what had been instituted regarding procreation and children's education. According to Calcidius's translation, what Socrates had established and what was unforgettable because unusual was "a community of marriages and offspring, taking measures so that nobody could distinguish their own offspring, in order that everybody had the same veneration for each other as they had for the members of their own family."[10]

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4 Calcidius, *Commentaire au Timée de Platon*, ed. Béatrice Bakhouche, 2 vols. (Paris, 2011).

5 Margaret Templeton Gibson, "The Study of the 'Timaeus' in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Pensamiento* 25 (1969), 183–95. See also: Anna Somfai, "The Eleventh-Century Shift in the Reception of Plato's Timaeus and Calcidius's Commentary," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002), 1–21; Rosamond McKitterick, "Knowledge of Plato's Timaeus in the Ninth Century and the Implications of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 293," in *From Athens to Chartres. Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought. Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeauneau*, ed. Haijo J. Westra (Leiden, 1992), pp. 85–95.

6 Plato, *Timaeus*, 17a-20b, in *Commentaire au Timée de Platon*, trans. Calcidius, ed. Béatrice Bakhouche (Paris, 2011), pp. 137–42.

7 Plato, *Timaeus*, 17c-18a, p. 139.

8 Plato, *Timaeus*, 18a-18b, p. 139.

9 Plato, *Timaeus*, 18b-18c, p. 139.

10 This is the passage in full: "*Quid de procreandis suscipiendisque liberis? An uero hoc ita ut cetera, quae praeter opinionem hominum consuetudinemque uitae dici uidentur, memorabile uiuaciorisque tenacitatis de existimandis communibus nuptiis communique prole, si suos quisque minime internoscat affectus proptereaque omnes omnibus religionem*

Behind the guardian's communist way of life established in Plato's dialogue is the certainty of the grim consequences for the republic if the guardians should place their personal interests and those of their families before the common good. The institution of private property encourages the guardians to take advantage of their privileged position to become wealthier and benefit their own families. The main aim of its abolition and of the proposal to share women and offspring would be to eradicate the injustices that arise when individuals seek personal gain to the detriment of the common good. This ideal is based on the premise that both procreation and the moral perfection of citizens are political matters that can be dealt with philosophically.

The *Timaeus* gives few hints about how the "community of marriages" spoken of in the *Republic* should be established. In book 5 of the *Republic*, Socrates establishes that these marriages must be decided by lots rigged by the state, devised to guarantee the improvement of the race of the guardians. Sexual encounters for reproductive ends would thus be regulated to ensure that the best males and females unite and reproduce; simultaneously, the system would encourage those for whom the outcome of the lots was less fortunate to think that this was simply a matter of bad luck.[11] Even though the synopsis of the *Timaeus* makes reference to the crooked lots and clearly states their deceitful ends, the book's discussion is much more vague and ambiguous than the passages of the dialogue it summarises.[12] Twelfth-century readers connect with this ambiguity and, as we shall see, interpreted the text in different ways. Nonetheless, they mirrored Plato by talking about it from an androcentric point of view, understanding that the "community of marriages" in Calcidius's translation refers to the fact that the men should have women in common.[13]

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*consanguinitatis exhibeant, dum aequales quidem fratrum et sororum caritate beniuolentiaque ducantur, maioribus uero parentum religio eorumque antiquioribus auorum exhibeatur atque atauorum reuerentia infraque filiis et nepotibus debita caritas atque indulgentia conualescat?*" Plato, *Timaeus*, 18c-18d, pp. 138–40.

11 See: Plato, *Republic* 5, 459a-460a, pp. 133–34.

12 Plato, *Timaeus*, 18d-18e, p. 140: "And do you also remember how, with a view of securing as far as we could the best breed, we said that the chief magistrates, male and female, should contrive secretly, by the use of certain lots, so to arrange the nuptial meeting, that the bad of either sex and the good of either sex might pair with their like; and there was to be no quarrelling on this account, for they would imagine that the union was a mere accident, and was to be attributed to the lot?," trans. Benjamin Jowett. ("[SOCRATES]. *Quid illud, quod sine odio atque aemulatione nubentium melioribus procis melius moratae uirgines sortito obueniant, inferiores porro inferioribus? Non tenetis saluberrimam sortis fraudem curantibus in utroque sexu praefectis nuptiarum, quo suam quisque fortunam sortis improsperam culpet nec praelationem doleat alterius*").

13 This, in effect, was also Plato's point of view. In the *Republic* 4, 423e-24a, p. 99, he had already broached the subject he would later address in the *Republic* 5, outlining it in

## 2 Literal Interpretations of the Passage from *Timaeus* about the Community of Women Where Justification for Libertine Sexuality Is Found

Some documents contemporary with the first commentaries and glosses about the *Timaeus* from the twelfth century are a testament to the fact that the philosophical proposal of the community of women was already known beyond the scope of scholarly literature. For example, the Benedictine abbot, Guibert of Nogent, in his autobiographical *De vita sua* (c. 1118), recounts the case of the count and persistent adulterer, John of Soissons, who often scorned religious beliefs and who on his deathbed told a doctor who was trying to make him repent: "I have learnt from many wiser persons than you that all women ought to be in common and that this sin is of no consequence."[14]

Guibert makes no reference to Plato, but, in the mediaeval library, the proposal of the community of women, which was known about not only from the *Timaeus* but also from other sources, had for centuries been associated with Socrates and Plato. Among readers, there must have been little doubt that when Guibert put this statement into the count's mouth was referring to the author of *Dialogues*. In his account, Guibert of Nogent adheres to a literal reading of the Platonic proposal that would justify a libertine sexuality.[15] There are two possible reactions to a literal reading of this kind: approval or disapproval. Guibert of Nogent's John of Soissons approved of this interpretation and what the doctrine justifies. Many centuries previously, however, Tertullian (*c.* 155-*c.* 240) and Lactantius (*c.* 250-*c.* 325), well-known authors in the Middle Ages, had made similar interpretations while disapproving of the doctrine. We

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these terms: "Their education and upbringing, for if by being well educated they become reasonable men, they will easily see these things for themselves, as well as all the other things we are omitting, for example, that marriage, the having of wives and the procreation of children must be governed as far as possible by the old proverb: friends possess everything in common,"trans. George Maximilien Antoine Grube.

14 Guibert of Nogent, *The Autobiography of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy*, 3.16, trans. C.C. Swinton Bland (London, 1925).

15 His attribution to John of Soissons, whom he has previously characterised as a judaiser, is in keeping with a stereotype in anti-Jewish controversy: the criticism aimed at Jews for their alleged inability to interpret the Bible in a spiritual sense. Regarding this censure of the Jewish propensity to interpret the Bible *carnaliter*, see: Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Les juifs et l'écrit dans la mentalité eschatologique du Moyen Âge chrétien occidental (France 1000–1200)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 49.5 (1994), 1049–63, especially 1053–54.

cannot rule out the possibility that Guibert was thinking of such venerable apologists when he chose the words he used to portray the Count of Soissons.

Tertullian talks about the community of women in *Apologeticus* in the context of an argument designed to show Roman authorities that they should not persecute Christians because Christianity advocates or recommends some behaviours and promotes some virtues that are most desirable for maintaining unity and public order in cities.[16] To illustrate this argument, he remembers, among other things, what is said in the biblical book of the Acts of the Apostles: that the Christians, who share spiritual goods, do not hesitate to also have also material goods in common.[17] "Among us all things are common except wives," he says,[18] adding sarcastically:

> In this matter alone we dissolve partnership, in which alone all other men practice partnership, who not only use the wives of friends, but also most patiently supply their own to their friends, in accordance, I believe, with the well-known teaching of ancient sages and philosophers, the Greek Socrates and the Roman Cato, who shared their wives with friends, those wives whom they had married, perhaps with their consent, to bear children in other households also. For what care could they have for chastity, which their husbands had given away so lightly![19]

Lactantius, too, speaks of the shared community of women and offspring in the chapters of *Institutiones divinae* dedicated to the false wisdom of philosophers.[20] He is aware that Plato declared himself in favour of moderating

16 Tertullian, *Apologeticus* was an accessible work in the twelfth century. See: Pierre Petitmengin, "Tertullien entre la fin du XIIe et le début du XVIe siècle," in *Padri Greci e Latini a confronto: Atti del Convegno di studi della Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino*, ed. Mariarosa Cortesi (Florence, 2004), pp. 63–88, <www.tertullian.org/manuscripts_apologeticum/manuscripts_apologeticum.htm>.

17 Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 39, eds. Franz Oehler, John E. B. Mayor, trans. Alexander Souter (Cambridge, Eng., 1917), p. 113: "*Itaque qui animo animaque miscemur nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus.*" See: Acts 2: 44.

18 "*Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos praeter uxores.*" Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 39, p. 113.

19 "*In isto loco consortium soluimus, in quo solo caeteri homines consortium exercent, qui non amicorum solummodo matrimonia usurpant, sed et sua amicis patientissime subministrant; ex illa, credo, maiorum et sapientissimorumndisciplina, Graeci Socratis et Romani Catonis,nqui uxores suas amicis communicaverunt, quas in matrimonium duxerant liberorum causa et alibi creandorum, nescio quidem an inuitas. Quid enim de castitate curarent, quam mariti tam facile donaverant!*" Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 39, pp. 113–15.

20 Regarding the mediaeval manuscripts of the *Institutiones divinae* and their increase in popularity during the twelfth century, see: David Rutherford, "Lactantius Philosophus? Reading, Misreading, and Exploiting Lactantius from Antiquity to the Early Renaissance,"

desires and he knows that his chief intention in proposing this community was to preserve justice. However, he mocks the predictable consequences of such an institution. The image he portrays of the relationship between the proposed doctrine and the moderation of the philosophers is Aristophanic: "So that many men may flock together like dogs to the same woman, and he who shall be superior in strength may succeed in obtaining her; or if they are patient as philosophers, they may await their turns, as in a brothel."[21] Regarding the institution's declared aim, Lactantius summarises it accordingly: "The state will be in harmony, and bound together with the bonds of mutual love, if all shall be the husbands, and fathers, and wives, and children of all." But after speaking ironically about the thesis, saying that cities would be happy if they were ruled by philosophers, he reminds his reader of the vehement disagreements that happen when many men desire the same woman. He describes this Platonic doctrine as one that would destroy republics and transform them into communities of adulterers.[22]

Lactantius, as can be seen, read Plato's doctrine literally and, like Tertullian, who also read it this way, criticised it for its undesirable consequences. This was not the case, as we have seen, with Guibert of Nogent's John of Soissons, who shared the opinion that women should be common to all men. This same opinion is also expressed in the song *Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres* from another of the libertine aristocrats portrayed by the abbot of Nogent, in this case in *De gesta Dei per francos*: William IX, Duke of Aquitaine, considered by many to be the first troubador.[23]

William IX of Aquitaine's poetic works include both songs that address the servitude of love and poems in which the leading themes are married women's

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in *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters in Honor of John Monfasani*, eds. Alison Frazier, Patrick Nold (Leiden, 2105), pp. 469–70.

21 Lactantius, *Intitutiones divinae* 3.21, eds. Eberhard Heck, Antonie Wlosok (Berlin, 2007), p. 282; Lactantius, *The divine institutes*, eds. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, trans. William Fletcher (Buffalo, 1886), p. 92.

22 Lactantius, *The divine institutes*, 3.21–3.22, p. 92; Lactantius, *Intitutiones divina*, pp. 282–84: "*'Sic' inquit 'ciuitas concors erit et amoris mutui constricta uinculis, si omnes omnium fuerint et maritis et patres et liberi* […] *At idem dixit 'beatas ciuitates futuras fuisse, si aut philosophi regnarent aut reges philosopharentur'. Huic vero tam iusto, tam aequo viro regnum dare, <qui> aliis abstulisset sua aliis condonasset aliena prostituisset pudicitiam feminarum? Quae nullus umquam non modo rex, sed ne tyranus quidem fecit* […]. *Restat ut communio ista nihil aliud habeat praeter adulteria et libidines propter quas funditus eruendas uirtus est uel maxime necessaria.*"

23 Guibert of Nogent, "'Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos'," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux* 4 (Paris, 1967), p. 243; Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981), p. xv.

desire to enjoy their sexuality outside of marriage, and the husband's right to enjoy the bodies of other men's wives. *Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres* belongs to the latter group of poems.[24] In this song, William of Aquitaine openly defends the right of men to use other men's wives' *cons* (cunts), describing this as a public use of private property. With this concept, he returns to a theme in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*. However, while Ovid invites women to generously give pleasure to men who desire them, William addresses the cuckolded husbands, who lament what they metaphorically describe as unlawful cutting of wood in their forest, even though no harm to property has been done.[25] The

24 The subject of the right over the body of other men's wives also appears in the song, "*Companho, farai un vers* [*qu'er*] *covinen*," which suggests that there was a type of emphyteutic contract between the poet and the "master" of one of the women referred to in the song. The question of married women's desire to enjoy their sexuality with men who are not their own is developed in "*Farai un vers, pos mi sonelh*" and in "[*C*]*ompaigno, non puosc mudar qu'eo no m'effrei.*" These songs can be found in *Guglielmo IX d'Aquitania, Poesie*, ed. Nicolò Pasero (Modena, 1973). For a further discussion of William's use of economic lexis and concepts, see: Nicolò Pasero, "Economia della fin'amor," in *L'immagine riflessa* 13 (2004), 5–16.

25 Ovid, *Amores, The Art of Love, and Other Poems* 3.87–96, ed. John H. Mozley, 2nd ed. revised by G. P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 124–25: "Follow then, ye mortal maidens, in the footsteps of these goddesses; withhold not your favours from your ardent lovers. If they deceive you, wherein is your loss? All your charms remain; and even if a thousand should partake of them, those charms would still be unimpaired. Iron and stone will wear thin by rubbing; that precious part of you defies attrition, and you need never fear 'twill wear away. Doth a torch loose aught of its brightness by giving flame to another torch? Should we fear to take water from the mighty ocean? 'A woman,' you will say, 'ought not thus to give herself to a man.' Come now, why not? What does she lose? Nought but the liquid which she may take in again at will." trans. by J. Lewis May. ("*Ite per exemplum, genus o mortale, dearum,/ Gaudia nec cupidis vestra negate viris./ Ut iam decipiant, quid perditis? omnia constant;/ Mille licet sumant, deperit inde nihil./ Conteritur ferrum, silices tenuantur ab usu,/ Sufficit et damni pars caret illa metu./ Quis vetet adposito lumen de lumine sumi?/ Quisve cavo vastas in mare servet aquas?/ Et tamen ulla viro mulier 'non expedit' inquit?/ Quid, nisi quam sumes, dic mihi, perdis aquam?*"); Guglielmo IX d'Aquitania, *Poesie*, ed. Nicolò Pasero: "Therefore shall I tell you the Law of the Cunt, as a man who's done badly and has been repaid worse: if other things dwindle when you take of them, the cunt grows. And he who will not believe my teachings, let him go see by the wood, in a reservation: for each tree people fell, two or three grow. And when the wood is cut, it grows back thicker and the owner doesn't miss his profit, nor his income: one complains wrongly about the loss, if no harm is done. It is wrong to complain about the loss, if no harm is done." ("*IV. Pero dirai vos de con, cals es sa leis, /Com sel hom que mal n'a fait e peitz n'a pres: /Si queg'autra res en merma, qui-n pana, e cons en creis. /V. E sel qui no volra-n creire mos casteis, /An ho vezer pres lo bosc, en un deveis: /Per un albre c'om hi tailla n'i naison ho dos ho treis. /VI. E quan lo bocx es taillatz, nais plus espes; /E-l senher no-n pert son comte ni sos ses: /A revers planh hom la tala, si-l dampnatges no-i es ges. /VII. Tortz es c'om planha la tala si negun dan no-i a ges*").

examples Ovid used to persuade women not to deny men their pleasure (fire and water) are two of the same examples Cicero gives in *De officiis* to illustrate the things common to all that cannot be denied to any.[26] The metaphor William uses (wood from the forest) does not appear among these examples. However, as in Ovid's case, the song characterises women's sexual parts as an object which can be given without harm, in keeping with the way Cicero, in the same passage, characterises those things that can and must be given to anyone who asks. In *De officiis*, the things that nature has placed at everyone's disposal as common goods are distinguished from the goods that, not because of nature but for other reasons (*occupatio*, *victoria*, *lex*, *pactio*, *sors*), have become private property.[27] In William's poem, women's sexual parts, despite having an 'owner,'

26 Cicero, *De officiis* 1.16.51–52, ed. Walter Miller (Harvard, 1913): "[51] This, then, is the most comprehensive bond that unites together men as men and all to all; and under it the common right to all things that Nature has produced for the common use of man is to be maintained, with the understanding that, while everything assigned as private property by the statutes and by civil law shall be so held as prescribed by those same laws, everything else shall be regarded in the light indicated by the Greek proverb: 'Amongst friends all things in common.' Furthermore, we find the common property of all men in things of the sort defined by Ennius; and, though restricted by him to one instance, the principle may be applied very generally: 'Who kindly sets a wand'rer on his way /Does e'en as if he lit another's lamp by his: /No less shines his, /when he his friend's hath lit.' In this example he effectively teaches us all to bestow even upon a stranger what it costs us nothing to give. [52] On this principle we have the following maxims: Deny no one the water that flows by; Let anyone who will take fire from our fire; Honest counsel give to one who is in doubt; for such acts are useful to the recipient and cause the giver no loss. We should, therefore, adopt these principles and always be contributing something to the common weal," trans. Walter Miller. ("[*51*] *Ac latissime quidem patens hominibus inter ipsos, omnibus inter omnes societas haec est. In qua omnium rerum, quas ad communem hominum usum natura genuit, est servanda communitas, ut quae discripta sunt legibus et iure civili, haec ita teneantur, ut sit constitutum e quibus ipsis, cetera sic observentur, ut in Graecorum proverbio est, amicorum esse communia omnia. Omnium autem communia hominum videntur ea, quae sunt generis eius, quod ab Ennio positum in una re transferri in permultas potest: 'Homo, qui erranti comiter monstrat viam, /Quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat, facit. /Nihilo minus ipsi lucet, cum illi accenderit.' Una ex re satis praecipit, ut quidquid sine detrimento commodari possit, id tribuatur vel ignoto.* [*52*] *Ex quo sunt illa communia: non prohibere aqua profluente, pati ab igne ignem capere, si qui velit, consilium fidele deliberanti dare, quae sunt iis utilia, qui accipiunt, danti non molesta*").

27 Cicero, *De officiis* 1.7.21: "There is, however, no such thing as private ownership established by nature, but property becomes private either through long occupancy (as in the case of those who long ago settled in unoccupied territory) or through conquest (as in the case of those who took it in war) or by due process of law, bargain, or purchase, or by allotment," trans. Walter Miller. ("*Sunt autem privata nulla natura, sed aut vetere occupatione, ut qui quondam in vacua venerunt, aut victoria, ut qui bello potiti sunt, aut lege, pactione, condicione, sorte*").

are treated as private property that should be put to common use. The community of women is not a community related to property, but to use. What is in fact being claimed is a usufruct, the legal right to use and enjoy without waste, recognised by book 7 of the Digest in relation to forests, among other things.[28]

The *Digest*'s discussion of usufruct contains nothing about the common use of women,[29] but interestingly this institution was considered in Canon Law. Included in the Pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals* is a letter, the fifth of those attributed to Pope Clement, which discusses the common use of all things by Christ's disciples.[30] One of the arguments used in this apocryphal letter in favour of *communis usus omnium* is the authority of a Greek wise man who said that among friends everything should be in common and that wives should undoubtedly be included in this "everything." In the middle of the twelfth century, this letter was included in the *Decretum Gratiani*.[31] The glossators obviously knew that this wise man was Plato, and one of them refers to the passage in the *Timaeus* that deals with this subject.[32]

The *Decretum Gratiani* also speaks in a muddied and indirect way regarding the community of women. It is addressed in distinction 8, which is concerned with private property and comments on the expression *communis omnium possessio* also used by Isidore of Seville in his description of natural law in *Etymologiae* 5.4.1. When Gratian explains that, in keeping with natural

28 In *Digesta* 7.1.1, ed. Theodore Mommsen, usufruct is defined as follows: "Usufruct is the right to use and enjoy the property of others, at the same time preserving intact the substance of the same," trans. Samuel P. Scott, ("*Usufructus est ius alienis rebus utendi et fruendi salva rerum substantia.*") *The Digest or Pandects of Justinian* (Cincinnati, 1932). William characterises the wood in his metaphor as a wood for felling (*silva caedua*), which is in line with Servius's definition in *Digesta* 50.16.30: "'Wood for timber' is as some people think a wood which is owned for this purpose, namely to be felled. Servius thinks that it is a wood which grows again from the stock or the root when it is cut," trans. M. Crawford ("*pr. 'Silva caedua' est, ut quidam putant, quae in hoc habetur, ut caederetur. Servius eam esse, quae succisa rursus ex stirpibus aut radicibus renascitur*"). Chapters 9–12 and 52 of book 7 of *Digesta* refer to the usufruct of the *silva caedua*.

29 *Digesta* 7.1.3 includes slaves alongside beasts of burden among the 'things' that could be subject to usufruct.

30 Clemens, "'Epistula 5'," in *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angilrammi*, ed. Paul Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 65–66.

31 Gratian, *Decretum* 12.1.2.1. See: Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.16 51–52. Norman Cohn quite rightly says in *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, revised edition (Oxford, 1970), p. 193, that the story that explains how this statement ended up being included in the *Decretum* as if it upheld an opinion of Pope Clement is one of the strangest in the history of ideas.

32 See: Stephan Kuttner, "Gratian and Plato," in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C. R. Cheney*, eds. Christopher Brooke, David Luscombe, Geoffrey Martin, Dorothy Owen (Cambridge, Eng., 1976), pp. 93–118.

law, everything is a common good, he refers not only to the passage about the community of goods in the Apostolic Age spoken of in Acts 4: 32 and 35, but also to Plato's doctrine about the just city where nobody knows one's own offspring.[33] Both passages posed a challenge to interpreters who did not want to fall into heterodoxy, but they also provided cover for those who, without diverging from the literal sense and, in keeping with Calcidius's commentary in the *Timaeus*, played with the idea that natural justice should be expressed in the institution of positive laws, in the same way as John of Soissons and William of Aquitaine did.

## 3 Readings that Interpret the Passage from the *Timaeus* about the Community of Women as the Involucrum of an Honest Doctrine

Bernard of Chartres wrote his commentary on the *Timaeus* (*c.* 1114[-] *c.* 1124/6) around the same time that the abbot of Nogent defamed the nobleman John of Soissons, and William of Aquitaine composed *Companho, tant ai agutz d'avols conres*. In this commentary, Bernard rejects a literal reading of the passage in the *Timaeus* about the community of marriages. He points out that this subject—as Socrates himself states in the *Timaeus*—had been discussed contrary to custom in the *Republic* and so, as the rhetoric advocates, should not be taken literally but as an *involucrum*; in other words, as a discourse that says one thing but signifies another.[34] The allegorical interpretation he proposes shields itself under the authority of Augustine of Hippo and safeguards Plato from any accusation of immorality. In this interpretation, Socrates's words should not be transferred into reality in a carnal sense, but only as references to affection (*sed in sola affectione*) and the common utility (*pro communi utilitate*), namely for the defence of the state.[35] This same position was adopted some years

33 See: Kuttner, "Gratian and Plato," pp. 93–94.

34 For how the twelfth century followers of Plato understood the philosophers' use of *involucra* or *integumenta*, see: Édouard Jeauneau, "L'usage de la notion d'integumentum à travers les glosses de Guillaume de Conches" and "Macrobe, source du platonisme chartrain," in *Lectio philosophorum*, ed. Édouard Jeauneau (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 127–92 and 279–300. See also: Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leyden, 1974), pp. 13–78.

35 Bernard of Chartres, *Glosae super Platonem* 3, ed. Paul Edward Dutton (Toronto, 1991), pp. 148.80–92: "But, according to this, Socrates would seem not to have presented either a just or honest arrangement of the state. Let us, therefore, say that this was said under a veil of meaning (*per inuolucrum*), which he acknowledged when he said that this (*arrangement*) ran counter to custom. For when Socrates treats "of marriages in common and common offspring" he said one thing, [but] he meant another. And if he said that, I do

later by William of Conches who, in the *Glosae super Platonem* (*c.* 1137/44), associated Plato's doctrine with the rhetorical recourse to speak out against custom. He also excuses Plato and Socrates from the invectives of "ignorant persons" ("*quidem indocti*") who cannot transcend literal interpretation, and thus accuse these philosophers of immorality because they think that Plato and Socrates believed all women should be in common.[36]

Like Bernard of Chartres, William of Conches rejects this literal, carnal interpretation of the passage and proposes a spiritual one concerning feelings. He believes that Plato was not advocating indecency but affection, and that he did not mean that wives had to be held in common but that they should all be considered as if they were one's own wife because everybody should love the wives and children of others with the same honest, affectionate love they felt for their own.[37]

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not take that as meaning "carnally," but "in affection" only, with all baseness (*turpitudo*) put aside. [It was as if he said] I wish that in the whole state each should love another as his own son, brother, or father, and the wife of another as his own, [thus] following the teaching of the prelates in this. Concerning this idea, Augustine says that Socrates instils affection, not baseness. Or it can be understood that marriages in common [meant] that they take wives not for pleasure, but for common utility, namely for the defence of the state," trans. Paul Edward Dutton. ("*Sed secundum hoc nec iusta nec honesta uideretur ordinatio rei publicae a Socrate depicta. Dicamus igitur per involucrum hoc esse dictum: quod innuit, dicens contra consuetudinem hoc dici. Quando enim egit Socrates de communibus nuptiis et de communi prole, aliud dixit et aliud intendit. Ac si diceret, non accipio istud in re carnaliter, sed in sola affectione, remota turpitudine, quasi in omni re publicae uellem esse ut quisque ita diligeret alium ut filium, uel fratrem, uel patrem et uxorem alterius ut suam, sequendo in hoc praelatorum doctrinam. De hoc loco dicit Augustinus quod Socrates hic inducit affectionem, no turpitudinem. Uel potest intelligi communis nuptias, quod ducerent uxores non pro delectationem, sed pro communi utilitate, scilicet pro rei publicae defensione*"). As Paul Edward Dutton points out: "no direct comment by Augustine on *Timaeus* 18c-19a has surfaced but medieval commentators after Bernard would assume Augustine's benign reading of this passage" and in some specific cases they unfoundedly identify *De civitate Dei* as the source. See: Paul Edward Dutton, "Holding women in common. A particular Platonic problem for the twelfth century," in *Plato's Timaeus and the Foundations of Cosmology in Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Renaissance*, eds. Thomas Leinkauf, Carlos G. Steel (Leuven, 2005), p. 321.

36 William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem* 18c, ed. Edouard Jeauneau, p. 178 (chapter 18).

37 William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem* 18c, p. 178: "But we say that Plato had not ordered baseness, but affection. Plato did not say that these marriages were in common, but only that they should be regarded as such. I was as if he had said that each should love the wife and children of another in a good way and as thought they were his own," trans. Paul Edward Dutton. ("*Nos vero dicimus Platonem non imperasse turpitudinem sed affectum. Non enim dixit quo desset communes sed reputarentur. Ac si diceret: Unusquisque uxorem et filios alterius in bono diligat ac si sui essent*").

Taking Bernard of Chartres and William of Conches's comments into account allows us to begin to deploy the troops on the field where the hermeneutic battle over the passage in the *Timaeus* took place. On one side of the battle line, there are those who, like Bernard and William, see the proposal as an *involucrum*, which must be interpreted symbolically. The other side is divided into two groups, both of whom read this proposal literally. There are ignorant persons (*indocti*) who, in the shadows of Tertullian and Lactantius, criticise the Platonic doctrine for encouraging dishonest behaviour. But there are also those who accept it as wise teaching and take pleasure in its appropriateness or obscenity. Yet another author must take up position on the battlefield for a fuller perspective of this hermeneutic landscape: Peter Abelard.

## 4 The Passage from the *Timaeus* about the Community of Women in the Works of Peter Abelard: *Theologia Christiana*

Unlike his contemporaries Bernard of Chartres and William of Conches, Peter Abelard did not write a commentary on the *Timaeus*, but he too had read it thoroughly and he refers to the passage about the community of women in two pieces of writing: *Theologia christiana* (*c.* 1123) and the *Collationes* (*c.* 1135–40). Abelard agrees with these two authors in that the morality of the Platonic institution must be presupposed, and he also interprets this community as referring to affection and designed for common utility. The most notable difference between his reading and those proposed by Bernard and William, is that Abelard does not rely on the doctrine of *involucrum* as an explanation. Both *Theologia christiana* and the *Collationes* propose a literal reading based on the legal distinction between the right to use (*ius utendi*) and the right to enjoy the fruits and profits of the property (*ius fruendi*) to which the definition of usufruct in the *Digest* refers. This reading is more specifically based on the distinction between goods that are common *secundum usum* and goods that are common *secundum fructum*. Regarding this distinction, in keeping with 1 Cor. 7:4, it is not the wife who has power over her body, but the husband, and in the same way, it is not the husband who has power over his body, but the wife. In Vulgata, this power over the body is called *potestas*, the term used in Roman law to talk about absolute and conditioned rights of property, among which there are *ius utendi* and *ius fruendi*. Unlike William of Aquitaine, Abelard sees that this institution expresses the criteria according to which women ought to be held in common "in the sense of profit (*secundum fructum*), not in the sense of use (*secundum usum*)." In other words, as he specifies, the institution exists not for the physical pleasure they can satisfy, but for their *utilitas*, the

benefit that can be honestly gained from them. The aim of this prescription would have been "that love (*caritas*) is spread so much among everybody that each one only wants to possess what they have, children and all, for the sake of common utility alone."[38]

This interpretation must be contextualised. As we have seen, Tertullian and Lactantius used the community of women to discredit the ancient philosophers. On the contrary, Abelard introduced it in *Theologia christiana* as an example of the concordance between the moral philosophy of these philosophers and evangelical ideas. He describes the city established by the ancient philosophers as a community organised to encourage sexual containment or moderation among non-philosophers:

> The philosophers [he says] established a life of continence both for married people and for those who ruled when they organised the cities as if they were communities of married couples, when they defined how those who ruled these republics should behave and when they themselves exemplified the life of continence and abstinence that the clergymen and monks now follow.[39]

Just a few lines previously, Abelard references Acts 4: 32 and 35 about the community of goods in the Apostolic Age ("among themselves everything was common; no one claimed that any of his possessions were his own, but they had everything in common and things were distributed to each as any had need"), as well as the great commandment that advocates loving (*diligere*) thy

38 Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana* 2.48, ed. Eligius M. Buytaert (Turnhout 1969), p. 150: "He wished wives to be held in common according to the fruit and not for delight (usum), that is, for the utility to be gained from them, not for the physical pleasure to be satisfied in them," trans. Paul Edward Dutton. ("*Uxores itaque uult communes esse secundum fructum, non secundum usum, hoc est ad utilitatem ex eis percipiendam, non ad uoluptatem in eis explendam, ut uidelicet tanta sit in omnibus caritas propagata, ut unusquisque omnia quae habet, tam filios quam quaecumque alia, nonnisi ad communem omnium utilitatem possidere appetat*").

39 Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana* 2.45, p. 150: "*Instituerunt autem, iuxta euangelicam praedicationem, tam coniugatorum quam rectorum quam continentium uitam, cum et ciuitatibus quasi coniugatorum conuentibus modum uitae assignauerunt, et quales ipsi rei publicae rectores esse oporteret definierunt, et in se ipsis continentium atque abstinentium uitam expresserunt, quam nunc clerici siue monachi profitentur.*" The philosophers, who looked to promote moderation among their fellow citizens, would have reserved abstinence for themselves, which is not limited to placing desire under the power of reason but attempts to leave it behind. See: Macrobius, *Commentarii in Ciceronis 'Somnium Scipionis'*, ed. James Willis (Leipzig, 1970), 1.3–10.

neighbour as one loves oneself (Matthew, 22: 39).[40] Only then does he relate the idea that the philosophers had organised the cities as communities of married couples with wives and offspring in common, mentioned in the *Timaeus*. The passage from the Acts of the Apostles indicates that the multitude that made up the Church was one in heart and soul. According to both Cicero and Augustine of Hippo, who builds on Cicero's work, a republic is defined by a multitude of men united by an emotional or affective tie, by common utility and by justice.[41] Unravelling this thread, Abelard asks the rhetorical question whether property has ever been prohibited and the community of goods organised in such a drastic way as Socrates described?[42]

We saw previously how Tertullian had already related the communism of the Platonic Republic with the community of goods of the Apostolic Age. However, he had done so to emphasise the difference between Christians and pagans, and to arouse controversy about the discourse of the ancient philosophers: "Among us all things are common except wives," he had said. Abelard, who hoped to demonstrate the concordance between Christianity and ancient wisdom, argues that there is nothing dishonest about this institution. In response to those who see it as an invitation to adultery, he replies that in antiquity, adultery was generally condemned, a stance shared not only by philosophers, but also by poets. Their disapproval included also the passion derived from excessive sexual desire for one's own wife, which was also considered adulterous.[43] Within this context, Abelard quotes a long, well-known passage from *Adversus Jovinianum* in which Jerome evokes what the ancient

40 Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana* 2.45, p.150: "*Ciuitatum autern conuentus tanta proximi caritate iunxerunt, ut, omnibus in commune redactis, nihil ciuitas nisi fraternitas uideretur, et nihil aliud rectores ciuitatis quam rei publicae dispensatores dicerentur, ut iam tunc illam primitiuae ecclesiae apostolicam praesignarent uitam, de qua in Actibus apostolorum dicitur: Quia erant eis omnia communia, et nihil suum dicebat aliquis, sed unicuique distribuebatur prout opus erat. Cuius nunc uitae se professores monachi dicunt, cum haec omnibus recte conuiuentibus philosophi uiure assignauerint, iuxta illam de aequitate caritatis regulam: Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum.*"

41 Cicero, *De Re Publica, De Legibus, Cato Maior de Senectute, Laelius de Amicitia*, ed. Jonathan G.F. Powell (Oxford, 2006), 1.39 and 6.13; Cicero, *De officiis* 1.17.54–57; Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, eds. Bernhard Dombart, Alfons Kalb (Tournhout, 1955), 2.21.4, 19.21, 19.24.

42 Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana* 2.46, p. 150: "Has anyone gone as far in prohibiting ownership and making everything common as Socrates? In the decree introduced in Plato's Timaeus, he established that wives should also be common so that no one could recognise their own children." ("*Quid etiam amplius omnem interdixit proprietatem et omnia in commune redegit quam illud Socratis decretum in Timaeo Platonis inductum, in quo uxores quoque communes fore instituit, ut nullus proprios recognoscat liberos?*").

43 Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana* 2.46, p. 150.

philosophers (Aristotle, Plutarch and Seneca) had written about matrimony and twist what Lysias says against love in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Jerome seeks to show that love, when it becomes an unbridled passion, causes a loss of self-control and encourages irrational behaviour. The passage finishes with a sentence from Sextus the Pythagorean, "Adulter est, inquit, in suam uxorem amator ardentior," which the translator of Vulgata comments on as follows:

> Hence Xystus [=Sextus] in his Sentence tells us, "He who too ardently loves his own wife is an adulterer." It is disgraceful to love another man's wife at all, or one's own too much. A wise man ought to love his wife with judgment (*iudicio*), not with passion (*affectu*). Let a man govern his voluptuous impulses, and not rush headlong into intercourse. There is nothing blacker than to love a wife as if she were an adulteress. Men who say they have contracted marriage and are bringing up children, for the good of their country and of the race, should at least imitate the brutes, and not destroy their offspring in the womb; nor should they appear in the character of lovers, but of husbands.[44]

In keeping with Abelard's reconstruction, in the city envisaged by the philosophers, the institution of the community of women *secundum fructum* is linked to a very specific way of understanding marriage, characteristic of ancient philosophy.

Abelard, who did not have Plato's *Republic* at his disposal, interpreted Socrates's summary of the *Timaeus* from other philosophical sources, among which were Cicero's *De finibus* and *De officiis*, as well as fragments and comments on his *De republica* that can be read in Augustine of Hippo's *De civitate Dei* and Macrobius' *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*. The contrast between *ad voluptatem* and *ad utilitatem* with which the distinction between common things *secundum usum* and common things *secundum fructum* is explained, responds faithfully to Cicero's usual considerations about external goods, about the ties between utility and honesty and about the common utility

44 Jerome, "Adversus Jovinianum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. Jean Paul Migne, vol. 23, 1.49, p. 293; See: Plato, *Phaedrus* 230e-34c; Peter Abelard, *Theologia Christiana* 2.47: "*Unde Hieronymus, Contra Iouinianum libro I: Sextus in Sententiis: 'Adulter est, inquit, in suam uxorem amator ardentior'. In aliena quippe uxore omnis amor turpis est, in sua nimius'. Sapiens uir iudicio debet amare coniugem, non affectu. Reget impetus uoluptatis, ne praeceps feratur in coitu. Nihil est fedius quam uxorem amare quasi adulteram. Certe qui dicunt se causa rei publicae et generis humani uxoribus iungi et liberos tollere, imitentur saltem pecudes, et, postquam uxoris uenter intumuerit, non perdant filios nec amatores uxoribus se exhibeant, sed maritos.*"

(*utilitas communis*). In *De finibus*, considerations about the common utility are expressed in the context of critiques of the conceptions of happiness from Epicurism and Stoicism. According to Cicero, Epicurism, which identifies pleasure with the supreme good, promotes doing nothing whose goal is not pleasure and advocates always seeking personal interest.[45] For his part, he Stoicism that makes *honestum*, or virtue, the only good leaves *utilitas* outside morality and scorns care of one's household, the conduct of business and the duties of life.[46] Abelard's thesis about the community of women *secundum fructum* departs from a possible epicurean approach, which would move away from honesty because it would interpret this community as considering pleasure to be the highest good and from the point of view of personal interest. It also distances itself from a strictly stoic approach which does not recognise the benefits that personal relations can bring as moral goods. It does, nevertheless, adapt to the points of view typical of Aristotle and Plato, who do not separate morality from the community of interests that bring men together nor from the things that men love naturally, such as friends, parents and children.[47]

In *De officiis*, Cicero grants the conjugal union an important role. Seeing it as the result of the reproductive instinct, he identifies marriage as the nucleus of the city and the foundation of the republic. Humans, who naturally love themselves, are also by nature social animals who need others with whom they create different types of ties based on affection, and marriage is the first of these ties. Afterwards, and as a consequence of this tie, the children and the homes where the parents and children live appear. Later, when the children marry, more homes are created, and so forth. Cicero believes that this propagation of progeny is the origin of the republic and that the extensive community with the same bloodline this gives rise to is united by love (*caritas*) and beneficience (*beneficentia*).[48] However, in the republic there are also the affective or emotional ties established between virtuous men (*amicitia*: friendship). Lastly, there is what for Cicero is the most important tie of all: the affective or emotional tie, the love (*caritas*) that each one of us must feel for a reality, the republic, which embraces all our loves.[49] These Ciceronian approaches lie at the base of Abelard's views of the community of women *according to the fruit* (*secundum fructum*), which involves the spread of love based on the nucleus of

45 Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, ed. Leighton D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1998), 2 and following.

46 Cicero, *De finibus* 4.68.

47 Cicero, *De finibus* 5.65 and 68.

48 Cicero, *De officiis* 1.17.54.

49 Cicero, *De officiis* 1.17. 56–58.

marriage with the good it can do other individuals and with the subordination of personal interests to the common good. If this philosophical background is considered, it is understandable that Abelard, after *offering* his interpretation of the institution of the community of wives and children, ends the passage that *Theologia christiana* dedicates to how philosophers conceive of the organisation of the city with an *exemplum* from Valerius Maximus, which illustrates how parents in this type of city or republic must behave with their offspring. It is the example of Aulus Fulvius who, according to Valerius, ordered his son's death arguing that he had not engendered his son for Catilina against his fatherland, but for his fatherland against Catilina.[50]

## 5 The Passage from the *Timaeus* about the Community of Women in the Works of Peter Abelard: The *Collationes*

As seen above, Abelard addresses the community of women *secundum fructum* not only in *Theologia christiana*, but also in the *Collationes*. The passage in the *Collationes* in which Abelard takes up this theme is framed within the context of a dialogue between a philosopher and a Christian about the virtues that generate happiness.[51] After having defended the strictly philosophical points of view which, like that of the stoics, make virtue the necessary condition for happiness and make honesty a desirable thing in itself independently of its possible utility, the philosopher goes on to construct a discourse in which philosophy, in the manner of Plato, adapts to popular opinions about these matters and descends into the terrain that Plotinus and Macrobius have called political virtues. In other words, according to Macrobius, those were the virtues with which honest men protect the city, honour their parents, love their

50 Peter Abelard, *Theologia christiana* 2.48: "He took into account what Valerius Maximus, among others, remembers. Aulus Fulvius ordered the death of his son, who had joined Catilina's conspiracy, saying that he had not fathered him for Catilina against the country, but for the country against Catilina. He understood that the good rulers of the republic do not use their possessions for themselves, but for the common good." ("*Quod diligenter ille attendebat de quo Valerius Maximus inter caetera commemorat dicens: Aulus Fuluius filium suum prauo consilio amicitiam Catilinae secutum inque castra eius temerario impetu ruentem, medio itinere abstractum, supplicio mortis affecit, praefatus non se illum Catilinae aduersus patriam, sed patriae aduersus Catilinam genuisse. Et hos fortasse omnes tales ueros rei publicae rectores intellexit, qui ea scilicet quae possidere uidentur, non sibi, sed communi deputant utilitati*"). Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 5.8.5.

51 For the sources of his treatment of the virtues, see: Peter Abelard, *Collationes*, ed. and trans. John Marenbon, Giovanni Orlandi (Oxford, 2001), pp. LXXVI-LXXIX; and John Marenbon, *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (New York, 1997), pp. 202–07.

children, care for their parents and the well-being of citizens, and treat the allies of the republic with freedom and justice. These virtues allow rulers to rule themselves, rationally controlling their passions or emotions. According to an old principle, these virtues are also those required to rule others correctly.[52]

When the philosopher and the Christian converse in the *Collationes* about the four cardinal virtues identified by Plato in the *Republic*, they have in mind the political virtues that not only make someone capable of ruling a community, but also of ruling a marriage or a family. The philosopher introduces the Platonic subjects of the common possession of goods and the institution of the community of women and children when he talks about justice, which is one of these virtues. He presents these institutions as an illustration of justice by means of which, preserving the common good, each person is given what they are due depending on their dignity and merits.[53] Although the way this subject

52 Peter Abelard, *Collationes* 2.111–39; Plotinus, *Enneads*, ed. and trans. Lloyd P. Gerson, George Boys-Stones, John M. Dillon, R. A. H. King, Andrew Smith, James Wilberding (Cambridge, Eng., 2017), 1.2.1–2; Macrobius, *Commentarii in Ciceronis* "*Somnium Scipionis*," 1.8.

53 Peter Abelard, *Collationes* 2.118–19, pp. 134–36: "The Philosopher: Justice then is the virtue that bestows on everyone his due while preserving the common benefit --that is, that virtue whereby we want everyone to have what he's worthy of, if this doesn't imply any common injury. For it often happens that when we grant someone what he deserves for his merits, what's done individually for the one person implies a common injury. And so, in order that the part not prejudice the whole, and the individual the community, the words 'while preserving the common benefit' are attached. Surely, it's appropriate for all things we do to be rightly referred to this end: that everyone pay attention in all things not so much for domestic affairs as for public ones, and that he lives not so much for himself as for his country. Thus Socrates, the first and greatest teacher of moral philosophy, advised that all things be held in common and be applied to common advantage. As a result, he arranged even for wives to be in common, so that no one would recognize his own children. Everyone would believe they were begotten not so much for himself as for his country. Thus, this community of wives is taken no with respect to the flesh's usage but with respect to the enjoyment [or: fruit] of descendants. Aulus Fulvius by both word and deed left an example of this to posterity's memory by killing his own son. He said he'd begotten him not for Catiline against the country, but for the country against Catiline. On fire with zeal for justice, not considering his son as a son but as the country's enemy, he exhibited the above definition of justice not with his mouth so much as by his hand," trans. Paul V. Spade. ("*Philosophus: Iustitia itaque uirtus est communi utilitate servata suam cuique tribuens dignitatem, haec est ea virtus, qua volumus unumquemque habere id, quo dignus est, si hoc commune non inferat damnum. Saepe etenim contingit, ut dum alicui pro meritis sua reddimus, quod singulariter in uno agitur, commune inferat damnum. Ne itaque pars toti, singularitas praeiudicet communitati, adiunctum est 'communi utilitate servata'. Ad hunc quippe finem omnia, quae gerimus, recte referri convenit, ut in omnibus scilicet non tam proprium quisque bonum quam commune attendat, nec tam rei familiari quam publicae prouideat, nec tam sibi quam patriae vivat. Unde et ille primus et maximus moralis philosophiae doctor Socrates cuncta in commune redigi et ad commune commodum censuit*

is dealt with in the *Collationes* is similar to how it is addressed in *Theologia christiana*, the argumentative context in which it is appears in this work helps us to delve deeper into Abelard's point of view. Considered from this perspective, the community of women *secundum fructum* is, in this case, placed in the context of a Ciceronian conception of justice as virtue that advocates treating each person as they deserve and, at the same time, places the interests of the community above private interests.[54] The question that concerns us does not refer only to the justice of the husband with respect to his wife and vice versa, it also refers to the justice of each or both of them with respect to the other members of the community and with regard to the community as a whole. In relation to his wife, the husband can be fair or unfair. The man who treats his wife as if she were not his wife but a lover or an adulterer is being unfair. In relation to others and the community, the man who wants everybody to receive what they deserve provided that this does not harm the collective is fair. One must love what one has, both children and other things, including one's wife, having regard to their utility for others (family members, friends) and bearing in mind the common interest, and which helps to spread love.

In his development of the subject, Abelard does not question the matter of a man's power over his wife's body. This is even though he does not hide the fact that this institution is presented in Plato's *Republic* as a particular case of the prohibition of property. In line with Cicero's approach, which Abelard shares, the primacy of the common interest—which is the aim of the Platonic institution—is not incompatible with a political community, of which the constituent nucleus is marriage.[55] For Abelard, the women who are common *secundum fructum* in relation to the men, are women who should be private *secundum usum*, at least according to the *usus carnalis* that could give rise to the generation of children.[56]

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*applicari, ut uxores quoque communes esse instituerent, ita scilicet, ut nemo proprios recognosceret liberos; hoc est, non tam sibi eos quam patriae crederent generatos, ut haec videlicet communitas uxorum non in usu carnis, sed in fructu prolis accipiatur. Quod tam verbo quam opere Aulus proprium occidendo filium posterorum memoriae reliquit in exemplum, eum se, inquiens, non Catilinae adversus patriam, sed patriae adversus Catilinam genuisse. Hic vero iustitiae zelo accensus nec in filio filium suum, sed hostem patriae considerans praedictam iustitiae definitionem non tam ore quam manu exhibuit*"). The source of the definition of justice the philosopher bases this on is found in Cicero, *De inuentione* 2.53.160.

54 Cicero, *De finibus* 5.65.

55 See: Cicero, *De officiis* 1.17.

56 According to 1Cor. 7:4, as we have seen, women also have an exclusive right to sexual intercourse with their husbands. Obviously, this does not mean that the society of the time entirely agreed with this perspective.

Abelard emphasises that ancient philosophers rejected adultery and promoted continence, not dishonesty. It is from this premise that the usefulness and benefits that those who are not their husbands could receive from the women considered as common *secundum fructum* must be considered. Usefulness and benefits include offspring, who, despite having been engendered honestly within the marriage, must be at the service of the entire society. However, even though Abelard only speaks of offspring, they were not the only fruit that, like Abelard himself, ancient philosophers thought about when they considered the honest utilities that could be gained from women.[57] In this sense, it is interesting to point out that the expression Abelard uses in *Theologia christiana* to refer to the fruits that can be harvested from them is the same as the one Cicero uses in *De amicitia* to describe the advantages to be gained from friendship, some advantages that create ties of reciprocity and the most evident of which is the very love that defines it.[58] Cicero also refers to these advantages in *De officiis*. Just before talking about the love one must have for the republic, he speaks about the union resulting from the benefits or favours which, when mutual and pleasant, tightly bind those that exchange them.[59] This is also the main theme of Seneca's *De beneficiis*. This

57 In *Collationes*, the community of wives is only explicitly addressed in relation to *fructus prolis*. However, in *Theologia christiana* 2.48, Abelard himself opens the door to considering other fruits. See above, note 37.

58 See, for example, *De amicitia* 26 and 31–32, ed. Jonathan G.F. Powell (Oxford, 2006), pp. 332 and 334: "For while it is true that advantages are frequently obtained even from those who, under a pretence of friendship, are courted and honoured to suit the occasion; yet in friendship there is nothing false, nothing pretended; whatever there is is genuine and comes of its own accord. […] For as men of our class generous and liberal, not for the purpose of demanding repayment —for we do not put our favours out at interest but are by nature given to acts of kindness— so we believe that friendship is desirable, not because we are influenced by hope of gain, but because its entire profit is in the love itself. 32 From this view those men who, after the manner of cattle, judge everything by the standard of pleasure, vigorously dissent; nor is it strange; for the raising of the vision to anything lofty, noble and divine is impossible to men who have abased their every thought to a thing so lowly and mean," trans. William Armistead Falconer. ("*Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam coniungendam; nam utilitates quidem etiam ab eis percipiuntur saepe qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa; in amicitia autem nihil fictum est, nihil simulatum, et quidquid est, id est verum et voluntarium*" (26); "*Ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus non ut exigamus gratiam* (*neque enim beneficium feneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus*), *sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. 32 Ab his, qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt; nec mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abiecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam*").

59 Cicero, *De officiis* 1.17.56–57.

affective or emotional tie based on the exchange of favours or services among people from the same or different social status was a characteristic element of ancient Roman society. Later, the vocabulary used to talk about this was incorporated into the language used to describe friendly relations between lords and between lords and vassals in the Middle Ages.

In the twelfth century, the discourse about the honest *utilitates* that can be obtained from married women converges with the classic discourse about friendship and its benefits. And the old passage according to which "among friends everything is in common" ambiguously serves as a link, since the benefits women can offer are also susceptible to being interpreted as a woman's duty to her husband and as a useful service that the husband grants to his friends, which include those with whom the husband has a feudal tie.[60]

## 6 The Community of Women and the Feeling of Love

In *Theologia christiana* Abelard only refers to the fruits that can be harvested from women in language reminiscent of that used by Cicero in *De amicitia*. If we take just one step forward in the story of the reception of the passage in the *Timaeus* about the community of women, we can see that, a few years later, the discourse about this subject offers more details about the function of married women in this economy of benefits. This can be seen, for example, in the glosses of the passages in the *Decretum Gratiani*, which include women among the common goods. At least since Rufinus (prior to 1159), glossators have remarked that Plato was not thinking about women in common from the point of view of their sexual accessibility (*quo ad usum carnis*, *usum coniuctionem* or

60 In fact, this is also the logic behind the verses that the nun (and, therefore, the wife of Christ) Constantia writes to Baudri, abbot of Bourgueil (1046–1130) (Karlheinz Hilbert, *Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina* (Heidelberg, 1979), 201, vv.116–20): "The bride of God should love God's servants./ You are a servant of the bridegroom, you are brother and co-heir;/ You, too, you are worthy by my bridegroom's love./ The bride should respect the friends of her bridegroom./ Therefore I respect you, I love you vigilantly," trans. Gerald A. Bond, *The Loving Subject, Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 183–93. ("*Servos sponsa Dei debet amare sui. / Tu sponsi servus, tu frater tuque coheres, / Tu quoque, tu sponsi dignus amore mei./ Sponsa sui sponsi venerari debet amicos; / Ergo te veneror, te vigilanter amo*"). As Constantia humorously remembers, the wife has the duty to love her husband's friends. See: Jean-Yves Tilliette, "Hermès amoureux, ou les métamorphoses de la Chimère. Réflexions sur les carmina 200 et 201 de Baudri de Bourgueil," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, Temps modernes* 104/1 (1992), 147. For the sources and uses of the sentence according to which among friends everything is common, see above, notes 12, 18 and 25.

*amplexandi dilectionem*), but in relation to emotion or feelings (*quantum affectum*), to the feeling of love and licit services (*ad affectum caritatis et servitium licitum*), to love and loyal and useful service (*quantum ad dilectionem et obsequium*), and so on.[61] Special attention must be paid to the lexis. It is the same vocabulary as used in the texts of the era to talk about friendship between lords and between lords and vassals. The first troubadours, Rufinus's contemporaries, in accordance with a conventional cliché of Latin elegiac poetry, speak about the love that ties them to the lady who, in troubadour songs, is often married.[62] The hermeneutic tradition of the *Timaeus* supplies a philosophical framework in which to fit the discourse characteristic of courtly love, both in relation to the nature of conjugal ties, where there would be no place for exaggerated passion and neither, then, for jealousy, and in relation to courtly love strictly speaking. The latter, in keeping with the art of love, is impossible between spouses but is developed on the stage of a court, which has a married couple at its core and plenty of adolescents preparing to become knights and young, unattached knights for whom the court reserves the role of lovers who honestly serve their lord's wife from whom corresponding complaisant services and favours are expected in exchange.[63] It is precisely on this stage that the women that behave in keeping the rules of courtly love will end up being described, tending to their fruits as "cause and origin of all the goods" for the virtues that they bring out in those who serve them.[64]

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61 Stephanus Tornacensis, *Summa decretorum*, 12.1.2 (Bolognese school: Orleans after 1160). Huguccio, *Summa decretorum,* 12.1.2 (Bologna, *c*. 1188–1190): "*quidam*: *scil. 'Plato in Timeo', in omnibus sunt coniuges. Coniuges debent esse communes non quo ad usum carnis set quo ad alteris officii obsequium et quo ad delectionem etcet.*" Quoted in: Kuttner, "Gratian and Plato," pp. 109–10 and 113.

62 See: Silvio Pellegrini, *Studi rolandiani e trobadorici* (Bari, 1964), pp. 178–91 (chapter: "Intorno al vassallasggio d'amore nei primi trovatori"); Rita Lejeune, "Formules féodales et style amoureux chez Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine," in *Atti dell'VIII Congresso internazionale di studi romanzi* (Florence, 1959), pp. 227–48.

63 See: Georges Duby, *Male moyen age: de l'amour et autres essais* (Paris, 1990), pp. 46–49 (chapter: "Que sait-on de l'amour en France au XIIe siècle?").

64 Andreas Capellanus, *De amore* 1.6.403, ed. P.G. Walsh (London, 1982): "But although all good things seem to proceed from women, and although Godhas given them a great privilege and we say that they are the cause and origin of everything good, still they are clearly under the necessity of so conducting themselves toward those who do good deeds that by their approval the good character of these men may seem in every respect to increase from strength to strength," trans. John Jay Parry. ("*Sed quamvis et mulieribus cuncta videantur bona procedere, et multam eis Dominus praerogativam concesserit, et omnium dicantur esse causa et origo bonorum, necessitas sibi tamen evidenter incumbit ut tales de debeant bona facientibus exhibere, ut eorum probitas earum intuitu de virtute in virtutem modis omnibus crescere videatur*").

We have already seen that Abelard thought that the institution of the community of women could not be interpreted as an apology for adultery. We also know that he did not believe that fornicating with men who were not her husband was one of the benefits that a married woman must contribute to spreading the love that unites communities. The reading of his *Ethica* allows us to go beyond his view on adultery. In this work, he remarks that people often pass by another person's garden and, seeing the delicious fruits, end up craving them, even though they know they cannot eat them without the owner's consent.[65] He also explains that often, seduced by a married woman, we want to have sex with her even though we do not want to commit adultery, and would prefer that she was not married. Abelard makes a very well-defined analysis of this situation. In his view, it is neither a sin to desire a married woman and want to have sex with her, nor is it a sin to delight in sexual intercourse, which is necessarily pleasurable when it is done. The sin arises from consenting to commit adultery, because while desire does not depend on one's will, this consent, which is consent to an act prohibited by divine law, does.[66] Thus, seeing that the temptations of concupiscence are almost natural and necessary, it is necessary to train oneself to learn to control them.

In the *Collationes*, Abelard has the philosopher bring up the subject of the community of women when he talks to the Christian about the four cardinal

65 Peter Abelard, *Scito te ipsum* 1.9, ed. Rainer M. Ilgner, trans. David E. Luscombe (Turnhout, 2001), p. 15: "What we-have said with respect to lechery, let us consider with respect also to gluttony. Someone passes through another man's garden and seeing delightful fruits he falls into longing for them; however, he does not consent to his longing so as to remove something from there by theft or robbery, even though his mind has been incited to great desire by the pleasure of food. But where desire is, there undoubtedly is will. And so he desires to eat of that fruit in which he is certain there is pleasure. In fact, by the very nature of his infirmity he is compelled to desire what he is not allowed to take without the knowledge or the permission of the lord. He represses his desire; he does not extinguish it, but because he is not drawn to consent, he does not incur sin." ("*Transit aliquis iuxta ortum alterius et conspectis delectabilibus fructibus in concupiscenciam eorum incidit, nec tamen concupiscencie suæ consentit, ut inde aliquid furto uel rapina tollat, quamquam delectatione cibi in magnum desiderium mens eius sit accensa. Vbi autem desiderium, ibi procul dubio uoluntas consistit. Desiderat itaque fructus illius esum in quo delectacionem esse non dubitat. Ipsa quippe suæ infirmitatis natura compellitur id desiderare, quod inscio domino uel non permittente non licet accipere. Desiderium ille reprimit, non extinguit: sed quia non trahitur ad consensum, non incurrit peccatum*"). See also: Peter Abelard, *Scito te ipsum,* 1.9, p. 9.

66 Peter Abelard, *Scito te ipsum* 1.8, p. 8: "So sin is not lusting for a woman but consenting to lust; the consent of the will is damnable, but not the will for intercourse," trans. David E. Luscombe. ("*Non ita concupiscere mulierem, set concupiscentiae consentire peccatum est, nec uoluntas concubitus, set uoluntatis consensus dampnabilis est*").

virtues identified by Plato in the *Republic*. After speaking in the manner of Cicero about justice as a feeling and as a will to act in keeping with this feeling, courage and temperance are referred to as the virtues that make someone able to act in keeping with this feeling and this will when threatened by, respectively, feelings of fear and of desire, this last the disordered appetite of sensual pleasures which would lead them to behave irrationally.[67] Temperance is the virtue that make us able to combat concupiscence, to fight against desires in general and thus be able to do what is just. Abelard defines it as the firm but *moderate* control that reason exercises over desire.[68] In keeping with what Plato had said in the *Republic*, Abelard understands control as good self-government, which is that which the rational part of the soul exercises over the irrational or emotional parts.[69] However, he also distances himself from the

67 Peter Abelard, *Collationes* 2.120–21, p. 136: "Therefore whoever is steadfast in this will we've been talking about, so that he cannot be easily dislodged from it, is rich in the virtue of justice even if he's not yet accomplished in courage and moderations. But because what's hard to remove is yet sometimes forced to withdraw by some great intervening cause (for example, this good will that's called justice sometimes disappears out of some fear or greed), courage is needed against fear and moderation against desire. Certainly, if the fear of a thing we don't want or the greed for what we do want is so great that overcomes reason, they easily pull the mind away from its good purpose and lead it into contrary ones. Thus, courage takes up the shield against fear, and moderation the bridle against greed, so that, strengthened by them too, we're able to attain as far as is in our power the things we already want through the virtue of justice," trans. Paul V. Spade. ("*Quisquis igitur in hac constans est voluntate, quam diximus, ut ab ea facile dimoveri non possit, virtute pollet iustitiae etiamsi fortitudine et temperantia nondum sit consummatus. Sed quia, quod difficile amittitur, recedere tamen nonnumquam grandi aliqua interveniente causa cogitur, sicut haec ipsa bona voluntas, quae iustitia dicitur, timore aliquo vel cupiditate evanescit, contra timorem fortitudo, contra cupiditatem temperantia est necessaria. Timor quippe rei, quam nolumus, vel cupiditas eius, quam volumus, si tantae sint, ut rationi praevaleant, facile a bono proposito mentem retrahunt et in contraria ducunt. Unde adversus timorem fortitudo clipeum, adversus cupiditatem temperantia sumit frenum, ut, quae scilicet per virtutem iustitiae iam volumus, per has etiam roborati implere potentes simus, quantum in nobis est. Unde utramque harum quandam animi firmitatem et constantiam dicimus, quibus potentes efficimur ad hoc, quod per iustitiam volumus, exsolvendum. Quarum quidem contraria quaedam infirmitates animi et impotentiae vitiis resistendi recte nominantur, ut ignavia sive pusillanimitas, quae remissum hominem reddunt, et intemperantia, quae nos in obscenas voluptates vel turpia desideria resolvit*").

68 Peter Abelard, *Collationes* 2.123, p. 136: "*Temperantia est rationis in libidinem atque in alios non rectos impetus animi firma et moderata dominatio.*"

69 Plato, *Republic* 3, 389d, p. 65: "And aren't these the most important aspects of moderation for the majority of people, namely, to obey the rulers and to rule the pleasures of drink, sex, and food for themselves?" See also *Republic* 4, 430d-32a, especially 430e, p. 106: "Moderation is surely a kind of order, the mastery of certain kinds of pleasures and desires. People indicate as much when they use the phrase 'self-control' and other similar

most radical points of view of the philosophical tradition which, like Seneca in the *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, identify governing passions with their extirpation.[70] In his view, and in keeping with the Aristotelian doctrine which Apuleius makes agree with the Platonic one, virtue, and temperance was no exception, consists of seeking the golden mean between the extremes of excess and deficiency.[71] Moderation or self-restraint, nonetheless, should not be confused with abstinence. In the *Monita ad Astralabium*, Abelard points out, as he does in the *Collationes*, the dangers of distancing oneself by defect from moderation, and he recalls the case of Icarus, who wanted to fly so high that he came crashing down (vv. 669–70).

## 7 Governing Emotions as a Political Problem

In the *Commentarius in Timaeum*, Calcidius says that in the *Republic*, Socrates outlines the image of a city that is ruled by some just institutions and customs and which enjoys a happiness derived from obeying the laws of a city that, if it adopted customs of the opposite kind, would fall into misery.[72] The justness and happiness of this city is inseparable from the virtue of those that reside there. Fair laws and institutions are not enough; what is also needed are citizens who, apart from having the will to be fair, tend to behave as such, and the institutions of the Republic are also organised to this end. Considered from this point of view, the institution of the community of women goes hand in hand with the requirement for sexually temperate citizens. If we interpret this need from the hermeneutic model proposed by Abelard, we can say that

phrases. I don't know just what they mean by, but they are, so to speak, like tracks or clues that moderation has left behind in language. Isn't that so?"

70 Peter Abelard, *Collationes* 2.123, pp. 136–38: "For we often go beyond restraint while seeming to ourselves be moderate when we violate the limits of moderation. For example, when we seek self-control, we afflict ourselves with unrestrained fast, and when we want to tame vice, we snuff out nature itself. And so going to excess in many ways, we establish the instead of the virtues. Hence after the occurrences of 'firm' in the definition, it's right to ad 'restrained'," trans. Paul V. Spade. ("*Sepe etenim modum excedentes, dum nobis temperantes esse uidemur, temperantiae terminos transgredimur, ut, dum sobrietati studemus, immoderatis ieiuniis nos affligamus, et dum uitium domare cupimus ipsam exstinguamus naturam et sic in multis excedendo pro uirtutibus finitima ipsis vitia statuimus. Vnde merito postquam dictum est 'firma,' subiunctum est 'moderata'*").

71 Regarding the confluence between Platonic and Aristotelian doctrines in Apuleius, see: Lucius Apuleius, "De Platone et eius dogmate," in *Opuscules philosophiques et fragments*, ed. Jean Beaujeu (Paris, 1973), 2.13.

72 Calcidius, *Commentaire au Timée de Platon* 1.5, p. 207.

the city imagined by philosophers not only calls for temperate husbands who do not behave like lovers with their wives, but also young, unattached people who are not obsessed with sexual pleasure and who learn to moderate their sexual desire, that is to say, young men preparing to not commiting adultery with their own wives when they have them and who meanwhile do not throw themselves uncontrollably into committing adultery with the married women around them. These two requirements belong also to the doctrines of courtly love, which decree that between spouses this type of love is impossible, and which understand the relationship of love as an experience within which tempering desire can be learned.[73]

Courtly love is generally declared to be an adulterous love. However, we must not forget that in its most characteristic form, what Andreas Capellanus calls "pure love (*purus amor*)," the favours that the lover aspires to be granted, and with which his loved one must supply him progressively and with parsimony so that he learns moderation, are kissing on the mouth, embracing with the arms and contact with her naked body in bed. Sexual intercourse (*commixtio carnis*) is excluded. Indeed, according to Canon Law, there is no adultery without *commixtio carnis*. The fact that that other type of courtly love that Andreas himself calls "mixed love" (*mixtus amor*) does not exclude sex simply demonstrates where the often-crossed boundary was that separated what could be considered honest courtly love from what had to be taken as

73 In Andreas Capellanus's *De amore* the impossibility of courtly love existing between spouses is argued from Canon Law and by means of the same sentence from *Adversus Jovinianum* that Abelard quotes in the passage from *Theologia christiana*, the one that refers to the community of women: "As for what you tried to prove by your answer—that the love which can be practiced without sin is far preferable—that, apparently, cannot stand. For whatever solaces married people extend to each other beyond what are inspired by the desire for offspring or the payment of the marriage debt, cannot be free from sin, and the punishment is always greater when the use of a holy thing is perverted by misuse than if we practice the ordinary abuses. It is a more serious offense in a wife than in another woman, for the too ardent lover, as we are taught by the apostolic law, is considered an adulterer with his own wife," trans. John Jay Parry, 1941. ("*Quod autem voluistis vestra responsione firmare talem esse penitus eligendum amorem qui possit sine crimine exerceri, stare non posse videtur. Nam quidquid solatii ab ipsis coniugatis ultra prolis affectionem vel debiti solutionem alterna vice porrigitur, crimine carere non potest; immo satis acrius vindicatur, si sacrae rei usum deformet abusus, quam si consueta utamur abusione. Gravius est in uxore quam in alia reperitur. Nam vehemens amator, ut apostolica lege docetur, in propria uxore iudicatur adulter*"). Capellanus, *De amore*, 1.6.382–83; Abelard quotes Jerome to demonstrate that the philosophic doctrine of the community of women and adultery are incompatible. Andreas quotes him to demonstrate that the doctrine of courtly love and marriage are incompatible. But the two authors' consensus in this quote demonstrates the congruence between the two doctrines.

dishonest because it contravened a divine law, the one that prohibited adultery and which some, like Abelard, considered as rooted in natural justice.[74]

As we have seen, the fact that the day before, when the just city was being constructed with words, the education that ennabled the guardians to fulfil their duties in both wartime and peacetime was also discussed, is not ignored in the *Timaeus*. However, courtesy was not born in the court of a philosopher king. It arose in the twelfth century, when princely courts became places where learned men in the princes' service were committed to educating children and young people from the warring caste, teaching them what they themselves had learned from reading the authors from antiquity.[75] The art of love was an important element of the courtly curriculum. Even if they had not yet fallen in love or dedicated themselves to it, adolescents already knew that there was an art that taught how to love in a civilized manner and that it could be found in books.[76] The twelfth century has been described as an *aetas ovidiana* and

74 See: Capellanus, *De amore*, 1.6.470–75. In fact, "*purus amor* and *mixtus amor* are two forms of the same love." Moshe Lazar, *Amour courtois et "fin amors" dans la littérature du XXe siècle* (Paris, 1964), p. 271. What separates them is their legality or illegality from the point of view of a literal reading of the ecclesiastical canons. The relationship between the proposals in Andreas Capellanus's *De amore* about pure and mixed love and Canon Law must be highlighted. According to Canon Law, there is no marriage if there has been no *commixtio carnis*, and without *commixtio carnis* neither has there been adultery. Thus, this carnal union, which could be exclusively interpreted as *commixtio seminum*, was the essential condition as much for the sacrament as for the crime. From an androcentric point of view, "pure love" could be defined as a relationship with a woman married to someone else (and, therefore, *alienae potestati subiecta*) wherein the law that prohibits adultery is not actually infringed (because there has been no vaginal penetration or ejaculation required for this illicit act). Pure love, which, if it were between spouses, would infringe matrimonial laws, prevents those that are not married from infringing the law on adultery.

75 See : Martin Aurell, *Le chevalier lettré. Savoir et conduite de l'aristocratie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2011).

76 In keeping with what was already said in the thirteenth century in *Flamenca* 6.1765–70, Edward D. Blodgett, ed. (Abingdon, 2013), p. 92: "He had never had anything to do with love such that he could know by experience what it was. From hearsay did he know what love was, since he had read all the authors who speak of it and are concerned with how lovers should behave." ("*Ancar d'amor no s'entremes /per so que lo ver en saupes; /per dir saup ben que fon amors, /cant legit ac totz los auctors /que d'amor parlon /e si feinon consi amador si capteinon*"). It must not be forgotten that this art that the knights found in books was what was taught by clergymen, who already knew about it. See: "Altercatio Phyllidis et Flore," in *Love Lyrics from the 'Carmina Burana'*, ed. and trans. P.G. Walsh (Chapel Hill, 1993), 92.41: "My cleric is preeminent in knowledge and instruction on the power of Venus and of the god of love. It is through the cleric that the knight has become a follower of Venus." ("*Quid Dione valeat /Et amoris deus, /Primus novit clericus /Et instruxit meus; /Factus est per clericum /Miles Cithereus*").

some of the precepts of this art are usually associated with Ovid's name. But the distance between Ovid's art of love and the *fin'amor* is obvious. The first is nothing more than an art of seduction, while the second, although it includes many Ovidian precepts and images, responds to other approaches. Two theses are at the core of these approaches: one has to learn to control oneself to love in a civilised way, not like beasts and uncouth people; and there are virtuous behaviours that can be acquired by means of cultivating and controlling a passion or emotion that emerges from sexual desire.[77] Twelfth-century learned men knew that such valued authors as Cicero and Seneca did not share this thesis. In the *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* Seneca remarked that Panaetius, the stoic, had advised a young person to always resist desire and to avoid a type of love that inevitably makes us unscrupulous and slaves to another.[78] And in

77 For courtly love as a refining technique and a means of self-control, see: Martin Aurell, *Le chevalier lettré. Savoir et conduite de l'aristocratie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, pp. 365–80.

78 Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 116, ed. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols. (London, 1917–25), 3: 332–33: "The question has often been raised whether it is better to have moderate emotions, or none at all. Philosophers of our school reject the emotions; the Peripatetics keep them in check […] I think that Panaetius gave a very neat answer to a certain youth who asked him whether the wise man should become a lover: 'As to the wise man, we shall see later; but you and I, who are as yet far removed from wisdom, should not trust ourselves to fall into a state that is disordered, uncontrolled, enslaved to another, contemptible to itself. If our love be not spurned, we are excited by its kindness; if it be scorned, we are kindled by our pride. An easily won love hurts us as much as one which is difficult to win; we are captured by that which is compliant, and we struggle with that which is hard. Therefore, knowing our weakness, let us remain quiet. Let us not expose this unstable spirit to the temptations of drink, or beauty, or flattery, or anything that coaxes and allures.' Now that which Panaetius replied to the question about love may be applied, I believe, to all the emotions. In so far as we are able, let us step back from slippery places; even on dry ground it is hard enough to take a sturdy stand," trans. Richard Mott Gummere. ("*Utrum satius sit modicos habere affectus an nullos, sæpe quæsitum est. Nostri expellunt, Peripatetici temperant'* […] *Eleganter mihi videtur Panaetius respondisse adulescentulo cuidam quaerenti an sapiens amaturus esset. 'De sapiente' inquit 'videbimus: mihi et tibi, qui adhuc a sapiente longe absumus, non est committendum ut incidamus in rem commotam, inpotentem, alteri emancupatam, vilem sibi. Sive enim nos respicit, humanitate eius inritamur, sive contempsit, superbia accendimur. Aeque facilitas amoris quam difficultas nocet: facilitate capimur, cum difficultate certamus. Itaque conscii nobis inbecillitatis nostrae quiescamus; nec vino infirmum animum committamus nec formae nec adulationi nec ullis rebus blande trahentibus. Quod Panaetius de amore quaerenti respondit, hoc ego de omnibus affectibus dico quantum possumus, nos a lubrico recedamus: in sicco quoque parum fortiter stamus*"). See: Seneca, *Epistulae* 85, 2: 290, which also provokes controversy with a philosophical approach that advocates moderation and not extirpating passions: "*Falsa est itaque ista mediocritas et inutilis, eodem loco habenda, quo si quis diceret modice insaniendum, modice aegrotandum. Sola virtus habet, non recipiunt animi mala temperamentum.*"

the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Cicero demonstrated his scepticism about the possibility of what he calls *amor amicitiae*, a love which even if it were rooted in physical desire, would transcend it.[79] Like Seneca, Cicero thought that this type of love, which emerged from the Greek gymnasiums and which, in most cases, united a mature man with a boy, could not be moderated and had to be extirpated.[80] However, he also remembered that one of the great masters of virtue, his venerated Plato, gave erroneously credibility to this type of love.[81]

## 8 Plato as a *magister amoris*

As C. Stephen Jaeger points out in *Ennobling Love*, before Ovid appeared in the twelfth century, Cicero was the leading authority regarding the doctrine of love.[82] Cicero connects friendship with virtue but, unlike Plato, he thinks of it as a kind of love that is incompatible with with the erotic element of physical desire. According to Jaeger, the great novelty of courtly love, the great novelty of this new way of feeling that emerged in the twelfth century, has a lot to do with incorporating this desire into the doctrines about virtuous friendship, an addition that would go hand in hand with considering Ovid, or Ovid read in a particular way, as a master of the art of love, and also of considering women as the protagonists of some love relationships susceptible of generating virtuous

79 Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 4.33.70, ed. Reinhold Klotz (New York, 1888), p. 141: "But we may suffer some sportive freedom in the poets, in whose fiction we see Jupiter himself implicated in these scandalous affairs. Let us come to philosophers, preceptors of virtue, who deny the necessarily licentious character of love, and in this are at variance with Epicurus, who, as I think, is not far from the right. For what is that love of friendship of which they speak? Why is not a deformed young man or a beautiful old man the object of love? The worst form of licentiousness, as I think, sprang from the Greek gymnasium, where every improper liberty is permitted," trans. Andrew P. Peabody. ("*Sed poetas ludere sinamus, quorum fabulis in hoc flagitio versari ipsum videmus Iovem. Ad magistros virtutis, philosophos, veniamus, qui amorem negant stupri esse et in eo litigant cum Epicuro non multum, ut opinio mea fert, mentiente. Quis est enim iste amor amicitiae? Cur neque deformem adulescentem quisquam amat neque formosum senem? Mihi quidem haec in Graecorum gymnasiis nata consuetudo videtur, in quibus isti liberi et concessi sunt amores*").

80 See: Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 4.34.72 and 75–76, pp. 141–42.

81 Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 4.34.71, p. 141: "Now we see that the loves of all these writers are licentious. There have also appeared some of us philosophers—chief among them my favorite Plato, whom on this score Dicaearchus rightly accuses—who have given their sanction to love," trans. Andrew P. Peabody ("*Atque horum omnium libidinosos esse amores videmus. Philosophi sumus exorti, et auctore quidem nostro Platone, quem non iniuria Dicarchus accusat, qui amori auctoritatem tribueremus*").

82 C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 79.

behaviours.[83] Jaeger appears to assign Plato no role in either the emergence of courtly love or in this way of reading Ovid. However, before Aristotle took his place in the thirteenth century, Plato was the master of those who knew. And some of the wise men who instructed the noblemen and knights in the courts where the troubadours were found did not ignore what, as we have seen, Cicero said with distaste: that Plato had wanted to authorise a love which, although rooted in physical desire, could encourage the cultivation of virtues.

Twelfth-century learned men had neither *Symposium* nor *Phaedrus*, Plato's two great dialogues about love, at their disposal in Latin. The main source they had related to the Platonic theory of love was a work that is much forgotten today, *De Platone et eius dogmate* by Apuleius, the author of *Asinus aurus*. This work, which offers an account of Plato's life and a presentation of his doctrines, is made up of two books, the second of which is concerned with Plato's moral philosophy, an area that also encompasses his political philosophy. In this book, after presenting the theory of virtues, Apuleius dedicates some chapters to the paths that can lead to their progressive acquisition. The last ones are about friendship and love, which are addressed from this point of view. Apuleius distinguishes different types of friendship. What he says echos Cicero on this issue. First, he talks about the friendship that provides an exchange of affections or emotions among equals and is based on reciprocal love. Then, he speaks about friendship between family members and with offspring, which he says is in keeping with nature. Last, he contrasts this natural love for family and offspring with what people usually call "love," a passionate desire that transforms lovers of bodies into slaves of pleasure. Apuleius says that Plato prohibits calling this last type of relationship friendship.[84] However,

83 Jaeger, *Ennobling Love*, pp. 79–81, 82 and following.

84 Lucius Apuleius, *De Platone et eius dogmate* 2.13, ed. Jean Beaujeu (Paris, 1973): "Plato also says, that friendship is the conciliator of society, that it consists in concord, and that it is reciprocal, and produces mutual delight, when the love on both sides is equal. Friendship is attended with this advantage [of mutual delight], when a friend wishes that he who is the object of his love may be blessed with prosperity, in the same manner as he himself wishes to be blest. But this equality cannot be effected, unless there is an according similitude in both, through an equal fondness. For as equals are conjoined with equals by an indissoluble bond, so unequals are mutually disjoined, and are not friendly to each other. The vices, however, of enmities are produced by malevolence, through a dissimilitude of manners, a discordancy of life, and professions and dispositions contrary to each other. For Plato says, that there are other kinds of friendship; of which, some are generated for the sake of pleasure, but others from necessity. And the love, indeed, of familiars and children is consentaneous to nature; but that which is for the sake of pleasure only, and which is vulgarly called love, is abhorrent from the clemency of humanity, and is an ardent appetite, by the libidinous stimulus of which, the lovers of body being captivated,

after having talked about these three possible types of friendship, he also talks about three loves. The first is divine love, which is typical of pure souls and corresponds to the rational exercise of virtue. The second, which is typical of corrupt souls and corresponds to despicable pleasures, coincides with the love that Plato does not allow to be called friendship. The third is intermediate love, a mixture of the two previous types. It is typical of average souls and is related to moderate pleasures. This love is not entirely deprived of corporal pleasures, but it also allows itself to be seduced by the noble attractions of the spirit, which means it converges with the first type of love wherein sophisticated and educated persons (*facetae et urbanae*), who are interested in others' souls, hope that those they love excel in laudable arts and become better, more virtuous people.[85] Apuleius is not explicit about this, but it is clear from the context that

think that the whole man consists in that which they behold. The same Plato forbids us to call such like calamities of souls friendships, because they are not mutual, and are incapable of producing reciprocal love, and neither possess constancy nor length of duration. To which may be added, that such love terminates in satiety and penitence," trans. Thomas Taylor. ("*Amicitiam ait sociam eamque consensu consistere reciprocamque esse ac delectationis uicem reddere,quando aequaliter redamat. Hoc amicitiae commodum prouenit, cum amicus eum quem diligit pariter ac se cupit prosperis rebus potiri. Aequalitas ista non aliter prouenit nisi similitudo utroque parili caritate conueniat. Nam ut pares paribus inresolubili nexu iunguntur, ita discrepantes et inter se disiuncti sunt nec aliorum amici. Inimicitiarum autem uitia gignuntur ex maliuolentia, per dissimilitudinem morum et distantiam uitae et sectas atque ingenia contraria. Alia etiam amicitiae genera dicit esse, quarum pars uoluptatis gignitur causa, pars necessitatis. Necessitudinum et liberorum amor naturae congruus est, ille alius abhorrens ab humanitatis clementia, qui uulgo amor dicitur, est adpetitus ardens, cuius instinctu per libidinem capti amatores corporum in eo quod uiderint totum hominem putant. Eiusmodi calamitates animarum amicitias idem appellari uetat, quod nec mutuae sint nec reciprocari queant, ut ament atque redamentur, nec constantia illis adsit et diuturnitas desit amoresque eiusmodi satietate ac paenitentia terminentur*").

85 Lucius Apuleius, *De Platone et eius dogmate* 2, 14: "Hence Plato enumerates three kinds of love; of which one is divine, being in concord with an incorruptible intellect and the nature of virtue, and which is not accompanied by repentance; the second pertains to a degenerate mind, and the most corrupt pleasure; and the third is mingled from both, and pertains to a soul of a temperate disposition and moderate desires. But souls that are more clouded with oblivion are impelled by corporeal desires, and propose to themselves one thing only, that they may enjoy the use of bodies, and may assuage their ardour by pleasure and delight of this kind. Purer minds, who are facetious and courteous, love the souls of those that are good, are benevolent to them, and desirous that they may excel in laudable arts, and may be rendered more worthy and illustrious characters. Souls of a middle nature consist of both the extremes, and in consequence of this are not entirely averse to the delights of the body, and may be allured by souls of an amiable disposition. As, therefore, that most filthy, brutal, and base love is not engendered from the nature of things, but from disease and corporeal infirmity, so that divine love, which was bestowed by the beneficence of the Gods, is believed to accede to the minds of men through the

this intermediate love, which is related as much to reason as it is to desire and pleasure, does not exclude, but rather includes, friendship. This love is, in fact, the *amor amicitiae* Cicero talks about when he regards sceptically the possibility of a love that teaches how to temper concupiscence, like that considered by Plato. It is interesting to point out that, according to Apuleius, this intermediate love participates in the love typical of people *facetae et urbanae*, because *facetus* and *urbanus*, along with *curialis*, were the Latin terms most commonly used in the twelfth century to talk about courtesy.[86] What is called courtly love is better understood if it is considered within the conceptual framework of the Platonic moral philosophy that contemplates the possibility of a love that, without rejecting corporal desire, sees in its moderation or temperament a way to acquire virtuous behaviours.[87]

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inspiration of the celestial Cupid. There is also a third species of love, which we have denominated a medium, and which subsists through an affinity to divine and terrestrial love, is connected to each by an equal bond of alliance, and in the same manner as divine love is proximate to reason, and is joined to the desire of pleasure, like the terrestrial love," trans. Thomas Taylor. ("*Plato tres amores hoc genere dinumerat, quod sit unus diuinus cum incorrupta mente et uirtutis ratione conueniens, non paenitendus; alter degeneris animi et corruptissimae uoluptatis; tertius ex utroque permixtus, mediocris ingenii et cupidinis modicae. Animas uero fusciores inpelli cupidine corporum unumque illis propositum esse, ut eorum usura potiantur atque eiusmodi uoluptate et delectatione ardorem suum mulceant; illas uero <quae> facetae et urbanae sint animas bonorum deamare et studere illis factumque uelle, uti quam plurimum potiantur bonis artibus et meliores praestantioresque reddantur. Medias ex utroque constare nec delectationibus corporum prorsus carere et lepidis animarum ingeniis capi posse. Vt ille igitur amor taeterrimus et inhumanissimus atque turpis non ex rerum natura, sed aegritudine corporali morboque colligitur, sic ille diuinus, deorum munere beneficioque concessus, adspirante caelesti cupidine in animos hominum credatur uenire. Est amoris tertia species, quam diximus mediam, diuini atque terreni proximitate collectus nexuque et consortio parili copulatus, et ut rationi propinquus est diuinus ille, ita terrenus ille cupidini iunctus est <et> uoluptati*").

86 John Gillingham, "From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002), 267–89, especially 282.

87 Regarding moderation, see: Capellanus, *De amore* 1.6.463: "So a woman ought not assent immediately to the desire of a suitor, but should first make him a great many cautious promises and should with proper moderation postpone giving him the good things she has promised him; then, to test the purity of his faith, she should sometimes say that she has completely changed her mind about what she promised him a while before and that she is not willing to do what she promised." ("*Non ergo debet statim mulier petentis annuere voluntati, sed infinitis eum primo caute ditare promissis et cum competenti moderatione bona differre promissa, et, ut eius fidei puritatem agnoscat, debet quandoque a promissis prioribus se prorsus annuere alteratam et nolle quod promiserat adimplere*"). Regarding the aquisition of virtuous habits, see: Capellanus, *De amore* 1.4.1: "O what a wonderful thing is love, which makes a man shine with so many virtues and teaches everyone, no matter

In *De Platone et eius dogmate*, Apuleius also talks about the abolition of private property and the institution of the community of women in Plato's *Republic*. He further states, in a tacit reference to the dialogue about the *Laws*, that in addition to the city that was built in words, Plato also conceived of another, better, fairer city than the existing ones, but one that was closer to reality. In this city, unlike in the *Republic*, the private property of goods and marriage were recognised, but children's education continued to be mixed-sex education and both private property and marriage were submitted to the general good in keeping with the principles that had guided the decrees of that first work. According to Apuleius, the problem that Plato would have proposed addressing in this second work would go something like this: Through what policies and procedures could those who govern a community ensure that it is governed by good laws and customs, taking into account the existing reality and the true nature of its inhabitants? To put it another way: How can a ruler, in keeping with the principles of philosophy, reform a society that already has some particular institutions and where individuals tend to behave in a way that is improvable?[88] This was also the question asked by the learned men of the twelfth century who put their knowledge in service to the princes. These learned persons, the same ones who had reached the conclusion that if philosophers ruled, men would have women in common regarding their complaisance, favours and services, knew that Plato had thought of the passionate love caused by the emotion and motivational state of sexual desire as a useful instrument for acquiring the virtues that ennoble the soul. In *fin'amor*, these two Platonically inspired ideas converge. It has become a cliché to say that love is a twelfth century invention. It may be more accurate to say that, in the twelfth century, an attempt was made to reinvent the old Platonic love, transforming it into a heterosexual one.

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who he is, so many good traits of character!" ("*O, quam mira res est amor, qui tantis facit hominem fulgere virtutibus, tantisque docet quemlibet bonis moribus abundare!*") and also *De amore* 1.6.472, which talks about *amor purus*: "This love is distinguished by being of such virtue that from it arises all excellence of character, and no injury comes from it, and God sees very little offense in it. No maiden can ever be corrupted by such a love, nor can a widow or a wife receive any harm or suffer any injury to her reputation," trans. John Jay Parry ("*Amor iste tantae dignoscitur esse virtutis quod ex eo totius probitatis origo descendit, et nulla inde procedit iniuria, et modicam in ipso Deus recognoscit offensam. Ex tali nempe amore neque virgo nunquam corrupta nec vidua vel coniugata potest aliquod sentire gravamen vel propriae famae dispendium sustinere*").

88 Lucius Apuleius, *De Platone et eius dogmate* 2.26.

# PART 3

## *Emotional Portraits*

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CHAPTER 6

# Emotions, Spirituality and Artistic Promotion of a King's Daughter

## *The Will of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou* (ca. *1302–1348*), *Prioress of the Monastery of Sigena*

*Alberto Velasco*

### 1 Preliminary Considerations[1]

At the end of 1335, an event occurred in Tarragona cathedral that would shake the Catalan-Aragonese royal family. One night, Infanta Blanche of Aragon and Anjou, daughter of the late King James II the Just (†1327) and sister of the then monarch, Alfonso III the Benign (1327–1336), had an emotional outburst and carried out an act of extreme fraternal love. Impetuously, with premeditation and under cover of darkness, she exhumed the body of her brother, John of Aragon, archbishop of Tarragona (1328–1334), who had died the previous year bathed in saintliness and for whom she felt authentic veneration. After this sacrilege, the infanta took his remains to the monastery of Santa María de Sigena (current province of Huesca), bordering Catalonia and where she was prioress, and buried them "vilely," in the king's words. Doing so, Blanche surely aimed for the two of them to rest in eternal peace beside each other in the monastery that she ran, in another show of the love she professed for her brother. Given the facts, the monarch had to intervene to reverse the situation and avoid the royal household becoming involved in a case of sacrilege and scandal before the pope. In this sense, we know the facts through a letter dated on 12 December that year that Alfonso the Benign sent to Prince Peter,

1 This chapter is part of the results of the research project "El poder vivido en la baja edad media: percepción, representación y expresividad en la gestión y recepción del poder (PVPRE)" funded by the Spanish Ministry of Research (MINECO) (ref. PID2019-104085GB-I00), lead researcher: Dr. Flocel Sabaté. In turn, it has enjoyed the support of the "Espai, Poder i Cultura" Consolidated Medieval Studies Research Group funded by AGAUR (Regional Government of Catalonia) (ref. 2017 SGR 00043), lead researcher: Dr. Flocel Sabaté, at the University of Lleida. I wish to express my thanks to Francesc Fité for his help in reviewing the transcription of the will of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou, which appears in the appendix.

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future Peter the Ceremonious, in which he ordered him to resolve the situation, expressing himself in strong terms to define his sister's acts: "She was carried away by female horror and insane advice."[2]

The necrophiliac actions of the infanta and prioress of Sigena describe very well the character and feelings of a woman the historiography has presented as someone who, in all spheres of life and situations, showed her emotions very clearly. Such authors as Martínez Ferrando reached this conclusion from the correspondence between Blanche and, mainly, her father, James II.[3] Her mother's death in 1310 during the birth of her tenth child meant the separation of the children. We have to add a distant father due to his royal obligations,[4] and Blanche's continuous problems of health and isolation in a monastery in an inhospitable and unhealthy land. All together this forged an intense personality that can be glimpsed from careful reading of the documentation.

Her character was marked by a deep love for certain members of her family, like the above-mentioned John, or her sister Mary, with whom she was also very close and with whom she would spend a good part of her life in Sigena and Barcelona.[5] These feelings appear in her correspondence with her father,

2 "*Absque horrore feminino et dementi concilio prorsus ducta.*" Jesús Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1948), 1:176–77 and 2:332–33 (doc. No. 459). See: Francesca Español, "El sepulcre de Joan d'Aragó a la catedral de Tarragona. Un aixopluc de marbre en el context de la 'Beata Stirps'," *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 27 (2016–2018), 165–66.

3 The most important source for knowledge about these letters is the above work by Martínez, *Jaime II de Aragón*. See also: Regina Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena. Catálogo de documentos del archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1994). See also: Jesús Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Els fills de Jaume II* (Barcelona, 1950), pp. 149–63; Julio Arribas Salaberri, *Doña Blanca de Aragón y de Anjou. XVI priora del Real Monasterio de Sijena* (Lleida, 1973); and Íngrid Grúas Lalana, *Blanca de Aragón y Anjou. Personalidad y actividad constructiva en el Monasterio de Santa María de Sijena (1301–1348)* (Huesca, 2016), pp. 36–44, although the latter inexplicably fails to quote the epistolary published previously by Martínez Ferrando and Sáinz de la Maza, and quotes the archive's references directly. The person who has delved deepest into the feelings and emotions that appear in Blanche's letters is probably Núria Gil Roig, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos. Afecto, formalismo o interés," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 14–15/1 (1999), 693–708.

4 In this sense, in the letters James II exchanged with his children, the latter make continuous reproaches for feeling abandoned by their father: Gil, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos," p. 697.

5 Mary was born around 1297 and died in Barcelona in 1347. In 1312, she married Peter of Castile, son of Sancho IV of Castile and Maria de Molina, but was widowed seven years later while she was pregnant. Mary then entered the order of Saint John in Tortosa, in 1322, in a ceremony attended by Blanche and the king himself (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:183 [doc. No. 537]). About Mary, see also: Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:107–27; Martínez Ferrando, *Els fills de Jaume II*, pp. 61–88; Antonio Paulí, *El Real Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Monte-Sión* (Barcelona, 1952), pp. 15–31; Josep Baucells

in which Blanche deals with various questions related to the management of the monastery and its incomes, her health and that of the monarch, or requesting permission to travel to visit her brother the archbishop. Very often, feelings and anguishes appear starkly in the missives, and this has led to her being described as emotionally unbalanced and even as the most rebellious of the king's children.[6] In the letters, we find extroverted displays of filial-parental love and feelings,[7] like when, around 1326, Blanche pleaded with the king for information about his health, as it was "the greatest pleasure I could have in this world," while adding that she was so eager to see him "that I cannot bear it anymore."[8]

Similarly, Blanche's love for her brother John, then still archbishop of Toledo (1319–1328), is shown in very eloquent terms, to the extent of declaring to her father "the thing that I love most in this world after you, I see is in that land of danger" ("*que la cosa en este mundo que yo mas amo después de vos veyo estar en aquela tierra de periglo*"), given that the relations between the crowns of Castile and Aragon were not at their best and she was concerned about the fate of her brother. At the same time, she expressed immense eagerness to see him and asked her father to authorise a visit:

> and do this lord, if you love my life, that in any way you can make him come here, but, lord, I can swear that I will and, lord, I plead for mercy and that you have pity on me so that you do not wish me to die.[9]

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Reig, "L'expansió peninsular en la política de Jaume II: el matrimoni de la seva filla gran Maria amb l'infant Pere de Castella," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 12 (1982), 491–536; Manuel García Fernández, "La infanta doña María, monja de Sijena, y su política castellana durante la minoría de Alfonso XI (1312–1325)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 28 (1998), 157–74; Maria Carme Roca Costa, *Abadesses i priores a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 2014), pp. 269–70.

6 Gil, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos," p. 700.

7 According to Núria Gil, these shows of affection were more evident in the letters the children sent to their father than the other way round, as the paternal tone was much more measured and surely conditioned by political and expansive interests (Gil, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos," pp. 697–98).

8 "*el mayor plazer que yo pueda aver en est mundo*"; "*que ya no lo puedo mas sofrir.*" Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1: 221–22 (docs. No. 647 and 649).

9 "*e esto feyt senyor si mi vida queredes que en todas maneras lo fagades venir acha, si no senyor yo vos fago çierto quant pendre la muert, e senyor clamo vos merçe que vos prenga piedat de mi que no querades que yo muera.*" Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:216–17, doc. No. 635 (the letter does not contain the year, which Sáinz de la Maza places around 1326, but the date does appear, 18 September). The transcription in Gil, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos," p. 705, doc. No. 1 (with commentary on p. 701). In the space of three days she sent three similar letters to her father, which reveals Blanche's sentimental

Finally, she managed to convince Prince Alfonso, also her brother, to allow her to visit John in Toledo whenever she wanted, as the monarch considered it useful for the soul of his sister, who had to resort to him habitually for confession and advice.[10] John must have been a very special person, erudite and trained in theology, with a great gift for oratory and persuasion, and with the virtue of patience forged over his years in the archbishopric of Toledo at a time when the relations between the crowns of Castile and Aragon were very tense. Moreover, the epitaph on his tomb in Tarragona Cathedral also reveals an intense personality from the spiritual point of view, given that he mortified his body by fasting and with cilices.[11]

Similarly, in the case of people close to, but not related to her, Blanche was generous and selfless, as in 1327 when she asked her brother Alfonso, still a prince, to look after and take in Martín Jiménez de Heredia, one of her servants, who had been ill but had improved greatly thanks to her care,[12] or when she asked the same brother, now king, to grant 3,500 shillings (*solidos*) to Pedro Zapata, Blanche's servant, on his wedding.[13] This generosity is also clear in the gifts in her will, which contains bequests to people in her circle to whom she wanted to show her gratitude upon her death, as analysed below.

Blanche's disobedient nature forced James II, Alfonso the Benign and Peter the Ceremonious all to intervene on occasion to prevent her from becoming involved in affairs that were not appropriate, as we have seen above, or related to the conflict between the noble Guillem de Montcada and his wife, who he kept imprisoned in Fraga (Huesca). In the latter case, Blanche wanted to go there to intercede in favour of the woman, but her father advised against it, as he had received news about the lady's guilt and warned his daughter not to intervene in questions about which she was not well informed.[14] We must

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intensity and the anguish she suffered after having been about to die from fever (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:216–17 (docs. No. 633–35).

10 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:230 (doc. No. 670).

11 "*Carnem suam ieiuniis, et cilicis macerans.*" Emilio Morera, *Tarragona antigua y moderna. Descripción histórico-arqueológica de todos sus monumentos y edificios públicos civiles, eclesiásticos, militares, y guía para su fácil visita, examen é inspección* (Tarragona, 1894), p. 101. See also: Español, "El sepulcre de Joan d'Aragó," p. 175 and following.

12 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1: 229 (doc. No. 669).

13 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1: 238 (doc. No. 695).

14 Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:175–76 and 2:267–68 (docs. No. 359–60). See: Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:180 (doc. No 527). The correspondence does not specify the name of the lady, but we know that the woman imprisoned—perhaps for adultery—was Teresa de Ayerbe, the second wife of Guillem de Montcada, baron of Fraga and seneschal of Catalonia. See: Maria Mercè Costa Paretas, "La casa dels senyors d'Ayerbe," *Medievalia* 8 (1988), 108–09.

deduce that what Blanche wanted was to help, out of sisterhood, someone she must have considered a good friend, if we take into account how she acted on other occasions, as well as the response of her father and brothers in this kind of situation. Another who she helped similarly in 1322 was the noble Urraca Sánchez de Huerta, who had come under her protection because the chapter of the Cathedral of Saragossa demanded that she cede the town of Pinseque (Saragossa). Given this situation, Blanche asked the king to place Urraca and her assets under royal protection.[15] She did the same with Faida de Mauleó,[16] who had serious disagreements with her husband, Rogeró of Lauria, and her mother-in-law, Saurina of Entença, wife of Admiral Roger of Lauria. Altogether, it meant that her father, James II, followed Blanche's life closely and exercised a rigid guardianship over her actions. First, this control was through Teresa Jiménez de Urrea, prioress of the monastery of Sigena until 1321, who looked after the infanta from when she entered the monastery while still a girl. After the former's death, with Blanche appointed prioress, it was the king himself who watched over her directly, and always more closely, than he did the rest of his children.[17]

The documentation shows that Blanche had a strong need for fraternal love, which is why Mary, the sister who lived with her in Sigena, wrote to Alfonso the Benign, their brother, around 1333 reprimanding him for his indifference and perpetual forgetfulness.[18] The letter highlights the desperation of the two sisters, who saw their lives endangered by the cold and unhealthy conditions to which they were exposed in the monastery of Sigena and which had led them to fall ill with consumption. This desperation, logically, was accompanied by dramatism and sadness, states that could become the precursors of depression. Mary, in her own name and representing Blanche, complained about Alfonso's indifference, reproaching him for not responding personally to the letters they sent him. His silence greatly concerned Blanche, who feared for her sister's health and that "So, such great woe has she that it has no comparison and she does nothing other than cry" ("*Asi que, tan grant basca a que no a par e no façe sino plorar*"). Mary tried to make the king see that Blanche felt true love

15 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:184 (doc. No. 540).

16 Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:175. The relationship between Blanche and Faida de Mauleó is demonstrated in 1321 when the king ordered the payment of 1,000 gold maravedies for services paid to his daughter. See: Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:178, docs. No. 522–23).

17 Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:169–71; Gil, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos," p. 700, note 27.

18 The full text of the letter, which is undated, in Gil, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos," pp. 706–07, doc. 2 (with comentaries on pp. 703–04).

for him, as "she, sir, does not love nor identify with anyone else like you" ("*ella senyor no ama ni se mira sino en vos*"), but this familial feeling was not reciprocated. Moreover, Mary gave as an example of this love an interesting ring that the two sisters presented him with as a talisman against possible injury on the battlefield, a jewel that contained two precious relics of the *Lignum Crucis* and "of the robes" ("*de la vestidura*") of Christ.[19] At the same time, she mentions that Blanche had ordered luxurious silver "bridles" ("*cabeçades*") to be made for the monarch's horse, "the richest and most beautiful that you see" ("*las mas ricas e fermosas que vos visedes*").

The emotional problems of some of the ten children James II had with Blanche of Anjou have been a recurring subject in the historiography when it comes to justifying certain attitudes and actions. The case of the heir, Prince James, is paradigmatic. On the day of his wedding to Eleanor of Castile (1319), he fled and ended up joining the Order of Montesa. His personality was complex and was affected, according to what is written, by mood swings and continuous depressions.[20] The case of Blanche has been interpreted in similar terms, hence Martínez Ferrando states that:

> The extravagances she incurred allow us to presume that in her character there must have been crises similar to those of her eldest brother, although her raptures of filial and fraternal love, which went beyond the limits of the normal, distanced her from him.[21]

19 This is probably the same ring documented in a robbery that took place in the monastery in 1342, and which we will return to below. In the inventory of stolen goods it seems to be referenced in these terms: "a little bag containing four gold rings with four precious stones embedded, one of which was a pink ruby, at the end of which there was the cloth of Jesus Christ." ("*una bolseta don avia quatro aniellos de oro con quatro piedras precioses encastades, de las quales la una era robiç balays, en el gascon de la qual havia de la vestadura de Jesu Christo*"). Another object that contained a new fragment of the same relic appears in the same document, among other holy remains. This was a "silver barrel worked and gilded with its red silk cord, where there are relics of the clothes of Jesus Christ and the cloth in which he was wrapped when he was placed in the tomb, and of the True Cross, and the skin of Saint Bartholomew, and other relics of many other saints." ("*barrilet de argent brescado et sobredorado con su cordon vermeyllo de seda, on ha relíquies de la vestadura de Jesu Christo et del drapo on fue enbolcado quando lo pusieron en el sepulcro, et del lignum Domini, et del cuero de Sant Barthomeo, et otras relíquies de muytos otros santos*"). See: Antoni Rubió Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eval,* 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1994), 2: 68–71 (doc. No. 68).

20 Joaquim Miret i Sans, *El forassenyat primogènit de Jaume II* (Barcelona, 1957).

21 "*Las extravagancias en que incurrió permiten presumir que en su carácter debieron producirse crisis similares a las de su hermano primogénito, si bien la distancian de éste sus raptos*

The same author claims that Blanche,

> was the victim of frequent illnesses that must have influenced her uneven and strange temperament and singular ravings [...] she appeared at times [...] cheerful and spirited and at others, she felt very depressed, allowing herself to be overcome by a deep sadness.[22]

Arribas Salaberri, who declared himself literally enamoured and fascinated by the personality of Blanche, stated that she was:

> passionate, neurasthenic, necrophiliac, voluntary, sickly, mystical, misanthropic, generous and charitable. Well, something, as the romantics would say, that is the quintessence of femininity, or as Picasso would say, who defined woman as 'a very comic being'.[23]

More recently, Núria Gil highlighted that her personality, "sometimes bordered on hysteria,"[24] while Carmen Concepción Gil defined her as "weak and unstable."[25] There are even those who have described Blanche's acts in Tarragona in 1335 with the remains of her defunct brother as "derangement verging on

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*de amor filial y fraterno que fueron más allá de los límites de lo normal."* Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:169.

22 "*fué víctima de frecuentes enfermedades que debieron influir en su temperamento desigual y extraño y en sus singulares desvaríos* [...] *manifestábase unas veces* [...] *alegre y animosa y otras se sentía muy deprimida, dejándose vencer por una marcada tristeza.*" Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:169. In another place, the same author claimed that: "Like almost all the children of James II, Infanta Blanche was the victim of frequent bouts of illness that influenced her vehement and arbitrary temperament, which manifested itself with exorbitant attitudes, with singular delusions, unequivocal proof of her morbidity." ("*Com gairebé tots els fills de Jaume II, la infanta Blanca va ésser víctima de freqüents malalties que influïren en el seu temperament vehement i arbitrari, el qual es manifestà amb actituds desorbitades, amb singulars desvaris, prova inequívoca de la seva morbositat*"). Martínez Ferrando, *Els fills de Jaume II*, p. 150.

23 "*apasionada, neurasténica, necrofílica, voluntariosa, enfermiza, mística, misantrópica, generosa y caritativa. Bueno, algo, como dirían los románticos, que es la quintaesencia de la feminidad, o como diría Picasso, que definía a la mujer como 'un ser muy cómico'.*" Arribas, *Doña Blanca de Aragón*, p. 53. A similar portrait in Julio Arribas Salaberri, *Historia de Sijena* (Lleida, 1975), p. 87.

24 "*en ocasiones rozaba el histerismo*." Gil, "Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos," p. 698.

25 "*débil e inestable.*" Carmen C. Gil Ortega, "Los arzobispos de Toledo en su concepto testamentario de la muerte (1085–1517)," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval* 27 (2014), 252.

madness," the consequence of a precarious state of health that had dragged on for years,[26] and to which we will return below.

However, the reality is that reading the documents does not allow such compelling conclusions to be drawn. Despite the intensity of Blanche's feelings, which become immediately apparent in the epistolary sources, I think that the historiography has overemphasised certain clichés concerning her reputation. This impression was reinforced by such acts as the exhumation and theft of her brother's mortal remains, the consequences of the continuous problems of health she suffered in Sigena because of the damp and unhealthy environment, and her abysmal handling of the incomes and assets of the monastery while she was prioress. Even so, her sincere expression of her feelings or her lack of ability to manage adequately the fate of the community she headed, do not justify presenting Blanche as unbalanced emotionally, depressive or neurasthenic. Behind this sketch of her personality, there is a clear historiographic bias that is the result of an epoch, under the Franco regime, when it was common to present women as incapable of handling the management of power due to their emotions and feelings, in contrast to men. A paradigmatic case is that of Queen Joanna I of Castile, known popularly as Joanna the Mad, who was blamed for the incompetence of her descendants down to Charles I and Philip II.[27] In the analysis of women like these, the patriarchal nature of the society in which they had to live is often overlooked, and they are held responsible and judged on the basis of parameters that led to accusations of lack of reason and mental illness. However, the documentation does not show this diagnosis clearly, beyond them being women who endured their feelings intensely.

As we shall see in due course, the illnesses Blanche suffered in Sigena are an incontrovertible fact in the light of the documents. It is easy to think that having been at the death's door on different occasions must have caused weakness and anguish, but I would argue that this is insufficient evidence to suppose a perturbed, depressive, sick personality from the emotional point of view, or incapacity to control and contain her feelings. Rather, these suppositions

26 "*desvaríos rayanos en la locura.*" Juan F. Utrilla, "El Real Monasterio de Sijena en la Edad Media," in *Real Monasterio de Santa María de Sijena*, eds. Mariano de Pano Ruata, José Ángel Sesma (Saragossa, 2004), p. LXXI.

27 Another analysis of Joanna's personality, and an attempt to dismantle the stereotypes generated by the historiography about her, in Cristina Segura: "Utilización política de la imagen de la reina Juana I de Castilla," in *Representación, construcción e interpretación de la imagen visual de las mujeres. Coloquio internacional de la AEIHM*, eds. Pilar Amador Carretero, Rosario Ruiz Franco (Madrid, 2003), pp. 173–89.

respond to prejudices formulated by a historiography conditioned by the political and social context of Spain in the second half of the twentieth century. The conditioning factors under the Franco regime surely meant that some of the authors cited above had problems understanding that Blanche could have other priorities than adapting docilely to what was expected of a fourteenth-century woman shut away in a monastery, far from everything and everyone she loved. Nor do they seem to have understood that she exercised sisterhood with certain women in her immediate circles, who she wanted to help in conflictive situations. From the pejorative terms they used to define Blanche's personality, it can be deduced that these writers did not accept that she expressed her feelings vehemently in the letters she exchanged with her father and other members of her family. These authors interpreted these attitudes as the antithesis of the rationality that should dominate the character of a king's daughter and prioress of a monastery.

If we add to this Blanche's evident shortcomings in the financial management of the monastery, we see the image of her projected in the historiography, that of an incompetent and almost puerile woman who, due to her emotional delusions, had to be controlled, first by her father, then by her brother and finally, by her nephew, all three of them kings, and all three men. In other words, the historiography insisted on presenting her as someone who had to be continuously subordinated to the opposite sex, even in the task of running a female monastery, which she could, in principle, do fully independently of men. Although this control was real and can be explained by the financial consequences that Blanche's handling had for the monastery and even for the Crown, what does not fit the reality appearing in the documents is her presentation as depressive, unbalanced or affected by mental illness. Instead, she should be described as a woman who gave the space she considered necessary to show her feelings and emotions.

## 2 Blanche of Aragon and Anjou and the Monastery of Sigena

The exact date of birth of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou, sixth child from the marriage between James II and Blanche of Anjou, is unknown. It is supposed she came into the world around 1302, and from a tender age, her parents consecrated her to the religious life. It seems she was taken to the monastery of Sigena when she was three years old,[28] and in 1310, took the vows to enter the

28 In a document from October 1305, the prioress of the monastery told Queen Blanche of Anjou that her daughter Blanche was in good health and learning a lot (Sáinz de la Maza,

Order of Saint John in Tarragona Cathedral, an act her mother, who died that same year, was still able to attend. She was educated in the monastery by various ladies under the supervision of Teresa Jiménez de Urrea, the prioress, who surely had great influence over Infanta Blanche. In addition, the prioress was charged with managing the large income the infanta had assigned to her in Aragon.[29]

The monastery of Santa Maria de Sigena was one of the leading religious centres in the Crown of Aragon during the medieval centuries, and closely linked to the royal family throughout its history (Figure 6.1).[30] It is in the municipality of Villanueva de Sigena (Huesca), in the modern district of Los Monegros, a strategic place sixty-five kilometres from Lleida and Huesca, and about ninety kilometres from Saragossa. It was founded in 1188 by Sancha of Castile, wife of King Alfonso the Chaste, and various members of the royal family were buried there, including Sancha herself and her son, King Peter the Catholic, who died in 1213 at the Battle of Muret. The founding involved the installation of a female community of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, which ran the institution until not many years ago. Three queens lived there, Sancha and Mary of Aragon, and Constance of Hungary, as well as the infantas Douce (Sancha's

*El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:74, doc. 221). However, in a document from 1303, James II stated that his daughter Blanche had been handed over to the Aragonese monastery (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:59 (doc. No. 177).

29 Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:170–71. In 1310, just after Blanche took her vows, with the aim of relieving the monastery of the costs of her stay, the king granted the infanta the tribute from the Jewish aljama in the city of Huesca for life (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:106–07 [docs. No. 311–13]). In 1312, this concession was exchanged for the royal rents from the town of Gelsa (Saragossa), and those from Castellote (Teruel) were added (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:117–19 [docs. No. 344–45, 347 and 349]). Three years later, other rents from Berbegal (Huesca), Lleida and Saragossa were added (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:122–24, 125–26 and 130 [docs. No. 356–61, 366–68 and 378]), and in 1316 there was the intention to do the same with those from Albalate de Cinca (Huesca), which would be exchanged for those from Lleida and the Jewry of Saragossa (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:42 and 50 [docs. No. 414, 438–39]). Over the following years, incomes from other places would be added and exchanged.

30 For the history of the monastery, see, among others: Marco Antonio Varón, *Historia del real monasterio de Sixena*, 2 vols. (Pamplona, 1773–1776); Mariano de Pano Ruata, *El Real Monasterio de Sigena. Su historia y descripción* (Lleida, 1883); Javier Fuentes Ponte, *Memoria Histórico-Descriptiva del Santuario de Santa María de Sijena* (Lleida, 1890); Agustín Ubieto, *El Real Monasterio de Sigena* (*1188–1300*) (Valencia, 1996); Arribas, *Historia de Sijena*; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*; Mariano de Pano Ruata, José Ángel Sesma, eds. *Real Monasterio de Santa Maria de Sijena* (Saragossa, 2004); Utrilla, "El Real Monasterio de Sijena," pp. XLIII-LXXXII.

FIGURE 6.1 Monastery of Santa María de Sigena, Huesca, Spain
PHOTO: ALBERTO VELASCO GONZÀLEZ

daughter), and Blanche and Mary, James II's daughters. Isabella of Aragon, daughter of Count Peter II of Urgell and directly related to the royal house, also took the vows,[31] as did many noblewomen from leading Aragonese and Catalan lineages.

The prestige of the monastery dated back to the times of its foundation, but the fact that in 1298, James II placed it under his protection,[32] and that shortly after, his daughter was linked to it, was advantageous for the institution. This

31 Carmen Berlabé, "Fundación y patronato real en el monasterio de Sigena (Huesca). De Alfonso el Casto a Jaime el Justo," in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval*, ed. Marisa Melero (Bellaterra, 2001), pp. 255–68; Eileen McKiernan González, *Monastery and Monarchy: the Foundation and Patronage of Santa Maria la Real de Sigena and Santa Maria la Real de Las Huelgas* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 2005).

32 Fuentes, *Memoria histórico-descriptiva*, pp. 30–31; Ubieto, *El Real Monasterio de Sigena*, p. 84. James II made this decision because of the open conflict in the house over the election of Teresa Jiménez de Urrea as prioress in 1292, which divided the community into two factions and led to significant outside interference and great conflict. See: Utrilla, "El Real Monasterio de Sijena," pp. LXIII-LXIV.

was not only because of the entry of a member of the royal family,[33] but also from the financial point of view, given that James II granted numerous incomes to the infanta and privileges to the monastery, which had suffered a major crisis during the latter decades of the thirteenth century.[34] The king's identification with Sigena and the political and emotional links he maintained were very close, which seems to explain why in 1323, when Blanche was prioress, in a letter he sent to the bishop of Lleida, the monarch referred to the monastery "Which was founded by our predecessors."[35]

Despite everything, Blanche's stay in Sigena was not at all pleasant. The monastery was built in a marsh and, moreover, the River Alcanadre flooded it often. That, together with the cold, made life there hard and the infanta's health suffered greatly because of this, as the documentation shows. Blanche's health problems were already documented in 1307, when the prioress informed the king that his daughter had recovered from an illness,[36] and these difficulties continued over the following years. In 1317, for example, given a new crisis, the king recommended the prioress Jiménez de Urrea to send the infanta to the place called "Fontes" to recover.[37] That same year, the monarch advised his daughter to protect herself from the cold:

> and no matter how much better you are now, beware of the cold, and put on the lined cape, gloves on your hands with lining, and cover yourself very much, and put on lined shoes and clogs, and do all that the prioress

33 Blanche's vows in the monastery explain why the Chronicle by Ramon Muntaner refers to the house and the infanta in these laudatory terms: "the order of Sigena is the most honourable for women in Spain, and of this order she is the prioress, as well as the one who is very holy and devout." ("*l'orde de Seixena és la pus honrada de dones que sia en Espanya, e d'aquest orde és la dita infanta prioressa, així com aquella qui és molt santa dona e devota*"). See: R. Muntaner, "Crònica," ed. Ferran Soldevilla, *Les quatre grans cròniques* (Barcelona, 1971), p. 933.

34 For the many donations and privileges documented, see, for instance, Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:86–87, 90, 110, 124 and 172 (docs. No. 255, 265, 323, 363 and 502).

35 "*quod predecessorum nostrorum fundacio est.*" Iohannes Vincke, *Documenta Selecta. Mutuas Civitatis Arago-Cathalaunicae et Ecclesiae Relationes Illustrantia* (Barcelona, 1936), p. 288 (doc. No. 399).

36 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:85 (doc. No. 252).

37 This place must be identified with Fonts (Fonz, in Aragonese and the current official name), some fifty kilometres from Sigena, near Barbastro. Centuries later it would be closely linked to the monastery. In contrast, Martínez Ferrando proposed linking it to the former place called Fonts del Perelló, on the road from Tarragona to Valencia (Martínez Ferrando, *Els fills de Jaume II*, p. 226, note 1).

> and physicians advise you if you want my esteem; and if you don't do all this, it will greatly displease us.[38]

In 1326, Blanche confessed to her father that she had been at death's door, first for tertiary fevers and then, for rheum (*lagaña*). According to the physicians who treated her, she was also consumptive.[39] This was all due to the dampness and harsh living conditions she had to face in Sigena.

In 1321, the prioress Teresa Jiménez de Urrea died, but Blanche had been eager and impatient to succeed her for some time. After the death of the prioress, James II wrote to his daughter asking her to be patient and not to get involved in the affairs of the priory until confirmation of her appointment arrived from the pontifical curia. That must have happened before 6 August 1321,[40] because on that date, the king congratulated his daughter for having been awarded the post and told her he would visit Sigena shortly. He also took advantage of the promotion to tell her he would have her private seal made in Barcelona "good and convenient, with your image and a royal crest on one side, and the heraldry of your mother on the other." In the same letter, however, the king stated that "when you are with us we will give you, with God's help, good knowledge of what you have to do,"[41] with which the monarch showed the zeal and tutelage that, from then on, he exerted over his daughter and, by extension, the monastery.[42] Either way, with her appointment as prioress, James

38 "*e por que mas ahina seades guarecida catat vos bien del frio, e trahet el capirot con penna vestida, guantes en las manos con penna, e vestit muyto, e calçat çappatos folrados e tapines, e feyt todo al que la priora e los fisigos vos consellaran si querades la nuestra amor; e si no lo façiades, desplaçer nos ha mucho.*" For this reference, see: Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:172 and 2:172–73 and 175 (docs. No. 240 and 245); Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:152–53 (docs. No. 444–46).

39 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1: 216–17 (docs. No 633–35).

40 The appointment happened after 4 March that year, given that on that date James II held a series of meetings with different people and wrote to Pope John XXII announcing the arrival of his envoy, Pere d'Esplugues, archdeacon of Alzira, to request the priory of Sigena for Blanche. On 22 April that year, the king announced to his daughter that the pope had decided to resolve the question of the priory in her favour (Vincke, *Documenta Selecta*, pp. 261–62 [doc. No. 363]), and on 23 June the king wrote to the above-mentioned Esplugues to express his satisfaction for having obtained the papal bulls confirming the concession of the priory. For all this process, see: Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:175–77 and 179–80 (docs. No. 513–16, 519 and 525–26).

41 "*bueno e convinent con la ymaga vuestra e un escudet reyal de la un costado, e otro senyal de vuestra mare del otro*"; "*quando vos seredes con nos dar vos emos con la ayuda de Dios bona doctrina de lo que auredes de fazer.*" For the questions commented on, see: Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:173 and 2:261 and 266–67 (docs. No. 351 and 358).

42 Just before Blanche's appointment as prioress, the king wrote to the procurator of the monastery to reprimand him for not having administered it well while the priory had

II notably increased the incomes with which he had endowed his daughter since she had been sent to Sigena.[43] After the king's death, Alfonso the Benign, Blanche's brother, continued this protectionist policy of following closely what was happening in the monastery.[44]

In light of James II's acts from Blanche's appointment as prioress, Martínez Ferrando claimed that "There is no room for greater interference by the power of the sovereign in the private affairs of a monastery." According to the same historian, these actions must have been motivated by the neglect of the prioress, his daughter,[45] which forced the king to inspect her actions closely and redirect situations when necessary.[46] In Blanche's favour, however, it must be said that the financial ruin of the monastery had begun some time before due to the reduction of royal and private donations, bad management and indebtedness under the prioresses Inés de Benavente (1281–1291) and Teresa Jiménez de Urrea (1292–1321).[47] Either way, the infanta-prioress was unable to revert the situation and her actions worsened the financial health of the house.[48] So, to be able to control the infanta more closely, the monarch designated a nun from the monastery, Guillerma Jiménez de Urrea, to look after Blanche and, especially, the running of the monastery. It seems that Guillerma fulfilled the missions she was charged with excellently, so, after Alfonso the Benign rose to the throne in 1329, he renewed his progenitor's appointment and entrusted her with the government and management of the monastery.[49] Guillerma

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been vacant and demanded that he do a better job to earn the favour of the future prioress (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*,1:179 [doc. No.524]). The monarch's intervention was also evident in 1322, when Blanche promulgated various ordinations to govern the internal life of the monastery. These had to be approved by the king and provoked a comment from the monarch to his daughter advising her to have them observed scrupulously to avoid superfluous expenses and an increase in servants (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 2:285, doc. 390; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:185 [doc. No. 542]).

43 See, for instance, Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:171, 183, 186, 193, 199 and 204–06 (doc. No. 501, 536, 546, 568, 584, 601 and 605).

44 See Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:197, 245 and 253 (docs. No. 688, 717 and 738).

45 "*No cabe mayor ingerencia del poder del soberano en los asuntos particulares de un monasterio.*" Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:174. On the interference of Jaime II in the government of the monastery, see: Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 2:269 and 294 (docs. No. 362 and 405); Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:181, 190–191, 194 and 197 (docs. No. 530, 559, 561, 570 and 579–80).

46 In July 1324, the monarch was forced to pay 18,500 Jaca shillings (*solidos*) to cover certain debts for the monastery (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:178, note 28; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:196, doc. 577).

47 Utrilla points this out in, "El Real Monasterio de Sijena," p. LXIII.

48 A summary of the situation in Utrilla, "El Real Monasterio de Sijena," p. LXVII-LXXIII.

49 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:241 (doc. No. 705).

very probably became the king's person of trust in the community, acting as an extension of the monarch in the affairs of the house and overseeing the actions of the prioress.[50] After Alfonso's son and Blanche's nephew, Peter the Ceremonious had been crowned (1336), we see that Guillerma was promoted to sub-prioress of the monastery.[51] The infanta's financial handling of the numerous incomes it held had been dire. The new king discovered through Guillerma that Blanche had given part of these incomes and the assets of the monastery to various people without the consent of the sub-prioress and the rest of the community. This forced the monarch to intervene and make them return the assets that Blanche had transferred to them wrongfully.[52]

Just after the events in Tarragona (1335) with the remains of her dead brother, Blanche began to distance herself physically and mentally from Sigena. She did not want to continue living there for fear of continuous illness and death,[53] but surely also because of the financial and jurisdictional problems that appeared throughout the reign of Alfonso the Benign and in the early years under Peter the Ceremonious.[54] The conflict generated by the situation, with various legal

50 Also in 1329, some months before the renewal of the post, King Alfonso granted Guillerma Jiménez de Urrea 15,000 shillings (*solidos*) as a special grace (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:238 [doc. No. 696]), that should perhaps be interpreted as a reward for her loyalty. Otherwise, the trust the king placed in her is shown by the fact that Guillerma was put in charge of gathering the 30,000 shillings (*solidos*) that the inhabitants of the towns belonging to the lordship of the monastery had to give the monarch as a contribution to the costs of the Granada war (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1: 250 [doc. No. 730]). It was precisely Guillerma who wrote to Alfonso in 1332 to tell him that his sister was very thin and ill "of that scabies and stomachache" ("*d'aquella sarna e mal que a a l'estomaguo*"), and that she had a temperature, and so asked him to send a trusted doctor and who knew Blanche's health well. The nun also stated that the prioress was in grave danger and that, unless God performed a miracle, she would die (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:256 [doc. No. 748]).

51 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:287–89 (docs. No. 839–40 and 845).

52 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:288 and 303 (docs. No. 840 and 886). Thanks to a document from 1340, we know that Blanche and her sister Mary made numerous pecuniary awards to different people using the 10,000 shillings (*solidos*) that James II had granted them annually for their maintenance, which led to them incurring numerous debts (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:305–06 [doc. No. 893]).

53 In 1340, Peter the Ceremonious authorised the two sisters to journey to different places near the monastery to try to recover their health and find solace (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:309, [doc. No. 902]).

54 We refer to the documentation in Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:291, 293, 302 and 317–18 (docs. No. 849, 856, 882, 928 and 930), and also to the analysis of the crisis in Utrilla, "El Real Montasterio," pp. LXVI-LXXIII. Ten years after the death of Blanche, Peter the Ceremonious was still dealing with questions related to the debts incurred by his aunt (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1: 44 and 46 (docs. No. 92 and 99]).

processes and clashes, ended up leading to the attempted murder of the prioress' procurator in 1342 when he was in Saragossa, and an attack on the monastery that led to the theft of an important set of jewels, clothing and assets valued at between 10,000 and 20,000 shillings (*solidos*), as well as various priceless relics.[55]

This distancing of Blanche from the monastery is confirmed by her attendance at the coronation of Peter the Ceremonious in Saragossa in 1336, after which she went to Valencia with the royal retinue, surely drawn by the more benign climate of the coast. That same year, we have indications about Blanche's intention to exchange the habit of Saint John for that of another order,[56] at the same time as Mary was considering taking the habit of the Order of Preachers and founding a monastery for Dominican nuns in the Valencian capital, for which Peter the Ceremonious granted her a life pension of 30,000 pounds (*lliures*).[57] The following year, the wishes of both sisters, supported by the king, to take vows in the monastery of the Poor Clares in Valencia are documented.[58] However, the community of Sigena mobilised to force the prioress to return. They were successful, not without effort, but Blanche and Mary did not want to spend the rest of their lives in that monastery, surrounded by the marshy waters that led to them falling ill with consumption. In 1341, the two sisters expressed their desire to move to Barcelona or Tarragona to regain their health, which led the king to send a doctor to Sigena to see them.[59] In 1346, Peter the Ceremonious recognised in a letter that Blanche could not comfortably deal with the administration of the monastery as a consequence of her poor health, which is why he handed these tasks to Guillerma Jiménez de Urrea,[60] referred to above and who James II and Alfonso the Benign had trusted with the community. This would all end with the two sisters moving to Barcelona in 1347 and

55 The relics and assets stolen are listed in Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:68–9 (doc. No. 68). See: Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:319–20, 322 and 324 (docs. No. 934, 942 and 948).

56 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:289, doc. 843.

57 María Soledad Hernández Cabrera, "La celda del convento, una habitación propia. La vivencia de la clausura en la comunidad de dominicas de Montesión," *Duoda* 22 (2002), 23 n. 15.

58 Vincke, *Documenta Selecta*, p. 378, doc. 512; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:292–93 (docs. No. 852 and 855).

59 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1: 315 (docs. No. 920–21).

60 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:341–43 (docs. No. 998 and 1002). Guillerma is known to have been dead in July 1347 (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:344 [docs. No. 1006–07]).

Blanche's resignation as prioress as a consequence of her health problems.[61] The post of prioress went by papal designation to Urraca Cornel, in line with the recommendations made by the king himself, who sent Nicolau Rossell, royal chaplain and member of the order of preachers, to Sigena to inform the community of the decision.[62] As we shall see, Rossell ended up becoming confessor and testamentary executor to both Blanche and Mary. Blanche must have met her death in Barcelona at the end of 1348, probably from plague.[63]

## 3 Blanche of Aragon and Anjou, Artistic Patron

The historiography unanimously presents Blanche of Aragon and Anjou as a notable patron of artistic undertakings. However, little evidence has survived of the projects she carried out while she resided in the monastery and held the post of prioress. Firstly, mention must be made of the building of a new dormitory, which should not be seen as her personal initiative, but rather as a consequence of her arrival in Sigena at the beginning of the fourteenth century when she was still a child. The old dormitory was cold and exposed to floods and unhealthiness, so James II and Queen Blanche of Anjou wanted to build a better place for the infanta to rest. Thus, in various documents from between 1307 and 1310, the monarchs insisted that the 5,000 shillings (*solidos*) that the queen had ordered for building the dormitory should be paid to the monastery.[64] Once Blanche became prioress, it seems that new renovations were carried out in the dormitory and, as in 1325, the king promised to help Blanche with the work that was being carried out.[65]

In second place, we should indicate the renovation and extension of the priory palace, nowadays very poorly conserved, a project carried out after Blanche had become prioress. The structure of that southwestern part of the monastery is from the earliest stage of building, but the upper part was extensively

61 In 1346, from Avignon, the Pope granted Blanche and Mary permission to leave Sigena and found a monastery of Preachers near Barcelona or Tarragona (Hernández, "La celda del convent," p. 24).

62 On 17 November that year, Blanche is known to have already resigned as prioress of Sigena before the pope (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:345–46 [docs. No. 1011–13]).

63 Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:177–78.

64 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:80, 90 and 96–97 (docs. No. 239, 266, 285 and 287). For the work in the dormitory, see: Varón, *Historia del real monasterio de Sixena*, pp. 72–73, Pano, *Real Monasterio*, pp. 96–97 and 162–63 and Grúas, *Blanca de Aragón y Anjou*, pp. 46–49.

65 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:207 (doc. No. 610).

remodelled in Blanche's times. The main space was a large audience room also known as the "Throne room" fourteen metres long by seven metres in width.[66] The most notable element was the coffered ceiling, a polychrome and gilded wooden structure with a Gothic-Mudejar appearance in the shape of a barrel vault supported with tie beams, very similar to other examples documented all over the Hispanic kingdoms in the Late Middle Ages.[67] The orientalised style in which this large structure was done was not at all strange in artistic works of the epoch, and especially in Aragon, where work in plaster, tile and brick close to the Mudejar style and carried out by Moorish craftsmen was popular among Christian artistic patrons of the time. In fact, this style of construction must have been to the liking of the prioress, as we know that she had Abraxem Exaron, a Moor from Huesca, in her service, and he worked under her on all the renovations in the monastery.[68]

The ceiling of the priory chamber in Sigena was of high quality but our knowledge of this is limited to old photographs (Figure 6.2),[69] because it was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War. The aspect that shows Blanche was responsible for its construction is heraldic, with some of the shields that appear bearing the fleur-de-lis corresponding to her maternal family, the Anjous. Aside from her family insignia, there are also those of the Urrea lineage,[70] which seems to indicates that the work began under the previous prioress, Teresa Jiménez de Urrea, who died in 1321.[71] The presence of private royal insignia in works of art associated with Blanche must have been commonplace, as we shall see when we look at the priory throne, or as we document

66 Pano, *Real Monasterio*, pp. 105–111; Arribas, *Doña Blanca de Aragón*, pp. 49–50; María del Carmen Lacarra, "El manuscrito de Don Mariano de Pano y Ruata sobre el Real Monasterio de Santa María de Sijena (Huesca) y su importancia para la Historia del arte," in *Real Monasterio de Santa Maria de Sijena*, eds. Mariano de Pano Ruata and José Ángel Sesma (Saragossa, 2004), pp. XCV-XCVI; Grúas, *Blanca de Aragón y Anjou*, pp. 66–73.

67 For a study of this wooden ceiling, see Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, *Arte mudéjar aragonés*, 2 vol. (Saragossa, 2008), 1:312–329.

68 He appears in 1326 in a request from the prioress to the king in which she asks to defend him in a dispute with another Moor from Huesca (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:212–13 [doc. No. 624]).

69 Like those reproduced, for example, in Pano, *Real Monasterio*, pp. 97 and 106, figs. 30 and 33.

70 As indicated by Pano, *Real Monasterio*, p. 108 and Fuentes, *Memoria histórico-descriptiva*, p. 76.

71 Since the times of Mariano de Pano and Ricardo del Arco, the chronology of the priory palace is not clear. See, for example, in Ricardo del Arco, "El Real Monasterio de Sigena," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 29 (1921), 61, where he proposes dating it from the fifteenth century.

in certain artistic productions associated with the monastery but which again have not survived.[72]

Although we have no proof that it was due to a personal initiative, an altarpiece of Saint Peter Martyr currently in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (Figure 6.3), and which might have come from the monastery, was painted when Blanche was prioress.[73]

In contrast, the work that most assuredly can be associated with the figure of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou is the priory throne, nowadays in the Museum of Lleida.[74] This is an exceptional piece of furniture in the Hispanic context and has been the subject of different approaches in the historiography.[75] This

72 This is the case of a chess set with royal heraldry with its leather case, from the Royal Chamber, that her father gave her in 1322. (Jesús Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, María Vilar Bonet, "La Cámara Real en el reinado de Jaime II (1291–1327). Relaciones de entradas y salidas de objetos artísticos," *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* 11 (1962), 165 [doc. No. 120]; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:187–88 [doc. No. 550]; that of a marble cup, presented by the monarch in 1325, and that also bears the royal emblems (Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2: 49 [doc. No. 51]; Martínez, Vilar, "La Cámara Real en el reinado de Jaime II," p. 202 [doc. No. 139]; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:206–07, doc. 608); or the various items of precious metal stolen from the monastery in 1342, some of which bore the arms of Blanche and Mary: "Also a silver cup from Infanta Blanche, and a foot of a cup with the barrel of the cup of Infanta Mary with enamel and her insignia [...] Also an enamelled silver inkwell with silver chains and the sheaths made from gold thread and silk with the coats of arms of Infanta Blanche, with a penknife and some small scissors." ("*Item un sobrecopon d'argent de la infanta dona Blancha, et un pie de copa con el canon de la copa de la infanta dona María con smaltes a senyales suyos* [...] *Item un tintero d'argent smaltado con cadenes d'argent e las vaynas obrades con filo de oro e con seda a senyales de la infanta dona Blancha, con un talla penyola e unes tisoretes*"). (Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2: 68–71 [doc. No. 68]).

73 For this altarpiece, see: Gemma Malé, "El retaule de sant Pere Màrtir de Verona: un instrument de propaganda dominica," *Porticvm, Revista d'Estudis Medievals* 2 (2011), 52–67. Its style fits with the lineal Gothic style, which developed in the Crown of Aragon from the final years of the thirteenth century and during the first third of the following century. The traditional historiography has doubted the origins of this piece of furniture, speculating that it may have come from the Aragonese monastery, or the nearby town of Barbastro. However, a recent rereading of the annotations by Valentín Carderera from his visit to the monastery in 1840 has served to reveal that he saw there a "painting of Saint Peter Martyr" ("*cuadro de San Pedro Mártir*") (Grúas, *Blanca de Aragón y Anjou*, pp. 50–57). Naturally, the description is too vague to substantiate a direct association with the altarpiece that concerns us here, but it is at least another argument in the discussion about its origins. What there is no evidence for, I insist, is that the work was a result of action by the prioress Blanche as a patron of the arts, although it is clear that it was made in the times when Blanche lived in and ran the monastery.

74 Museu de Lleida. Diocesà i Comarcal, num. 19.

75 Without being exhaustive, see: Maria Assumpta Escudero, "Cadira prioral de la princesa Blanca d'Aragó i d'Anjou," in *Barcelona Restaura: Exposició d'obres d'art dels segles II al*

FIGURE 6.2 The 'Throne room' in the Monastery of Santa María de Sigena, Huesca, Spain
PHOTO: RAFAEL GÚDEL (CIRCA 1913–1924). © FOTOTECA DE LA DIPUTACIÓN PROVINCIAL DE HUESCA

wooden throne is covered by polychrome decoration on its different faces in lineal Gothic style (Figures 6.4–6.5). The element that allowed this throne to

*xx dels Museus Municipals d'Art restaurades pels Serveis de Restauració* (Barcelona, 1980), pp. 43–51; Xavier Barral Altet, "Tron prioral de Dona Blanca d'Aragó i Anjou," in *Museu Diocesà de Lleida 1893–1993. Catàleg. Exposició Pulchra*, eds. Ximo Company, Isidro Puig and Jesús Tarragona (Lleida, 1993), pp. 86–87; Berlabé, "Fundación y patronato real," pp. 261–68; Carmen Berlabé, "Silla prioral de Blanca de Aragón y de Anjou," in *Maravillas de la España medieval. Tesoro sagrado y monarquía* (Madrid, 2001), pp. 361–64; Francesca Español, "La *Beata Stirps* en la Corona de Aragón. Santa Isabel de Hungría y San Luis de Tolosa, culto e iconografía," in *Hagiografia peninsular en els segles medievals*, eds. Francesca Español, Francesc Fité (Lleida, 2008), pp. 157–60; Rosa Alcoy, *Pintura catalana. El gòtic* (Barcelona, 2017), pp. 52–53. The most recent approach is that by Grúas, *Blanca de Aragón y Anjou*, pp. 58–66, without significant contributions.

FIGURE 6.3 Anonymous master, Altarpiece of Saint Peter Martyr, first third of fourteenth century
PHOTO: © BARCELONA, MUSEU NACIONAL D'ART DE CATALUNYA (INV. 15820)

FIGURE 6.4 Anonymous master, Priory Throne of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou, first third of fourteenth century
PHOTO: © LLEIDA, MUSEU DE LLEIDA (INV. 19)

be associated with the infanta and prioress is the heraldry, as the coats of arms of the houses of Aragon and Anjou appear on the back and sides. Furthermore, there are depictions of different saints that cannot be understood without considering Blanche's personality, and whose worship was deeply rooted in her family heritage.

Originally, this cathedra throne was made to preside over the choir of the monastery church,[76] as a separation between the choir itself and the

76 It was replaced in the eighteenth century by a new Baroque seat, which meant the Gothic one was removed from its original place. As shown by various old photographs, at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was in the chapter hall.

FIGURE 6.5 Anonymous master, Priory Throne of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou, First third of fourteenth century
PHOTO: © LLEIDA, MUSEU DE LLEIDA (INV. 19)

retrochoir, which is why the rear of the backrest was also decorated with paintings. What is depicted on the different faces of the throne shows that this was an element of representation with various purposes. Firstly, it was a symbol of the power of the prioress, which is why a scene was painted on the inner side of the backrest that, very possibly, represents the election of the prioress, who here appears accompanied by the sub-prioress, the sacristan and two *puellae*. A second aim was to exalt Blanche's royal lineage, which is why the heraldic emblems of the royal houses of Aragon and Anjou occupy the most visible places on the piece, distributed on the angles of a white cross with equal arms that must be associated with the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, to which the monastery belonged. This image bolstered her double authority as prioress in the monastery, but also daughter of kings. In fact, the domestic sources in Sigena state that this throne could only be occupied by, or shared with, members of the royal family.[77]

Its character and function were reinforced with the canopy above the throne, nowadays lost, that was crowned by a depiction of a pelican opening its chest and feeding its offspring, a clear allusion to the relationship between the prioress and the rest of the community. This image of Our Lady of the Milk, that appears on the rear of the backrest, conveys the same sentiment, in which nourishment is again referenced as the maximum sign of love between mother and child. Regarding the saints who are depicted, the throne has a hagiographic gallery that allows different links to be established with the prioress. Here we see Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Dominic, the principal saints of the mendicant orders, who had a notable influence on the affairs of the monastery. As analysed below, the royal family had a special tendency or preference for the Franciscans, which is why Franciscan spirituality was so important in the religious imaginary of James II, Blanche of Anjou and their children. Some of them took vows in the order and Blanche herself and her sister Mary also nearly did so. Regarding the presence of Saint Dominic, the Preachers were also important in the later stages of Blanche's life, up to the point that in her will, she decided to be buried in their monastery of Santa Caterina in Barcelona. That was where her sister Mary, who had exchanged the habit of Saint John for that of the Dominican order, was also buried.

Among the saints represented on the throne, there is also Elizabeth of Hungary, sister of Blanche's great grandmother, Violant of Hungary, wife of James I, the Conqueror. The saint, moreover, had taken vows in the third Franciscan order. In the same family and devotional line in relation to the *Beata Stirps*, the

77 Berlabé, "Fundación y patronato real," p. 263.

saintly lineage, one must place the depiction of Saint Louis of Toulouse on the back of the throne, nowadays only partially visible, but which we know of from old descriptions.[78] This saint, also a member of the Franciscan order, had been canonised in 1317 and was the uncle of the prioress Blanche who, as we will deal with in due course, personally founded a chapel in the monastery dedicated to him. The throne also had an image of Mary Magdalene, a saint deeply linked to the Anjous, and whose worship was enhanced by Charles II, Blanche of Anjou's father and grandfather of the prioress Blanche, to whom we owe the *inventio* of her relics in Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, near Marseilles, in 1279. The Anjous contributed enormously to the spread of the worship of the saint during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and this is confirmed by the fact that Blanche of Anjou was the owner of a relic of the tongue of the saint which she later bequeathed to the monastery of Santes Creus (Tarragona).[79]

The inclusion of these saints so deeply linked to the lineage of the prioress is an evident example of how this *cathedra* exalted Blanche as the highest representative of the community, and her family origins, which gave prestige to the monastery. The tone and message were clearly propagandistic. The virtue of some of the prioress' ancestors became a new element of legitimation before her companions in the monastery and the authorities that visited it, because, and it is worth keeping in mind, the throne was the principal element of the choir, and the choir was the place where the prioress demonstrated her *auctoritas* before the community and during illustrious visits. It was also a place where certain legal business could be conducted, and it could even be a place of identity thanks to the iconographic elements described above. At the same time, the images of the saints that appear on the throne become elements of visual interaction between the prioress herself when she occupied her seat, the heraldic elements that surrounded her and the rest of the images that comprise the iconography of this throne. Some of these alluded directly to the dignity of the priory, like the ceremony of electing the prioress, the depiction of the pelican and Our Lady of the Milk, which were symbols of the selflessness with which the prioress had to dedicate herself to serving the community and the monastery. Moreover, Saints Agnes, Catherine and Lucy are depicted, all saints of noble origin who personify a series of virtues, like chastity, wisdom or helping the sick, which had to inspire the prioress.[80] The throne also has an

78 In relation with the theme of the *Beata Stirps* in the Crown of Aragon, see: Español, "La *Beata Stirps*," pp. 135–68. See: Margarita Ruiz Maldonado, "San Luis de Tolosa a la luz de obras trecentistas y del XVIII valenciano" *Sémata, Ciencias Sociais e Humanidades* 26 (2014), pp. 633–54.

79 Español, "La *Beata Stirps*," p. 159.

80 Barral, "Tron prioral," pp. 86–87; Berlabé, "Fundación y patronato real," pp. 263 and 265.

image of Saint Bartholomew, who was surely part of the devotional imagery of the prioress, given that we know she had a relic of his.[81] All this saints became the bulwark on which the actions of the prioress at the head of the monastery had to be based, through the mediation and intercession of these saints with the divinity.

In view of everything shown, the priory throne of Sigena is another example of how the Catalan-Aragonese royal family projected itself through artistic forms. The great importance that James II gave to artistic projects as a way of exalting his person and the royal family is well known,[82] so it must be supposed that the priory throne his daughter Blanche commissioned to preside over the choir of the monastery of Sigena, one of the most important religious centres in the Crown of Aragon, must have satisfied him greatly. The chair still displays the shields of the Catalan-Aragonese royal family beside the fleur-de-lis of the Anjous of France,[83] emblems that, in no way innocuously, are placed in the angles of the great cross of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem that presides over the internal face of the backrest and the outside of the side panels, in other words, the most visible parts of the throne.[84] This interaction between the royal coat of arms and those of the order was a heraldic transmutation of

81 Among the relics stolen from the monastery in 1342 there was a reliquary belonging to Blanche that contained, among others, "from the scalp of Saint Bartholomew" ("*del cuero de Sant Barthomeu*") (Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:69 [doc. No. 68]).

82 For the figure of James II as a patron of the arts, see: Francesca Español, *El gòtic català* (Manresa, 2002), pp. 38–75; Francesca Español, "L'art al servei de Jaume II: els mausoleus dinàstics i el claustre de Santes Creus portaveus àulics," *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 22 (2010–2011), 165–201.

83 This combination was common in the artistic projects by the children of James II and Blanche of Anjou. See: Antoni Conejo, "L'hospital de l'infant Pere 'in loco vocato coyll de Balaguer'," in *L'Infant Pere d'Aragó i d'Anjou. Molt graciós e savi senyor*, ed. Antoni Conejo (Valls, 2015), pp. 333–35, fig. 16.

84 Cebolla has proposed that one of the miniatures of the *Processional* in the monastery of Sigena shows a depiction of the monastery's heraldry in which the cross of the Order of Saint John is again combined with the *palos* of Aragon and the fleurs-de-lis of the Anjous. The state of conservation of the miniature permits us to confirm the presence of the cross, but not the coats of arms of the two royal families. The dating of the manuscript is vague, sometime between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Alberto Cebolla, "El procesional de Sijena (s.XIV–XV)," *Nassarre: Revista aragonesa de musicología* 23 (2007), 143). In my opinion, the style of the two miniatures points clearly to the fifteenth century, especially the second (fol. 121r), with which it can be ruled out that it was made during Blanche's time as prioress. Thus, if the added royal heraldic elements do in fact appear on the miniature, it should perhaps be considered as a reflection of the heraldic pieces we find on Blanche's throne, like an element of prestige that the maker of the miniatures transferred to the codex.

Blanche, but should also be interpreted as a desired and sought-after mixture of the two institutional agents involved, the royal family and the order of Saint John, as close ties were established between them. Thus, the Church and the monarchy converged on the throne.[85] The work also includes painted images of two of Blanche's ancestors, Elizabeth of Hungary and Louis of Toulouse, who had been promoted to the sainthood and became models of behaviour and exemplary life. All in all, this was still another projection of the monarchy and, specifically, of James II, through the throne that the infanta had to occupy. This is understandable if we take into account the high degree of interventionism by the monarch in the affairs of the monastery once Blanche became prioress. In fact, we must not rule out that the piece of furniture in question was made and decorated in one of the workshops linked to the monarch, under his supervision.[86]

The clear identification of the throne with Blanche and the royal house makes us ask what sense the chair made after the infanta left the monastery (1347) and renounced the office of prioress. Or what the image transmitted by the successive prioresses who later occupied that throne, as those heraldic emblems and part of the calendar of saints embodied in the paintings referred directly to a very specific person, her devotions and the saintliness of some members of the lineage to which she belonged. There is no doubt that these were elements that conferred perpetuity on Blanche in the heart of the monastery church and in the mind of the communities that followed each other and, even her primacy over the other prioresses who inherited the position *a posteriori*.

The years when James II and Blanche of Aragon coincided, one on the royal throne and the other on the priory throne, in other words, between 1321 and 1327, must have been the most splendid time for the monastery from the artistic point of view. It must therefore be in this period that we have to situate artistic projects like those described. After James' death, in the years of

85 This is a similar combination to that on the tomb of Blanche's brother, archbishop John of Aragon, in Tarragona Cathedral, where the arms of the defunct are mixed with the Tau of the cathedral chapter. For this tomb, see, among others: Ángela Franco Mata, "Sepulcro de Juan de Aragón en la catedral de Tarragona. Relaciones iconográficas y estilísticas con Italia," *Reales Sitios* 75 (1983), 57–67; Giovanni Previtali, *Studi sulla scultura gotica in Italia* (Turin, 1991), pp. 93–99; Español, "La *Beata Stirps*," pp. 155–57; Español, "El sepulcre de Joan d'Aragó," pp. 153–86; Gerardo Boto, Marta Serrano, "Las yacentes episcopales como mecanismos de pronóstico escatológico. Contextos teológicos de los sepulcros de Juan de Aragón y Arnau Sescomes," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 51 (2021), 175–207.

86 For example, in: Berlabé, "Fundación y patronato real," pp. 266–67. See: Alcoy, *Pintura catalana*, p. 52.

Blanche's rule that coincided with the reigns of Alfonso the Benign and Peter the Ceremonious, that is, between 1327 and 1347, the financial and jurisdictional problems, the general deterioration of life in the monastery, Blanche's delicate health and her desire to leave that place, especially clear after 1336, must have left little room for ambitious artistic enterprises like those we have described. In any event, the inventory of the goods stolen from Blanche and Mary in 1342 in the monastery suggest that, despite the hardships, they continued to live surrounded by luxury and sophistication. Among other notable objects, there are various jewels with precious stones encrusted, a Moorish padlock, clothing made from oriental fabrics, ivory tables lined with silk that served for writing, various gold rings (some of which contained relics), knives made of materials like silver, crystal or coral and pieces of jewellery with the heraldic shields of both sisters. Among the manuscripts, there are a couple of books of hours, one on the virtue of the psalms, another about the Holy Grail and one on vices and virtues.[87] Despite their religious vows, it seems that both sisters were drawn to luxury products and personal ornaments, as shown by the debt they incurred with Miquel de Castelar, from whom they acquired rings, jewels and precious stones to a value of 5,335 shillings (*solidos*) and 4 pence (*diners*.)[88]

Moreover, there are various references that can supply context to the relations between father and daughter in artistic questions. These do not provide exceptional information but talk about the culture of the gifts habitually exchanged between members of the royal family. Thus, in 1302 the king gave Blanche a black silk strap, in 1311, a knife and a punch with ivory handles in a pouch, and in 1315, a bottle, four pieces of agalloch (*lignoloe*), a wooden tabernacle with ivory sculptures and a carpet, two gold-plated cameos, a case, a jasper stone encircled with silver, an indeterminate crystal object, a crystal cross embedded in silver with two images in gilded silver, two crystal cruets mounted on gilded silver, and two crystal candelabras also mounted on gilded silver.[89] In 1317, he gave her "*quandam moxeranam argenti*" (one container of silver that weighed ten ounces with the punch of Lleida, as well as an ivory image).[90]

Then, it seems that the same year, Blanche and some of her siblings received items confiscated from the Templars. In this regard, we have evidence that the king gave Blanche a crystal cross with an image of Christ and his base in gilded silver, two crystal candelabras with gilded silver bases and a book with red

87 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:68–71 (doc. No. 68).
88 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 2:49 (doc. No 106).
89 Martínez, "La Cámara Real," pp. 10, 39, 97–98, 101 and 103–04 (docs. No. 3, 37, 68, 71 and 74).
90 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:25–26 (doc. No. 33).

leather covers that, among other things, contained a martyrology,[91] as well as a series of liturgical ornaments made of luxurious fabrics and other materials.[92] From the same origins, she received a marble column with a silver foot, a little box, a silver-plated chalice with images of lions and griffons, gilded and with its own case and a small box covered in red leather that contained three little bottles of holy oils.[93] Her father also presented her with a knitted woollen cloth depicting a man, and a silver censer with its chains, also silver, that came in a leather case, a two-volume bible, a reliquary from Limoges that contained several relics, a crystal cross that was kept in a wooden case covered in silk, two little boxes with glass bottles with relics of the milk from the Virgin, and a box with little bundles of fabric from overseas.[94]

In 1319, the monarch gave Blanche a piece of lignaloe,[95] and in 1322, a bible in Catalan also from the Royal Chamber,[96] along with fabrics and liturgical objects, like maniples, a stole, a collar, a case with some corporals or some palliums that were surely for use in religious services in the monastery.[97] We can add some objects already mentioned above that include the royal arms, like a chess set and its leather case, and a marble cup with its base and trims of gilded silver.[98] Although they were not given to Blanche, it is worth mentioning the fabrics, books and other objects that James II bequeathed to Mary, Blanche's sister and nun in Sigena, in 1323.[99] In the same context, we have to place the request in 1335 that Alfonso the Benign made to Mary for a copy of the chronicle of James I that had belonged to their father, James II, and that must have been kept in the monastery.[100]

91 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:29–30 (doc. No. 37).
92 Martínez, "La Cámara Real," pp. 118–22 and 125 (docs. No. 90–91).
93 Martínez, "La Cámara Real," pp. 130–31 (doc. No. 96); Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:157–58 (doc. No. 461).
94 Martínez, "La Cámara Real," pp. 117–18 (doc. No. 89).
95 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:33–34, doc. 40; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:162, (doc. No. 474).
96 Martínez, "La Cámara Real," pp. 163–64, doc. 119; Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:186 (doc.No. 545).
97 Martínez, "La Cámara Real," p. 166 (doc. No. 121).
98 See above note 71.
99 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 2:46 (doc. No 48).
100 Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, 1:114 (doc. No. 96).

## 4 The Will of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou (1348)

Blanche and Mary of Aragon and Anjou finally left the monastery of Sigena for good in 1347 because of questions of health, and moved to Barcelona. We have little information about the life the sisters led in the Catalan capital, but we do have significant documentary references about an important project that Mary, with Blanche's blessing, wanted to undertake, this being the founding of a monastery of Dominican nuns, to which we shall return later. Blanche worked to fulfil the desire shared with her sister, but Barcelona was a city ravaged by plague and the infanta must have suffered the consequences, given that on 28 October 1348 she dictated her will, unpublished to this day, and by 22 November she was dead.[101]

A copy of the will seems to have been consulted by Mariano de Pano while still in the archive of the monastery de Santa Maria de Sigena at the end of the nineteenth century,[102] but he failed to publish it. A century before, it had also been consulted by Jaume Pasqual (1736–1804), an erudite canon and antiquarian of the monastery of Santa Maria de Bellpuig de les Avellanes. He did a full transcription of which I became aware a few years ago when preparing a monograph dedicated to this important figure in Catalan historiography.[103] The transcription is in one of the volumes of his *Sacrae Antiquitatis Cataloniae Monumenta*, a set of unpublished manuscripts in the Biblioteca de Catalunya that bring together the research, annotations, transcriptions of documents and varied material that Pasqual generated during his life. Specifically, Blanche's will is in volume 9 (Figure 6.6), between fols. 379r and 383v, together with annotations about other documents he was able to consult in the monastery archive (fols. 384r-385v) (Figure 6.7).[104]

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101 On 22 November 1348, from Sogorb (North of Valencia Kingdom), Peter the Ceremonious wrote a receipt of the message sent by the councillors of the city of Barcelona to him about the death of Blanche, his aunt. See: *La muerte en la Casa Real de Aragón. Cartas de condolencia y anunciadoras de fallecimientos* (*siglos XIII al XVI*) (Saragossa, 2018), pp. 123–24 (doc. No. 111).

102 His manuscript about the history of the monastery written in 1896 (published in 2004), mentions that "she herself granted Sigena considerable quantities in her will" ("*ella misma concede a Sijena por su testamento cantidades de consideración*") (Pano, *Real Monasterio*, p. 97).

103 Alberto Velasco, *Jaume Pasqual, antiquari i col·leccionista a la Catalunya de la il·lustració* (Lleida, 2011).

104 We do not know when Pasqual visited the monastery, but it must have been around the end of the eighteenth century. However, we do know that he took advantage of this visit to draw the inscriptions on some of the tombs there and some of the altarpieces then

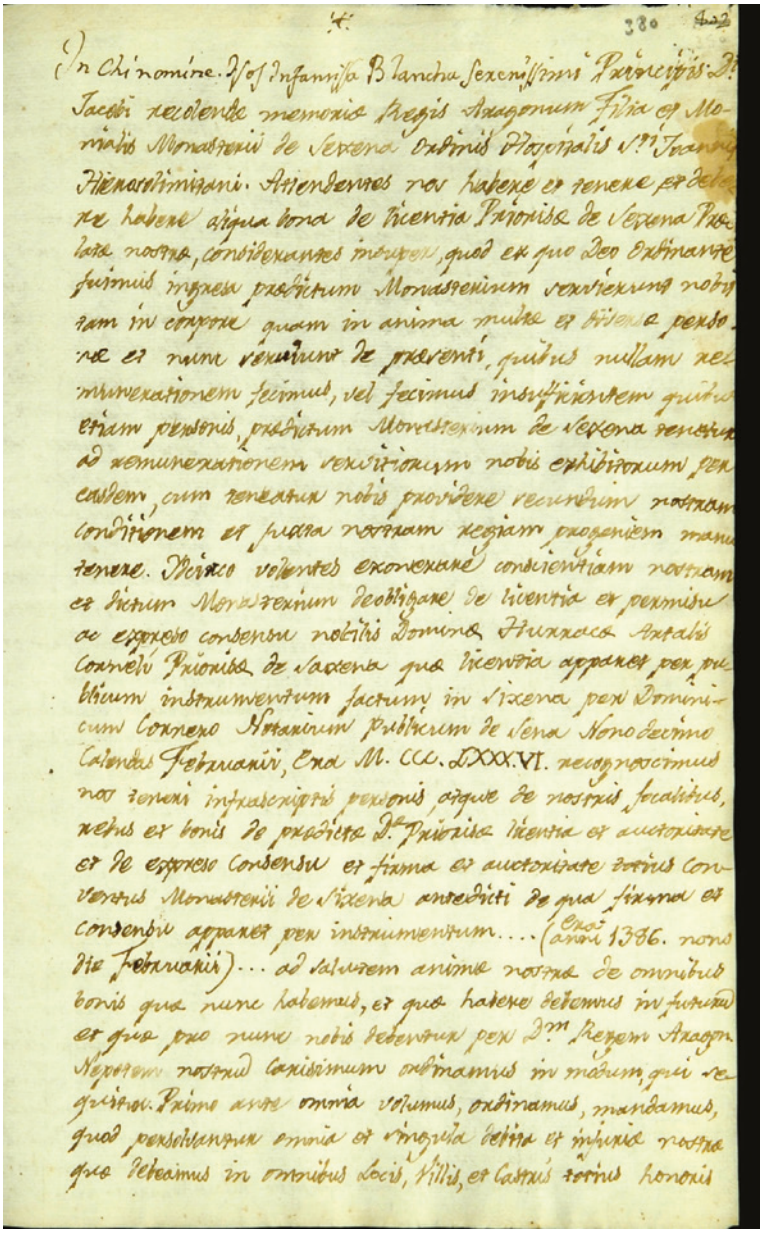

FIGURE 6.6 Will of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou. Transcription by Jaume Pasqual in "Sacrae Antiquitatis Cataloniae Monumenta," eighteenth century
PHOTO: © BARCELONA, BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA, MS 729, VOL. IX, FOL. 379R

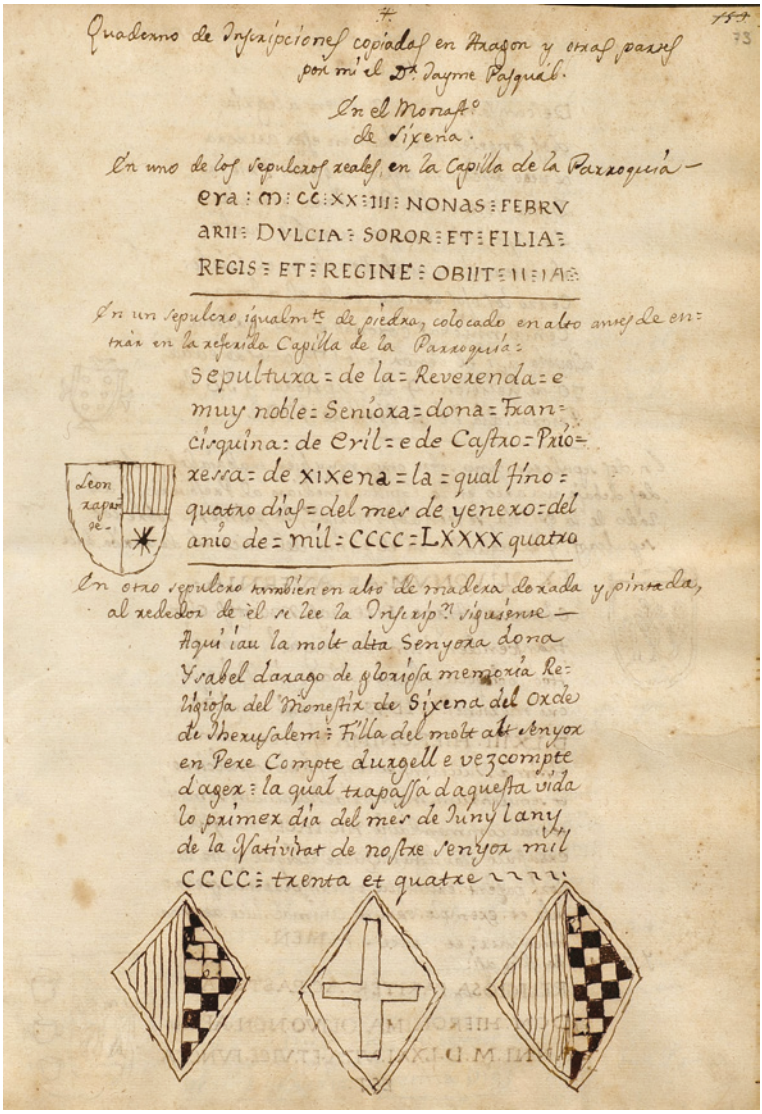
Quaderno de Inscripciones copiadas en Aragon y otras partes
por mi el Dr. Jayme Pasqual.
En el Monast.o
de Sixena.
En uno de los Sepulcros reales en la Capilla de la Parroquia —
era : m : cc : xx : iii : NONAS : FEBRV
arii : DVLCIA : SOROR : ET : FILIA :
REGIS : ET : REGINE : OBIIT : II : IA :
En un Sepulcro igualm.te de piedra, colocado en alto antes de en-
trar en la referida Capilla de la Parroquia :
Sepultura : de la : Reverenda : e
muy noble : Senioxa : dona : Tran-
cisquina : de Cril : e de Castro : Prio-
xessa : de Xixena : la : qual fino :
quatro dias : del mes de yenexo : del
anio de : mil : CCCC : LXXXX quatro
Leon
zapor
se.
En otro Sepulcro tambien en alto de madera dorada y pintada,
al rededor de el se lee la Inscrip.n siguiente —
Aqui iau la molt alta Senyora dona
Ysabel Dazago de gloriosa memoria Re-
ligiosa del Monestir de Sixena del Orde
de Jherusalem : Filla del molt alt senyor
en Pere Compte durgell e vezcompte
dagex : la qual trapassa daquesta vida
lo primer dia del mes de Juny lany
de la Nativitat de nostre Senyor mil
CCCC : trenta et quatre ~~~~

FIGURE 6.7 "Sacrae Antiquitatis Cataloniae Monumenta," Eighteenth century
PHOTO: © BARCELONA, BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA, MS 729, VOL. XI, FOL. 73R

From the moment I found Pasqual's transcription, I intended to publish the document, but that all changed when Francesca Español referred in 2019 to the existence of a fourteenth-century copy, also in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, in the collection of parchments donated by Joaquim Miret i Sans (1858–1919)

(Figure 6.8).[105] The appearance of this document led us to discard Pasqual's transcription and publish, here the fourteenth-century will (see documentary appendix). As mentioned, it was written in Barcelona on 28 October 1348. The first thing that draws one's attention is that Blanche appears as a nun in the monastery of Santa Maria de Sigena. In other words, when she dictated her last will and testament, her resignation as prioress of the community, which occurred the previous year, is clear.[106] As she had left the monastery and moved to Barcelona, the situation was somewhat anomalous, a fact which obliged the infanta to begin her testamentary dispositions clarifying that she was licenced to do so by the prioress of Sigena, Urraca Artal Cornel, and the community, according to the documents signed before the notaries of Sena (Huesca), Domingo Tornero, and of the monastery, Martí de Saidí.

It is equally significant that the second question the document highlights is her recognition of all those people who served her while she was in the monastery, both in body and soul, which can be glimpsed in certain acknowledgements of the friendship and loyalty that some professed to her. Some of them were still serving her when she wrote her will, and as she had not rewarded them adequately at the due time, the infanta recognised a moral duty to do so "in line with our condition and our royal ascendency" ("*secundum nostram conditionem et iuxta nostram regiam progeniem*.") A king's daughter had to act with responsibility and magnanimously. We see that Blanche's pious bequests

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stored there. These drawings are in vol. 9 of the above-mentioned *Sacrae Antiquitatis Cataloniae Monumenta* (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 729, vol. 9, fols. 73r-74r).

105 BC, section Joaquim Miret i Sans, parchment 366, 652 x 723 mm. A digital copy can be consulted at <https://mdc.csuc.cat/digital/collection/pergamiBC/id/33125> (accessed: 25 July 2021). Español mentions the existence of this copy in: Español, "El sepulcre de Joan d'Aragó," p. 176 n. 91, which he uses to refer to the founding of the chapel of Saint Louis of Toulouse in Sigena by Infanta Blanche. This chapter being already submitted and working on its proofs, thanks to the kindness of Stefano Maria Cingolani I was able to find out that the original copy of the will is preserved in the archives of Santa Maria de Montsió (Esplugues de Llobregat, Arxiu de Santa Maria de Montsió, folder 3, doc. No. 2). This document had been quoted in two unpublished research works: María Soledad Hernández Cabrera, *Montesión: una comunidad de dominicas en Barcelona, ss. XIV–XVI* (PhD Dissertation,Universitat de Barcelona 1997), doc. No. 52; Leonor Parreu i Dalmases, *L'Arxiu monàstic de Santa Maria de Montsió: estudi, representació formal i ordenació de la col·lecció de pergamins* (*1264-1784*) (Diploma for Advanced Studies Dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona 2008), doc. No. 82. The aforementioned Cingolani stated to me that a partial edition of the will is going to be published in: Stefano M. Cingolani, ed., *Més enllà de la mort. Tombes, panteons i rituals funeraris als comtats catalans i a la Corona d'Aragó des de la mort de Guifré el Pilós* (*897*) *fins la de Martí I* (*1410*). *IV. Diplomatari, 2. 1336-1380*, forthcoming.

106 See above, note 60.

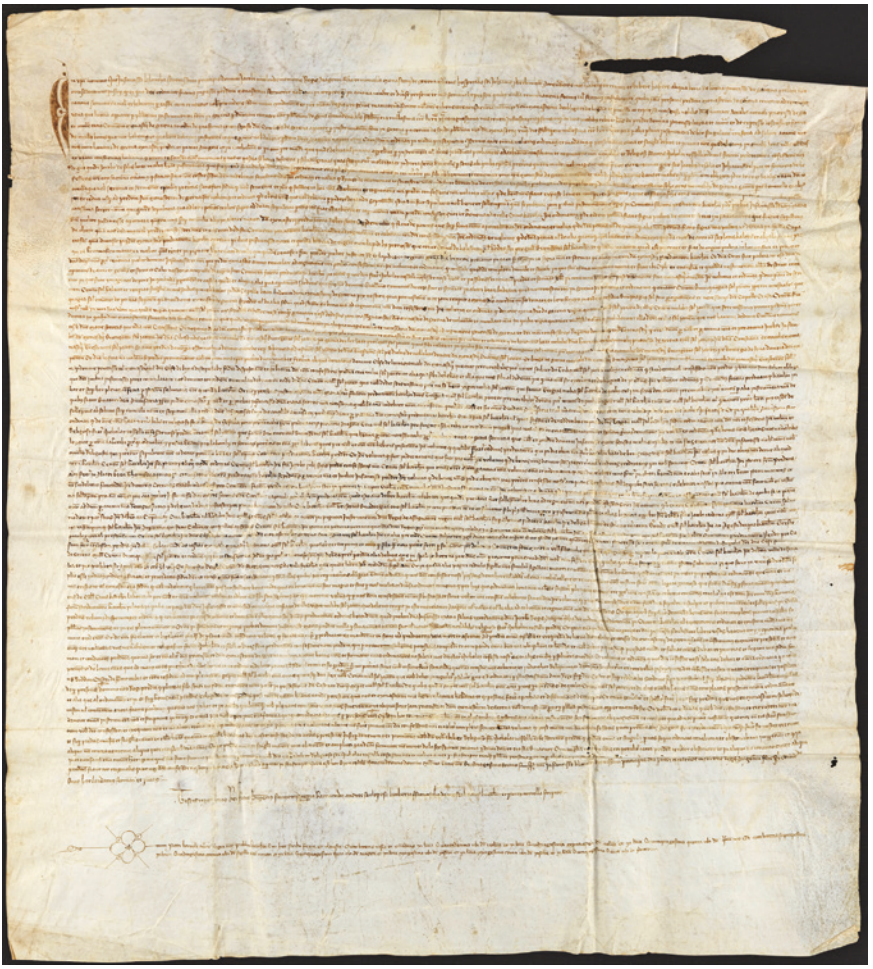

FIGURE 6.8 Will of Blanche of Aragon and Anjou. Original document from 1348
PHOTO: © BARCELONA, BIBLIOTECA DE CATALUNYA, SECTION JOAQUIM MIRET I SANS, PARCHMENT 366, REGISTER 1799

benefitted persons near her and esteemed vassals from her close circles, like her squire, Romeu de Montornès, Bernat d'Aressal, Gonçal Peris, Berenguer de Pujolar and Sança Peris. Her love and generosity for the community of Sigena is especially notable throughout the document, with numerous collective and individual donations that show personal and affective relations. In this initial part of the document, Blanche remembered Berenguera Garcia and Francesca Orts, nuns from the monastery, with whom she must have been especially close.

Then, Blanche ordered the friar Nicolau Rossell, from the Order of Preachers and her confessor, to pay all the debts she had incurred with places, towns and castles in the lordship of Sigena, as well as other places in Aragon, Catalonia or the rest of the world (*et in omni parte mundi*). Undoubtedly, this disposition is linked to the consequences of her financial management while heading the monastery, which, as we have seen above, was disastrous and caused many problems. Specifically, Blanche demanded that the harm she caused personally should be redressed and, then, that certain royal favours she had been forced to concede when she was prioress, to Jaime de Salas, Juan del Pico[107] and Fortuny d'Hedo, should be annulled. Regarding Salas, Blanche declared that various people had documents showing that "he frequently did fraudulently, extorted, and also withheld many people" ("*frequenter fraudulenter fecit, extorsit, et retinuit etiam plurimes*"), but that, upon the truth being investigated, the accusations had been dismissed and Blanche was indebted to him.[108]

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107 In 1340, Juan del Pico from Sarinyena, complained to the king that the juries and *prohoms* of Lanaja (Huesca) had not respected a provision Blanche had made him for 900 shillings a year in relation with a bequest in her will. Two years later, he appeared as the procurator to the prioress of Sigena, and in 1345, as notary and procurator general of the monastery, which is when he is documented as having received death threats. In 1350, he reclaimed some amounts that Blanche and Mary owed him for services rendered, and two years later, he did the same with 1,384 shillings and 6 pence for a sale of wine by a third party to the monastery that he had been authorised to receive, we suppose, for the money he was owed. The debt was still outstanding in 1357 and, that same year, he was called by the king to appear before his treasurer to resolve a question related to the assets that had belonged to Blanche. The following year, the prioress of Sigena, Toda Pérez de Alagón, requested the king's help because Juan del Pico claimed 10,000 Jaca shillings from the community, an amount that he had lent to Blanche (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:307–08, 320 and 347 [docs. No. 898, 935, 937 and 1015]; 2:19, 21 and 43–44 [docs. No. 18, 23 and 90–92]).

108 Salas, from Huesca, had worked as the monastery's administrator, but he had a series of clashes with Blanche while she was prioress. In 1338 Blanche accused him of having instigated the murder of Jaime d'Avorrán, keyholder of the monastery, and embargoed the assets he owned in Sena. This forced the king to intervene and order the justice of Sena not to prosecute him, and the prioress to return the assets to Salas. The following year, Salas protested to the king because the prioress refused to pay him 14,000 Jaca shillings from various incomes, a complaint that was heard by the monarch, and which he ordered to be paid. There was also a dispute between them related to a loan Salas had made to Blanche. In 1342 their relationship seems to have returned to normal, given that Salas presented a letter to the king in her name, but the next year, there was another dispute. In 1346, the documents show that Blanche and the community of Sigena had filed a complaint against him because, while administrator of the monastery, he received wheat, wine, oil and other products for the supply of the house, but committed fraud. The king condemned him to pay the prioress and monastery and to be accountable to the community for his management. That same year, the king ordered Salas arrested and

Despite her royal lineage, the analysis of the document enables us to delve deeper into the feelings, spiritual interests, fears and anxieties of a woman who was at death's door. Regarding her burial, Blanche determined that, with the money she was owed by the Jews from the September payment of each year, she should be buried *bene et sollempniter*, and as she had indicated in earlier documents, in the now-disappeared monastery of the Dominican friars of Santa Caterina in Barcelona,[109] beside infanta Mary, *carissimam sororem nostrum*. The latter was buried according to the directives given by Nicolau Rossell, confessor to both Mary and Blanche, member of the order of preachers, and Bonanat de Coll, from Barcelona. The elder sister made her will on 9 June 1347 and, in it, effectively, instructed that she should be buried in the monastery of the preachers in Barcelona. Outstanding among the bequests she left to the monastery is a lavish gold and silver cross with precious stones which we will return to below, as Blanche had it modified. Besides, Mary left 50,000 shillings to the monastery of Santa Caterina for works that had to be done on the dormitory and for everything considered appropriate for the running of the house.[110]

Blanche's choice of this burial place shows her love for and closeness to her late sister, not only in the laudatory terms she uses to refer to her but also for her desire to be buried beside her. This closeness is also shown by the desire to reuse the *draps d'or* that had been used in Mary's burial, although Blanche stipulated that the *signa pulcra de auro et serico*, in other words, her heraldic shield in gold and silk, had to be added and that one of the *draps* had to be placed over the tomb and the other, above the high altar of the church. Blanche also requested that her heraldic shield be added to a "choir cloak" ("*capa de cor*") she had given to Rossell and that he, on her behalf, had given to the abovementioned monastery.

Blanche also requested to reclaim a gold cross with sapphires, purple spinels and other precious stones that her sister had given to the monastery,[111] as well

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imprisoned until he paid his debts to the prioress and the monastery (Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:299–303, 317, 330 and 342–43, [docs. No. 875, 879–80, 884, 926, 966, 1000 and 1003]). On Salas, see also Utrilla, "El Real Monasterio de Sijena," p. LXXI).

109 The monastery was demolished with the disentailment of 1835. About the building, see: Ernest Ortoll, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la Iglesia de Santa Caterina de Barcelona," *Locus Amoenus* 2 (1996), 47–63, in addition to the works collected by: Julia Beltrán de Heredia ed., *El convent i l'església de Santa Caterina de Barcelona. Un patrimoni enderrocat. III Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 2020).

110 Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 29.

111 This cross is mentioned in Mary's will: "best cross of silver and gold, with sapphires, emeralds and other precious stones and with all the other ornaments it contains" ("*mejor cruz*

as a *bronxia*, in other words, a brooch, made of silver with precious stones that Arnau Ballester possessed, valued at 1,500 shillings. Blanche indicated that the gold from the cross had to be sold, and it should be redone in silver in a *pulchra et honorifica* way. The modification implied adding "the biggest and best cameo" ("*lo camafeu maior et melior*") which Bonanat de Coll had pawned, and which had belonged to Mary, as well as precious stones, silver and the above-mentioned brooch. In line with Blanche's wishes, the new object had to be done neatly, as usual, and used for the liturgical celebrations on the high altar of the monastery church. She did not forget to recall the representative function that this luxurious object of silverwork had to have, as she asked for her heraldic shield to be included and that it should be used to honour the memory of her and her sister. On the other hand, Blanche bequeathed her confessor, Nicolau Rossell, a missal, dominical and sanctorale where the liturgical services of all the year were annotated, together with the epistles and gospels, a white silk robe with decorations in gold, precious stones and silks, as well as her chalice and a silver bottle, for him to use. However, she stipulated that after his death, these liturgical objects should become the property of the monastery.

Among the other conditions in the will that have to do with the monastery of Santa Caterina in Barcelona, there is one related to a bequest of 20,000 Jaca shillings that Blanche had left to the house. That is equivalent to 30,000 Barcelonan shillings, from the 100,000 shillings James II had granted her, of which 1,000 shillings had to be assigned to fourteen perpetual anniversaries for the souls of Blanche and Mary, one for each month of the year and another for the birthdays of each of the sisters. On each birthday, absolution had to be given over the respective tomb, as was the custom, and on the same day, eighty shillings had to be given to the monastery for a *pitança* (distribution of money or food to the poor or the members of a community). She also ordered that 3,000 Jaca shillings from her assets be given to Bernat Sescala, provincial prior of the Order of Preachers for the province of Aragon for his needs and to pray for her soul. She also bequeathed 3,000 Jaca shillings to the above-mentioned Nicolau Rossell, for the services rendered to her and her sister for some time and for being the executor of Mary's will, for the work done until then, and for what he would have to do in the future in benefit of her soul and that of her sister. She also left twenty Barcelonan shillings to each of the preacher friars who were in Barcelona on the day of her death and requested that a *pitança*

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*de plata y oro, con los zafiros, esmeraldas y demás piedras preciosas y con todos los demás adornos que contiene*") (Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 29).

and something else be given to those who participated in her burial in the monastery, and that a novena be said for her soul.

Individual bequests are also documented to various friars from the monastery, with whom Blanche must have had more or less close personal relations. This was the case with Pere Clavell, who had served her, besides the prior of the monastery (whose name we do not know), Pere Pellicer and Jaume Juliol, to each of whom she left a hundred Barcelonan shillings to pray for her soul. She also requested that, every day, a friar from the monastery should hold a mass for her soul and for that of her sister, Mary, on the altar of Saint Dominic, another on that of Saint Peter Martyr and another on the one for Saint Thomas Aquinas. She also ordered that her confessor, Nicolau Rossell, should receive 300 shillings from her assets to hold masses for her soul wherever he thought appropriate, and that 1,000 Barcelonan shillings be destined to a *pitança* for her soul and for that of her sister in the general chapter of the order of preachers that had to be held in Barcelona that year, and to be watched over by her confessor. Finally, she bequeathed some silk curtains in a livid colour to the monastery of Santa Caterina. These had to go on the wall of the apse of the church, beside her tomb and that of Mary.

Significantly, she only left 100 shillings to the Franciscan monastery in Barcelona for them to pray for her soul. Certainly, all this must be seen within a change of the spiritual orientation of the sisters who, around 1337, and as we have seen, were about to take vows in the monastery of the Poor Clares in Valencia, where they were living temporarily.[112] The Franciscan affiliation of James II and some of his children is well known, a tendency that had been growing among members of the royal lineage since the thirteenth century when they became involved in the establishment of the Franciscans in their reigns. Altogether, this resulted in the friars of Saint Francis becoming spiritual tutors to members of the house, some of whom chose the order's monasteries as their place of burial. In the case of James II and Blanche of Anjou, Blanche's parents, their pro-Franciscan tendencies are quite evident.[113]

However, at a given moment, Blanche and Mary distanced themselves not only from the order of Saint John and the monastery of Sigena, but also from the Franciscans, to move closer to the Preachers. We do not know what motivated this change in the latter years of their lives, but it is clear that the

112 See above note 57.

113 For these questions, see: Francesca Español, "Formas artísticas y espiritualidad. El horizonte franciscano del círculo familiar de Jaime II y sus ecos funerarios," in *Poder, piedad y devoción: Castilla y su entorno* (*siglos XII–XV*), ed. Isabel Beceiro Pita (Madrid, 2014), pp. 389–422.

decision was heartfelt.[114] Mary joined the order and promoted the founding of a monastery in Barcelona, to which Blanche also contributed. The definitive confirmation of the sisters' adscription to the preachers is that they were buried in the monastery of Santa Caterina in Barcelona, chose Nicolau Rossell first as their confessor and then as the executor of their wills, and that Blanche decided that, once Rossell was absent, the execution of her will would pass to the provincial prior of the Dominicans in Aragon.

Very probably, one of the main reasons why both sisters transferred their loyalties and affection to the Preachers was the above-mentioned Nicolau Rossell (1314–1362), domestic, royal chaplain and confessor to Peter the Ceremonious, reader in theology, provincial of the Dominicans and inquisitor general, who rose to the post of cardinal in 1356, the first Dominican to do so in the Crown of Aragon.[115] Rossell was undoubtedly a key character in the sisters' latter years, as he was not only Blanche's confessor and executor, but he had also been the same for Mary. Rossell's links to the monastery of Santa Caterina were important,[116] which probably influenced the decision of both sisters to choose it as the place for their eternal rest, as did he later.[117] Nor should we forget that he

114 Their brother, the patriarch and archbishop John of Aragon, also moved towards the Dominican postulates in some of the theological debates in which he participated. See: Boto and Serrano, "Las yacentes episcopales," p. 190.

115 For this person, see: Francisco Diago, *Historia de la provincia de Aragón de la orden de predicadores, desde su origen y principio hasta el año mil y seiscientos* (Barcelona, 1599), pp. 41–46; Ramon d'Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón, fray Nicolás Rosell.* (*Ensayo biobibliográfico*), pp. 15–60; Iohannes Vincke, "Nikolaus Rosell, O.P., Kardinal von Aragon," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 14 (1944), pp. 116–97.

116 In 1348, he was appointed reader in theology in the monastery (Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón*, p. 16).

117 Rossell specified in his will that he had had a tomb built right in the middle of the choir (Diago, *Historia de la provincia*, p. 46). It seems he never occupied it, as he died on Majorca and was buried in the Dominican monastery of Palma (Terés, "Pere Moragues," p. 100). However, there must have been an intention to move his body, as in 1364, his executors signed a contract with the sculptors Pere Moragues and Bernat Roca to build a monumental sepulchre for the cardinal, with sepulchral and recumbent vessel, that had to be put in the same place. The work was contracted for 300 florins (Josep Maria Madurell Marimon, "La obra del sepulcro del cardenal de Aragón," *Gesammelte Aufsatze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 21 (1963), pp. 162–68; Rosa Terés, "Pere Moragues i els enterraments privilegiats del convent de Santa Caterina. Memòria d'un art funerari perdut," in *El convent i l'església de Santa Caterina de Barcelona. Un patrimoni enderrocat. III Jornades de les basíliques històriques de Barcelona*, ed. Julia Beltrán de Heredia (Barcelona, 2020), pp. 99–103. It has been suggested that this project never came to fruition, given that later descriptions of the monastery mention nothing about this burial (Terés, "Pere Moragues," pp. 101–02).

was "very accepted by the king", Peter de Ceremonious,[118] nephew ot the two sisters daughters of James II.

As mentioned, Mary ended up professing in the Order of the Preachers.[119] This appears in a document from 1347 that became the founding scripture for the first monastery of the Dominicans in Catalonia, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and for a hundred nuns, which she promoted in Barcelona. She obtained the relevant authorisations that same year, including those from Peter the Ceremonious, Bernat Sescala, provincial prior of the Preachers, Nicolau Rossell, her confessor, and her sister Blanche, then still prioress of Sigena. Mary, who would die that same year, left all her assets to the Order and placed them in Rossell's hands.[120] Mary's intention was clear, as the founding document highlighted that:

> So that we can collect the sheaves of our own fruits, and obtain forgiveness and mercy, we ask the Lord Infant, the Lady Infanta, the Provincial of the Order, our confessor and all those in charge of the Church Service, to celebrate Mass and other divine services in the predicted Monastery, for the forgiveness of our sins and for the soul of the illustrious Infanta Lady Blanche and for the salvation of the souls of our parents [...] And that the Prioress and the Community pray to the Lord for the salvation of the souls of our parents, ours and those of all.[121]

Mary did not live to see the start of the works, but her confessor Rossell and Infanta Blanche took care to see her wishes fulfilled. In that sense, on 17 July 1347, shortly after the death of the founder, the king granted 4,000 shillings to

118 "*persona muy acepta al rey.*" Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón*, p. 20.

119 Mary, being in Valencia (1336), had shown her desire to take vows in a Dominican monastery, or to found one, in accordance with the permission she had obtained from Peter the Ceremonious to do so. See: Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 17.

120 On this foundation and the role of Mary and Blanche, see: Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, pp. 15–40. On the origins of the monastery, see also: Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, Josep Gudiol Ricart, Frederic-Pau Verrié, *Catálogo monumental de España. La ciudad de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1947), pp. 161–63; Hernández, "La celda del convento," pp. 19–40.

121 "*para que podamos recoger las gavillas de nuestros propios frutos, y obtener el perdón y la misericordia, rogamos al Señor Infante, a la Señora Infanta, al Provincial de la Orden, a nuestro confesor y a cuantos están encargados del Servicio de la Iglesia, que celebren misa y otros oficios divinos en el predicho Monasterio, por el perdón de nuestros pecados y por el alma de la ínclita Infanta Doña Blanca y por la salvación de las almas de nuestros señores padres* [...] *Y que la Priora y la Comunidad rueguen al Señor por la salvación de las almas de nuestros padres, de la nuestra y de la de todos*" (translation from Catalan by Antonio Paulí). Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 26.

Blanche so she could execute the last wishes of her late sister and pay some of the debts she had incurred.[122] Blanche must have become fully involved in ensuring compliance with what Mary had stipulated, as, in her own will, she ordered the building of the monastery to continue with her own assets, and to be done in accordance with desires of the above-mentioned Nicolau Rossell.

In the context of this foundation, we find some expressions in Blanche's will that show the full trust Blanche had in Rossell as being capable of carrying out the project devised by Mary and that she herself seconded. She said about him that "About our experiences and of lady Princess Mary's business nobody among living people knows as much as [the] venerable friar Nicholas Rossell."[123] She further added that Rossell had worked well on this business and in a clear way, and that "We trust in your faithfulness and legality more than in any other person of the world."[124] Rossell's influence over the infanta was important. We see it not only in the eulogies she dedicates to him, but also in a sentence stating Blanche's affiliation with the spirituality of the Dominicans, as she recognised: "We are really preachers with true mind and affection."[125] With this she made her affiliation with the order clear, in mind and feelings. Since the prioress and community of Sigena had renounced Blanche's assets, she appointed Rossell to execute her will and empowered him to fulfil her last wishes by taking care of her assets and paying off her debts in accordance with what until that point had been stated in the document.

In relation to the building of the monastery founded by her sister, at another point in her will, Blanche authorised Nicolau Rossell to hold, receive and possess the rent from the castle of Font-rubí (Barcelona) to complement the 7,000 Barcelonan shillings that King Peter the Ceremonious granted Blanche annually, as he was owed 100,000 Jaca shillings that her father, James II, had previously granted him.[126] Moreover, Blanche stipulated that if the king and

122 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:343 (doc. No. 1005).

123 "*in factis nostris et negociis inclite domine infantisse Marie predicte nula persona vivens tantum scit vel novit quantum dictus venerabilis religiosus frater Nicholaus Rosselli predictus.*" BC, section Joaquim Miret i Sans, parchment 366, register 1799.

124 "*de vestri fidelitate et legalitate plusquam de persona mundi confidimus.*" BC, section Joaquim Miret i Sans, parchment 366, register 1799.

125 "*simus vera predicatrix vera mente et affectione.*" BC, section Joaquim Miret i Sans, parchment 366, register 1799.

126 On 7 February 1346, Peter the Ceremonious recognised the debt of 100,000 Jaca shillings that James II had granted to Blanche, freed the town of Berbegal from paying this debt and ordered that it be paid to the infanta from the first five seigniorages that the kingdom of Aragon had to receive, and for that reason it was committed with the town of Font-rubí. Two years later, the monarch recriminated the royal vicar (*veguer*) of Vilafranca del Penedès who, although he had assigned the rents and Font-rubí castle to the infanta to

Nicolau Rossell considered it appropriate, the castle, the 7,000 Barcelonan shillings per year, the 100,000 Jaca shillings and the rest of her assets should be made available to Rossell in the event of her death and that the necessary receipts or acquittances be drawn up. Thus it was that, on 17 November 1353, five years after the death of the infanta, aware that a good part of her debts had been paid off, and in accordance with what she had stipulated in her will regarding the founding of the Dominican monastery, Peter the Ceremonious ordered Nicolau Rossell to give the Dominican nuns of Barcelona the income from Font-rubí, given that the community was in dire need.[127]

Thanks to his close relations with Peter the Ceremonious, Rossell obtained the privileges and concessions necessary to carry out the project for the monastery conceived by Mary and that enjoyed the support of Blanche. Thus, on 6 December 1349, the monarch assured him of significant financial income from the agreements signed previously between them to execute Mary's will, but also in relation to Blanche's will, since he guaranteed him 5,500 shillings per year from the Jewish community in Barcelona, as Blanche had specified in her will.[128] On 8 June 1351, through a royal mandate, the king ordered a survey to determine an appropriate site for the monastery, and authorised Rossell to acquire it and, if necessary, to expropriate it.[129] The place chosen was outside the walls, near the shipyards (*Drassanes*) and the Junqueras Gate, and the foundation stone was laid on 1 August that same year.

Contrary to Mary's express desire to dedicate the monastery to the Virgin Mary, it ended up being dedicated to Saint Peter Martyr. In the same year, the king granted Rossell permission to extract material from the quarries of Montjuïc to proceed with the building works, and the following year, granted him 15,000 shillings to continue these.[130] The documentation reveals that all of Infanta Mary's assets were used for the works, including 65,000 shillings from

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cover the debt, had seized these rents according to a request from Gonçal de Castellvell, who claimed they belonged to him. All things considered, the king ordered the return of what had been seized by Blanche. He also ordered that Castellvell not to harm her, and the men in Font-rubí castle to obey the infanta and pay to her what she was due. (Sáinz de la Maza, 1:340–41 [doc. No. 996]; 2:14 [doc. No. 5).

127 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 2:29 (doc. No. 48).

128 Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón*, pp. 44–45, doc. 3. Blanche's will does not contain any provision for this specific allocation of money, but there are a couple of mentions of pecuniary amounts related to the mentioned community.

129 Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón*, p. 49 (doc. No.7).

130 Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón*, pp. 49–50 8docs. No. 8–9).

her executor and other amounts allocated by the monarch.[131] In 1357, when Rossell was residing in Avignon after being appointed cardinal, the nuns settled permanently into the monastery and a solemn ceremony was held which was attended by Infante John and Rossell himself, who must have travelled there. The construction went ahead, but the cardinal fell seriously ill in 1362, made a will and died on 28 March that same year.[132] His death, combined with the problematic location of the monastery and the fact it was unprotected, led to the community leaving and moving temporarily to another place. It was not until the fifteenth century, in the time of Queen Mary, wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous, that the community would find its definitive site near Saint Anne Square (*Plaça de Santa Anna*), in the monastery of Saint Eulalia del Camp, where the chapel of Santa Maria de Montsió was previously located. That is why the monastery changed its name from Saint Peter Martyr to Our Lady of Montsió.[133]

Returning to Blanche's will, Rossell also appears responsible for carrying out an artistic project for the Monastery of Santa Caterina that, if it had gone ahead, would surely have been very interesting. This refers to two tombs that Blanche commissioned for the monastery church, one for her and another for Mary. They had to be "sculpte et pulcre eminentes et solepmnes" (sculpted and beautiful, eminent and solemn), and were to be placed where Mary's body was then buried, that is, in the apse. According to the document, the tombs were to be made with 20,000 Jaca shillings that Blanche was expecting to receive in Aragonese and Valencian currency, but everything indicates that the project did not proceed with the swiftness required and wished for by the infanta, as the aforementioned will that Rossell dictated in 1362 stipulated that the two tombs that Blanche had commissioned fourteen years previously should be made in the high chapel of the Monastery of Santa Caterina.[134]

It seems that Blanche initially intended to be buried in Sigena, as can be deduced from a couple of sources. The first is the letter from Peter the Ceremonious cited at the beginning of this article, in which the monarch

131 We see this in a document from 1352 in which the king ordered that Rossell be paid the amount that was necessary to reach the 65,000 shillings that Infanta Mary assigned to him in the executorship. See: Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón*, pp. 52–53 (doc. No. 11).

132 For all these questions, see: Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, pp. 33–38.

133 Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, pp. 40–49. See also: Carmen Rosario, *La promoció artística de la reina Maria de Castella. Art i cultura a la Corona d'Aragó al segle XV* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universitat de València, 2020), pp. 293–98.

134 Rossell's will is from Diago, *Historia de la provincia*, p. 46, who mentions that the tombs of Blanche and Mary had to be "beautiful and main" ("*hermosos y principales*"); and Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 38.

states that Blanche stole the remains of her brother John from the cathedral in Tarragona and took them to Sigena,[135] surely with the intention of resting eternally together. That was in 1335 and, at that time, her anxiety to leave Sigena had not yet clouded the mind of she who was prioress of the monastery, from which it follows that she wanted to be buried there. This could be certified by a request some years earlier from Blanche to John, when he was archbishop of Tarragona. In this, she asked for a shipment of marble from the city's Roman ruins that would reach Mequinenza by sea and river, and then be taken to Ballobar before being transported to Sigena. It has been deduced that this request was related to Blanche's desire to build her tomb in the monastery.[136] If so, it would be very significant that Blanche requested marble from the *spolia* of Tarragona to build her tomb, as this was by no means common at that time. The first marble tombs that can be linked to the royal family date from shortly afterwards and, significantly, correspond to those of two of her brothers, the above-mentioned John, whose tomb was installed in Tarragona Cathedral between 1334 and 1337, and King Alfonso the Benign, whose funerary monument, shared with his wife, Eleanor of Castile, was built by the Franciscans in Lleida around 1337–1340.[137] If the marbles requested by Blanche were destined for building a funeral monument for her in Sigena, the information should be taken into account when analysing what those responsible for making the tombs of her siblings did some years later.

Be that as it may, her wishes must have changed later. Thus, when she made her will in 1348, it can be determined that her decision to be buried in Santa Caterina in Barcelona had been certified some time before, given that Blanche mentions that she had so stated *per aliud instrumentum*, which may indicate the existence of an earlier will. In any case, neither Rossell nor the latter's executors carried out Blanche's wishes to build tombs for her and her sister in the Monastery of Santa Caterina in Barcelona. We do not know if the fact that Rossell concentrated on the construction of the Dominican monastery

135 See above note 1.

136 Arribas, *Doña Blanca de Aragón*, pp. 42–43; Arribas, *Historia de Sijena*, p. 79. Unfortunately, we do not know the source of Arribas's information, since he does not cite it in either of these works.

137 On the use of marble in these two tombs, see: Francesca Español, "'Nobleses de pedra qui facen per nos'. Marbre de pedrera i episodis de 'spolia' a les empreses artístiques medievals de l'Orient peninsular," in *Bella pedra vella: explotació, usos i conservació en l'àmbit de la Corona d'Aragó*, eds. Pilar Giráldez and Màrius Vendrell (Barcelona, 2017), pp. 135–37.

founded by Mary, or his meteoric rise after 1348,[138] could have had a negative impact on the completion of the infantas' tombs, which would remain as a project that would be postponed with the passing of the years and that, very possibly ended up not being built. Thus, we do not know what type of tombs they ended up in, but we suppose these must have been modest graves. Diago, for example, who described the monumental tombs in the monastery church accurately, does not mention anything about the tombs of Blanche and Mary, from which we have to assume that they were simple.[139] What we do know is that the remains were in Santa Caterina until 1649, when they were moved to the monastery of Our Lady of Montsió, home of the community that Mary and Blanche had contributed to founding centuries before. The remains of the sisters were laid to rest in two stone tombs in the cloister, beside the door to the chapter house.[140] The remains of the two sisters were buried there until the community abandoned the monastery as a result of the disentailment of 1835, which led the building to fall into ruin. The nuns ended up moving to a new place on Rambla de Catalunya at the end of the nineteenth century. They took with them the bodies of the nuns buried in the old monastery, among these, those of Mary and Blanche, who were rehoused in a crypt under the chapter house of the new monastery. In the events of July 1936, the monastery was set

138 Starting that year, Rossell's career in the Order of Preachers was marked by various appointments which ended up taking him to the papal court in Avignon. (Alós, *El cardenal de Aragón*, pp. 16–21).

139 Diago, *Historia de la provincia*, p. 25. Some domestic descriptions of the monastery and eighteenth and nineteenth century authors attribute one of the surviving tombs to Blanche, but Terés has shown the unviability of this possibility (Terés, "Pere Moragues," p. 111).

140 It is supposed that both tombs were accompanied by an identifying and laudatory inscription, but we only know the one corresponding to the sepulchre of Mary, which stated the following: "Tomb of the most serene Infanta Mary, daughter of the king of Aragon, James II, and Blanche, daughter of Charles king of Sicily, wife of he who was Infante Peter, son of the king of Castile, Sancho, and then nun in the order of Saint John of the Hospital in the monastery of Sigena and, finally, nun in the order of preachers and founder of the Monastery of Montsió in this city, who died in the year of Our Lord 1347 before seeing the works of said monastery finished and that is why she was buried in this convent." ("*Sepultura de la Serenísima Infanta Sor Maria, filla del Rey de Aragó Don Jaume lo segon y de Doña Blanca filla de Carlos Rey de Sicilia, muller que fou del Infant Don Pere fill del Rey de Castella don Sancho, y despres monja del Ordre de St. Joan del Hospital en el Monestir de Xixena, y finalment Religiosa de nostre Ordre de Predicadors y fundadora del Convent de Montesión desta Ciutat, mori per los anys del Senyor 1347 ans de veurer acabada la obra de dit Monestir y axí fou enterrada en lo present Convent*"). See: Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, pp. 30–31.

on fire and desecrated, and it must be deduced that this was when the bodies of these two daughters of James II disappeared for ever.[141]

Regarding the housing of the tombs of Blanche and Mary in the Monastery of Santa Caterina in Barcelona, it should be said that this religious institution was the place chosen by various relevant personalities to rest eternally in monumental tombs, some of which were done between 1358 and 1376 by the sculptor Pere Moragues, perhaps helped by the architect and sculptor, Bernat Roca.[142] Especially outstanding among the tombs of which we have evidence is the one the two made around 1367 for Ramon Berenguer I, Count of Empúries, and his second wife, Mary (Maria Álvarez). The count was the son of James II and, so, Mary and Blanche's brother,[143] and was closely linked to the monastery, to the extent that in 1358, he took the habit of the Preachers and retired there. He died in 1366 and his wife must have commissioned a tomb for the two of them, a project in which Moragues and Roca collaborated. Various documents certify payments from Álvarez to the two artists in 1370 and 1371, but some clues make us suspect that Count Ramon was not finally buried in Santa Caterina. In contrast, later domestic sources do reveal that Countess Mary, who died in 1372, was buried there with their eldest son, James. She was buried in a great alabaster tomb, while the boy was placed in a smaller one, both in the chancel, near the high altar and the door to the sacristy.[144]

This commission from Countess Mary shows that there were different members of the royal family buried in the presbytery of the church of Santa Caterina, and although we are not sure that the remains of Ramon Berenguer ended up there, at least, there was a moment when three of James II's children decided to rest there eternally. Two of the siblings, the above-mentioned Ramon Berenguer and Mary, took the Dominican habit, with which they broke with the Franciscan affiliation that characterised the royal family, and to which I have already alluded. With that, the Dominican church became a kind of secondary royal pantheon, besides the main project in Santes Creus, where James II devised two double tombs, one for him and his wife and another for his parents, and that of the monastery of Poblet, proposed by Peter the Ceremonious and which was

141 Paulí, *El Real Monasterio*, p. 106. According to Martínez Ferrando, they were buried in the cemetery next to the building, which was desecrated in 1936 (Martínez Ferrando, *Els fills de Jaume II*, p. 87).

142 For this set of sepulchres, none of which have survived, see: Terés, "Pere Moragues," pp. 95–121.

143 For the figure of Ramon Berenguer, see: Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 1:178–83; Martínez Ferrando, *Els fills de Jaume II*, pp. 183–91.

144 All the information about both tombs in: Terés, "Pere Moragues," pp. 103–10.

the main place of burial for the members of the House of Aragon until the end of the fifteenth century.[145] Likewise, with the burial of various members of the royal family in their church in Barcelona, the Preachers rivalled the Franciscans in the city, as the latter's monastery was the site for the burial of some of the leading members of the royal family, including Constance of Sicily, Marie of Cyprus and Alfonso the Liberal, among others.[146]

Among the rest of the clauses in Blanche's will related to artistic projects, one of the most interesting had to do with the chapel of Saint Louis of Toulouse in the monastery of Santa Maria de Sigena. Blanche endowed this chapel with two silk fabrics that included figures painted on parchment, a chasuble and other liturgical clothing, that had to serve on the altar of Saint Louis of Toulouse *quod nos construximus in Sixena*. Moreover, this clothing had belonged to Guillerma Jiménez de Urrea, sub-prioress of the monastery and an important woman in Blanche's life while she lived there, and to whom we have alluded above. Moreover, in relation to the chapel itself, Blanche allocated an amount for the clergyman who held mass there and for the purchase of the necessary *apparamentis*.

These data are relevant for different reasons. Firstly, they show us that Blanche was the patron of this chapel with a significant vocation.[147] However, this fact was already known through a document revealed in 1994 by Regina Sáinz de la Maza, and which supplies complementary information that is

145 For the royal pantheon of Santes Creus, see: Marina Miquel, Ramon Sarobe, Carme Subiranas eds., *El panteó reial de Santes Creus* (Barcelona, 2016), although without significant contributions in the field of art history. In this sense, see: Francesca Español, "Une nouvelle approche des tombeaux royaux de Santes Creus," in *Memory & Oblivion. Proceedings of the XXXIXth International Congress of History of Art held in Amsterdam*, eds. Wessel Reinink, Jeroen Stumpel (Dordrecht, 1999), pp. 467–74; Español, "L'art al servei de Jaume II," pp. 165–201; Marta Serrano, "James II and his Artistic Patronage in Santes Creus: Purposes, Semantic Content and the Influence of Frederick II," *Imago temporis: Medium Aevum*, 16 (2022), 241–265. About the pantheon in Poblet, see: Rosa Maria Manote, Maria Rosa Terés, "El panteó reial de Poblet," in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Escultura I. La configuració de l'estil* (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 183–98; Francesca Español, "El panteón dinástico de Poblet: dimensión política y espiritual," in *La espiritualidad y la configuración de los reinos ibéricos* (*siglos XII–XV*), ed. Isabel Beceiro (Madrid, 2018), pp. 241–80. By the same author, also her recent contribution to both sets in: Francesca Español, "Los grandes panteones góticos. Santes Creus y Poblet, en paralelo con las sedes de la espiritualidad franciscana," in *Panteones Reales de Aragón* (Saragossa, 2018), pp. 180–89.

146 Español, "Formas artísticas y espiritualidad," pp. 389–422.

147 The processional from the monastery of Sigena (Huesca, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huesca, sign. S-48) includes a musical piece for the saint's feast day (fol. 151r) (Cebolla, "El Procesional de Sijena," p. 165), while the Breviari of the monastery has a mass for the saint's feast day with three special hymns (Fuentes, *Memoria histórico-descriptiva*, p. 41).

no less interesting. This is a letter from 1345 in which Peter the Ceremonious ordered Pedro de Cregenzán, his procurator in Huesca, to reserve 100 shillings per year from the total of this procuracy, a sum he wished to assign to the chaplaincy or benefice that, under the invocation of Saint Louis of Toulouse, Infanta Mary and the prioress Blanche had founded in Sigena for the remission of the sins of their defunct brothers, King Alfonso the Benign and Archbishop John of Aragon.[148] The infante died in 1334, while the king passed away in 1336, from which we have to deduce that the foundation took place after this date.

The fact to highlight, therefore, is that the founding of the chapel was an initiative of the two sisters and its purpose was to honour the memory of the dead brothers, a king and a prince, the latter having attained the dignity of patriarch of Alexandria and archbishop. We therefore have to add a new artistic initiative to the projects promoted by Blanche in the Aragonese monastery. The most interesting is that the saint chosen was not just any saint, but one closely associated with the royal family. This was Saint Louis of Toulouse (1275–1297), a member of the Franciscan order and bishop of Toulouse, canonised in 1317. He was Blanche of Anjou's brother and, thus, uncle of the chapel's founders, and also uncle of the two people the chapel was intended to honour, Alfonso and John. As has been shown recently, the worship of this saint was promoted especially by his nephews and nieces, the children of James II and Blanche of Anjou, in the setting of the promotion and worship of the so-called *Beata Stirps*.[149] This new information confirms this thesis and, in the case of Sigena, reinforces the idea that Blanche must have professed a deep devotion to this saint, as we have seen that he was among the ones depicted on the priory throne, nowadays preserved in the Museum of Lleida.

Regarding the royal family, various of Blanche's siblings promoted foundations or artistic initiatives that featured Saint Louis. For example, Infante Peter of Aragon took the vows of the Franciscan order following a vision he had while sleeping that featured his saintly uncle, who encouraged him to take the habit of the order. Alfonso the Benign founded a chapel for the Franciscans in Teruel dedicated to Saint Louis of Toulouse and Saint Louis of France, with whom he was related, more or less distantly. It had an altarpiece dedicated to the former. The monarch established a foundation dedicated to the saint Louises in the Franciscan monastery in Lleida, the church where he would end up being buried. Infanta Isabella, married to Frederick I of Habsburg, promoted a chapel with an identical dedication in Vienna. Finally, mention must be made of John

148 Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena*, 1:338 (doc. No. 988).

149 This has been defended by: Español, "La *Beata Stirps*," p. 150.

of Aragon, archbishop of Tarragona, whose psalter, nowadays in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (MS 1759),[150] contains hymns dedicated to the saint of the family. Besides, it seems he intervened in the dedication of the chapel on the bridge in Monistrol to the saint. The most interesting artistic work of all to highlight here is his tomb in the presbytery of Tarragona cathedral,[151] as it incorporates a gallery of saints that must be partially connected with the hagiographic repertory that Blanche had had depicted on her priory throne in Sigena. In this sense, and apart from Saint Louis of Toulouse, both works include the image of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, also a member of the royal family, who was Blanche and John's great grandmother's sister.[152]

The donations to the monastery of Sigena in Blanche's will did not finish here.[153] There is an important bequest of 24,000 shillings from the 100,000 shillings that James II granted Blanche while alive,[154] which had to include the 10,000 shillings that Blanche had given previously to Guillerma Jiménez de Urrea. This money was to be used for any of the monastery's needs, under the supervision of Blanche's confessor and executor, Nicolau Rossell, and the prioress of the monastery. That is why Blanche asked the nuns of Sigena to pray to God for her soul and that of her beloved sister. The sentiments of esteem of she who had been their prioress appear in the cold notarial text, to ask the nuns to pray for her *bono corde*, and that she was obliged to make them happy. This is where we find the individual donations to members of the community, headed by the new prioress, Urraca Artal Cornel (1,000 shillings), the nuns Constança de Cruïlles (500 shillings), Elisenda Satorra (500 shillings), Sança d'Azlor (1,000 shillings owed to her, and 500 given to her), Maria Peris de Monelia (500 shillings), Berenguera Garcia (500 shillings), Francesca Orts (300 shillings), and the *donades* Dolça de Ballobar (200 shillings) and Dominga Sena (300 shillings). If the latter were dead, 200 shillings were to be given to her niece, Maria

150 BC, MS 1759.

151 For this sepulchre, see above note 84.

152 All these foundations and artistic enterprises associated with the children of James II are listed in Español, "La *Beata Stirps*," pp. 150–60. See also: Rosa Alcoy, "San Ludovico de Tolosa e l'immagine del santo vescovo nell'arte catalana (secoli XIV–XV)," in *Da Ludovico de Tolosa. I testi e le immagini,* eds. Teresa D'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, Daniele Solvi (Spoleto, 2017), pp. 265–84.

153 At the time of her death, Mary, Blanche's sister, also remembered the monastery where she had taken her vows years earlier. Thus, her will shows that she bequeathed 30,000 Barcelonan shillings (*solidos*), 10,000 for anniversaries and the rest in the form of compensation for expenses she incurred in the monastery. See: Fuentes, *Memoria histórico-descriptiva*, p. 31.

154 See above note 122.

de Xep, and each of these individual bequests were invalidated if those concerned died before Blanche. She also recognised that, sometime previously, she had promised a donation of 3,000 Jaca shillings to Elfa de Luna, a deceased nun from the monastery. If her confessor agreed, this amount should be given to the prioress of the monastery or to Elfa's own disciples.

In her will Blanche acknowledged a series of debts in which she was involved and that she requested to be paid. The largest was with the above-mentioned Bonanat de Coll, citizen of Barcelona, to whom she owed 1,348 Barcelonan shillings. She owed Jaume Cardona's son 1,000 shillings, and one Campamai, citizen of Barcelona, and his heirs, 1,600 shillings, who also had a document that showed a debt for the 20,000 Barcelonan shillings from the Jewish aljama in Barcelona. She recognised a debt of 1,000 Barcelonan shillings with Berenguer de Solà, a merchant from Girona; and one of 325 shillings with Agustí, a draper from Barcelona. Then there was a debt of 100 shillings with the silversmith who had made her a chalice and silver bottles, one of 300 Barcelonan shillings with Pere Çapedrera, porter of the defunct James II, for a mule for Blanche's service, to one Rochafort, a quantity that is not fully legible in the document; to the Franciscan monastery in Lleida, a hundred Barcelonan shillings in relation to the provincial chapter the order had to hold that year, eighty-three Barcelonan shillings to Elfa de Luna, nun in Sigena, now deceased, and to the same Elfa, a hundred Jaca shillings for two silver cups, quantities that had to be given to the prioress of Sigena or Elfa's disciples, if Blanche's confessor accepted it. There were 1,000 Barcelonan shillings for Esclarmonda de Castán, a nun in Sigena, 100 Jaca shillings for the Dominican monastery of Vilafranca del Penedès for holding the provincial chapter, and, finally, 1,150 shillings for the town of Sena, near the monastery of Sigena.

Blanche recognised debts with others that were quoted in a notebook with the infanta's seal written by the notary Pere Salmunia and which she ordered to be paid. She also ordered her confessor to add, eliminate or revoke, in accordance with his own criteria, all the bequests that Blanche had made to various people and monasteries, as her assets were scarce. She also entrusted her confessor to reward the aforementioned Bonanat de Coll with as much as he thought fit for the services rendered to her, since she had not done it as he deserved. In this point, Blanche's gratitude to him becomes explicit. Coll was probably important in the infanta's final years, as her will mentions him as one of the people, together with Nicolau Rossell, who had given instructions for the burial of her sister Mary the previous year. From the same will we deduce that Bonanat de Coll contributed to Blanche's financial wellbeing, given that he appears as the depositary, by pawning, of the important gold cross that

Mary had given to the monastery of Santa Caterina. Moreover, as we have seen, Blanche recognised an important financial debt to him.[155]

## 5 Conclusions

In this work, we have attempted to dive deeper into the vicissitudes of a king's daughter who did not have an easy life by any means. Far from her family from a tender age, orphaned by her mother and isolated in a monastery in the interior of the paternal domains, her personality was conditioned by a range of factors that we have tried to illustrate through the documents. The harshness of life in the monastery of Santa Maria de Sigena was responsible especially for the persistent problems of health that almost ended her life, to which we must add the difficulties resulting from exercising her post as prioress in a monastery which was weighed down by a serious financial crisis derived from previous administrations. The jurisdictional and financial dispute documented under the previous prioresses, Inés de Benavente and Teresa Jiménez de Urrea, continued into the administration of Blanche of Aragon who, despite her father's financial backing, was unable to redress a situation that must surely have influenced her moods.

This set of circumstances must have forged a very special personality, which we have attempted to reconstruct from what the documents tell us, seeking to avoid the stereotypes that the historiography has institutionalised around her person. Blanche's image was built in the twentieth century from certain common conventions, above all to define and characterise the relationships of certain women with power, especially those who did not succeed in the tasks entrusted to them. There were frequent presented as being incapable of taking on responsibilities due to the supremacy of their feelings over a rationality that was an especially masculine virtue, without taking into account that the activities of these women were conditioned by external and contextual factors.

This is the case with Blanche, who has been portrayed as extravagant, mentally troubled, emotionally unstable, eccentric, depressive or neurasthenic.

155 Bonanat de Coll was appointed conservator of the Royal Shipyards (*Drassanes Reials*) in Barcelona in 1358 but by 1363 he had died. See: Francisco de Bofarull Sans, *Antigua marina catalana* (Barcelona, 1898), p. 25; and: Mireia Comas, *Les dones soles a la Baixa Edat Mitjana: una lectura sobre la viudetat* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, 2012), p. 347, doc. 39. A homonymous person is documented in Barcelona around the same years, a salesman by profession. See: Josep Hernando, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona: blancs, negres, llors i turcs. De l'esclavitut a la llibertat* (*s. XIV*) (Barcelona, 2003), p. 362, doc. 254.

Family correspondence shows a woman who did not hide her emotions, but rather displayed them openly and brazenly in the face of various adversities. This was interpreted by the historiography as a sign of weakness, unacceptable in a king's daughter who was the prioress of one of the most important monasteries in the Crown of Aragon. Nor was it accepted that she showed solidarity and sisterhood with women around her who were suffering problems with their husbands or who were abused from the financial point of view, given that this attitude of Blanche broke with the patterns of behaviour that were supposed to be appropriate for a fourteenth-century woman. Blanche's rebellion against certain conventions in that patriarchal society was read by the historiography from deeply unfair parameters, which led to biased conclusions about her image and which presented her as someone who reason had forsaken. However, and although the documents allow speculation about the character of a woman who lived surrounded by hardships, they do not allow conclusions of this type to be extracted, and which would seem hasty.

All this was no obstacle to Blanche becoming an artistic patron, with the work carried out in the dormitory and priory hall of the monastery, to which one must add the piece of furniture that has become the manifest image of her power and time in the monastery, namely the priory throne nowadays in the Museum of Lleida. This facet of her personality is also evident in her will, written in Barcelona on the 28 October 1348, shortly before she died. This gives more or less precise guidelines for her burial, for which she chose the house of the Dominicans in Barcelona, the monastery of Santa Caterina, and commissioned two monumental tombs for herself and her sister Mary with which she aimed to perpetuate the memory of both. Unfortunately, the project did not go forward.

However, apart from this and other artistic initiatives, like contributing to the building of the Dominican monastery her sister Mary had just founded in the same city, the document reveals some details of Blanche's personality and feelings that we have tried to define. The document, very likely dictated when Blanche was close to death, presents a woman concerned with the future, in all senses. Her sense of responsibility and royal origins led her to be grateful and magnanimous to all those who helped her in life. This is why numerous bequests are documented to nuns in the monastery of Sigena, her previous home, people in her personal service, and also friars and authorities in the Order of Preachers, to which she had drawn closer in her later years, surely through the influence of her confessor, Nicolau Rossell, as he was also confessor to her sister Mary, and who became the executor of the wills of both sisters. In this personal context, one has to understand the approach of the two sisters to the friars of Saint Dominic, a spiritual commitment that, to a great extent,

broke with the pro-Franciscanism that had characterised the royal house since the thirteenth century, especially manifest in the personalities of James II and Blanche of Anjou, Blanche's parents. Even in this, Blanche, as well as Mary, rebelled.

## Appendix

Barcelona, 28 October 1348

Testament of Infanta Blanca, daughter of King James II, nun of the monastery of Santa María de Sigena.

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, section Joaquim Miret i Sans, parchment 366, register 1799.

References: Mariano de Pano, *Real Monasterio de Santa Maria de Sijena*, (Saragossa, 2004), p. 97; Francesca Español, "El sepulcre de Joan d'Aragó a la catedral de Tarragona. Un aixopluc de marbre en el context de la 'Beata Stirps'," *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval* 27 (2016–2018), 176 n. 91.

In christi nomine. Nos Infantissa Blancha Serenissimi Principis Domini Jacobi recolende memorie Regis Aragonum Filia et monialis Monasterii de Sexena ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani. Attendentes nos habere et tenere et debere habere aliqua bona de licentia Priorise de Sixena prelate nostre, considerantes in super quod ex quo Deo ordinante fuimus ingresa predictum Monasterium servierunt nobis tam in corpore quam in anima multe et diverse persone et nunc serviunt de presenti quibus nullam remunerationem fecimus vel fecimus insufficientem quibus etiam personis predictum Monasterium de Sixena tenetur ad remunerationem servitiorum nobis exhibitiorum per easdem, cum teneatur nobis providere secundum nostram conditionem et iuxta nostram regiam progeniem manutenere. Idcirco volentes exonerare conscientiam nostram et dictum Monasterium de obligare de licentia et permisu de expreso consensu nobilis Domine Hurrace Artalis Corneli Priorise de Saixena que licentia apparet per publicum instrumentum factum in Saxena per Dominicum Tornero Notarium publicum de Sena Nonodecimo Calendas Februarii, era millesima CCC LXXXVI[156] recognoscimus nos teneri infrascriptis personis, atque de nostris jocalibus rebus et bonis de predicte D[a] Priorise licentia et auctoritate et de expreso consensu et firma et auctoritate totius conventus Monasterii de Saxena antedicti de qua firma et consensu dicti conventus de Saxena apparet per instrumentum factum in Saxena per

156 The date is incorrect. It must be a slip by the notary. The correct date is probably 1346.

Martinum de Saydí publicum notarium dicti monasterii XIIII die februarii era millesima CCC LXXXVI[157] et etiam per alia plura instrumenta de hoc singulariter confecta ad salutem anime nostre de omnibus bonis que nunc habemus et que habere debemus in futurum et que pro nunc nobis debentur per dominum Regem Aragonum nepotem nostrum carissimum ordinamus in modum qui sequitur.

Primo ante omnia volumus, ordinamus et mandamus que persolvantur omnia et singula debita et injurie nostre quo debeamus in omnibus locis, villis, vel castris totius honoris de Saxena Monasterii predicti et in tota Aragonia, et in Cathalonia, et in omni parte mundi que quidem debita vel injurie approbentur per instrumenta vel alias iuridicas probationes ad arbitrium, consilium, et cognitionem vestri venerabilis et religiosi Fratris Nicholaii Rosselli ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum confessoris nostri et vestram conscientiam honeramus que primitus satisfaciatis iniuriatis per nos et postea si bona sufficerint persolvatur gratias quas frequenter violentata et inducta fecimus diversis personis aliquibus temporibus preteritis quorum multi nobis magis tenentur qua nos eis teneamur pro ut sunt Iacobus de Salis, et Iohannes del Pico et Fortunyus de Hedo, quoquidem Iacobo de Salis licet multa habeat instrumenta que frequenter fraudulenter fecit, extorsit, et retinuit etiam plurimes iam revocata tamen in rei veritate pro ut sibi obligamur et tenemur. Ymo ipse Monasterio de Sixena antedicto et nobis de pluribus damnis datis et malis est quam plurimum obligatus. Ydeo de eo et de aliis vestram dicti confessoris nostri conscientiam oneramus que faciant sicut vestre conscientie secundum Deum videbitur fore faciendum.

Item ordinamus et volumus que Romeo de Muntornes et scutiferis nostris videlicet Bertrando de Aressal et Go[n]ssalbo Peris Berengario dec Pugolar atque dominabus Berengarie Garcie, Francische Ortis monialibus de Sixena, Sanccie Peris domicelle et aliis omnibus qui nobis serviunt et servierunt temporibus presentis satisfiat secundum que nobis servierunt et iuxta que sufficient bona nostra ad arbitrium et cognitionem vestri predicti confessoris nostri volumus tamen que de bonis nostris fiant expresse bene et compecerent Berengarie Garcie et Francische Ortis monialibus de Sixena dietis cum quibus possit ire et reduci usque ad predictum suum Monasterium de Sixena.

Item volumus et ordinamus que de bonis nostris que nobis debentur per iudeos de tanda septembris istius anni fiat sepultura nobis bene et solempniter quam sepulturam iam per aliud instrumentum elegimus in conventum fratrum predicatorum Barchinonem iuxta inclitam infantissa Dominam Mariam

157 Again, the date is incorrect. See note above.

carissimam sororem nostram que quidem sepultura quo ad locum pannos et sumptus ad dictam sepulturam pertinentes fiat ad arbitrium et cognitionem vestram predicti confessoris nostri et Bonenati de Colle civis Barchinone. Item ordinamus que de eadem pecunia fiant signa pulcra de auro et serico in pannis aureis que fuerunt super funus dicte inclite infantise aportata quorum unus super tumulum alius in altari maiori dicti monasterii predicatorum debent stare quidem volumus quod fiant de pannis que super funus nostrum aportabuntur. Item ordinamus et volumus que de dicta pecunia vel de quacumque alia nostra pecunia fiant signa nostra pulcra et decentia in quadam capa de choro quam nos dedimus vobis predicto confessori nostro et vos eam dedistis conventum predicatorum barchinone ante dicto at cognitionem et arbitrium vestri dicti confessoris nostri.

Item ordinamus et volumus que de dicta pecunia vel de alia quacumque nostra luantur et redimantur quedam crux de auro cum saphiris, balays et aliis lapidibus pretiosis quam dimisit predicto monasterio predicatorum Barchinone antedicta inclita infantissa Maria et quedam bronxiam de argento cum lapidibus pretiosis que tenet Arnaldus Balistarii vel heredes sui pro mille quingentis solidos barchinonensis et que vendatur aurum quod est in cruce et fiat de argento pulcra et honorifica et ponatur in ea lo camafeu maior et melior quem tenet in pignore Bananatus de Colle qui quidem camafeu fuit predicte inclite infantisse, et lapides et argentum etiam dicta bronxie ponantur in ea et fiant in ea signa nostra et serviat in altari maiori dicti monasterii predicatorum Barchinone et dicta crux fiat pulcra ut est dictum de dictis denariis nostris propter reverentiam inclite domine infantisse et nostri que in dicto Monasterio etimus tumulata ad cognitionem vestri predicti confessoris nostri. Item volumus et ordinamus que missale quoddam completum Dominicale et sanctorale in que sunt officia totius anni notata et sunt ibi epistole et evangelia et quoddam vestimentum album de serico cum operaturis de auro et gemmis et serico et calix nostre et ampulle de argento sint conventus fratrum predicatorum Barchinone. Ita tamen que vos dictus frater Nicholaus Rosselli confessor noster habeat et posedeat et teneat predicta et serviant vobis in tota vita vostra et post vostram mortem sint monasterii antedicti.

Item volumus et ordinamus que duo panni de serico in quo sunt ymagines depicte inquibusdam pergamenis et casulla quedam et aliqua alia parva apparamenta sacerdotis que fuerunt domina Guillelme Eximinis Durrea sint et serviant in altari beati Ludovici quod nos construximus in Sixena. Item volumus et ordinamus que emantur centum quinquaginta solidos iaccenses perpetui censuales quorum centum solidos habeat et recipiat singulis annis sacerdos qui celebrabit in dicta capella beati Ludovici dicti Monasterii de Sixena pro vestitu quia provisionem vite iam recipiet a monasterio antedicto

cum sit donatus et beneficiatus in eodem et residuit quinquaginta solidos sint per apparamentis et necesariis dicte capelle. Et isti centum quinquaginta solidos emantur de pecunia sequenti quam nos damus monasterio de Sixena sepedicto vel de alia secundum quod sufficient bona nostra ad cognitionem vestri dicti confessoris nostri.

Item volumus et ordinamus que dentur Monasterio de Sixena viginti quatuor mille solidos iaccenses de illis centum milibus solidos iaccenses que serenissimus princeps dominus pater noster nobis in vita sua dedit quo quidem viginti quatuor mille solidos iaccenses vos sepedictus confessor noster tamquam procurator noster dedistis iam et assignavistis dicto monasterio de Sixena de voluntate et mandato nostro in quibus viginti quatuor mille solidos volumus quod includantur illa decem milia solidos iaccenses que nos hactenus dedimus Guilleme Eximinis Durrea in quibus dictum Monasterium succesit dicte Guilleme Eximinis quequidem viginti quatuor mille solidos commitantur in aliqua magis ut ila et necessaria dicti Monasterii ad cognitionem priorisse de Sixena et dicti nostri confessoris. Rogantes Dominas eiusdem Monasterii que orent Dominum pro nobis et pro anima nostra et pro anima inclite infantisse Domine Marie sororis quondam nostre carissime. Et rogamus dominas dicti monasterii que nobis remittant bono corde et in aliquo plus eis tenemur et monasterio et sint predictis contente.

Item volumus et ordinamus que de bonis nostris habeat nobilis Domina Hurraca Artalis Cornelii priorisa de Sixena mille solidos iaccenses. Item Domina Constantia de Cruylis monialis dicti monasterii quingentos solidos iaccenses. Item Domina Elicsendis Çatorra monialis dicti monasterii quingentos solidos iaccenses. Item Sancia Deçlor habeat preter mille solidos iaccenses quos sibi debemus et in quibus sibi tenemur quingentos solidos iaccsenses. Item Maria Peris de Monelia monialis dicti monasterii quingentos solidos iaccenses. Item Domengia de Sena donata dicti monasterii trescentos solidos iaccenses. Si autem predicta Domengia esset mortua dentur Maria de Xep sobrine eius duscentos solidos iaccenses de dictis trescentis solidos. Item Dulcie de Vallobar donate dicti monasterii ducentos solidos iaccenses. Et Berengarie Garcie moniali dicti monasterii quingentos solidos iaccenses. Item Francischa Ortis moniali dicti monasterii trescentos solidos iaccenses. Et dicta legata non valeant si predicte premoriantur nobis. Item cum nos tempore preterito dum vivebat fecerimus aliquam donationem domine Elfe de Luna moniali dicti monasterii que erat irrevocabilis inter vivos scilicet de tribus mille solidos iaccenses volumus et ordinamus que si videtur vobis confessori nostro predicto que bona nostra sint ad hoc obligata que dentur priorisse vel monasterio vel dicte Elfe de Luna discipulabus secundum dispositionem et arbitrium dicti nostri confessoris predicta tria milia solidos iaccenses et alia que

sibi debebamus et illa que nos sibi alias dederamus ita quod anima nostra sit exonerata et de obligata de predictis.

Item volumus et ordinamus que conventus fratrum predicatorum Barchinone in quo dicta inclita infantissa iacet tumulata et nos Domino concedente tumulari debemus cum eadem de dictis centum mille solidos iaccenses que nobis dedit serenissimus pater noster habeat viginti milia solidos iaccenses que faciunt triginta milia solidos Barchinone de quibus eis iam fecimus donationem irrevocabilem inter vivos per alia instrumenta nostra de hoc et super hoc plenius confecta per Petrum Salmunia notarius quondam barchinonense. Et nunc per presens instrumentum eidem monasterio fratrum predicatorum Barchinone dictos triginta mille solidos barchinonenses pure et irrevocabiliter donamus inter vivos de quibus triginta mille solidos barchinonenses emantur mille solidos barchinonenses vel quantum poterit haberi pro eisdem de quibus fiant quatuordecim anniversaria perpetuo in dicto monasterio pro nobis et pro inclita infantissa domina Maria sorore nostra clarissima quolibet anno videlicet unum aniversarium quolibet mense et sic erunt duodecim anniversaria et alid anniversarium in die obitus nostri et aliud in die obitus dicte inclite infantisse. Et in quolibet anniversario fiat solempnis absolutio super tumulum nostrum et super tumulum predicte domine infantise. Et in die cuiuslibet anniversarii predictorum dentur pietancia dicto monasterio predicatorum Barchinone octuaginta solidos barchinonenses vel quod suficient de redditibus emptis dedistis triginta mille solidos Barchinone secundum ordinationem vestri dicti nostri confesoris.

Item volumus et ordinamus que de bonis nostris habeat venerabilis et religiosus frater Bernardus Sescala prior provincialis fratrum predicatorum provincie aragonie tria mile solidos Barchinone pro suis necesitatibus ut oret Dominum pro nobis quia nos ad eum et eius orationes maximam et specialem gerimus devotionem. Item volumus et ordinamus que de bonis nostris habeatis vos venerabilis religiosus frater Nicholaus Rosselli confesor noster predictus tria mille solidos iaccenses que faciunt quatuor mille quingentos solidos Barchinonenses que habeatis pro vostris necesitatibus propter multa ydonea et grata servitia que nobis et predicte domine infantisse Marie fecistis multis temporibus et cum sitis executor dicte domine infantisse nichil tamen vobis legavit per vestris laboribus propter quod volumus que predicta habeatis pro laboribus et servitiis preteritis et etiam propter labores quos pro nobis et anima nostra habebitis in futurum.

Item volumus quequilibet frater ordinis predicatorum qui in die obitus nostri fuerit Barchinone habeat de bonis nostris viginti solidos Barchinone. Item volumus que in die obitus nostri detur aliquid omnibus religiosis qui intererunt sepulture nostre et detur pietancia bona et solemnis conventui predicatorum

Barchinone predicto. Et idem volumus que fiat in die novene que fiet pro nobis. Item volumus que de bonis nostris dentur fratri Petro Clavelli ordinis predicatorum qui nobis servivit centum solidos Barchinone. Item priori fratrum predicatorum centum solidos Barchinone. Item fratri Petro Pelicerii eiusdem ordinis centum solidos Barchinone. Item fratri Iacobo Iulii socio predicti confesoris nostri centum solidos Barchinone qui omnes orent Dominum pro anima nostra. Volumus et ordinamus que omni die celebrent unus frater in altari beati Dominici et alius frater in altari beati Petri Martiris et alius frater in altari beati Thome de Aquino in monasterio fratrum predicatorum Barchinone se predictorum pro anima nostra et inclite infantisse predicte. Item volumus que de bonis nostris in die obitus nostri vos predictus confessor noster accipiatis trescentos solidos de quibus statim faciatis celebrari missas pro anima nostra sicut vobis et constientie vestre videbitur faciendum. Item dimittimus cortinas nostras lividas de serico conventi fratrum predicatorum Barchinone ut stent in pariete in capite ecclesie coram tumulis domine infantisse Marie et nostri. Item volumus et ordinamus que de prima pecunia nostra que poterit haberi sequestrentur et assignentur mille solidos Barchinone de quibus fiat pietancia solemnis pro anima nostra et pro anima inclite infantisse domine Marie sororis nostre carissime capitulo generali fratrum predicatorum quod isto anno debet Barchinone celebrari quequidem pietancia fiat solemniter et bene ad cognitionem vestri predicti confessoris nostri.

Item volumus que dentur conventui fratrum minorum Barchinone centum solidos ut orent ad Dominum pro anima nostra. Recognoscimus que debemus debita infraescripta primo Bonenato de Colle civi Barchinone mille trescentos quadraginta octo solidos Barchinone et computatur cum eo et solvatur sibi plus vel minus pro ut per instrumenta publica et alias legitime apparebit. Item debemus filio Iacobi Cardona mille solidos Barchinone quos nobis accomodavit pater suus. Item debemus an Campamay civi Barchinone vel heredibus suis mille sexentos solidos Barchinone et tenent in pignore instrumentum Domini Regis de assignatione viginti mile solidos Barchinone super alyama iudeorum Barchinone. Item debemus Berengario de Solano mercatori Gerunde mille solidos Barchinone. Item an Agustí draperio Barchinone trescentos vigintiquinque solidos barchinone. Item argentario qui fecit calicem et ampullas argenteas centum solidos Barchinone. Item Petro Çapedrera portario quondam Domini Regis propter unum mulum quem perdidit in servitio nostro trescentos solidos Barchinone. Item an Rochafort quadrigentos sex solidos Barchinone.

Item debemus conventui predicatorum Ilerde pro capitulo provinciali presentis anni centum solidos Barchinone. Item domine Elfe de Luna moniali quondam monasterii de Sixena octuaginta tres solidos Barchinone. Item

ex alia parte eidem centum solidos iaccenses propter duas taceas de argento quequidem pecunie quantita dentur priorisse seu monasterio de Sixena vel dentur discipulis dicte domine Elfe sicut visum fuerit confessori predicto. Item debemus Sclarmunde de Castant moniali monasterii de Sixena mille solidos Barchinone quos ab ea recepimus et volumus que sibi quam cirius poterit fieri persolvantur. Item debemus conventui fratrum minorum Ville Franche quos eidem assignavimus pro capitulo provinciali eorum centum solidos Barchinone. Item debemus ville de Sena de Sixena mille centum quinquagintos solidos iaccenses et credimus quod plus et satisfiat eis secundum que apparet manifestum. Item debemus preter predicta alia debita que in speciali scilicet cum predictis nunc proximo ponitis tradidimus vobis confessori nostro in quadam quaterno scripto per manum Petri Salmunia in quo sunt in universo duodecim folia et incipit Liber sic Anno Domini MCCCXLVIII. Et finit sic Deig al convent dels frares menors de Vila Francha quem quidem librum vobis tradidimus sigillo nostro maiore sigillatum et in quadam alia papiri cedula sigillo nostro similiter sigillata maiori et vestram conscienciam honeramus que secundum contenta in eis et in presenti nostra ordinatione que unum et non plura esse iudicamus iudices et faciatis et procedatis secundum Deum et conscienciam vestram et satisfacionis personis illis quibus nos reputaveritis obligatam.

Tamen ordinamus que vos dictus confessor noster possitis detrahere vel addere vel etiam totaliter tollere et revocare sicut vobis visum fuerit omnia legata graciosa que facimus diversis personis cuiuscumque conditionis existant vel monasteria etiam secundum que vobis videbitur que bona nostra possint sufficere bono modo quia cum bona nostra non sint magna et sint per nos multa et diversa ordinata timemus que pro hiis que ordinamus bona nostra valeant sufficere plenarie et complete propter vestre consciencie et arbitrio comittimus totaliter ut est dictum. Item cum dictus Bonanatus de Colle civis Barchinone laboraverit pro nobis et nostra utilitate multum et adhuc non sibi sattifecerimus quantum ipse meretur volumus quod per nos dictum confessorem nostrum sibi satiffiat sicut vobis et vestre consciencie iudebitur faciendum.

Item volumus que per vos dicti confessorem nostrum fiant due sepulture sculpte et pulcre eminentes et sollempnes in ecclesia fratrum predicatorum Barchinone in locis in quibus corpus dicte domine infantisse et nostrum sunt tumulata et fiant de illis viginti millibus solidos iaccenses que debemus recipere in isto monetatico Aragonie vel Valencie vel de alia ab arbitrium et cognitionem vestri dicti confessoris.

Et quitquid super fuerit de omnibus bonis nostris factis et completis primitus omnibus supradictis volumus disponimus et ordinamus que conveatur in

constructionem et donationem illius monasterii dominarum predicatricum ordinis beati Dominici quod inclita domina infantissa Maria felicis recordationis domini Iacobi Regis Aragone filia dicti ordini predicatricum in civitate Barchinone vel eius territorio ordinari et construi mandavit cum publicis instrumentis ut in eis plenius continetur. Et cum in factis nostris et negociis inclite domine infantisse Marie predicte nula persona vivens tantum scit vel novit quantum dictus venerabilis religiosus frater Nicholaus Rosselli predictus. Et quia etiam inclitis nostris negociis et dicte infantisse fidelissime laboravistis hactenus ut per experienciam probavimus evidentem. Et de vestri fidelitate et legalitate plusquam de persona mundi confidimus volentes que facta nostra non nisi per predicatores mandentur cum simus vera predicatrix vera mente et affectione. Idcirco ad predicta omnia complenda et exequenda de licencia dicte nobilie priorisse dicti monasterii de Sixena facimus et constituimus executorem presentis et cuiuscumque nostra voluntatis vos venerabilem et religiosum fratrum Nicholaus Rosselli ordinis fratrum predicatorum confessore nostum predictum qui per vos met habeatis potestatem accipiendi et occupandi omnia bona nostra ubique habita et habenda et nobis debita per quascumque personas mundi et solvat omnia debita et iniurias et legata nostra secundum formam et conditiones predictas quoniam sit non aliter dicta priorissa et dictum monasterium de Sixena renuntiaverunt bonis nostris et firmarunt nostras ordinationes ut scilicet vos dictus frater Nicholaus confessus noster eis et aliis omnibus persolveretis antedicta.

Et volumus et ordinamus que vos dictus confessor noster solvatis debita et omnia ordinata per nos de pecuniis et de bonis nostris que ad manus vestras pervenererunt de illis bonis et eo ordini videlicet primo vel secundo vel tercio et sit gradatim sicut poteris sicut vobis visum fuerit faciendum quoniam consciencie vestre arbitrio et iuditio hoc relinquimus et dimittimus simpliciter et ex toto.

Volumus in super que vos dictus confessor noster teneatis, recipiatis et possideatis redditus castri de Font Rubia et totum residuum ad complementum septem mille solidos Barchinone omni anno quousque dominus Rex Aragone nobis centum mille solidos iaccenses que nobis debet integraliter per solverit pro ut est ordinatum per illustrissimum Dominum Regem super dicto castro et super redditibus Sardinie si in pace fuerit vel super alyama iudeorum Barchinone supplicando per presens instrumentum domino nostro Regi predicto que placeat sibi statim vos dictum executorem nostrum ponere in possessionem dicti castri et dictorum septem mille solidos Barchinone de quibus quidem septem mille solidos Barchinone ommni anno per vos percipiendis et de quibus centum mille solidos iaccenses et de aliis omnibus bonis nostris compleatis presentem nostram ordinationem et alia que ali ordinavimus et in

super bonis nostris petendis exhigendis et occupandis post mortem nostram habeatis eandem potestatem quam nos et monasterium nunc habemus vel antea habeamus et que possitis facte apochas et diffinitiones de receptis. Et omnia generaliter et specialiter facere in et super predictis que nos et monasterium scilicet divisum vel conventum antea facere poteramus quoniam nos in hoc et in omnibus quibuscumque vobis plenarie comittimus [?] res nostras sine retentione aliqua sicut iam priorissa et dictum monasterium de Sixena vobis comiserunt pro ut per publicam instrumenta apparet manifeste.

Et volumus et ordinamus que vobis dicto confessori et executori nostro tradantur omnia instrumenta nostra et scripture quecumque et omnia pro nobis et pro iure nostro facienciam quoquomodo mandamus per presens instrumentum vicem especiale in hoc continens omnibus [?] et aliis qui bonis personis qui aliqua instrumenti seu scripturas aliquas tenent et occupant que ad nos pecunie nostantur que ea inox cum eis fuerit satisffattum vobis dicto confessori et exequtori nostro et no alteri tradatur absque mo(?) ante contigerit que executio nostre voluntatis ultime non fuerit in vita vestri dicti confessoris nostri totaliter completa seu terminata volumus que post mortem vestri dicti nostri confessoris prior provincialis aragonie frati predicatorum quicumque fuerit sit noster executor et super predictis omnibus et singulis tantam et talem habeat quantam et qualem benis nos dictus noster confessor dum vixeritis potestatem. In super convenimus et promittimus vobis dicto venerabili et religioso fratri Nicholao Rosselli confessori nostro predicto que predicta omnia et singula per nos superius ordinata tenebimus et observabimus imperpetuum et quod in aliquo non contraveniemus aliquo iure causa vel etiam ratione.

Et ut predicta omnia et singula maiorem vim obtineant et ampliori gaudeant firmitate non in nec dolo set sponte iuramus per dominum deum et eius sancta quatuor Evangelia manibus nostris corporaliter tacta predicta tenere et observare et in aliquo non contravenire aliquo iure causa vel etiam ratione hec igitur que dicta sunt facimus [?] et promitimus vobis dicto venerabili et religioso fratri Nicholau Rosselli confessori nostro et vobis etiam notario infrascripto tamquam publice persone pro eo et pro aliis [?] predictis fiant tot originalia quot vos dictus confessor noster [?] habere[?] voluerit per notarii infrascripti.

Actum est hoc quinto kalendas november anno domini millessimo trecentessimo quadragesimo octavo. Signum Infantisse Blanche Serenissimi principis domini Iacobi recolende memorie Regis Aragonum filie predicte que hec laudamus firmamus et iuramus.

Testes rogati huius rei sunt Berengarius Sunyerii draperius Raimundus Andree Sacloposa barberius Francischus De Riuset cives barchinonensis et Petrus Torrella scriptor.

Signum Petri Borrelli auctoritate regia notarii publici Barchinone qui hec scribi fecit et clausit cum litteris rasis et emendatis in linea quarta decima ubi dicitur volumus et in linea quadragesima sexta ubi dicitur volumus et in linea quinquagesima quarta ubi dicitur quantum vos. Et cum litteris suprapositis in linea quadraxesima octava ubi dicitur sigillo nostro maiori et in linea quinquagesima nona ubi dicitur Aragone et in linea sexagesima ubi dicitur instrumentum et in linea sexagesima tercia ubi dicitur instrumentum et in linea quinquagesima quinta ubi dicitur idcirco.

CHAPTER 7

# An Emotional Portrait of Queen Violant of Bar through Her Letters

*Eduard Juncosa Bonet*

> Who, if you happen to find a suitable narrator, could tell you of the virtues of the queen Lady Violant, wife of my lord, here present? I do not consider myself fit for the task, but I will tell you briefly [...] what I can. [...] I do not think that anyone in the world can surpass her singular subtlety, her intelligence, her understanding and her daring in embarking on great enterprises; and I should know this better than others, since with my feeble strength I served her at length. If from now on you hear talk of conjugal love and no special mention of her is made to you, do not hold the one speaking to you as an expert or good historian, for you shall know that there are few who are equal to her.
>
> BERNAT METGE, *Lo Somni*, *c.* 1399[1]

These words, addressed to Queen Violant of Bar by her most eminent secretary, may sound somewhat exaggerated due to their obvious laudatory tone, but, from our point of view, they are a fine representation of some of the main virtues of Queen Violant, one of the most prominent figures of medieval

1 "*Qui·t porie dir ne ésser suficient relador de les virtuts de la reyna dona Yolant, muller de mon senyor qui açí és? No m'i tench per bastant, però dire-te'n breument* [...] *ço que poré.* [...] *De suptilitat singular d'entendre, de compendre e de gosar empendre grans fets, no pens que persona vivent li'n port avantatge; e jo deig-ho saber entre·ls altres, qui de mon flach poder la he servida longament. Si hoyràs parlar d'açí avant d'amor conjugal e d'aquesta no·t serà feta singular menció, no hajes per bon istorial ne disert aquell qui·n parlarà, car sàpies que poques en nombre són a ella stades eguals*." Bernat Metge, *Lo Somni*, ed. Stefano M. Cingolani (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 243–244.

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European society.[2] Both the volume and wealth of the sources relating to her life are extraordinary to the point of being the envy of any historian.[3] This is even more so if we consider that we are mainly talking about letters, whether public or private,[4] that suggest she was energetic, powerful, intelligent and ambitious and had a strong personality.[5]

These missives lead the way in helping us to access the voice, sight, experience and feelings of the figure at the centre of our interest. Letters that will become the central axis of this analysis, after drawing a biographical sketch in the first instance that will enable us to place the historical figure in context.[6]

## 1 Early Life, Education and Cultural Interests

Violant of Bar was born around 1365, most likely in Bar-le-Duc, which was the then-capital of the duchy of Bar in the historic region of Lorraine. While very little is known about her childhood and early years, she is believed to have been the eldest daughter (out of eleven siblings with whom she always had a warm relationship)[7] of Robert I, a member of the Montbéliard house, and Mary of Valois. Violant was educated in the illustrious court of the dukes of Bar

2 The present chapter is part of the research project "Pacto, negociación y conflicto en la cultura política castellana (1230–1516)" (AEI/10.13039/501100011033) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities; and of the Consolidated Research Group funded by Generalitat de Catalunya (2021-SGR-01151).

3 Despite this, we still do not have a full and systematic biography extending beyond specific issues, some of which will be developed in this essay. Special mention should be made of the manuscript written by Francesc de Bofarull, *Violant de Bar,* Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 1697, which makes it an essential piece as it contains a large number of excerpts taken from the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona. This manuscript was published by Salvador Sanpere under the title *Las Damas d'Aragó* (Barcelona, 1897). The most remarkable contribution is the monumental but unpublished doctoral thesis from Claire Ponsich: Claire Ponsich, *Réseaux et gouvernement d'une femme de pouvoir: l'exemple de Yolande de Bar* (*1365–1431*) (Ph.D. Dissertation, Université Paris-8, 2021).

4 In the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Barcelona) there are up to 46 volumes among the Chancellery registers (1807, 1815–1824, 2027, 2029–2062) of letters written by Violant of Bar, each volume containing over one hundred and fifty pages, written more often than not in Catalan, but also in Latin, Aragonese, Spanish and French.

5 Dawn Bratsch-Prince, "'Dones que feyan d'homens:' The Construction of Gender in the Writing of Medieval Catalan History," *La Corónica* 32/3 (2004), 42–45.

6 María Eugenia Lacarra, "Notes on Feminist Analysis of Medieval Spanish Literature and History," *La Corónica* 17 (1988), 14.

7 Mainly with those closer in age to her: Henry and Philip. Dawn Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar* (*1365–1431*) (Madrid, 2002), pp. 17–18.

where she was also introduced to high culture,[8] similar to what we might find in the court of her uncle and protector, King Charles V of France.[9] This culture was characterised by its refinement and one that she keenly displayed and continued to nurture throughout her life.

Her commitment is further demonstrated by her keen intellectual curiosity, a characteristic shared with her husband, John of Aragon (1350–1396),[10] a sickly and superstitious individual, over whom she exerted a major influence, to the extent that she has often been branded by those who have studied her as "the owner of the king's will," "the real lady leading public affairs" or "the active guardian of the royal thalamus."[11] The handpicked entourage with which she surrounded herself, made up of distinguished members,[12] as well as her role as a relentless supporter of literature (an avid reader of books encompassing secular and religious themes) and of the arts (perhaps as a result of her devotion, or of her apparent desire to become world-renowned) attested her interests.[13]

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8 Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 18; M. Rosa Terés, *Violant de Bar i Maria de Castella* (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 14–15; Claire Ponsich, "Un témoignage de la culture en Cerdagne, la correspondance de Violant de Bar," *Études Roussillonnaises* 21 (2005), 169. About her literary culture, see: Isabel de Riquer, "Los libros de Violante de Bar," in *Las sabias mujeres: educación, saber y autoría,* ed. María del Mar Graña Cid (Madrid, 1994), pp. 161–73.

9 It is highly likely that Violant moved to the court of her uncle, from whom she asserts to have learned by his "advice and commandments." Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 15v (29 June 1380).

10 Traditionally, historiography has presented a rather negative image of this king, John I the Hunter or the Musician, the Lover of Courtesy or the Careless, resulting from his approach to leisure and his lack of interest in holding the reins of power. This was so much so that scholarship dating from the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the last century accused him of "fleeing from the society of warriors and politicians in order to live in that of the histrions and hunters," to the point that he was described as "effeminate." See, for example: Josep Coroleu and Josep Pella, *Las Cortes catalanas* (Barcelona, 1876), p. 17; Josep Maria Roca, "Johan I d'Aragó," *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 11 (1929), 1–467; Rafael Tasis, *Joan I. El rei caçador i músic* (Barcelona, 1959), p. 285; Antoni Rubió, "Joan I humanista i el primer període de l'humanisme català," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 10 (1917–1918), 1–117; Rafael Olivar-Bertrand, *Bodas reales entre Francia y la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1947), p. 178; Rafael Tasis, *Pere el Cerimoniós i els seus fills* (Barcelona, [1957] 1991), pp. 153–154 and 192. More recent studies have questioned this perspective.

11 "*Mestressa de la voluntat del rei*" / "*la veritable senyora dels afers públics*" / "*activa defensora de la dignidad del tálamo real.*" Tasis, *Joan I*, p. 285; Coroleu and Pella, *Las Cortes*, p. 406.

12 See, for instance: Francesc Eiximenis, Bernat Descoll, Antoni de Vilaragut, Pere d'Artés, Antoni Canals, Vicent Ferrer, Guillem de Copons, Jaume d'Aragó or Bernat Metge. To this effect, see: Terés, *Violant de Bar*, pp. 15–16; Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, pp. 25–26.

13 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fol. 106v (6 June 1421). With regard to the queen's literary pastimes, see: Terés, *Violant de Bar*, pp. 15–18; Claire Ponsich, "Des lettres, le livre et les arts dans la correspondance de Violant de Bar et de Gaston Fébus vers 1388–1389," in *Froissart*

## 2 The Princess Undesired by the King of Aragon

Towards the end of 1379, when Violant was barely fourteen years of age, she became engaged to prince John of Aragon, barely a year after his first wife, Matha of Armagnac, had died. This was a controversial engagement that, at the request of the royal prince, was taken up by the king of France himself, who believed that such a marriage would provide him with a new ally, among other things, to help him defend the rights of the Pope of Avignon.[14]

This momentous decision was contrary to the will of the king of Aragon, Peter the Ceremonious, who was hoping that his widowed son would remarry, this time with the king's granddaughter, Mary of Sicily, in an attempt to deploy Catalan-Aragonese influence over that kingdom. In fact, the very same day that he received his son's letter informing him of Matha's death,[15] the monarch responded by writing to the prince's advisors and chamberlains so they could try to convince him that "the kingdom of Sicily is not to be let out of our hands." On the contrary, their ownership of this kingdom represented the will of divine providence.[16]

The prince's refusal to accede to his father's requests was seen as an act of disdain and rebellion which he tried to justify by alleging that they were related by blood through a much-too-close family relationship (Mary was his half-niece)[17] and remarking on the religious issues associated with the

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*à la cour de Béarn,* ed. Valérie Fasseur (Turnhout, 2009), 277–304; Ponsich, "Un témoignage," 169–77; Riquer, "Los libros de Violante," 161–174; Lluis Cabré, Montserrat Ferrer, "Els llibres de França i la cort de Joan d'Aragó i Violant de Bar," in *Knowledge and vernacular languages in the age of Llull and Eiximenis,* ed. Anna Alberni, Lola Badia, Lluís Cifuentes, Alexander Fidora (Barcelona, 2012), pp. 217–228. Concerning her role as an artistic advocate, see: Maria Rosa Terés, "Violant de Bar: les inclinacions artístiques d'una reina francesa a la Corona d'Aragó," in *Capitula facta et firmata* (Valls, 2009), pp. 9–70; Joan Domenge, "'Iocalia ornamentaque cappellae et alia pretiosissima bona.' Orfebreria a Catalunya a l'entorn del 1400," in *Catalunya 1400. El gòtic Internacional,* ed. Rafael Cornudella (Barcelona, 2012), pp. 65–79; Joan Domenge, "Argenters i marxants de 'coses de grans preus' a la cort d'Aragó," in *Mercados del lujo, mercados del arte,* ed. Sophie Brouquet, Juan Vicente García Mansilla (Valencia, 2015), pp. 359–398.

14 Meanwhile, the cardinal of Aragon had acted to arrange the marriage with a daughter of the count of Geneva (and not of Genoa as had been wrongly stated), sister of the aforementioned pontiff, but which did not materialise: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1657, fol. 25r-v (21 April 1379); see: Sanpere, *Las Damas*, p. 112; Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, pp. 19–21.

15 See: appendix doc. 1.

16 "*lo regne de Sicília no·ns pot fugir.*" ACA, Cancelleria reg. 1263, fol. 371r-v (4 November 1378); fol. 198r-v (8 August 1379). See also: Sanpere, *Las Damas*, pp. 108–109 and 116.

17 Mary was the daughter of Constance of Aragon (resulting from the marriage between King Peter the Ceremonious and Mary of Navarre) and Frederick the Simple (brother of the third wife of The Ceremonious, Eleanor of Sicily).

Western Schism (since John was a strong advocate of the Pope of Avignon, and Sicily answered to the Roman Pontiff). Thus, John's willingness to exercise some autonomy and not go back on his decision, his Francophilia and his Clementism were key to him choosing, once again, a French princess as a wife.[18]

Despite the sovereign's apparent opposition and the lengthy discussions that took place,[19] a wedding date was finally set for mid-October 1379. An initial wedding ceremony was held in France by means of procurators after John had obtained the waiver from the pope needed because of the distant blood ties between him and his fiancée.[20]

Before the year came to an end, the prince wrote to the duchess of Bar pleading with her to send her daughter as soon as possible, reassuring her that she would be made to feel "welcome and treated with respect, appreciated and loved."[21]

Finally, the ceremony and reception did not come about until the worst of the winter had passed, with the subsequent postponement of the formalities and consummation of the marriage. On her way to Perpignan, Violant stopped in the domains of her uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry at their request. In addition, Pope Clement VII suggested to the soon-to-be queen to divert through Avignon and visit him in an attempt to convince her of the importance of garnering the support of the Crown of Aragon on the issue of the Great Western Schism.[22]

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18 It is worth recalling that John's first marriage was supposed to have taken place between him and Joanna of France, posthumous daughter of Philip VI and aunt of Mary of Valois, who passed away in Béziers in 1371 while on her way to Perpignan where she was travelling to celebrate the engagement, an event that took its toll on the heir to the throne of Aragon. See: Eduard Juncosa, "En busca de princesa," in *Diplomacia y cultura política en la península ibérica,* ed. José Manuel Nieto Soria, Óscar Villarroel González, (Madrid, 2021), pp. 109–128.

19 This explains his absence from the wedding in the same way as the letters he wrote to his son with "suffering and heartache," accusing him of aligning himself with the king of France. He even wrote some couplets loaded with reproach, exasperation and sarcasm with respect to the "errors" made by the prince. See: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1265, fols. 64v-65r (13 November 1379); Eduard Juncosa, "Las amenazas de una reina," in *Cartas de mujeres en la Europa medieval,* ed. Jean-Pierre Jardin, José Manuel Nieto Soria, Patricia Rochwert-Zuili, Hélène Thieulin-Pardo (Madrid, 2017), pp. 90–91. In regards to these issues, see also: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1263, fol. 198r-v; reg. 1265, fols. 131v and 192r-v.

20 Jeanne Vielliard, "Yolande de Bar, reine d'Aragon," *Revue des questions històriques* 63/1 (1935), 40.

21 "*Ben venguda e ben tractada, preada e amada.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1746, fol. 55v (22 December 1379). See: appendix doc. 2.

22 Sanpere, *Las Damas*, pp. 122–37; Roca, "Johan I," 104–21; Vielliard, "Yolande de Bar," 39–41.

In the meantime, King Peter made a final diplomatic effort at the highest level. He contacted both the French monarch and the Avignon Pontiff to assure them that he would join forces with them and put an end to his indifference (or neutrality) towards the Schism if the wedding were to be called off. Despite everything, his son was adamant that the wedding should go ahead and adhered strictly to his signature and oath of allegiance by stating that he "would not accept any other marriage than that one."[23]

After overcoming all obstacles, Violant reached Perpignan on the afternoon of Sunday, 29 April 1380. Her arrival was celebrated and in the following days, the wedding festivities took place. When these came to an end, the duchess of Girona informed both the king of Aragon and her parents, with greater introspection, about her reception and the celebrations following her arrival by expressing her heartfelt joy. She wrote, "the warm and cordial reception and the deep love that my dearest husband, the duke, has given to me, makes me feel jubilant, therefore your heart can rest joyful and comforted."[24]

In a letter that we suspect to be more the fruit of resignation in the face of a *fait accompli* than of sincerity – given all the impediments and pressures that the king exerted against the celebration of the marriage –, Peter the Ceremonious replied to his daughter-in-law with these words:

> Our very dear daughter, today being Tuesday, at the time of Vespers, we have received your letter in which you inform us that you have entered our realm […] and that on Monday you attended wedding mass with our beloved eldest son. […] Whereby, our very dear daughter, we wish to reply that we are delighted and pleased to learn about your arrival and your marriage […] and may God give you his grace and blessing.[25]

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23 "*Matrimoni altre alcú no faríem sinó aquell.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1656 fols. 89v y 90r (5 April 1380).

24 "*L'aculliment graciós e vertader e gran amor que lo senyor duch, marit e senyor meu molt car, a mi ha fet e fa, de què yo me tinch fort per contenta, e vostre cor ne pot reebre alegria e consolació.*" ACA, Cancellera, reg. 1821, fol. 2r (7 May 1380). The missive of King Peter can be read in fol. 1r of the cited register (Mateu Rodrigo, ed., *Col·lecció documental de la Cancelleria de la Corona d'Aragó. Textos en llengua catalana* (Valencia, 2013), p. 743 [doc. No. 676]).

25 "*Molt cara filla, reebuda havem vostra letra, huy que és dimarts, hora de Vespres, per la qual nos fets saber com entràs en nostra senyoria* […] *e lo diluns següent hoýs missa nupcial ab nostre molt car primogènit.* […] *On, molt cara filla, vos responem que havem gran plaer e gran consolació de vostra venguda e de vostre matrimoni* […] *e plàcia a Déu que·us dó la sua gràcia e benedicció.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1268, fol. 32v (8 May 1380); see: Sanpere, *Las Damas*, p. 137. The congratulatory letter from Queen Sibila to Duke John and his spouse

## 3 Discord within the Family

It was not long before the monarch and his fourth wife set the prescribed formalities aside and began to express their true feelings. Queen Sibila of Fortià was incapable of hiding her feelings of jealousy resulting from the reception that the cities had granted the duchess on her way to Barcelona, a city that had failed to organise any festive celebrations or to show any form of acceptance towards her.[26]

Although the finer details of the arrival are unknown, Violant was delighted that the monarch came out to welcome her with open arms far from such a noble city. They had many joyful moments of all sorts with the solemnity of honours, and precious gifts lavished upon her. To the young princess this represented a demonstration of the great joy and sense of delight that both the king and his subjects felt in response to her arrival, making this event a source of his happiness, as expressed in some of her letters.[27]

To reassure his wife, the monarch chose to organise her crowning in Saragossa, a ceremony not attended by his sons, whose excuses caused outrage among the royals.[28] Such disdain and disagreement were blamed on the influence that the new member of the royal family was exerting on the heir to the throne.

The tortuous and antagonistic relationship between Violant and her parents-in-law echoed as far as France. The news distressed the duchess of Bar, to the extent that she felt impelled to write to the duke of Girona to express her deepest concerns and demand that he send her daughter back in the case she was the leading cause of these problems.[29]

Far from restoring peace, the hatred and disagreements steadily worsened, particularly with her mother-in-law, Queen Sibila.[30] This was even though Violant had, on odd occasions, written to the queen (starting the letter with a cold and succinct "Lady") requesting her to mediate to lessen the strong

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may be found in: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1586, fols. 123v-124r (9 May 1380); ed. *Col·lecció documental*, pp. 743–744 (doc.No. 677).

26 See: Roca, "Johan I," 121–124; Sanpere, *Las Damas*, pp. 80–82.

27 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 15r-v (see: appendix doc. 3). Sanpere, *Las Damas,* pp. 138–140. A recurring joy and delight that she would share with her loved ones with the birth of each of her children: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2053, fol. 96r (19 March 1389); ed. Brastch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 62.

28 Sanpere, *Las Damas*, pp. 147–148.

29 Vielliard, "Yolande de Bar," 43.

30 The rocky relationship between both women was immortalised in the literary drama by: Frederic Soler, *Batalla de reynas* (Barcelona 1887).

hostility between father and son, as she herself was doing. By doing so, Violant was trying to avoid a complete breakup in their relationship, "and that the aforementioned gentlemen made peace […] in accordance with the love that must prevail from father to son."[31]

However, apart from the good intentions that did not quite materialise, the relationship between the monarch and his heir and daughter-in-law became increasingly tarnished, and just a few months before King Peter's death, he wrote a letter literally addressed "to the wife of Prince John of Aragon."[32] In this letter, he blamed her for not having done, nor doing, anything for him that would entitle her to receive his grace and mercy. He angrily warned Violant that he intended to mistreat both her person and her goods with all his might.[33]

Even though the duchess felt as if her honour had been attacked by his intimidation and her heart had been left remorseful and deeply grief-stricken, she refused to inform her husband of these threats. She was convinced that the duke of Girona would not take it lightly. However, by means of an emissary, she decided to forward a copy of the threatening letter to her cousin, the king of France, her uncles, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and lastly her mother. She wanted them to be aware of King Peter's treatment of her, suggesting that those who falsely and treacherously went against her, whether publicly or secretly, had no regard for the "great and powerful relatives and friends" who protected her.[34]

During the turbulent period that began when the death of King Peter was seen to be imminent (the early days of 1387), Queen Sibila, not yet widowed, felt obliged to flee, along with her relatives and supporters, being pursued by several knights and besieged in the Castle of Sant Martí Sarroca, where they were ultimately imprisoned and accused of the crime of *lèse-majesté* as well as theft. Furthermore, the heir to the throne commanded his younger brother, Martin, to have her jewellery and goods confiscated in exchange for a yearly income in order for them to be handed

31 "*Senyora*" / "*e que dits senyors sien concordes* […] *en perseverança d'aquella amor que·s pertany de pare a fill.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1817, fol. 79r-v (18 April 1383); ed. *Col·lecció documental*, p. 773, (doc. No. 702). Because of its great relevance, this letter is also transcribed in the appendix doc. 5.

32 "*a la muller de l'infant en Johan d'Aragó.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1819, fol. 47v (20 February 1386).

33 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1819, fols. 47v–48r (20 February 1386); Pere III el Cerimoniós, *Epistolari*, ed. Stefano M. Cingolani (Barcelona, 2019), pp. 416–418 (doc. No. 320).

34 "*grans e poderosos parents e amichs.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1819, fol. 47v (5 March 1386). See: appendix doc. 6.

over to his spouse, Violant, who was to be proclaimed queen shortly after.[35]

## 4 Conjugal Love

The study of Violant of Bar's correspondence, whether during her time as duchess or as ruler, reveals (extraordinarily as it may sound for this period) not only the affinity and mutual understanding, but also the love, that she maintained with her husband throughout her life.[36]

Indeed, it does seem that the initial promise made by the then-prince to his mother-in-law, the duchess of Bar, that her daughter would be treated as well and loyally as she was loved was fulfilled. In any case, to this day, there are no reports of John taking lovers or having illegitimate children and everything seems to indicate that the feeling was mutual. Consequently, beyond some converging political interests and the taste for luxury and culture that the couple shared (as corroborated by different sources),[37] the young princess revelead her most intimate thoughts with her parents about the true and great love that the duke, her husband and most beloved, expressed and continued to do so, stating that she felt very loved by her husband and the people. All these reasons led her to write to her uncle, the king of France, to inform him that "I feel very comfortable in this land."[38]

Through the selected letters, Violant always refers to her partner as "our very beloved husband,"[39] which is believed to be no mere rhetorical formality. Among all this correspondence, perhaps the item that allows us to place the affection, respect and complicity (as well as the love) that the couple had for one another in perspective is the letter dated 22 September 1381 that Violant wrote to John from Tarragona. In this, the duchess shares with her husband the

35 Alberto Bòscolo, *La reina Sibil·la de Fortià* (Barcelona, 1971), pp. 125–130; Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 28; Juncosa, "Las amenazas," p. 92.

36 Vielliard, "Yolande de Bar," 44.

37 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2053, fol. 48r (8 January 1388); ed. *Col·lecció documental*, p. 804 (doc. No. 737).

38 "*yo me trop fort bé en aquesta terra.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 18r (5 July 1380). See: Roca, "Johan I," 124. From early on, Violant chose to learn Catalan and she even used this language to address her family.

39 "*marit nostre molt car.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 169v (22 November 1381). John usually refers to Violant as "our dearest companion" ("*nostra molt cara companyona*") or as "our dearest consort" ("*consors nostra carissima*"): ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1674, fol. 107v (18 August 1386); reg. 1829, fol. 13v (18 August 1387).

great nostalgia she feels from the moment he left her alone, and she assures him had she known the pain she would feel, she would have never let him move away from her. She also mentions that, from then on, she would do everything in her power to avoid this happening again.[40] Despite everything, this wish would not come true due to commitments which would force them to live apart on several other occasions. In one of these, just before giving birth, Violant reproaches her husband for failing to write to her personally, conveying her "fear that you may have forgotten me altogether."[41]

They both offer each other constant signs of affection and worry about each other's state of health (including the odd chiding for failing to act as advised by the doctors). They share their experiences and secrets (be they public affairs of the highest level or the most trivial occurences in their private lives) and express their earnest desire to be together soon. For his part, John catered to his wife's whims as far as possible, lavishing all kinds of gifts and presents upon her, ranging from a small bouquet of carnations to the most valuable diamonds and jewels, or the most richly illuminated books.[42]

## 5 The Queen's Public Voice

Just as in his private life, John also confided in Violant when it came to governmental affairs and delegated issues and tasks to her that entailed great responsibility and which she carried out actively and efficiently. In this public sphere, the queen expressed herself in accordance with a model of subsidiarity more than subordination, leading to a hierarchy of equals. Their marriage was guided by a principle of conjugal *isonomy* in the process of deliberation and, most likely, in decision-making in which both participated on most occasions, to such an extent that it is often difficult to distinguish Violant's voice from the king's when she acts as his spokesperson. This relationship produced a royalty embodied in both of them on an egalitarian plane that tends to cancel out the differences between them.[43]

40 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 129r (22 November 1381); ed. *Col·lecció documental*, p. 767 (doc. No. 692). See: appendix doc. 4.

41 "*pahor que no m'hajats oblidada.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2054, fol. 101r-v; Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, pp. 64–65.

42 Many examples can be found in: Roca, "Johan I."

43 Claire Ponsich, "De la parole d'apaisement au reproche," *Cahiers d'Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 31 (2008), 81–117.

Among all of her public interventions as queen, probably one of the most unforgettable was the prologue of the chapters presented in the *Corts* of Monzon 1388–1389 aimed at promoting an agreement with the monarch:

> If we could only bring you harmony and reconcile you both […] three main things have prompted us: firstly, we have a duty to God […]; secondly, this is the job that we have been asked to do, which involves working incessantly to minimise disagreements between such lord and yourself hoping to turn it into harmony […]; thirdly, which would represent great dishonour for the lord king and yourself if you did not get along […], to the point that it would be offensive towards the royal honour as well as your very own nature and loyalty. […] For all these reasons, as we put our hands together and our knees on the floor, in the most devout and humble way, we pleaded with the lord king that he, by his grace and mercy, chooses, as a result of our contemplation, to open his door to kindness which had been shut out because of the actions of some, in the same way that the gate to paradise had been shut as a consequence of Eve's sin.[44]

If we venture beyond her speeches, we can also glimpse the queen's strong personality through the missives she addressed to people at a high level. In these, she showed no fear of making accusations and reproaches or using a remarkably threatening tone. A prime example of this can be found in the letter that she sent to the Archbishop of Tarragona on 31 May 1394. In this, she expressed with displeasure how she was surprised and aggrieved by the actions that he had launched to the detriment of the king and herself, to their estate, privileges and rights, which resulted in the damage and offences that she proceeds to list. Threats, slander, seizure of property, retributions, assaults, breaches of privileges and agreements, as well as other infinite unwarranted and serious deeds: all of these were intolerable and harmful, an expression of contempt

44 "*Que poguéssem concordar e avenir vosaltres* […] *han-nos-hi induhida tres principals coses; la primera, que·n som tenguda a Déu* […]*; la segona, que és offici que·ns ha comanat, lo qual és que tots temps que veiam discòrdia entre lo dit senyor e vosaltres, incessantment treballem per reduir-ho en concòrdia* […]*; la terça, que gran infàmia seria del senyor rey e de vosaltres que no us concordàssets* […]*, tant que seria ofesa la dignitat reyal e vostra naturalesa e leyaltat.* […] *Per què, tan devotament e humil com havem pogut, ab les mans junctes e genolls en terra, havem lo dit senyor rey supplicat que ell, per sa gràcia e mercè, la sua porta de benignitat qui era tancada per mèrits d'alguns, així com fo aquella de paradís per lo pecat de Eva, vulla per contemplació nostra obrir.*" ACA, Generalitat, Serie General (N), n. 958, fol. 128r-v.

and deceit towards "your prince and lord and lady."[45] For all these reasons and "feeling so aggrieved that any more so would have been impossible,"[46] not only does she plead with the prelate, but she calls on him not to continue along that path, to desist and remedy these wrongs. In an angrier tone, she warns him that if he fails to make amends, "we will lodge a complaint with the king to the extent that you will see and feel how serious it is to behave and act so recklessly by withholding the former payments of royalties and rights."[47] The letter concludes with a final warning that an inquiry would be launched to determine the veracity of such information and grievances and ends with a new threat: if these prove to be real, "as we have been informed, you must respond by issuing the appropriate rectification and payment."[48]

## 6 Pain Caused by Death

The reign of John and Violant suddenly collapsed as a result of a fatal wound which provoked the death of the monarch.[49] The devastating event took place on 19 May 1396 while hunting in the woods of Foixà. The abrupt and unexpected loss of her husband was a tragedy for the queen, who expressed on more than one occasion "this is and this will be the cause of continued sorrow in our heart for as long as we live."[50] In the face of such deep turmoil, the

45 "*vostre príncep e senyor e senyora.*" ACA, Cancelleria, Processos Judicials en foli, 114/12, fol. 5v. The essence of the conflict between the prelate and the crown was the jurisdictional dominion of the city and territory of Tarragona.

46 "*sentint-nos agreujada, tant que més no poríem.*" ACA, Cancelleria, Processos Judicials en foli, 114/12, fol. 5v.

47 "*nós provehirem ab lo senyor rey sobre açò en tal manera que vós veurets e sintrets per obra quant és greu cosa fer e temptar alscunes coses temeràries en detracció e contra les regalies e drets antiquats.*" ACA, Cancelleria, Processos Judicials en foli, 114/12, fol. 5v.

48 "*segons nos és estat dat entenent, vós ne reportets deguda correcció e paga.*" ACA, Cancelleria, Processos Judicials en foli, 114/12, fol. 6r. See: Eduard Juncosa, *Estructura y dinámicas de poder en el señorío de Tarragona* (Barcelona, 2015), pp. 454–455; For an analysis of the context in greater depth in, see: Juncosa, "Las amenazas," pp. 99–105.

49 With regard to the rumours and machinations resulting from the king's death, see: Flocel Sabaté, *Lo senyor rei és mort!* (Lleida, 1994), pp. 21, 24–25, 130, 182–183 and 248–251; Flocel Sabaté,"El poder soberano en la Cataluña medieval," in *Coups d'État à la fin du Moyen Âge?,* ed. François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genet, José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid, 2005), pp. 505–507; Stefano M. Cingolani, *El somni d'una cultura* (Barcelona, 2002), pp. 85–86; Bernat Metge, *Lo somni*, ed. Stefano M. Cingolani (Barcelona, 2006), pp. 39–48 and 261–277.

50 "*és e serà tristor continuada en nostre cor mentre viscam.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2056, fol. 62v (18 June 1396); ed. Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar,* p. 76. Communication of the royal death to her parents in: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2051, fols. 45r-46r (5 June 1396). These

FIGURE 7.1 Hanging circular seals made of red wax containing the effigy of Queen Violant of Bar and King John I of Aragon (detail of front), 14th June 1395. Tarragona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Tarragona, parchment No. 30
PHOTO: © EDUARD JUNCOSA BONET

widowed queen would be unable to heed the advice she had previously given to those in her retinue under similar circumstances.[51]

During that same fateful year for Violant of Bar, one of her most beloved brothers, Philip,[52] lost his life while fighting in the Crusade of Nicopolis and shortly afterwards, her other brother, Henry of Bar, also died after being captured while fighting in that same battle. As a result of this sequence of events, Violant often signed her letters as "the sad and grieving Queen Yolant."[53]

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missives will be published in the work directed by Stefano M. Cingolani (*Més enllà de la mort*). I would like to thank the author for kindly agreeing to allow me to include one of them in the appendix, see doc. 7. See also: *La muerte en la Casa Real de Aragón* (Barcelona, 2018).

51 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1818, fol. 82v (31 August 1386); reg. 2034, fol. 96r-v (12 November 1418).

52 In one of the letters Violant sent him shortly after being separating, she claimed to "be looking forward to seeing you in the same way as you are looking forward to seeing me." ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 16r (14 May 1386); Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, pp. 56–57.

53 "*La trista e dolorosa reyna Yolant.*"

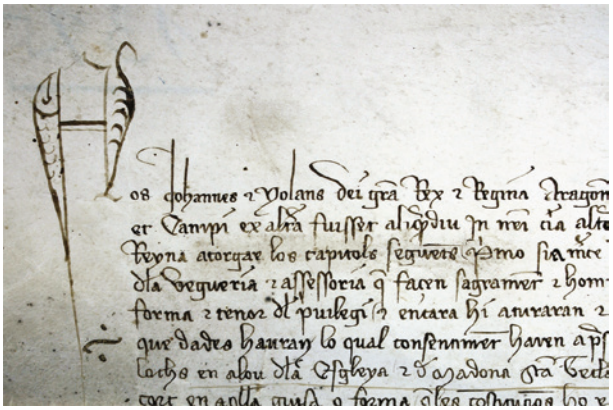

FIGURE 7.2 Detail of a parchment which confirms the privileges awarded by Queen Violant and King John I to the city of Tarragona. Two barbels (emblem of the queen) are depicted on the capital letter (N), 14th June 1395. Tarragona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Tarragona, parchment No. 30
PHOTO: © EDUARD JUNCOSA BONET

Nevertheless, this was not the first time that she had had to deal with tragedy stemming from the loss of loved ones. Outside the premature births or the children who did not survive longer than a few months (Charles – 1386,[54] Ferdinand – 1389, Antonia – 1391, Leonor – 1393, Peter – 1394, Joanna – 1396),[55] the queen's deepest despair and grief was caused by the death of Prince James of Aragon (1384–1388), who had been named as the *dauphin* of Girona and count of Cervera only a few months before his death. The death of the heir sent the queen into a "major state of distress and profound pain."[56] Even several months after the sad loss, Violant continued admitting to her closest friends that she was still feeling deeply saddened, and this led her to abandon some of her duties. It was one of the very few occasions when her frailty became evident.[57]

54 An abortion partly blamed on her cousin Charles, prince of Navarre, for forcing her to dance too much: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 1818, fol. 75v; ed. Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 66.

55 Dawn Bratsch-Prince, "A Queen's Task: Violant de Bar and the Experience of Royal Motherhood in Fourteenth-Century Aragón," *La Corónica* 27/1 (1998), 25–26; Vielliard, "Yolande de Bar," 45–48.

56 "*Gran et greu turbació et transcendent dolor.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2056, fol. 108r-v (13 September 1389).

57 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2053, fol. 73v (11 September 1388); fols. 89v-90r (27 January 1389).

## 7 Resistance to Relinquishing Power and Political Ambition

The unforeseen death of King John meant an inevitable loss of the power Violant had enjoyed until then. As no male children resulting from their marriage had survived, the crown was hastily passed on, despite some hesitation,[58] to the youngest brother of the deceased monarch, Martin (known as the Humane), who was residing in Sicily at the time, and his wife, Mary of Luna.

Infuriated by the succession of misfortunes and in an act of spite, Violant chose to add further confusion to the succession process by declaring that she was pregnant "with male symptoms."[59] The news caused a major commotion and she requested that the appointment of the new king be postponed until the posthumous child of John, which she claimed to be expecting, was born. A matter of such magnitudeneeded to be certified, to determine whether the dowager queen's claims were true or false. To this effect, it was decided that four good and wise ladies were to watch over her day and night standing by her side to avoid her becoming pregnant if she was not really expecting.[60] Time showed that the pregnancy failed to develop and consequently, Violant was compelled to recognise her brother-in-law and his spouse as the legitimate monarchs.[61]

Similarly, Violant became increasingly isolated as she became embroiled in the process previously initiated against her own advisors, servants, courtiers and officers, as well as those of her husband, who were accused of being responsible for the depressing, sad and miserable state of the kingdom.[62]

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58 Both Joanna of Aragon – from the first marriage between John and Matha of Armagnac – and her husband Matthew I, count of Foix, claimed a right to the throne. On this regard, see: Núria Silleras, "'Queenship' en la Corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media," *La Corónica* 32/1 (2003), 120–29; Sabaté, "El poder soberano en la Cataluña medieval," pp. 504–509.

59 "*Con síntomas masculinos.*" This was the view of Emili Morera, *Tarragona cristiana,* 2 (Tarragona, 1982 [1899]), p. 688, with no mention of the original source. In the words of Violant herself: "we believe and trust in God that we will give birth to a male that will rule over the kingdom of Aragon." ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2051, fol. 44r (3 June 1396).

60 Josep Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi de la Santa Església Metropolitana i Primada de Tarragona* (Tarragona, 1985 [1664]), p. 88; Cingolani, *El somni d'una cultura*, p. 105.

61 Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 36.

62 With regard to this depiction during this tumultuous period, see: Marina Mitjà, "Procés contra els consellers, domèstics i curials de Joan I," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 27 (1957–1958), 375–417; as well as the more critical and recent perspective in: Cingolani, *El somni d'una cultura*, pp. 83–125. See also: Cristina M. García, *Elites, monarquía y conflicto en la Corona de Aragón. La crisis política del reinado de Juan I (1387–1396)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2022).

Despite the fact that an opportunity arose for her to return to her motherland, where she was promised a castle in Lorraine, Violant was determined to remain in her adopted homeland to fight for her rights over her lands and allocations ("which they want to take away from us with absolute power against our will"),[63] while at the same time taking care of the education of her daughter, who was part of the new queen's entourage until her departure for Arles in the autumn of 1400 to marry the titular king of Naples.[64]

Despite the many hurdles that she had to overcome and being relegated to the background, her political ambition did not wane. Following the death of his brother-in-law, King Martin I, which took place on 31 May 1410, and due to the lack of a direct and legitimate successor, the dynasty of the House of Barcelona on the throne of the Crown of Aragon came to its end. From then on, a long and conflictive period of interregnum began, which was brought to an end two years later. Over the course of those months, Violant of Bar took advantage of the opportunity to resume a clear role of defending herself and promoting her grandson Louis's right to the throne, and proposing herself as regent until the infant reached adulthood.[65]

Her efforts did not receive sufficient backing from her daughter, Violant of Aragon, (the only one to outlive her) and son-in-law, Louis II of Naples, or at least that was how the widowed queen felt. That was further demonstrated by the recriminatory letter that she sent them on 26 April of the same year in which she accused them of "gross negligence and lack of care [...] about the succession of this kingdom, [...] for which you should not rest for even a day." She regretted the opportunity that they were letting escape and feared the calumny and scorn that they would be subjected to as a result of their choices; and even more so for "the honour of the house of France, where I come from" as she considered that "they will not need to find new conquests if this one, being a clear and prime example, is lost"; to end up declaring that "justice is on our side."[66]

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63 "*de què·ns volen despullar per potència absoluta.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fols. 166v-167r (11 October 1422).

64 Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 37.

65 Francisca Vendrell, *Violante de Bar y el Compromiso de Caspe* (Barcelona, 1992), especially pp. 31–34 and doc. No. 12; Josep M. Madurell, "La reina Violante de Bar y el pleito sucesorio de la Corona de Aragón," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 19 (1946), 205–224. See also: ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2055, fols. 20v-21v (14 April 1410); ed. *Col·lecció documental*, pp. 977–978 (doc. No. 913).

66 "*la gran negligència e pocha cura* [...] *sobre la successió d'aquest regne* [...] *per rahon de la qual no devíets un dia reposar*" / "*la honor de la casa de França, d'on són exida*" / "*no·ls calrrà cercar duymés altres conquestes, si aquesta tan clara que huy és, sens dubtació, lexen per no*

The assassination of the Archbishop of Saragossa (a key figure in her plan) and the resolution adopted at the closure of the Compromise of Caspe (1412), which designated Ferdinand of Antequera as the new king of the Crown of Aragon,[67] cut her dreams short. Violant had been defeated, yet contrary to what some historians have stated, she resisted giving up completely and fought until her death to avoid being relegated to a marginal position.[68]

## 8 Mediation and Fame

In reality, the widowed queen did not completely give up public life given that she never lost awareness of her importance, referring to the "sceptre that we have had."[69] Neither did she cease to expect special treatment from the ruling monarchs. This is clearly demonstrated by her intense and changing relationship with Pope Luna (Benedict XIII),[70] the letters defending the honour of her officials,[71] her stern position on the forced conversion of Jews,[72] or her requests to Queen Mary of Castile to act as mediator in securing peace, harmony and friendship between the sovereign, Alfonso the Magnanimous, and his grandson, Louis III, duke of Anjou and Calabria, in a dispute over the throne of Naples.[73]

In the letter to her niece Mary asking her to carry out the petition, the reasons Violant alludes to are service to God, peaceful rest for the king and his vassals as well as clearing their consciences. By doing so, not only would she be complying with her duties as queen ("I fully understand it as I have had to go through it myself,"[74] the royal widow states), but she would also gain wider

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*res perdre*" / "*la justícia és de nostra part.*" ACA, Cancelleria reg. 2055, fols. 26r-28r (26 April 1410); ed. *Col·lecció documental*, pp. 978–981, doc. No. 915).

67 According to Violant, due to "her work and intercession, he managed to obtain the crown of the kingdom." ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fols. 166v-167r; ed. Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 83.

68 These two passages can be taken as contrasting elements: Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 39; Jaume Sobrequés and Mercè Morales, *Comtes, reis, comtesses i reines de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2011), p. 141.

69 "*Ceptre que nós havem tengut.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fol. 166v.

70 Claire Ponsich, "La correspondance de Yolande de Bar, reine veuve d'Aragon: une source sur Benoît XIII et le concile de 1408," *Études Roussillonnaises* 24 (2009), 93–105.

71 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fol. 39r (3 January 1417).

72 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fols. 31v-32r (23 September 1417).

73 ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fol. 106r-v (6 May 1421). See: appendix doc. 8 and Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar,* pp. 88–90.

74 "*Sabem-ho nós qui·n som passada.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fol. 106r-v (6 May 1421).

recognition, the fame she so longed for in those days. Finally, Violant offers to collaborate with Mary in everything that the queen wants from her and that she is able to provide, affirming that she would do so with pleasure.

A considerable part of her subsequent epistolary collection provides a wide range of examples of resentment as a result of feeling detached from the circles of power. She made this clear to her nephew, Alfonso, when she reminded him that, "we have been queen and we have owned the sceptre of this kingdom by representing the image and flesh of the lord king, your uncle, of glorious memory."[75]

Violant of Bar passed away on 3 July 1431 in the tower of Bellesguard (Barcelona). She was first buried next to the main altar in the Cathedral of Barcelona but, three decades later, her remains (as well as those of Martin, her brother-in-law) were moved with simplicity to the royal pantheon in the Monastery of Poblet (Tarragona). Thanks to a brief record of death, we learn that when the corpses were examined, the queen's body could not be easily identified since, when she died, a lot of cypress sawdust was put inside the coffin, and this had stuck to her body and face. The sentence used by the scribe to bring their account to a close is very unsettling: "let their souls rejoice in glory and let those of evil kings and queens mourn; I know who I am referring to when I say this."[76]

## 9 The Judgement of Time: The Figure of Violant as Drawn by Historiography

Traditional historiography is torn between those who identify Violant of Bar as a noblewoman with delicate feelings and with whom it was easy to get along, but who was lacking in significance,[77] and those who, focusing on the more negative aspects, accuse her of being too much a friend of pageants and balls, fond of luxury and a trivial lifestyle, with a strong character, fickle, someone who could not care less about her subjects and who was responsible for opulence, nepotism, corruption and embezzlement in the Catalan-Aragonese

75 "*Nós som stada reyna e havem tengut lo ceptre d'aquest regne, representans la ymage e carn del senyor rey, vostre oncle, de gloriosa memòria.*" ACA, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fols. 166v-167r; Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 83.

76 "*Bona glòria hajen lurs ànimes e mala les ànimes dels mals reys e de les males reynes, jo sé per qui·u dich.*" *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, ed. Josep Maria Sans Travé (Barcelona, 1994), 1:153.

77 BC, ms. 1697 (Francesc de Bofarull, *Violant de Bar*), fol. 80v.

court. This bad reputation is a consequence of her taste for the finest things and the costly expenses attributed to the royal household and its courtiers in times of crisis and serious financial difficulties.[78]

With few exceptions, the figure of Violant has undergone a process of reinterpretation in recent times, thanks to more methodical and rigorous studies. It offers a considerably more complex and multifaceted picture that emphasises the positive values of the queen and her preeminent political action.[79]

The analysis of her rhetorical development allows us to label her as someone who managed to impose her own independent voice, which was not limited to advice or pacification of conflicts. On the contrary, she took it upon herself to carry out all the responsibilities of a queen and deputy who seeks the truth, respects negotiated approaches and fends for herself against her adversaries by progressively moving from reconciliation to the most assertive reproaches, always showing herself as prepared to wield power.[80] She always showed interest in public matters, which is an obvious reflection of her relentless quest to make her voice heard through repeated incursions into a male-dominated world and which meant a rupture with traditional gender-specific stereotypes, leading her to being branded as "a woman who passed as a man."[81]

However, as we have observed on these pages, the immense treasure yielded by the correspondence of Violant of Bar is a rich vein that can be widely exploited to reveal details of her personality and her emotions.[82]

To sum up, the *Serenissima Yolans, Regina Aragonum* was a woman who, despite the many adversities she faced, did not back down from any personal or political challenge. She made a constant show of her strength, determination, understanding and influence, not just during complex and turbulent times, but also during crucial moments.

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78 Several examples of this negative perspective can be found in the classic works of Sanpere, *Las Damas*, pp. 178–194; Tasis, *Joan I;* Tasis, *Pere el Cerimoniós*. This continues to appear in much more recent publications: Sobrequés and Morales, *Comtes, reis*, p. 141.

79 Claire Ponsich, "Violant de Bar (1365–1431). Ses liens et réseaux de relations par le sang et l'alliance," in *Reines et pricesses au Moyen Âge,* ed. Marcel Faure (Montpellier, 2001), 233–276; "Les notions de conseil et de lieutenance chez Violant de Bar," in *Femmes de pouvoir, pouvoirs des femmes dans l'Occident médiéval et moderne*, eds. Armel Nayt and Emmanuelle Santinelli (Valenciennes, 2009), pp. 195–222.

80 Ponsich, "De la parole d'apaisement," 81–117; Juncosa, "Las amenazas," p. 94.

81 "*dona que feya d'home.*" Dawn Bratsch-Prince, "The Politics of Self-Representation in the Letters of Violant de Bar," *Medieval Encounters* 12/1 (2006), 2–25; Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar*, p. 49.

82 Dawn E. Prince, "A Reappraisal of the Correspondence of Violant de Bar," *Catalan Review* 8/1–2 (1994), 295–312.

## Appendix

Doc. 1
Barcelona, 4 November 1378
King Peter the Ceremonious to his eldest son, Prince John of Aragon. He expresses his condolences on the passing of his wife and advises him on different ways to find comfort as experienced by him, to avoid sadness and anger for his own sake. He also informs him that he will to try to provide him with a new opportunity for marriage that pleases everyone.
Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1263, fol. 37r.
Lo rey.

Molt car primogènit, vostra letra havem resebuda, per la qual nos havets significada la mort de la duquessa vostre muler, nostre filla molt cara, a la qual letra vos responem que [...] de mort d'aquella, la qual en nostre cor molt amàvem, havem haüt e havem, encare, gran despleer; màs emperò pansant en qual manera Nostre Senyor nos ha fets tots mortals e com presencialment fos en tera, presa carn humane de la Verge Maria, volch soferir mort per reembre misericordiosament tot l'umenal linatge, e entès encare la dita duquessa, axí com a vera e catòlicha christiana, haver reebuts tots los sagraments divinals e, en altra manera, haver bé finats sos dies, havem-ne per ço presa en nós matèria de consolació. D'on fill molt car, axí com pus carement podem, vos pregam que, pensades les coses desús dites, e car segons que diu la Santa Escriptura per los morts no deu hom molt plorar, màs recórrer als sufragis sperituals, curanvos de fer-li dir misses e altres devotes oracions per la sua ànima, semblantment ne prenats en vós tal remey de consolació que·n siats digna de laor devés Déu e que vostra persona en res no·n puxa menys valer, car si vós, per ventura, vos en metíets alguna ira o tristor en vostre cor, vostra persona, ço que Déu no vulla, se poria valer menys e offendríets-ne nostre Senyor, com les coses que Ell fa, totes les deu hom haver per bé fetes e no sse'n deu hom ahirar, e val més que vós viscats a servey de Déu e que puxats regir los pobles que ell vos ha comenats que si era lo contrari [...]. Nós, molt car fill, ne som ja pessats, axí com sabets, ·III· vagades, e jassia cascun, axí com nós fahíem, deja plànger sa companyia, emperò nós nos en aconortàvem als mils que podíem e guardàvem que per alò no·ns metíem tristor en nostre cor, d'on s'és seguit que nostra vida no se n'és minvada, e val més que haiam viscut e que haiam regits nostres pobles que si·l contrari fos, e axí preguam-vos que vós, axí metex, vos hi guardets. E nós, si a Déu plau, contínuament e curosa entendrem e vetlerem en procurar-vos tal matrimoni que a Déu serà plasent, e a nós e a vós e a nostres sotsmeses honrós e profitós, e a vós serà agredable.

Dada en Barchelona, sots nostre segell secret, a IIII dies de noembre, en l'any de la Nativitat de nostre Senyor MCCCLXXIII. *Rex Petrus.*

Doc. 2
Perpignan, 22 December 1379
Prince John of Aragon to his mother-in-law, the duchess of Bar. He implores her to send her daughter as soon as possible and reassures her that she will be treated well, appreciated and loved even more than the queens of Aragon and the wives of the heirs to the throne that came before her.
Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1746, fols. 55v-56r.
A la molt alta dona Maria, filla del rey de Ffrança, duquessa de Bar, a nós molt cara com a mara.

Molt alta e cara mara, vostres generoses letres havem reebudes [...], e entès ço que per aquelles nos fahíets saber, havem haüt sobiran plaher, com per aquella havem sabuda vostra sanitat e bon stament, de vós e de la duquessa nostra sposa e filla vostra, la qual vos pregam que haiats recomanada e que la·ns trametats al pus tost que porets, com bé podets e devets pansar, molt cara mare, que vostra filla serà ben venguda e ben tractada, preada e amada, con bé sap la vostra magnificència que les reynes passades d'Aragó e mullers de primogènits són stades ben tractades e honorablement tots temps, e axí n'és stada la duquessa nostra muller, a qui Déus perdó, e sís serà vostra filla, si a Déu plau, e molt millor. Pregants-vos, affectuosament, que com pus sovén porets nos scrivats de la salut e bon stament vostre e de vostres fills e filles, con serà cosa de què haurem molt gran plaer. De nós, cara mare, per tal con sabem que n'haurets plaher, vos fer (*sic*) saber que som sans e en bona disposició de nostra persona. [...] E lo Sant Spirit, cara mare, sia en vostra guarda.

Dada en Perpenyà, sots nostre segell secret, a XXII dias de deembre, de l'any MCCCLXXIX. Primogènit.

Doc. 3
Barcelona, 28 June 1380
Violant of Bar to the duchess of Bar, her mother. She reveals her feeling of happiness for the warm welcome and excellent treatment given by her husband and she informs her mother of the subsequent reception by King Peter and his subjects in Barcelona. She assures her that she cannot forget her advice and the mandates she received and promises to fulfill them. She lets her know how well looked after she is and she sends several gifts.
Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 15r-v.
A ma cara mare e senyora, la senyora duquessa de Bar.

Ma cara /mare\ e senyora, a la vostra senyoria per altra letra mia scriví [...] sobre l'aculliment graciós e verdader e gran amor que lo senyor duch, marit e senyor meu molt car, m'avie fet e fahia, segons que en la dita letra [...] pus llargament se contenie. En aprés, per altra letra a vós tramesa, a vós, ma cara mare

e senyora, notiffiquí com lo dit senyor duch havie reebudes letres del seny[or] rey son pare, que ell e jo nos en anàssem a ell a Barchelona, on nos sperava ab molt gran pler, e havia feta apparellar solemne festa. E siats certa, ma cara mare e senyora, que lo dit senyor duch e jo fom reebuts per lo dit senyor rey fort graciosament en la dita noble ciutat de Barchelona, e per ses gens, lo qual senyor rey, per sa humilitat, isqué ben luny a mi fora la dita noble ciutat e acullí'm molt altament e bé. E en la dita ciutat foren fetes, per ma entrada, moltes alegries e per diversses maneres, e ab grans solemnitats de honors, les quals serien largues de recomptar, ultra los grans dons, així en vexella, com en altres joyes fort notables a mi fets, així que tothom podia conèxer que així lo senyor rey, com totes ses gens, havien gran goig e pler de la mia entrada, de què jo·m tench molt per contenta, e lo vostre cor ne pot reebre alegria e consolació, e són així ben maridada con reyna que sie el món, e amada de mon marit e de totes les gens, beney sia lo nom de Déu. [...] Dels càstichs e manaments a mi fets, així per mon car avoncle e senyor, lo rey de Ffrança, com per mon car pare e senyor, e vós, així en amar e servir al dit senyor duch, mon marit e senyor, com als pobles, a mi remenbran bé, e entèn-ho, per tot mon poder, a complir ab la gràcia de Déu. Dels servidors a mi donats per lo dit senyor duch, mon marit e senyor, e dels altres de vostra terra que mon car pare e vós me donàs, me tench per servida e·ls entén, Déus volent, a remunerar per tal manera que ells se'n poran bé tenir per contents. Així mateix, cara mare e senyora, vos tramet [...] tres peçes de drap d'aur de domàs que corren en vermell [e] una branca de coral. Lo Sant Spirit sia en vostra guarda.

Scrita en Barchelona, a XXIX de juny l'any MCCCLXXX.

Doc. 4
Tarragona, 22 November 1380
Duchess Violant of Bar to her husband John. She writes to share with him how much she has been missing him since he left by letting him know about her suffering.
Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1821, fol. 129r.
Al molt alt senyor e marit nostre molt car, lo senyor duch.

Molt alt senyor e marit nostre molt car, a la vostra magnifficència significam que si nós, per degun partit del món, haguésem imaginat que del vostro partiment deguéssem haver tant de enyorament, nós vos prometem, senyor, que no fóram romasa açí. Mas en veritat, senyor, nós nos guardarem bé que d'açí avant no·ns pendrà senblant joch. Lo Sant Spirit, senyor, sie tots temps guarda de vós.

Scrita de /nostra\ mà en Tarragona, a XXII de noembre de l'any MCCCLXXXI.

Humil companyona vostra, la duquessa.

Doc. 5
Xerta, 18 April 1383
Princess Violant of Bar to her mother-in-law, Queen Sibila. She asks her to attempt to initiate mediation with a view to restoring the relationship between King Peter the Ceremonious and his son John.
Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1817, fol. 79r-v.
A la molt alta senyora reyna.

Senyora, vostra letra he reebuda, responsiva a una altra letra mia, per la qual, e en altra manera, só certa del gran bon voler e sobirana diligència que vós havets en endreçament dels afers del senyor duch, e de tenir totes aquelles bones maneres que podets que lo senyor rey e lo dit senyor duch sien concordes, e en veritat, senyora, lo dit senyor duch e yo havem gran plaer e us grahim sobiranament, com per obra conexem vostre bon voler; e no dubte yo, senyora, que puis vós axí ab tan gran diligència e bon voler vos hi metets que los dits senyors no [*scil.* ne] romanguen concordes e en perseverança de aquella amor que·s pertany de pare a fill. Sobre tot açò, senyora, lo dit senyor duch e yo havem llargament parlat ab l'infant en Martí, mon frare, e ab lo comte d'Urgell, mon cosí, los quals vos recomptaran la intenció que·l dit senyor duch ha sobre les dites coses e, axí matex, la diligència que yo hi he, pregants-vos, senyora, carament, que continuets vostra bona diligència de instar ab lo dit senyor rey los dits afers, car sí·m faç yo e faré ab lo dit senyor duch, per tal manera que lo vostre bon voler e meu ne sien complits. E sie tots temps, senyora, lo Sant Espirit vostra guarda.

Data en Xerta, sots mon segell secret, a XVIII de abril de l'any mil CCCLXXXIII. La duquessa.

Doc. 6
Saragossa, 5 March 1386
Duchess Violant of Bar to her husband's advisor, Ramon of Perellós. She asks him to communicate to her cousin, the king of France, her uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and her mother, the duchess of Bar, the information contained in a threatening and abusive letter sent by her father-in-law, King Peter the Ceremonious, which she did not want to share with her husband for fear of the consequences that this may have.
Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 1819, fol. 47v.
Al noble e amat nostre mossèn Ramon de Perellós, vezcomte de Roda, conseller e camarlench del senyor duch.

La duquessa. Vezcomte, una letra havem rebuda del senyor rey, la qual no havem gosada mostrar al senyor duch e marit nostre per ço com som çertes que no ho prenguera pacientment, lo translat de la qual vos enviam. E com nostre cor sia mogut e fort punyit de aquella, havem deliberat a vós ésser notifficat

per tal que·l dit translat sia mostrat per vós a nostre car cosí, lo rey de Ffrança, e a nostres cars oncles, los duchs de Berrí e de Borgunya, e encara a nostre molt cara mare e senyora, si en loch avinent serà que bonament hi puxats anar; si no, féts-li-u saber ab vostre letra e enviats-li còpia del dit translat [...] per ço que veia les obres qui·ns són fetes, e com lo dit senyor rey se ha vers nós [...]. Per què vos pregam e manam expressament que en tal forma, exhibent e mostrant lo dit translat als desusdits, informets aquells que ells se senten de nostre honor, en tant que·l dit senyor rey, qui a sugestió de alcuns, los quals falsament e traydore, públicament e altres amagada, insten contra nós, coneguen nós no ésser sens grans e poderosos parents e amichs, e qui en lurs obres mostren qui són. Et en acabament, dels affers conegam vós haver fet a vostra bona diligència.

Data en Saragoça, sots nostre segell secret, a V dies de març, l'any mil CCCLXXXVI.

Doc. 7
Barcelona, 5 June 1396
Queen Violant of Bar to Duke Robert of Bar, her father. She informs him with great sorrow of the death of her husband, John I.
Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 2051, fol. 45r.
Al molt car e molt amat pare e senyor meu, lo senyor duch de Bar.

Molt car e molt amat pare e senyor, a mi cové notifficar a vós lo cas dolorós a mi sdevengut de la mort del molt excel·lent príncep, marit e senyor meu molt car, lo senyor rey d'Aragó, qui divendres, que hom comptava a XIX dies del mes de maig prop passat, passà d'aquesta vida. E jatsia, molt car pare e senyor, yo callàs volenters scriure de açò, emperò car en gotgs ha covengut vós ésser stat participant, no puix scusar a vós scriure la dita mort, per la qual romanch molt trista e desconortada, e seré tosts temps de ma vida. E qui pot pensar, molt car pare e senyor, quanta dolor és en mon cor romasa per la privació de tan alt marit, príncep e senyor, no ho puch, senyor, scriure ne per letra sprimir, mas suplich-vos, tan humilment com pusch, la ànima del dit senyor vullats en oracions haver recomenada, manan a mi totes coses a vostre volentat. Molt car pare e senyor, lo Sant Spirit sia tosts temps guarda vostra.

Scrita en Barchelona, sots mon segell secret, a V de juny l'any MCCCXCVI.

Senyor, vostre humil filla que humilment en gràcia e benedicció vostra se recomane, la /molt\ trista et dolorosa reyna d'Aragó.

Doc. 8
Barcelona, 6 May 1421
The widowed Queen Violant of Bar to Queen Mary of Castile. In order to fulfill her duties and earn renown across the world, she asks her to mediate to establish peace between King Alfonso the Magnanimous and his grandson, Louis III, duke of Anjou and Calabria over the throne of Naples.

Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 2052, fol. 106r-v.
A la molt excel·lent princessa, molt cara e molt amada neboda, la senyora reyna.

Molt excel·lent princessa, molt cara e molt amada neboda, [...] per letres de nostra molt cara filla, la reyna, per report dels portadors de la present, sos ambaxadors, havem vist e entès com la dita nostra filla, la reyna, tramet a vós los dits portadors e ambaxadors, e açò per lo gran desig que ha que entre nostre car nebot, lo rey, marit vostre, e nostre car fill e de la dita reyna, nostra filla, lo rey Luis, hagués pau, amistat e concòrdia, segons deu haver e·s pertany entre dues persones de una casa e de una sanch procehins; e no contrastant, molt cara e molt amada neboda, que l'enemich antich haie treballat e treballe ab sobirana vigília sembrar zizànias e discòrdias entre los dits reys per mantenir la injustícia de una dona fora de parentiu e no coneguda, ne zelant la honor d'aquesta casa d'Aragó, segons experiència ha demostrat en nostres dies, més solament per son propri interès e barat, nós e la dita reyna, nostra filla, confiam en Déu, qui és deffenedor de justícia e del qual tots béns proceeixen, que Ell, pervertint l'orde diabolical, no permetrà que la dita zizània sí metrà rahils entre los dits dos reys, ans per sa infinida clemència farà aquells de un cor e de un voler, segons dicten rahó e justícia. Per ço, molt cara e molt amada neboda, nós, qui les dites coses desijam superlativament, segons sab Déu, e lo rey, nostre car nebot, e vós, e tot lo món han e haveu pogut veure e conèxer, vos pregam, ab tanta affecció com dir se pot ne scriure, que, oynt los dits ambaxadors, vos plàcia, virtuosament e per obra, treballar que entre los dits dos reys haie pau, concòrdia e amistat, segons deu e és rahonable. En açò, molt cara e molt amada neboda, deveu-vos ab sobirà voler e studi treballar per molts esguarts, ço és, per servei de Déu, a qui pau és acceptable entre los altres sacrificis, e per esguard del dit rey, vostre marit, a qui de la dita pau se segueix repòs, e la qual ell e tots reys deuen abraçar per descàrrech de llurs consciències e per repòs de llurs vassalls. Açò, molt cara e molt amada neboda, és propi offici vostre, e és àbit molt bé ornant totes reynes, e sabem-ho nós qui·n som passada. E per aquesta rahó, nós e la dita reyna, nostra filla, volens-nos vestir lo dit àbit, volem les dites coses manifestar e notificar a vós, e de aquellas comunicar tant \com/ possible nos serà, pregans, requerins e amonestans-vos altra e altra vegada, ab aquella instància que·s pertany, que per los dits esguarts, e per repòs de tantes persones, e per edificació e institució de tants benificis qui a present no·s poden preveure, com penses e ulls humanals no sien bastans, en açò vols plàcia prestament pensar e treballar, e entre les altres cures que havets de la governació d'aquest regne, ajustar-hi aquesta, la qual serà a Déu molt acceptable e per la qual aconseguirets gran renom en lo món. Si algunes coses, molt cara e molt amada neboda, vos plaen que nós façam, nós les farem de molt bon cor. E haie-us lo beneyt Fill de Déu en sa comanda.

Dada en Barchelona, a VI dies de maig en l'any de nostre Senyor de MCCCCXXI. La reyna Y[olant].

CHAPTER 8

# The Abbot and the Poet. Emotions in a Medieval Welsh Monastery

*Karen Stöber*

I have been wretched because of your illness,
ceaseless tears are taking me to the grave.
This tight breast is cold
like ice on a winter night because of fear,
and the wet cheek beaten by rain
is wasted by frequent weeping.[1]

This is how the poet Guto'r Glyn, expressed his grief at the reported illness of his patron and benefactor, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Strata Florida in mid-Wales, Rhys ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn.[2]

This chapter aims to look at the way in which an eloquent bard in medieval Wales expressed his feelings within what was in essence a very formal relationship between himself and his patron. The patron-poet relationship was governed by a whole set of unwritten rules and conventions, yet the discussion that follows will demonstrate how genuine emotions can be identified and untangled within the poetry by looking closely at the individual choice of words and stylistic elements applied by the author. The focus will be on a small group of poems by Guto'r Glyn (fl. c. 1431–1490) to Abbot Rhys (fl. c. 1428–1440/41).[3]

1 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, eds. John Llewelyn Williams, Ifor Williams (Cardiff, 1961), poem VII, ll.17–22. For this translation, see: <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/index/#>.

2 Rhys ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn was head of Strata Florida from c. 1428 to his death in the early 1440s. David Smith, in the third volume of *The Heads of Religious Houses: England & Wales, III. 1377–1540* (Cambridge, Eng., 2008), pp. 334–5, has two different abbots of Strata Florida for this period—Rhys, followed by Richard—but concedes that they might in fact be the same man, which is likely. Note also: Ralph Griffiths, "The poet as social observer," in '*Gwalch Cywydday Gwŷr' Ysgrifau ar Guto'r Glyn a Chymru'r Bymthegfed Ganrif*, eds. Dylan Foster Evans, Barry J. Lewis, Ann Parry Owen (Aberystwyth, 2013), p. 137, n.6.

3 The present discussion of these five poems is based on my unpublished M. Phil thesis for the University of Glasgow (1998). On the relationship between Guto'r Glyn and Abbot Rhys, see especially, and most recently: Ralph Griffiths, "The poet as social observer," pp. 137–42; note also: Eurig Salisbury, "'Y traed ataw a redant': Golwg ar ganu Guto'r Glyn i Rys, Abad Ystrad-fflur," *Llên Cymru* 32 (2009), 58–84; and <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/name

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## 1 The Context: Wales in the Later Middle Ages

By the time Guto'r Glyn was composing his masterly *cywyddau*[4] to his patron Rhys, abbot of Strata Florida, towards the middle of the fifteenth century, this abbey had already played an active part in the turbulent history which was to leave its mark upon Wales for a long time to come. From soon after its foundation in 1164, Strata Florida had occupied a prominent place in the cultural and the political life of Wales, a situation that lasted until the suppression of the community in 1539. During the later Middle Ages, following Edward I's conquest of Wales in 1282–3, the Cistercian Order, already renowned as promoters and producers of native culture, played an increasingly important part in Wales as far as patronage of the poets and support of writing texts in the vernacular was concerned. In the words of Gwynfor Evans, "the Cistercian monasteries took the place of the old *clasau* as patrons and keepers of Wales's language and culture."[5] Above all, it fell to some of the abbots of the Order in Wales to become active participants in the preservation and creation of native writing and art, and patrons of the Welsh bards, much in the way of the secular nobility, whom they replaced in this function. Among the poets who were patronised by Cistercian abbots, and who spent some time of their lives composing poetry within the walls of Welsh Cistercian abbeys, were Dafydd ap Gwilym (*fl.* 1340–1370), who is traditionally believed to be buried at Strata Florida; Llywelyn ab y Moel (d. 1440), who ended his days at Strata Marcella Abbey; Dafydd Nanmor (*fl.*c. 1450–1490); Gutun Owain (*fl.*c. 1451–1498); Tudur Aled (*fl.* 1480–1526); and Guto'r Glyn.

Over time, Strata Florida Abbey became a centre for the preservation of Welsh culture. Many of the great manuscripts were copied here or had at least a connection with the abbey, including, most famously, the thirteenth-century

/?n=na03>. See also: Karen Stöber, "The Cistercians and the bards. Praise and patronage in fifteenth-century Wales," in '*Gwalch Cywydday Gwŷr,*' ed. Evans, Lewis, and Owen, pp. 305–26. For a biography of Guto'r Glyn, note: Edward Arfon Rees, *A Life of Guto'r Glyn* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 2008).

4 A *cywydd* is a metrical form that enjoyed great popularity among Wales's medieval bards. It represents a very intricate kind of poetry of which there were several types. Its basic characteristic was its structure of a series of seven-syllable lines in rhyming couplets, all written in what is known as "harmony" ("*cynghanedd*"), involving, among other elements, alliteration and the alternate use of stressed and unstressed final syllables.

5 Gwynfor Evans, *Seiri Cenedl* (Llandysul, 1986), p. 79. Note Dafydd Johnston's article on "Monastic patronage of Welsh poetry," in *Monastic Wales – New Approaches*, eds. Janet Burton, Karen Stöber (Cardiff, 2013), pp. 177–90.

*Brut y Tywysogion*, the Welsh chronicle of the deeds of the princes.[6] Further manuscripts believed to have been copied at Strata Florida are the *Llyfr Coch Hergest* and possibly NLW MS *Peniarth* 2, containing the *Book of Taliesin*, and NLW MS *Peniarth* 4, the *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, which contains the earliest known copy of the Four Branches of the *Mabinogion*, and other manuscripts besides.[7] In the words of Noel Denholm-Young, "Strata Florida played the same role for Wales that Peterborough played for England."[8]

The second half of the fourteenth century, a time of "much restlessness in society, of resentment against the established order, and indeed, of revolutionary tendencies",[9] was in many ways also a difficult period for the religious houses in Wales. It was the context of social and political unrest that proved fertile soil for the campaign of Owain Glyn Dŵr amidst rising anti-English sentiment in parts of Wales, and a renewed call for independence from English rule, culminating in Glyn Dŵr's proclamation of himself as Prince of Wales – and the outbreak of revolt.[10] The abbey of Strata Florida, strategically located as it was, was drawn into the Welsh struggle for independence. In the opening days of the Glyn Dŵr Revolt, the abbey became directly involved in the events when Henry IV led his second expedition down the valley of the Tywi and occupied Strata Florida by installing 480 men there in October 1401, with devastating results for the community of monks.[11] On account of its location, Strata Florida was a useful and convenient base for Henry's troops to deal with both north and south Wales. In his chronicle, Adam Usk laments the suffering of Strata Florida's community and edifices, complaining that the English troops did not spare "even the monastery, the church of which they used as a stable, and pillaged even the patents."[12] In Usk's words, "Owen Glendower continually assailed the English living in these regions" and a "great host of English therefore invaded the area, ravaging and utterly destroying it with fire, sword and famine, sparing neither children nor churches; even the monastery

6 *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest version*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1955).

7 Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, "Manuscripts and the monasteries," in *Monastic Wales – New Approaches*, eds. Janet Burton, Karen Stöber (Cardiff, 2013), pp. 209–27. Note also: Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, 1976), p. 25.

8 N. Denholm-Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), p. 40.

9 David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster, 2001, 3rd edition), p. 65.

10 Perhaps the best discussion of the revolt is (still): Rees R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995).

11 David H. Williams, "The Cistercians in West Wales, II. Ceredigion," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 159 (2011), 252; Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales*, p. 269.

12 *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, (Oxford, 1997), p. 145.

of Strata Florida, in which the king himself stayed, along with its church and choir, right up to the High Altar, was converted into a stable and was completely stripped of its plate."[13] Henry IV later ordered reparations to the abbey, in April 1402, blaming the Welsh and his own men for the destruction. In fact, Cistercian abbeys suffered at the hands of both sides of the revolt, Strata Florida being ravaged by King Henry IV and his troops, while the monks of the abbey of Cwm-Hir were assaulted by Glyn Dŵr's supporters.[14] At Strata Florida, monks who confessed their pro-revolutionary tendencies were driven out of the abbey by the occupying forces and religious services were discontinued for about six months, during which time the abbey was used to host the king's army and their horses.[15] The buildings of the abbey were used as military barracks, and as late as 1415, forty men-at-arms and eighty archers were still stationed there.[16] Not long after these events, Rhys ap Dafydd was appointed abbot of Strata Florida, where, years later, he was to meet the bard Guto'r Glyn.

## 2 Guto'r Glyn and His Poetry

Guto'r Glyn is arguably one of the greatest of the medieval Welsh poets.[17] He is an ever-present voice in his poems, not a mere humble narrator, but rather a strong element within the lines, constantly reminding us of his own role and involvement in whichever event he is describing. His poems to Abbot Rhys are no exception. More than once he informs us of his own position and interests, i.e. that he is the abbot's poet, the abbot his lord: "I am his poet,"[18] "he is my lord,"[19] "I am your poetic servant."[20] The notable presence of Guto's voice is a general trademark of his poems. Richard M. Loomis comments on this, noting

13 *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, p. 145.

14 Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation – Wales c. 1415–1642* (Oxford, 1993), p. 17.

15 Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales*, p. 269.

16 Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 69; Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales*, p. 269.

17 Contrary to many of the known Welsh bards, Guto'r Glyn came from a humble background. It is not known exactly where and when he was educated, or who his teachers were (but see: <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/biog/#index.xml-body.1_div.1>). Nevertheless, whatever the source of his training, his learning was of considerable substance in a variety of literary, biblical and historical subjects, and he employed it skilfully and to great effect in his masterful poetry. In fact, he rose to become one of the most-admired poets of his age. To our knowledge, he left some 120 poems, although this is likely only a part of his entire body of work.

18 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, IX, l.3.

19 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, l.20.

20 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, 53.

that "his own presence in the poems is strong, not merely polite, a presence often dramatised, a voice often ironic, enlivening the verses with candour and spirit."[21]

Praise-poetry was Guto's main concern. He was the master of the *cywydd mab*, the praise-poem, and as such, he was recognised by his contemporaries: famously, the bard Tudur Aled, in a conversation with the abbot of Basingwerk, when asked who was the best poet at composing a *cywydd mab*, replied "Guto'r Glyn" (while naming Dafydd ap Gwilym as the master of the love-poem, the *cywydd merch*).[22] In his *marwnad*, or elegy, to Guto, the poet Gutun Owain repeatedly uses the word "praise" (*mawl*) when he describes Guto's poetry. Another example is the masterly mock-elegy to Guto'r Glyn by Llywelyn ap Gutun. Llywelyn refers to Guto as the "hawk of praise poetry,"[23] while later in his life, Guto himself tells us that he was told off by the abbot of Valle Crucis for composing secular rather than religious poetry, when in fact he should be "praising God before man."[24] Guto praises heroes of the battlefield and churchmen alike, his praise goes out to women as well as men, although poems to women are fewer by far.[25] Interesting is the similarity between his poems to male and female patrons: Guto tends to praise such qualities as generosity, bravery, hospitality and learning rather than physical beauty. His poems to women are not love-poems, but praise-poems (such as the verses to Elen, wife of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and to Gwladus Hael).[26] The absence of love-poetry among his work is mirrored by the absence of nature-poetry of the kind Dafydd ap Gwilym had composed a century earlier, nor do we find religious poems like those of Siôn Cent. Instead, Guto was first and foremost a "social chronicler" or "social observer,"[27] taking an active part in the events of his time and writing about them, and it is in this way, from the poems themselves, that we can deduce a certain amount of information about the poet, about his society, and about the world in which he lived.

Guto formed part of a lively poetic landscape that was built on a long and honourable tradition in medieval Wales. We know from surviving poetic discourses that the various contemporary poets knew each other and were much

21 Richard M. Loomis, "Guto'r Glyn at Valle Crucis. Poet and patron in fifteenth-century Wales," *Celtic Connections Acta* 16 (1989), 40.

22 J. Ellis Caerwyn Williams, "Guto'r Glyn," in *A Guide to Welsh Literature,* ed. R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff, 1997), p. 213.

23 *Barddoniaeth yr Uchelwyr*, ed. D. J. Bowen (Cardiff, 1957), p. 53, l.42.

24 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn,* CXIX, l.16.

25 But note *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XXV, XLVI, LII, LXVIII, LXXVII, LXXVIII.

26 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, LXXVII; *GGG* LXXVII.

27 Note: Griffiths, "The Poet as Social Observer," pp. 135–148.

in touch with one another. They can be considered to form what we might call an emotional community, which is reflected in their work. They expressed their feelings (admiration, longing, sadness, scorn, gratitude, envy …) in their poetry, which was performed before an audience (although of whom the audience was comprised is not always easy to ascertain). They conducted poetic "dialogues," responding to each other's poems, voicing their sympathies as well as their aversion for each other. They occasionally conducted poetic disputes at the court of a patron, as did Guto'r Glyn and fellow poet Hywel Dafi at the court of Sir William Herbert.[28] These later medieval Welsh poets certainly seem to have enjoyed this poetic interaction. This becomes particularly plain in the surviving satirical poems, which sees them mocking each other, including commenting on aspects of their physiognomy. Perhaps most curiously from a modern point of view, these Welsh poets occasionally composed mock elegies for each other. Thus, we find a mock elegy to Guto'r Glyn by Llywelyn ab Gutun, as well as Guto's response.[29] Satirical though they were, they were always executed with great poetic skill. The bards of course composed also "real" elegies for each other. Guto did so, for example, for fellow poet Llywelyn ap y Moel, who died and was buried at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Marcella.[30] The composition of this type of verse was an opportunity for their authors to emphasise the virtues of their subjects, be they fellow poets, patrons, or otherwise, to express the emotions their deaths provoked in them, to vent their sadness and to create a monument to their memory. The existence of poetry of this kind suggests that the bards lived and worked within the context of a shared emotional community.

Mostly, however, Guto composed straight-forward but very masterly and intricate praise-poetry, as well as what is known as *canu gofyn* or request poems, in which he asked certain individuals (normally members of the nobility) for certain things (a hawk, a book, a mantle, a purse, a rosary, etc.) on behalf of a third person. Thus, for instance, among many others, Guto wrote a poem requesting a hawk from Huw Bulkeley of Beaumaris on behalf of Rhisiart Cyffin, dean of Bangor.[31] On many occasions, and within the established context of praise poetry, Guto laid bare the manifold emotions the events he described or the people he addressed made him feel. He expressed his sentiments in a very conscious manner, which is best appreciated in the original language of the poems. Medieval Welsh poetry was governed by a

28 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, LX, LXI.
29 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XXXVII, XXXVIII.
30 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, V.
31 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XCVII.

series of complex and intricate stylistic elements, which gave the poems a song-like quality when performed and which also had the effect of enhancing or emphasising the emotional content of the verses. Thus Guto's poetry is characterised by his masterful use of alliteration, repetition (of individual words or phrases), and imagery (such as coldness, darkness, etc.), which he applied to magnificent effect. In translation, much of this intricacy is lost (the alliteration for instance), although repetition and imagery can be rendered and the atmosphere created by the poet can also, to some extent, be reproduced.

## 3 Guto'r Glyn and the Abbots

Guto'r Glyn had a wide range of patrons, most of them men of note and some wealth in the region, whose praise he sang. At least two of his patrons were Cistercian abbots, although it is important to note that he was not a man of religion himself.[32] Early on, in the 1440s, Guto enjoyed the patronage of Abbot Rhys of Strata Florida. Later in life, his patron was Abbot Dafydd ab Owain of Strata Marcella, in praise of whom he composed one poem,[33] although we know little beyond this. And at the end of his life, he was enjoying the company of Abbot Dafydd ab Ieuan, his last patron, at Valle Crucis where he spent his final days. There, by then an old man, he had a close relationship with the abbot, which involved lively discussions between the two, including on religious subjects, as we know from Guto himself. He tells us in one of his late poems that, on one occasion, he was told off by the abbot for composing praise-poetry rather than religious poetry, and to "have been blaspheming since I was six years old," while in fact he should be "praising God before man."[34] So he set about doing as he was told, and the result is a very fine religious poem.[35] Guto ended his days in Valle Crucis Abbey as a blind old man who evidently enjoyed the company of the abbot; a mutual pleasure, it would appear. From the numerous poems dedicated to Abbot Dafydd of Valle Crucis, we can glean that their relationship was close and animated and that the bond between the two men was affective.[36] The abbot cared for the elderly poet, whose position at Valle Crucis was clearly a motive of envy for some of his contemporaries, a fact

32 He tells us so himself: *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, CXIX.

33 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, CXV.

34 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, CXIX, ll.15–16.

35 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, CXIX, translated in <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=118&first-line=005> (accessed: 10 November 2022).

36 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, CXI, CXII, CXIII, CXIV, CXV, CXVI, CXVII, CXVIII, CXIX, CXX.

that drove Guto to compose a poem defending his right to be at the abbey.[37] We know from his fellow poet Gutun Owain's moving, emotional elegy that Guto died and was buried in the monastery,[38] likely in the early 1490s, though the precise date is unknown and there is no trace of his grave now.

## 4 Guto'r Glyn and Abbot Rhys of Strata Florida

Let us return to Strata Florida Abbey and the times when Guto'r Glyn was still very much alive and well. The aftermath of Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt in the early fifteenth century must still have been evident when Rhys ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn was appointed abbot of Strata Florida in the late 1420s, probably shortly after 1428, when he is believed to have been appointed as successor to Abbot John.[39]

What little information we have about Abbot Rhys stems from two main sources: one is the information provided in the *Patent Rolls*, the other the poetry of Guto'r Glyn, who dedicated five poems to him. Rhys has been described as "one of the first Cistercian abbots to patronise the poets," and he was also among the first men to support the young Guto'r Glyn.[40] The *Patent Rolls* provide us with a certain patchy framework of information about Rhys, but it is Guto's poetry that fills the gaps with the most splendid of colours, illuminating not only the character of the abbot himself, while allowing us moreover to catch a glimpse of the often emotional relationship between the patron and his poet. Guto appears to have been Rhys's only praise poet, although both Dafydd Nanmor and Ieuan Deulwyn mention him in their poems dedicated to certain of his successors.[41]

It was during the final years of his life that Abbot Rhys was an early patron to the youthful Guto, who tells us about the older man's lineage by naming his father and grandfather: he is "offspring of Dafydd,"[42] and "of the unstinting lineage of Dafydd, fair ruler of Caeo,"[43] "Llywelyn's grandson."[44] Exactly when the two men met – and how – and when Guto began to compose his first

37 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, CXVII, translated in <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=116&first-line=111>.
38 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, CXXIV.
39 Smith, *Heads of Religious Houses, III*, p. 335.
40 Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p. 260.
41 Note <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/name-full/?n=na03>.
42 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, X, l.37.
43 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.11–12.
44 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, X, l.73. In *GGG* VIII, l.14.

poems to the abbot is difficult to say. We know from Guto's own words that he was not a permanent resident at Strata Florida while he was poet to Rhys, for he tells us that: "I will take the praise which will be sweet, from the region where I am to Father Rhys."[45] And similarly, in another poem, he says: "Good is my journey, I will come to his lovely court, coming through the river Teifi to Rhys."[46] Perhaps the patronage was seasonal, for Guto mentions the *gŵyl* at Strata Florida with Rhys, which was likely a reference to Christmas. However interrupted or brief their relationship was, Guto makes his position quite clear when he says about Rhys: "I am his poet, he is my lord, I am your poetic servant" ("*Ei fardd wyf*").[47] Easier is the dating of the end of the patron-poet relationship, marked by Guto's emotional elegy to Rhys, who had died, by all accounts, only a matter of days earlier. In this passionate, mournful *cywydd*, Guto mentions that he heard the sad news "yesterday."[48] If Guto enjoyed the company of his lively, intelligent patron, so the abbot must surely have taken to the quick-witted and well-educated poet, who he asked to recite "songs of many battles, artful works in metrical setting."[49] Perhaps the two men were not unlike in many ways. They certainly shared an interest in poetry and wine, and in the politics of their times, which may have sparked the abbot's request for the type of (perhaps surprisingly) secular poetry he asked Guto to perform for him. The poet, in any case, seems to have been very fond of the elderly abbot. He calls him "father Rhys" (*tad Rys*), and speaks of the love and longing he feels for his patron, whom he admires as a fervent defender of his abbey[50] and its

45 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, IX, ll.1–2.

46 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, X, l.36.

47 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, IX, l.3.

48 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, l.1. Rhys's death occurred in 1440 or 1441.

49 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, X, ll.64–65.

50 Rhys was, by all accounts, a passionate protector of his abbey. According to Guto, he undertook repair work to the damaged buildings of Strata Florida, investing money beyond his means, with ultimately dire consequences for himself. Guto praises the abbot's qualities and achievements, above all his hospitality, in which he has a personal interest, and his charity. Rhys is the "generous stag of south Wales," and the "Gawain of the vestry" (*Gwaith Guto'r Glyn* X, l.60). From the lines of one of the poems in particular, we get an idea of what the achievements of Rhys for Strata Florida and the people of the region comprised. Besides providing food for rich and poor alike, Guto tells us specifically about some of the abbot's deeds: "he gave horses to the aged; he gave schools and rents," as well as "buildings for the poor" (*Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, X). Judging by the tone of admiration with which Guto talks about the abbey, it is likely that he held Rhys at least partly responsible for the "golden vessels" and the "glass windows" he found and marvelled at there, confirming what Glanmor Williams says about Rhys's "attempts to refurbish his abbey's buildings" (Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p. 260). It seems that Rhys had ambitious plans for his abbey. Guto notes that Rhys *paid for the construction of the refectory*, (*Gwaith*

rights, and as a generous, kind and learned man and of whom he says that he "would wish to go to meet with him every single day."[51]

In the first two of his five poems to Rhys,[52] Guto laments the absence of the abbot, who had gone to England. Guto makes clear his attachment to his patron even in the first lines of the first of these poems, when he says: "Lord Rhys, eagle of abundant feasts, you are abbot and life to me."[53] In both of these early poetic pieces we get a sense of the powerful emotions the poet claims to experience as a consequence of the abbot's departure. The first poem bears the characteristics of an elegy. Guto's sense of longing for the abbot, whom he calls *my dear one*,[54] was made more powerful still when news reached him that Rhys had fallen ill in a place Guto gives as *Actwn* – possibly Acton Bridge in Cheshire, as Eurig Salisbury and Ralph Griffiths suggest, or Acton near London, as proposed by Ifor Williams.[55] While Guto describes his sentiments, above all his disappointment and sadness, in the most vivid terms, he seems confident he will see the abbot return home. The terms in which Guto describes the anxiety of the monks and his own grief contain all the fear and uncertainty of a community left without their leader. "Is it true?," he asks on hearing the news of Rhys's illness.[56] The use of rhetorical questions has the effect of involving the audience more closely and diminishing the emotional distance between them and the author, creating heightened drama and tension. Whatever stylistic flourishes the poet employed, they were chosen very deliberately. It is not known what the abbot's disease was, but Guto does not lack ways of describing it: "your great disease," "your sickness," "your illness," "wasting sickness"; "[your] great sickness," "this horrible disease," "your malady, your sickness," etc.[57] This is one of many instances of the bard's skilful and effective use of repetition to heighten the emotion he seeks to express, in this case, his anxiety. He laments the instability caused by Rhys's absence, without whom the monastery is in

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*Guto'r Glyn*, X, l.16) and, although Ralph Griffiths points out that the chronology might not entirely fit here, it is nonetheless an indication of the abbot's activities at the monastery.

51 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, IX, ll.11–12, translated in <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=007&first-line=006>.

52 Although the order of their composition may not coincide entirely with their arrangement in the manuscript.

53 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, ll.1–2.

54 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, l.37.

55 Salisbury, "Y traed ataw a redant," 58–84; Griffiths, "The poet as social observer," p. 140; *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, p. 321. But note also the discussion on the Guto'r Glyn Project website: <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=005&first-line=001> (accessed: 9 November 2022).

56 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, l.9.

57 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, ll.10, 11, 14, 17, 36, 39, 52, 64, 65.

danger of being "set loose like a ship without a sail."[58] In the same poem, Guto mentions certain accusations concerning the abbot:

> Rhys, no-one has ever got the better of you, despite the claims of abbots or laymen. Claimants did pursue you once, it was in vain, my fine lord. It was even more vain for great Yale to try to deprive you of the profit of your office. You have always been stronger, Rhys my lord, than anyone who ever opposed you.[59]

He does not explain this further, but it may be a reference to an incident, recorded in the *Patent Rolls*, which inform us that one abbot of Strata Florida was rebuked for offering violence to the abbot of Vale Royal in a bitter conflict concerning the rights to certain lands in Ceredigion.[60] There is another possible explanation for these lines, however. Rhys ap Dafydd appears to have been a strong-willed character who stoutly defended the rights of his abbey. Following the Glyn Dŵr Revolt, when the buildings of Strata Florida were in a state of disrepair, Rhys was concerned about the refurbishment of his abbey, spending perhaps more than his possessions allowed. Guto details some of the abbot's building work at Strata Florida in his poems.[61] We know from the *Patent Rolls* that Rhys ended up (and most likely died) in a debtor's prison in Carmarthen, and it is just possible that his generosity as well as his expenditures on the refurbishing of Strata Florida, to which Guto refers, contributed to the accumulation of debts he ultimately found himself unable to repay. If this poem was composed only shortly before the abbot's death, Rhys might already have been in the financial difficulties which were to land him in prison. On the other hand, it does not seem surprising that a man like Abbot Rhys, who evoked such lavish praise for his personality in some people, would have had quite the contrary effect on others. Indeed, the third of the five poems to Rhys treats certain disputes the abbot was involved in, without divulging their nature.[62] In his poems, Guto skilfully links the two themes of Rhys's illness and the accusations against him, both of which he perceives as "afflictions." He himself, he tells us, is *lean from frequent weeping*,[63] he is *displeased* and

58 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, l.38.
59 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, ll.43–50.
60 *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* [*1272–1509*] (London, 1900–63), 1429–35, 364.
61 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, X, e.g. ll.16, 57.
62 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, IX. But note Griffiths, "The Poet as Social Observer," pp. 140–41.
63 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn,* VII, l.21.

*grieving*.[64] Adding further flourish to his poem, Guto resorts to Aneirin's words of lament for the men of the *Gododdin*:

> On Tuesday they put on their fine covering, On Wednesday their common desire was bitter, On Thursday envoys were pledged, On Friday the carnage was reckoned, On Saturday their joint action was swift, On Sunday blood-red blades were shared out, On Monday blood flowing up to the thighs was seen.[65]

He makes Aneirin's words quite his own:

> We were contented men on Tuesday, and news of your decease came on Wednesday. Grimly did your death try to carry you off during the day on Thursday. The cry of the town yonder was twice as great lamenting you on Friday. On Saturday there was a sombre song, it was thought to be a wretched matter. On Sunday the news is good, on Monday joy will come.[66]

The images he uses to describe the anxiety at the abbey, where everyone is awaiting Rhys's return, abound with terms of cold and darkness, sleeplessness and fear: "your poets are sleepless, if you are ill, my dexterous lord" (l. 7–8). Fear leaves him cold "like ice on a winter night,"[67] but despite all this, he ends on a more hopeful note expecting to see the abbot return and wishes him a speedy recovery: "May God make you well again."[68]

It is a similar complaint, Rhys's absence from Strata Florida, which seems to have inspired the second of the poems in the little group.[69] Rhys was again in England. His travels, on which he had departed four weeks previously, had taken him to Oxford, possibly to the recently-founded Cistercian college of Saint Bernard: "It is now four Sundays, by St Peter, since the golden-headed linguist went to mighty Oxford."[70] Guto and the monks of Strata Florida were eagerly awaiting their abbot's return. The terms in which Guto laments the

64 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn,* VII, l.9.
65 Note Arthur O. H. Jarman, *Aneirin: Y Gododdin – Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem* (Llandysul, 1990), LXIX A & B (p. 45); I. Williams, *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff, 1938), pp. 33–4.
66 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VII, ll.23–32.
67 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn,* VII, l.2 0.
68 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn,* VII, l.68.
69 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII.
70 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.23–25.

time without Rhys are full of sentiment, and are opened by a powerful first line: "pain is following me." His main image of the longing and anxiety caused by the abbot's departure is that of heaviness, or depression. Guto uses this terminology on several occasions: "and depression is half of it;"[71] "the month has a long and heavy aspect, heavier than three months imprisonment."[72] The month since Rhys had left seemed to Guto to have "more days than lie ahead in ten years," while it was "a long time for the monastery." He requests the abbot's swift return, because, he claims, "the people of his domains will not be […] one night without fear, until his coming."[73] Contrasting the length of the wait for Rhys's return with the shortness of the time in the abbot's presence ("and it was short, by God, without any harsh bond, when he was in Saint Benedict's church"),[74] Guto complains that that which is called a month without the abbot, feels to him like three years, for there were no feasts to be enjoyed. The poet obviously missed his patron's hospitality and his mead. Guto paints a fabulously vivid picture of himself in the closing lines of the poem. His impatience for Rhys's return results in restlessness, he tells us that his feet will be drawn towards the abbot, should he fail to return soon: "if he who maintains a hundred people will not come, my feet will run to him,"[75] while his world will brighten upon Rhys's arrival back at Strata Florida. Guto expresses concern that the abbot might not return to Strata Florida in time for Christmas, a prospect that fills him, and the monks, with anguish: "Rhys's hall will not be pleasant if he does not come for the festival, joyless time. The festival would be wretched if I did not see him, and every festival is wretched without him."[76]

He himself seems to have been absent from the monastery at the time of writing, but longing to return there. He explains that there are powerful emotions that prevent him from going to the abbey during Rhys's absence, namely longing and love: "There are two men who banish me from Rhys's fair court in his absence: one is longing, powerful name, love is the other, harsh one who causes pining."[77] Guto is torn with longing and love, and we cannot fail to see the forlorn poet before our minds' eye when he tells us: "and I am dying for want of frequenting his cloister and his church yonder."[78] Having said all that,

71 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, l.2.
72 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.29–30.
73 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.21–22.
74 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.41–2.
75 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.55–56.
76 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.49–52.
77 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.57–60.
78 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.63–64.

Guto's longing for Rhys was likely in part fuelled by less noble considerations. The abbot's absence also meant that he was missing out on the sustenance he had expected – all that wine and mead and fine food he mentions in several of the poems – which probably made the wait feel still longer. In fact, he says so explicitly in the poem: "They say it is a month, by Jesus, to me it is like three years for [lack of] mead."[79]

Stronger, and even more laden with sentiment than in any of the other poems to Rhys, however, is Guto's presence in the *marwnad* or elegy to the abbot of Strata Florida.[80] This beautifully forceful, sombre poem is the result of the deeply personal grief the poet must have felt on receiving the news of Rhys's death, which he describes in the opening line in terms of physical pain: "I am a man who was wounded yesterday."[81] This poem is a masterpiece, bearing witness to Guto's exquisite handling of the poetic craft and to his strongly-felt emotions. He makes masterful use of repetition to the effect that his personal grief comes most painfully alive: "Taking our sustainer … taking Father Rhys … taking a saint … taking God's hawk in Deheubarth." His patron, his sustenance has been taken away: "I am without office when I journey there." And he adds, poignantly: "*it is God who deprives me of office*."[82] It is Rhys's qualities and his role as provider, more than anything else, which Guto praises and laments here, while making no secret of his personal feelings of loss, applying the repetition of the word marw (dead) to immense emotional effect: "Dead is our father … my breast is shattered if it is true … great is my pain … Dead is my heart, and my breast and my arm, dead my soul, great woe to his monks."[83] Rhys's gay manner and brightness, the feasts and laughter of his court, are presented in stark contrast to the darkness, grief and weeping, which, according to Guto, "is all I ever do there now."[84] Guto also demonstrates his familiarity with the story of Tristan and Isolde, comparing the latter's lament for the loss of Tristan to his own grief at the death of Rhys: "My lament for him is that of poor Isolde for Tristan yonder,"[85] thereby introducing the sentiment of love that he claims to feel, and that feeds into and enhances the desperation of his loss. To Guto, the loss of the abbot incorporates the loss of the whole land, which he perceives

79 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, VIII, ll.45–46.
80 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI. See the Appendix below for a translation of this poem, taken from <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=009&first-line=008> (last accessed: 11 November 2022).
81 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, l.1.
82 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, ll.21–22.
83 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, ll.26–32.
84 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, ll.59–60.
85 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, ll.61–62.

as drowned in a mist of grief. Starting off with the image of an impenetrable mist having descended upon the land as a result of the unbearable loss of the abbot, Guto proceeds to talk about the darkness which will follow the shower of rain which is the weeping for Rhys. Guto is playing here with the images of darkness and rain. Darkness is all that remains after Rhys, with his enlightening wisdom and generosity, has gone, while it was the colour of the mourning garb, the black cloaks of the White Monks, which blackened the island.[86]

In a similar manner, Guto treats the image of water. His eyes, he tells us, are gathering a biblical Flood of tears: "The tears I shed were Noah's flood, eyes amass an ocean. Tears for ordained Rhys are the salty sea if it is true that Rhys is dead."[87] Here Guto is playing with the image of floods that bring grief: the flood which drowned Gwyddno Garanhir's land, or indeed Noah's flood. For Guto, Rhys's death provokes abundant tears, and open weeping is the sincere expression of his grief. Elina Gertsman has described medieval weeping as a "culturally charged prism for a host of social, visual, cognitive, and linguistic performances."[88] Weeping was not considered "unmanly," nor contradicting the weeper's masculinity, but was rather seen as displaying honest emotions; Guto lays his sentiments bare in these lines.

Despite the difficulties overshadowing his abbacy, something Guto repeatedly alludes to in his poems, Rhys seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity among his community of monks. His role as head of an abbey as significant as Strata Florida during the eventful years of the first half of the fifteenth century was by no means an easy task, but Rhys seems to have made great personal efforts in order to achieve and maintain a certain degree of stability for his institution.

## 5 Some Conclusions

The five poems dedicated to Abbot Rhys, composed within the framework of what was, in essence, a very formal patron-poet relationship, express something beyond mere formality. Guto speaks of the joy he feels in the abbot's presence, of the longing he experiences during his absence, of the love he feels

86 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, ll.41–46.

87 *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, XI, ll.69–72.

88 Elina Gertsman, ed., *Crying in the Middle Ages. Tears of History* (London, 2013), back cover: "Sacred and profane, public and private, emotive and ritualistic, internal and embodied, medieval weeping served as a culturally charged prism for a host of social, visual, cognitive, and linguistic performances."

for him, and of the deep grief that invades him on hearing of Rhys's death. Just how heartfelt Guto's words really were we will never know, but they are – if nothing more – a very personal expression of the emotions felt by one man for another. How genuine these emotions were is open to speculation. For various reasons, however, I believe them to be an honest declaration. We know that Guto sought the company of the abbot when he could have chosen other patrons. The tone of these poems and the stylistic elements employed by the author (repetition, the imagery of coldness, of loss of light, of floods of tears) create an atmosphere much more laden with emotion (sadness, anxiety, anguish) than what we find in his numerous other praise poems. And since Guto complains in more than one of these five verses of not receiving the sustenance he had been hoping for, yet still keeps returning to the abbey, it seems clear that it was something beyond the hospitality of Strata Florida that attracted him to the monastery. Even if all of this was mere flattery, it is nonetheless a grandiose expression of powerful emotions, even if these were not actually felt by the poet.

The tendency, as defended by Johan Huizinga over a century ago, to ascribe to medieval society an almost child-like simplicity, an "impressionability of mind," a "sensitivity to tears and spiritual repentance," has long been challenged by historians.[89] We would not now consider the emotional musings of Guto'r Glyn to be naïve or infantile, and thereby reflecting the pre-mature nature of medieval society, a propensity which was influential among historians even until fairly recently.[90] Guto'r Glyn's voice, echoing a myriad of feelings, from joy to grief and from admiration to disdain, is capable of transforming any kind of event into an epic. These five early poems by Guto to Abbot Rhys are a great attestation to the bard's extraordinary poetic skills, which explain his rise in the world from a *blaeneuwr*, a countryman, to a poet at the courts of the Welsh nobility of his days. They are particularly noteworthy because the (often very intimate) emotions voiced by Guto are here intertwined with the more formulaic expressions of admiration for his subjects that is commonly found in this kind of praise poetry. They are thereby moving testimony to the

89 Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1996), p. 1. But note the groundbreaking work by Barbara H. Rosenwein, for example: *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006).

90 Thus, as late as 1985, Peter and Carol Stearns claimed that "public temper tantrums, along with frequent weeping and boisterous joy, were far more common in pre-modern society than they were to become in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Adults were in many ways, by modern standards, childlike in their indulgence in temper." Carol Z. Stearns, Peter N. Stearns, *Anger. The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago, 1986), p. 25.

personal esteem in which Guto'r Glyn held Rhys ap Dafydd. And by the time of his death, Abbot Rhys of Strata Florida had himself achieved immortality, thanks to the emotional words of his poet Guto'r Glyn.[91]

## Appendix

*Elegy for Abbot Rhys ap Dafydd of Strata Florida*[92]

I am a man who was wounded yesterday,
wise God, are you unhousing?
Taking our sustainer for your own,
wealth of the world, St David of the abbots,
taking Father Rhys, blessing of yonder houses,
taking the riches of the people of Caeo,
taking a saint, they will make offering from his region,
taking God's hawk in Deheubarth,
and the head of dear honoured Strata Florida
on high, and where shall I go for the festival?
Oh that Abbot Rhys has gone
from his fine manor, and me left behind!
It was strange that the well-mannered man
should break off a lifelong agreement with me,
with song, by St Chad, as a warranty
between me and Rhys providing my income.
By the sun, if the duke of York
were so cruel I would be furious.
He made a pledge to me,
as if for an office, he was a lord.
I am without office when I journey there,
it is God who deprives me of office.
It was a blow against song
struck by Jesus with a great hammer.
A great fall in Camber's land,
dead is the St David of eulogy, Mordaf of the poets,

91 See: Karen Stöber, "The social networks of late medieval Welsh monasteries," in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the later Middle Ages*, eds. Janet Burton, Karen Stöber (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 22–24.

92 This translation is from: <http://gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=009&first-line=005> (accessed: 26 October 2021).

dead is our father, the land of the South is despoiled,
my breast is shattered if it is true.
Dead is our reverend refined abbot,
great is my pain if my honour is dead.
Dead is my heart, and my breast and my arm,
dead my soul, great woe to his monks.
Where a flourishing tree is toppled
many of the topmost branches are completely shattered:
just so the tops of Ceredigion
were all shattered when its benefactor was toppled.
The taking of a chief is the killing of a country,
the land and mansion of the towers of Fflur were killed.
From longing and grief
its body and soul separated.
God was a magician in the land of the South,
He performed magic indeed,
He blackened all over the South,
the end of all my greatness.
How black is the vale of the river Teifi!
Generous God, why did it blacken?
If before a grim awful shower
darkness comes out,
the divine world knows well
that there is rain or tears to follow.
What makes the earth black
but clothes darkening?
The black gowns of the South,
let men call this the enchanted land.
Mourning clothes, poets' garb,
after Rhys are the eclipse of praise.
Formerly I used to laugh in his hall
(he gave me wine and mead);
now all I will ever do there
is howl and cry in song.
My lament for him is that
of poor Isolde for Tristan yonder,
the lament of Gwyddno Garanir
over whose land God turned the sea,
and more did the sea bring me
yesterday by Ystradmeurig.

Constant rushing waters broke
over the land when fair Rhys was taken.
The tears I shed were Noah's flood,
eyes amass an ocean.
Tears for ordained Rhys
are the salty sea if it is true that Rhys is dead.
Before this I had drink from his hand,
and afterwards an ocean of tears.
Supplicants would have what they requested,
may generous Rhys have what he gave us.
To the man who gives wealth in his need
God will dispense wealth to the soul.
If all the gold which Rhys gave
is dispensed to him in heaven,
Rhys will have great payment
for his gold from Jesus's coffer.
He gave a million to a hundred thousand.
let God pay, this man will not be poor.

# PART 4

## *Emotional Collective Experiences*

CHAPTER 9

# *O cur iubes canere?* Composition, Performance, and the Projection of Emotions in a Medieval Latin Song

*Mauricio Molina*

The expression of emotions plays a major role in the composition and performance of modern song. Joy, anger, sadness, fear and contempt are usually projected in the lyrics of different repertoires: from protest, nationalistic and dance songs to the most aggressive types of punk rock and the harsher heavy metal. Yet, emotional expression does not end with the text. Composers usually attempt to support the emotive content of the lyrics with music that is constructed following specific conventions about tonality, melodic construction, tempo, rhythm, and the use of harmony.[1] After the song is composed, then comes the performer, whose task—just like that of an actor in a play—is to project text and music in a suitable way to convey the intentions of the poet/

1 For the combination of text and music in the context of the expression of emotions in modern song, see: Brandon W. Forbes, *Radiohead and Philosophy: Fitter Happier More Deductive* (Chicago, 2009), pp. 30–36; Ann Werner, "Emotions in Music Culture: The Circulation of Love," *Global Media Journal* 6 (2012), 2–9; Rada Mihalcea, Carlo Strapparava, "Lyrics, Music, and Emotions," in *Proceedings of the 2012 Joint Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing and Computational Natural Language Learning* (Jeju Island, 2012), 590–599. On historical perspectives, see: W. B. Stanford, *Greek Tragedy and the Emotions* (*Routledge Revivals*): *An Introductory Study* (New York, 1983), pp. 48–55; and Judith A. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–11. For general theories of how music and art can project emotions, see: Stephen Davies, *Musical Meaning and Expression* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 176–80; Stephen Davies, "The Expression Theory Again," *Theoria* 52 (1986), 146–167; Jenefer Robinson, "Art and Expression," in *What is Art*, ed. H. Curtler (New York, 1983), pp. 91–121; Peter Kivy, "What Was Hanslick Denying," *Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990), 3–18; John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York, 1934), pp. 34–45; R. G. Collingwood, *Principles of Art* (Oxford, 1963, first pub. 1938), pp. 60–61; Curt J. Ducasse, "Art and the Language of Emotions," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 23 (1964), 109–12; Stanley Speck, "Arousal Theory Reconsidered," *British Journal of Aesthetics* (1988), 40–47; Deryck Cooke, *The Language of Music* (London, 1959), p. 245; John Nolt, "Expression and Emotion," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 21 (1981), 139–150; Jerrold Levinson, "What a Music Work Is," *Journal of Philosophy* 77 (1980), 5–28 (1982); Peter Mew, "The Expression of Emotion in Music," *British Journal of Aesthetic* 25 (1985), 33–42; Colin Radford, "Muddy Waters," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 49 (1991), 247–252; and C. Radford, "How Can Music Be Moral," *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 16 (1991), 421–38.

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composer.[2] Clearly, the manner of singing, which includes voice production and projection, phrasing, ornamentation, and gesticulation, plays a major role in the portrayal of emotional content and the construction of meaning.[3] These performative elements are dependent on a series of conventions that pave the road of communication between the singer and his audience.[4] As such, the song can be analysed as an active discourse that is developed within social and cultural contexts of communal dialogue, shared meaning, and emotional concomitance.[5]

While emotions seem to be key in the poetic/musical/performative discourse of modern songs, as a historical musicologist and medievalist, I wonder if medieval composers/performers took similar approaches and conceptions in the creation, presentation, and dissemination of their own song repertoires. In this chapter I will analyse the poetic text and melody of *Ut quid iubes pusiole* by Gottschalk of Orbais (800–868), one of the oldest extant medieval lyrical

2 For studies about the performer, performance, and expression, see: Alf Gabrielsson, "Studying Emotional Expression in Music Performance," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 141 (1999), 47–53; Gary E. McPherson, Alf Gabrielsson, "From Sign to Sound," in *The Science and Psychology of Music Performance*, ed. Richard Parncutt, Gary McPherson (Oxford, 2002), pp. 99–116; Patrik N. Juslin, Roland S. Persson, "Emotional Communication," in *The Science and Psychology of Music Performance*, pp. 219–225; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Helen M. Prior, "Heuristics for Expressive Performance," in *Expressiveness in Music Performance: Empirical Approaches Across Styles and Cultures*, ed. Dorottya Fabian, Renee Timmers, Emery Shubert (Oxford, 2014), pp. 34–57.

3 For the elements of performance associated with expression in modern song, see: Nicola Dibben, "Understanding Performance Expression in Popular Recordings," in *Expressiveness in Music Performance*, pp. 117–32; William R. Bauer, "Expressiveness in Jazz Performance: Prosody and Rhythm," in *Expressiveness in Music Performance*, pp. 154–69; Pärtel Lippus, Jaan Ross, "Temporal Variations in Singing as Interplay between Speech and Music in Estonian Songs," in *Expressiveness in Music Performance*, pp. 201–220. For a discussion of this subject in medieval song, see: Barbara Thornton, "The Voice: Poetics as Technique, interview by Lawrence Rosenwald," in *A Performer's Guide to Medieval Music*, ed. Ross Duffin (Bloomington, 2000), p. 287; and Katarina Livljanić, Benjamin Bagby, "The Silence of Medieval Singers," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music. Vol. II*, ed. Mark Everist, Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge, Eng., 2018), pp. 210–35.

4 For performance conventions, see: Davies, *Musical Meaning*, pp. 169–178. For the idea of conventions in terms of communication through language, see: Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye, trans. Wade Baskin (New York, 1916), p. 31.

5 The song functions as a vehicle for language, ideas, and meanings that generates interaction through its goals, contents, circumstances, intertextuality, aesthetics, and manner of presentation. For such ideas within the theory of discourse, see: Havar G. Currie, Eva Garcia C. Currie, *Sociolinguistics and the Two American Linguistic Orthodoxies* (Austin, 1976), p. 98; and Alonso Covadonga López, *Análisis del Discurso* (Madrid, 2014), pp. 14–22.

songs that survive with music.[6] My aim is to find whether emotions are an important part of the song's discourse, and, if so, analysing how the composer attempted to portray and project them through sound. I also look for indications or clues on how the contemporaneous singer would have conducted an effective performance of the composition.

## 1 *Ud quid iubes pusiole* and Its Irrepressible Composer

A problematic monk named Gottschalk lived between 800 and 868. He was born into a noble Saxon family. As an oblate, he received his education at the Benedictine monasteries of Fulda and Richenau, where he had the opportunity to study with figures such as Hrabanus Maurus and Walafrid Strabo.[7] However, despite the good spiritual and intellectual company found in those abbeys, Gottschalk was not convinced about his own religious vocation. Accordingly, he asked to be released from his vows at the council of Mainz in 829, accusing his abbot, Hrabanus Maurus, of intimidating him when he was a boy into following the monastic life and forcibly tonsuring him.[8] Notwithstanding the ferocious objections of the abbot, the council released Gottschalk from his religious commitments. The humiliated Maurus, enraged with the decision of the Council, pleaded to the Emperor Louis I the Pious to force Gottschalk to return to the monastery.[9] The emperor granted the abbot's request and reversed the resolution of the synod, coercing the ex-monk into resuming his religious duties. Although forced to return to his monastic life, Gottschalk was nonetheless offered the possibility of doing so in a place other than Fulda. The monk finally decided to fulfil his obligation first at the monastery of Corbie, and then at the Abbeys of Hautvillers and Orbais.[10]

6 John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986), pp. 49–51.

7 Matthew Bryan Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent in the Carolingian Empire: The Case of Gottschalk of Orbais* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 25–26; and Jenny Smith, "Orbais: Defining Heresy in a Medieval Debate on Predestination," *Eras Journal* 17 (2015), 1–24.

8 Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent*, pp. 24–26. This author explains that this dispute happened during a moment of spiritual and political turmoil in the Carolingian Empire.

9 Hrabanus Maurus defended his position about oblates having to stay as monks in his *De oblatione puerorum* (Rabanus Maurus, "Liber de oblatione puerorum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul. Migne (Paris, 1851) 107: col. 419–440). See also: Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent*, p. 24.

10 Maurus, *Heresy and Dissent*, p. 24.

In those religious houses, Gottschalk developed an interest in theology and studied the works of Augustine, Gregory, and Isidore.[11] His readings and conclusions led him to become a prominent figure in the most important theological controversy of the ninth century, that of the Predestination.[12] This doctrine—which stood in serious conflict with the teachings of grace and love promulgated by the contemporary church—advocates that, from the beginning, God had chosen certain people to be saved leaving others to eternal death. Consequently, Christ did not die for all men but only for those who were already destined to ascend to heaven.[13] For his defence and preaching of these ideas in Italy and Dalmatia, Gottschalk was persecuted and finally declared a heretic in the councils of Mainz (848) and Quierzy (849), where he was also punished for not obeying authority and for fomenting the disturbance of peace within the church.[14] The irrepressible monk was then sent as a prisoner to the monastery of Hautvillers, where he ended his days in poverty and excommunication.[15]

It is believed that it was during this time of trouble that Gottschalk composed a short but precious song known as *Ut quid iubes pusiole*.[16] The fact that the piece records what seems to be the composer's sadness about an imposed

11 Smith, "Orbais: Defining Heresy," p. 4. For the intellectual life at Corbie, see: David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Singmaringen, 1990), p. 66.

12 Mathew Bryan Gillis explains that it was, in fact, during his time in Corbie that he became known for his conclusions and teachings on Predestination. See: Gillis, *Gottschalk of Orbais: A Study of Power and Spirituality in a Ninth-Century Life* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 2009), p. 2. See also: Victor Genke, Francis X. Gumerlock, *Gottschalk and a Medieval Predestination Controversy: Texts Translated from the Latin* (Milwaukee, 2010), p. 19.

13 For the details of this doctrine during Carolingian times and Gottschalk's role in its formation and transmission, see: Emmanuel Aergerter, "Gottschalk et la probleme de la predestination au IXe siècle," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 116 (1937), 187–233; Eleanor Duckett, *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1962), pp. 154–157; John Marenbon, "Carolingian Thought," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, Eng., 1994), p. 182; and Smith, "Orbais: Defining Heresy," pp. 3–5.

14 Smith, "Orbais: Defining Heresy," p. 4.

15 Matthew B. Gillis, "Noble and Saxon: the meaning of Gottschalk of Orbais' ethnicity at the Synod of Mainz, 829," in *Ego Trouble: Authors and their Identity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini (Vienna, 2010), p. 197.

16 The piece has survived in five manuscripts. Without music in Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 477 (461) (sez. II) fols. 96v and 99r (ninth century); Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, S. 37 (33) (sez. I), fol. 1 (ninth century); and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 12140, fol. Bv (tenth century). With music in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1154, fols. 131v-132r (ninth-tenth centuries); and Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire Historique de Médecine, H 219, fol. 1r (tenth century).

exile prompted philologists to see it as a reflection of his emotional state.[17] In fact, Thomas Ehlen has suggested that the piece was composed a couple of years after Gottschalk had been sent to Hautvillers for imprisonment.[18]

Much has also been said about the composition's character, meaning, force and poetic quality. For example, Peter Dronke has advanced that this piece is in fact a "masterpiece in form and content."[19] Likewise, other scholars, such as Helen Waddell, F. J. E. Raby, Richard C. Dales, and Thomas Ehlen, recognised it as a composition of great intensity, sincerity, introspection, and of autobiographical and emotional content.[20] This type of personal demonstration was not new to medieval writers. The medieval literary and poetic "I" and the voicing of personal feelings had already started to develop in the Christian literature of late antiquity. As examples, we have two important works composed during the fourth century: the emotionally-charged hymns that Prudentius dedicated to Saint Eulalia, and the *Itinerarium* of the nun Egeria, in which she relates her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in a very personal and emotional manner.[21] The importance of articulating a discourse that can affect the audience

17 See: Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, (London, 1938, 7th edition), p. 57; Frederic James Edward Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry: From the Beginning to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1927), p. 192; Stephen Penn, "Latin Verse," in *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages,* ed. Brian Murdoch (Rochester, 2004), pp. 96–99; Richard C. Dales, *The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1995), p. 97; and Gillis, *Heresy and Dissent*, pp. 33 and 143.

18 See: Thomas Ehlen, "Bilder des Exils—das Exil als Bild. Ästhetik und Bewältigung in lyrischen Texten," in *Exil, Fremdheit und Ausgrenzung in Mittelalter,* ed. Andres Bihrer, Sven Limbeck, Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Würzburg, 2000), pp. 151–232. For the most traditional view that the song was written during Gottschalk's stay on the island of Reichenau, see: Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 34; Penn, "Latin Verse," pp. 96–99; and Dales, *The Intellectual Life*, p. 97. The autobiographical seems to be most clearly expressed in stanza IX of the poem: "I have been in exile, Lord, a little long upon this sea—indeed it will be almost two years, you know; but now, now take pity!" ("*Exul ego diuscule / hoc in mare sum, domine: / annos nempe duos fere / nosti fore, sed iam iamque / miserere / Hoc rogo humillime*"). Text and translation taken from: Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 35.

19 Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 34.

20 See: Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, p. 57; F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 192; Penn, "Latin Verse," pp. 96–99; Dales, *The Intellectual Life,* pp. 33 and 143.

21 See: Haijo Westra, "Originality in Medieval Latin Literature," in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. John Marenbon (Leiden, 2001), pp. 286–289; Haijo Westra, "Augustine and Poetic Exegesis," in *Grace, Politics and Desire: Essays on Augustine*, ed. Hugo A. Meynell (Calgary,1990), pp. 87–100; and Linda Honey, Haijo Westra, "Eliciting Egeria: The Woman in the Text," *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 35 (2003), 239–56. It is important to consider that Prudentius moves away from classical models in his search for personal spiritual expression. This, he achieves with the creation of the Christian Ode. Thanks to his prosodic freedom, Prudentius is capable of presenting a new type of verse that showcases a premeditated use of assonant and consonant rhyme.

emotionally was prescribed during the same period by Saint Augustine. In his influential *De Doctrina Christiana* (written between 396 and 426), considered to be the first of the medieval treatises on the communicative arts, this Doctor of the Church explains that an orator can move his listener when the latter:[22]

> values what you promise, fears what you threaten, hates what you condemn, embraces what you commend, and rues the thing which you insist that he must regret; and if he rejoices at what you set forth in your preaching as something joyful, pities those whom by your words you present in his mind's eye as miserable, and shuns those whom with terrifying language you urge him to avoid.[23]

Similarly, in book III of the sixth-century *Cura pastoralis* by Pope Gregory the Great, we find a discussion of the projection of passions in speech in connection with different types of listeners and their moral and spiritual needs.[24] This

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For Prudentius' poetic development, see: Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, pp. 68–71. Passionate writing continued to occur in Latin throughout the Middle Ages. Good examples are the often-quoted diatribe of Saint Bernard against Cluniac art in which the saint describes with careful detail and passion the "impious" figures carved in capitals of the cloisters, and the account given by Reginal, a monk in Durham, about the exquisite and stunning textiles used to wrap the body of St. Cuthbert. All these writings demonstrate that even though Latin was not their mother tongue (at least during the High and Late Middle Ages), it was still an important vehicle for the expression of religious and secular emotions. For a study of Bernard's and Reginal's texts, see: Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art, Selected Papers* (New York, 1977), pp. 1–27.

22 For studies about Augustine's treatment of rhetoric in the *De doctrina Christiana*, see: Gerald Fulkerson, "Augustine's attitude toward rhetoric in 'De Doctrina Christiana': The significance of 2.37.55," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 15 (1985), 108–11; and James J. Murphy, "St. Augustine and the Debate About Christian Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 46 (1985), 400–10.

23 "*Et sicut delectatur si suaviter loquaris, ita flectitur si amet quod polliceris, timeat quod minaris, oderit quod arguis, quod commendas amplectatur, quod dolendum exaggeras doleat, cum quid laetandum praedicas gaudeat, misereatur eorum quos miserandos ante oculos dicendo constituis, fugiat eos quos cavendos terrendo.*" The text and the translation are taken from: Ayoush S. Lazikani, *Cultivating the Heart: Feeling and Emotion in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Religious Texts* (Cardiff, 2015), p. 48.

24 Gregorii Papae I, "*Cura pastoralis*," in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1862), 77: 23–64. For a translation of the work, see: Gregory the Great, *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, trans., George E. Demacopoulos (Crestwood, 2007). For comments about the content of chapter III of this work, see: Rita Copeland, "Pathos and Pastoralism: Aristotle's Rhetoric in Medieval England," *Speculum* 89 (2014), 96–127; and George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, 1980), p. 220.

communicative strategy influenced such later medieval preachers as Rhabanus Maurus (*c.* 780–856), and Jacques de Vitry (*c.* 1170–1240).[25] Both St. Augustine and Gregory considered the projection and stirring of emotions as powerful agents that could be used to affect the audience and generate thought, meditation, and eventually even a change in behaviour. Message and meaning were projected through the construction of different stylistic and symbolic elements that could be deciphered by the contemporaneous audience. It is within this literary and rhetorical context that Gottschalk's song *Ut quid iubes pusiole* should be placed and understood.

## 2 Text, Medium, and the Expression of Emotions

The opening text of *Ut quid iubes pusiole* establishes that the piece is conceived as Gottschalk's response to a young monk, who had asked him to compose a sweet song (*dulce carmen*).[26] The exiled monk then uses the invitation of the novice as an excuse to develop a composition in which he expresses his feeling of sadness. As the text further indicates, the piece ultimately serves Gottschalk to appease the loneliness of his soul and show his loyalty to God.[27] This can be clearly seen in the following key stanzas of the poem accompanied by the classic translation by James L. Wilhelm:

> "Why do you order, little laddie.
> Why command me little son,
> Telling me to sing a sweet song
> When I'm exiled far away
> Out at sea?
> Why do you order me to sing?
>
> Better for me, pour little
> young one, to do some
> weeping, little boy-child;

25 See: James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 292–7 and 300; Copeland, "Pathos and Pastoralism," 96–127; and Carolyn Muessig, "Audience and Preacher: Ad status Sermons and Social Classification," in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, 2002), pp. 255–76.

26 Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 35.

27 Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 35.

I'm for descant, not for chanting.
The kind of song that you demand,
My sweet dear one,
Why do you order me to sing?

You know I'd rather, little lad
Have to join me, brother of mine,
Weeping with a ready heart,
Sharing now my heavy mind
In lamentations.
Why do you order to me to sing? [28]

My explanation about the subject of the song closely follows the traditional philological interpretation.[29] Nonetheless, it is important to mention that other possibilities have been contemplated. These include direct praying to God, a Christmas message, or a mere missive of friendship that goes beyond the autobiographical elements of prosecution and actual exile.[30] In any case, notwithstanding the subject, what is certain is that in his song Gottschalk artfully utilises the "I" and the projection of emotions as a vehicle for the expression of meaning.[31]

As we have seen in the text, the song starts with a refusal of the author to compose and sing, already expressing a sombre and disheartened emotional state. This disconsolate attitude likely triggered the text of Psalm 136 in the

28 *"I. Ut quid iubes, pusiole / Quare mandas, filiole, / Carmen dulce me cantare, / Cum sim longe exsul valde / Intra mare?/ O cur iubes canere? // II. Magis mihi, miserule, / Flere libet, puerule,/ Plus plorare quam cantare / Carmen tale, iubes quale, / Amor care, / O cur iubes canere? // III. Mallem, scias, pusillule, / Ut velles tu, fratercule, / Pio corde condolere / Mihi atque prona mente / Conlugere / O cur iubes canere?* The Latin text has been edited by Francesco Stella following a critical study of the five surviving sources that contain the poem. The text and study can be found in the *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum* (*Saec. IV–IX*): https://www.corimu.unisi.it/public/previewedizione/testo/idschede/28 (Accessed: 3 March 2019). For the translation of stanzas 1–4 and 7, see: James J. Wilhelm, *Lyrics of the Middle Ages: An Anthology* (New York, 1990), p. 4.

29 For the most traditional interpretation of Gottschalk lamenting his exile, see: Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 34–35, Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, p. 57; Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 192; Penn, "Latin Verse," pp. 96–99; and Dales, *The Intellectual Life*, pp. 33 and 143.

30 For a discussion of different possibilities given by scholars, see: Francesco Stella, in his introduction to the text in: https://www.corimu.unisi.it/public/previewedizione/introduzione/idschede/28 (Accessed: 3 March 2019).

31 Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, pp. 35–36.

memory of Gottschalk's clerically-educated audience. This psalm tells of how the Israelites declined a request to sing "songs of joy" out of the sadness that the captivity in Babylon produced in their hearts.[32] A reference to this Psalm obviously places Gottschalk's song into a specific context of exile, imprisonment and emotional distress that was to be perceived and understood by his contemporaries. In fact, in the fifth stanza, the poet makes a direct reference to the Psalm: "You know that the captive little people / called Israel / was ordered to sing / in Babylon, far away / from the bounds of Judah."[33] Thus, the author utilises referential texts and mental images charged with recognisable emotions as the basis for his composition.[34] It seems that by doing so, the monk was seeking to place his audience in a well-established emotional framework in which his own personal message would have been clearly understood.[35] Furthermore, Peter Dronke explains that Gottschalk's refusal to compose also corresponds to a common trope found in both classical and Germanic literary traditions.[36] It can be surmised then that the author is combining biblical images and traditional literary models to construct the opening of his discourse. In this way, he makes an attractive exordium for an educated audience which, as different studies reveal, was always looking to find intertextuality, typology, *auctoritas* and imagery in literature and art.[37]

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32 The first four stanzas of Psalm 136 read: "1. Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept: when we remembered Sion. / 2. On the willows in the mist thereof we hung our instruments, / 3. For there they that led us into captivity required us the words of songs. And they that carried us away said: 'Sing ye to us a hymn of the songs of Sion!' / 4. How shall we sing the songs of the Lord in a strange land?" ("*Psalmus David, Jeremiae.* 1. *Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, cum recordaremur Sion. /* 2. *In salicibus in medio ejus suspendimus organa nostra: /* 3. *quia illic interrogaverunt nos, qui captivos duxerunt nos, verba cantionum; et qui abduxerunt nos: Hymnum cantate nobis de canticis Sion. /* 4. *Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena?*") Text and translation taken from http://vulgate.org/ot/psalms_136.htm. (Accessed: 2 April 2019).

33 "*Scis captiuae plebiculae / Israheli cognomina / praeceptum in Babilone / decantare extra longe / fines Iudae*." Text and translation taken from: Andrew P. Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor, 2004), pp. 138–39.

34 Andrew P. Scheil explains that Psalm 136 was a common figure for all types of exile. See: Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel,* pp. 138–139. For discussions about the exile theme in Carolingian literature, see also: Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985), p. 230.

35 For a theory of how memory, intertextuality, mental images, and emotions were used to generate thought during the Middle Ages, see: Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, Eng., 1998), pp. 196–209 and 256–76.

36 Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, p. 36.

37 For theories about how medieval people understood discourse and learning, and how it was thought that the mind had to be activated through the difficulty of discourse,

For his song, Gottschalk chooses a poetic structure known as *rhythmus*.[38] Its main compositional procedure is first discussed by the Venerable Bede in his eighth-century *De arte metrica*.[39] As this author explains, the verse in this type of poem is arranged by the counting of syllables instead of by the arrangement of the metric feet (*metrum*), inherited from Classical poetry. Allegedly, the *rhythmus* was both "enjoyable to the ear," which implies the importance of aural reception, and connected to the type of texts composed by the *vulgarium poetarum* (vernacular secular poets).[40] Analogous information about this type of poetic composition is found in the *Musica disciplina* of Aurelian of Réôme, a Carolingian monk who was a contemporary of Gottschalk.[41] In this work Aurelian, following Bede, explains that rhythmic poetry was somehow similar to metric poetry. The difference is that this type of poem is constructed by paying attention to the number of syllables in a line and not by following the scansion of metric feet. Also, like Bede, Aurelian speaks about aural judgement as being important in the composition of the verse:

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obscurity of meaning, and intertextuality, see: Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, pp. 196–209 and 256–276; Elizabeth Sears, "Medieval Sign Theory," in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, eds. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Michigan, 2002). pp. 16–17; and Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1986), pp. 52–83.

38 Classical poetry was ruled by the organisation of poetic feet. For a discussion about this technique, see: David J. Califf, *A Guide to Latin Meter and Verse Composition* (London, 2002), pp. 4–5, and Dag Norberg, *An Introduction to the Medieval Latin Versification,* trans. Grant C. Roti, Jacqueline de la Chapelle Skubly (Washington, 2004), pp. 31–47 and 58–120.

39 "Rhythmus seems to be the same as meter since it is concerned with the organisation of words in a composition, not following the poetic meter but considering the satisfaction of the ear with the number of syllables—just as in the case of those songs composed by the common [vernacular?/secular?]—poets." ("*Videtur autem rhythmus metris esse consimilis, quae est verborum modulata compositio, non metrica ratione, sed numero syllabarum ad iudicium aurium examinata, ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum.*") Bede, *De arte metrica*, XXIV. Original text taken from: Heinrich Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, (Leipzig, 1880), VII, 258. The translation is mine based on translations of the passage by Stevens and James J. Murphy. See: Stevens, *Words and Music*, p. 379; and Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, p. 78.

40 Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 77–79. The connection with the "vernacular poets" is an important subject in need of scholarly discussion. Unfortunately, it falls outwith the focus of this study. About the influence of vernacular languages in Latin poetry, see: Jan Ziolkowski, "Cultural Diglossia and the Nature of Medieval Latin Literature," in *The Ballad and the Oral Literature*, Joseph Harris, ed., (Cambridge, Eng., 1991), pp. 193–213.

41 For an edition of this treatise, see: Aurelianus Reomensis, *Musica disciplina*, ed. Lawrence Gushee (Corpus scriptorum de musica, XXI) (Rome, 1975).

> Rhythmics seems to be very similar to metrics; but rhythmics is a measured composition of words, analysed not by the system of metrics, but by the number of syllables, and it is judged by the discrimination of the ears.[42]

A more comprehensive examination of the subject is found in the treatise *De rithmis* by the Benedictine monk, Alberic of Monte Cassino, written around the middle of the eleventh century, some hundred years after Gottschalk composed *Ud quid iubes pusiole*. In this work, the author describes two types of poetic construction, one based on the number of syllables (without regard for syllable length), and another one in which the accent at the end of the line plays a role in the construction of the verse(s). It is important to note that at no moment is Alberic implying that the rules of metrical poetry apply to the latter. What he is trying to explain, utilising concepts from metrical poetry, is that patterns of metrical feet seemed to be found in some poems. Nonetheless, these patterns were not composed of long and short syllables but of accent (implying an isosyllabic system):

> There are some "*rhythmi*" in which only the measure of the syllables is considered, without any consideration of long and short quantity. There are others with a sure and determinate number of syllables in which long and short duration is considered as well. That is, to speak more plainly, they are both "*rithmi*" and metrical verses … [For example] A twelve-syllable *rithmus* is one which consists of lines of twelve syllables. This *rithmus* has a system of composition of two parts. For frequently it is constructed thus: so that the first part of each line consists of five syllables, with the penultimate syllable long by accent; but the latter part is made of seven syllables with the penultimate short by accent.[43]

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42 "*Rithmus namque metris videtur esse consimilis quae est modulata verborum compositio, non metrorum examinata ratione, sed numero sillabarum atque a censura diiudicatur aurium.*" Text and translation taken from: Margot E. Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in the Medieval Treatises 'De rithmis'," *The Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987), 164–90.

43 "*Rithmorum alii sunt in quibus consideratur mensura tantum sillabarum sine omni longitudinis et brevitatis consideratione. Alii sunt in quibus cum certo et determinato numero sillabarum etiam longitudo et brevitas est prospecta. Quod est apertius dicere: rithmi pariter sunt et metra … Diadecasillabus rithmus est qui ex membris constantibus ex duodecacim sillabis constat. Rithmus iste dupliciter habet rationem compositionis. Nam interdum ita ponitur ut prior pars uniuscuiusque mebri ex quinque sillabis constet, penultima accentu producta; pars vero posterior conficiatur ex septem sillabis penultima accentu correpta.*" The text and translation of these passages have been taken from: Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm," 164–190. For an edition of this treatise, see: Hugh H. Davis, ed., *"De rithmis"*

Further information about placement of accent (within the concept of feet) at the end of lines is given by Alberic in his discussion of octosyllabic verses, a type of construction actually used by Gottschalk in some of the verses of his *Ud quid iubes pusiole*: "In this composition [octosyllabic verse] generally the penultimate syllable of each verse is short by accent. Nonetheless, some octosyllabic lines might be made in the opposite way: the penultimate syllable of each verse is long by accent."[44]

Thus, as we can see, for Alberic, the cadence on the penultimate syllable of a line or a half line is of great importance for the construction of some types of verse. It not only serves to punctuate the line, but in analytical terms, it helps to determine the identity of verses. In discussing these cadences, the monk utilises concepts borrowed from metrical poetry, possibly due to the lack of a vocabulary appropriate only to the composition of rhythmic poetry,[45] or as a mere demonstration of intellectual prowess.[46] As Margot Fassler explains, from Alberic's description of rhythmic verse, we can surmise that the main principles which regulate this type of poetry are the counting of syllables as a main organisational element, the punctuation of lines by accentual cadences, and the prescription of a set number of lines in a stanza.[47] Of course, the only element not discussed by Alberic (nor by Bede or Aurelian of Réôme) is rhyme. Rhyme has obviously played a role in poetry since at least the time of Gottschalk (as we will see in the analysis of the verses of his song), but it was not fully examined in poetic treatises until rhyme completely permeated all poetry during the twelfth century.[48]

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*of Alberic of Monte Cassino: A critical edition* (Toronto, 1966). In the *De rithmis*, Alberic also discusses verses composed of 5, 7, 10, 11 and 15 syllables.

44 "*Inde huiusmondi autem consueverunt cavere quatenus penultima sillaba uniuscuiusque mebri accentu corripiatur. Fiunt tamen quidam octosillabi rithmi in quibus res cavetur contraria ut videlicet penultima sillaba uniuscuiusque membri accentu producatur*." Text and translation are taken from: Ernest H. Sanders, "Rithmus," in *French and English Polyphony of the 13th and 14th Centuries*, ed. Ernest Sanders (Aldershot, 1998), 415–40.

45 This would continue to be the case in treatises of the thirteenth century as in the case of Johannes of Garlandia's *Parisiana poetria* (8: 470–90), where the author explains: "[A rhythmic verse] can be [composed] in either iambic-like or spondaic-like meters." ("*Quidam vero rithmus cadit quasi metrum iambicum, quidam quasi metrum spondaicum*"). See: *The Parisiana poetria of John of Garland*, ed. and trans. Traugott Lawler (New Heaven, 1974), 160.

46 Davis, "*De rithmis*," p. 221.

47 Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm," 164–90.

48 Rhyme would be discussed for the first time as a main element of rhythmic poetry in the twelfth-century treatise *De rithmico dictamine*. In his definition of rhythmic verse, the author of this work explains that: "Rithmus is a consonant (or rhyming) equality of syllables grouped by a precise number." ("*Rithmus est consonans paritas sillabarum sub certo*

For my analysis of the verses of *Ud quid iubes pusiole*, I use Alberic's concept of accent and verse identity as a framework of reference, despite his treatise being written some one hundred years after Gottschalk's composition. This is because the monk's piece, regardless of its earlier date, seems to have been composed following the basic precepts elucidated by the eleventh-century writer.

Let us now return to Gottschalk's song and analyse its poetic composition. In the piece, the theme of pain, exile, and separation that is exhibited in the first stanza is developed through the next five sections (stanzas I–VI). These stanzas are also linked by the refrain *O cur iubes canere?* After the seventh stanza, the poet changes his speech, turning it into a prayer. Semantic change is reinforced at this point by the use of new and different texts for the refrain position.[49] In the last stanza, there is another change of intention: the poet praises God with the help of the song that he has been asked to compose (*carmen dulce*). However, even though various feelings and messages are explored throughout the second half of the composition, they all seem to be related to the theme of exile.[50]

Because my space is limited, I will focus on the first stanza since, because, as explained by Dante Alighieri in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (*c.* 1304), the first stanza dictates the form of the subsequent ones: "For just as the song is the lap of the whole of its subject-matter, so the stanza embodies its whole technique; and the later stanzas of the poem should never aspire to add any technical device, but should only dress themselves in the same garb of the first."[51]

Dante's explanation can be applied directly to Gottschalk's piece since all the stanzas of *Ut quid iubes pusiole* follow the structure and rhyme scheme presented in the first one. The first stanza is also the only one that is set to a

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*numero comprehensarum*"). Text and translation taken from: Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm," 164–190.

49 The following are the texts that are placed in the refrain position replacing *O cur iubes canere?* Stanza VII: *Hoc cano ultronee*; stanza VIII: *Hoc cano spontanee*, stanza IX: *Hoc rogo humillime*, stanza X: *Hoc credo firmissime*, stanza XI: *Prono posco pectore*, stanza XII: *Hoc rogo praecipue*, stanza XIII: *tibi, rex piissime*.

50 For a discussion of the changing emotions that are projected through the poem and the connecting theme of exile, see: Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, pp. 33–35.

51 "*Nam quemadmodum cantio est gremium totius sententie, sic stantia totam artem ingremiat; nec licet aliquid artis sequentibus arrogare, sed solam artem antecedentis induere. Per quod patet quod ipsa de qua loquimur erit congremiatio sive compages omnium eorum que cantio sumit ab arte.*" Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia* 2, 9: 2–3. Text and translation are taken from: Steven Botterill, ed. and trans., *Dante: De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Berkeley, 1996), pp. 72–73.

melody.[52] This notational fact, in conjunction with the strophic construction of the poem, suggests that the same music was used for all subsequent sections. Here is the first stanza again with the accented syllables and consonant endings marked in bold:

**I. Út** quid **íu**bes, pu**síol**e,
**Qu**á**re mán**das, fil**íol**e,
**Cár**men **dúl**ce **mé** can**táre**,
**Cúm** sim **lóng**e **éx**sul **vál**de
**Ín**tra **máre**?
*Ó cur iúbes cánere?*

As we can see, the first stanza is composed of:

- Two octosyllabic verses with proparoxitonic accent at the end of the line (verses 1 and 2, opening of the stanza).
- Two octosyllabic verses with paroxitonic accent at the end of the line (verses 3 and 4).
- One tetrasyllabic verse with paroxitonic accent (verse 5, closing of the stanza).
- And a heptasyllabic verse with proparoxitonic accent that acts as a refrain (repeated in the first five stanzas of the piece).

In terms of phonetic "consonance," the piece showcases a persistent monorhyme on the last unstressed syllable *-e*. Furthermore, there is a three-syllable rhyme between lines 1 and 2 (pu**síol**e, fil**íol**e**)**, and assonance and rhyme of two syllables between lines 3–4 (can**táre**, **vál**de) and 3–5 (can**táre**, **máre**), respectively. The refrain has a proparoxitonic ending which rhythmically mirrors the endings of lines 1 and 2 (**cán**ere*,* pu**síol**e, fil**íol**e**)**. At the same time, it also presents phonetic consonance with lines 3, 4, and 5 (**cán**ere*,* can**táre**, **vál**de, **máre**). Here, it is important to mention that for F. J. E. Raby the placement of the unifying monorhyme *-e* at the end of lines, in an unaccented place, is a procedure that helps to alleviate the heaviness of the constant consonance.[53]

52 This is clearly the case in Paris BnF, MS lat. 1154, fol. 131v. In Montpellier, Bibliothèque Universitaire Historique de Médecine, H 219, fol. 1, the second stanza is also set to music. Although there seems to be an overall concordance between the melodies of the first and second stanza in that manuscript (the same neumes and implied movement), some small differences can be also perceived. These disparities suggest melodic variation and ornamentation.

53 Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 192.

By making the lines lighter, the poet also creates the impression that the composition of the poem is almost accidental.[54] This might also contribute to projecting the feeling of improvised poetry, which emphasises the visceral nature of the discourse, making it feel fresh and in a way unprepared and natural.

Now, let us move on to rhythm and delivery. Both medieval and modern writers explain that, in rhythmic poetry, all syllables have equal length ("extended by a progression of equal syllables").[55] Furthermore, Alberic reveals the importance of cadential accent in the construction of a Latin poem. Utilising these principles in delivery and working with Alberic's concept of cadence and accentuation, we can advance the following: the changing accentuation from proparoxitonic to paroxitonic between the opening two-line group (pu**sío**le, fil**ío**le**)** and the following three-line group (can**tá**re, **vál**de, **má**re) has a great impact in the way the poem moves forward.[56] The effect is created by the movement of the accent from the antepenultimate syllable in verses 1–2 to the penultimate syllable in verses 3–5. If we read all syllables as having more or less the same length, a breath or a rest (the length of a syllable) can be inserted without breaking the rhythmic continuity between the end of a proparoxitonic verse and the accented syllable of the next line:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Út** | quid | **íu** | bes, | pu | **sí** | o | **le**, | **Quá** | re | **mán** | das … |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

54 Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 192.

55 "*continenter sillabarum aequalitate prolata.*" This text is from the thirteenth-century anonymous treatise known as *Regula de rithmis*. Text and translation are from: Stevens, *Words and Music*, p. 419. For a discussion about equal syllables as explained in grammar treatises and showcased in actual poetry, see: Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm," 164–190; Stevens, *Words and Music*, pp. 413–423; and Norberg, *An Introduction*, pp. 81–119.

56 Of course, I am aware that the reading of poetry might be subjective and that there are ways of reciting the verses in which the paroxitonic endings might not create a sense of urgency. Nonetheless, due to the lack of any poetic treatise from the time of Gottschalk that can provide clues about how Latin poetry was understood and even performed, the isosyllabism indicated in the treatises and Alberic's comments on accent (without really being clear about performance) are the only guidelines that we have to attempt a reconstruction of this practice. Their reading and application to Gottschalk's poem is of course my personal point of view, which I combine with my experience as a performer of medieval music.

On the other hand, no breath, or only a short one, can be inserted at the end of a paroxitonic line that is followed by an accented syllable without breaking the steady rhythm:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cár** | men | **dúl** | ce | **mé** | can | **tá** | **re,** | **Cúm** | sim | **lón** | ge … |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

The combination of the accent moving forward (from antepenultimate to penultimate syllable) and the shortening of breathing space between the lines produces an increasing sense of urgency as the stanza develops towards the end. This urgency is even more pronounced when we reach the final line of the stanza, which is composed of only 4 syllables. If we keep the same syllable length used in the previous verses, this last line will feel "cut off" and unresolved. A return to balance comes with the refrain and its seven syllables. The sense of resolution is emphasised by the proparoxitonic ending of the line, which reminds us of the closing of verses 1 and 2, even though there are only seven syllables and no return to the type of rhyme that opens the stanza.

## 3 Expression and Melody

Following our analysis of Gottschalk's piece within the context of *rhythmus*, we can conclude that his song is composed of poetic lines, with a fixed number of syllables, which are punctuated and bound together by accent and rhyme. Furthermore, rhetorical colours and visceral expressions are used in the poetic text to enhance normal speech and project meaning. However, although Gottschalk's poetic text is musical and self-contained, in medieval terms, it can hardly be identified as a song. It is still an incomplete entity without the medium of melody. This is well explained by Dante Alighieri who, even if writing some 450 years after our monk composed his *Ut quid iubes*, can still help us to understand how medieval composers identified song and its components:

> [The] composition of songs is the harmonising of words with melodies. […] The composition of the song consists of the division of the melody, the arrangement of the parts, and the number of lines and syllables […] Thus, [the composition of] the stanza is the calculated weaving of verses

> and syllables, put together, under a definite melody and in a definite disposition.[57]

Similarly, in his *Ars musicae* (*c.* 1300), Johannes de Grocheio also presents the notion of song as the combination of text and melody when describing the steps taken by composers. For this theoretician, the first step is the creation of a text that could potentially become a song. The second step is the addition of a melody that shapes the text and completes the discourse:[58]

> In general, there is only one way of composing a song according to nature: first the texts are prepared in place of *materia*, and then the melody is introduced to each of them in place of *forma* in accordance with the type of text.[59]

From this statement, we gather a crucial concept: melody "forms" the text and completes the process of song. Within the context of our discussion, we can argue that as part of this "shaping" of the poetic material, melody plays a crucial role in the projection of its intention and meaning. This idea is in fact supported by a text from the time of Gottschalk. In a passage from the ninth-century treatise known as the *Musica enchiriadis*, its anonymous author emphatically explains that the notes of a melody should support (imitate) the emotional aspects of the text:

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57 "*Et ideo cantio nichil aliud ese videtur quam actio completa dicentis verba modulationi armonizata* [...] *Tota igitur, scilicet ars cantionis, circa tria videtur consistere: primo circa cantus divisionem, secundo circa partium habitudinem, tertio circa numerum carminum et sillabarum* [...] *Quare sic colligere possumus ex predictis diffinientes, et dicere stantiam esse sub certo cantu et habitudine limitatam carminum et sillabarum compagem*." Dante Alighieri, *De Vulgari Eloquentia* II, VIII–IX: 5, 4. The text is from: Manuel Gil Esteve, ed., *Dante Alighieri, De vulgari eloquentia* (Madrid, 1997), p. 217. The translation is mine. For another translation, see: Botterill, *Dante: De Vulgari Eloquentia*, pp. 72–75.

58 Clearly Grocheio was demonstrating here his Aristotelian influence. In his theory of hylomorphism, Aristotle states that physical objects are composed of matter and form, and that form is what merges matter into a single object. For a study of matter and form in Aristotle, see: W. S. Sellars, "Substance and form in Aristotle," *Journal of Philosophy* 54 (1957), 688–99.

59 "*Modus autem componendi haec generaliter est unus, quemadmodum in natura. Primo enim dictamina loco materiae praeparantur, postea vero cantus unicuique dictamini proportionalis loco formae introducitur*." Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musicae*. The text is taken from the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* of Indiana University: Johannes Wolf, "Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo" *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1 (1899–1900), pp. 69–120. https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/14th/GRODEM_TEXT.html (Accessed: 10 May 2019). The translation is mine.

> We can judge melody not only by the inherent naturalness of the tones but also [by that] of the subjects (*res*). For it is necessary that the affections (*affectus*) of the subjects that are sung [about] correspond to the expression (*effectus*) of the song, so that *neumae* (notes, melodic gesture, tune) are peaceful in tranquil subjects, joyful in happy matters, sombre in sad [ones], [and] harsh things are said or made to be expressed by harsh melodies. Similarly, let melodies be misshapen, sudden, noisy, excited, and designed for other qualities of affections and events.[60]

Clearly, the "harsh, sudden, clamorous, and agitated," sounds described in this passage imply how the composition and performance of a melody can, and should, project the intention and meaning of the text. This idea was so important in medieval song that scribes carefully devised and notated pertinent indications when recording melodies: in tenth- and early eleventh-century religious music manuscripts, lowercase letters were added just above the regular *neumes* to indicate rhetorical, melodic and rhythmic nuances. These letters, known as *litterae significativae*,[61] pointed to the application of changes in rhythmic movement, pitch change, dynamics and sound quality.[62] The letter *f*, for example, was used to prescribe the production of a "harsh" sound (*cum fragore seu frendore*), thus implying a specific intention in performance.[63] From my point of view, the text from the *Musica enchiriadis* and the painstaking effort of scribes to record melodic intentionality reveal not only

60 "*…nec solum diiudicare melos possumus ex propria naturalitate sonorum, sed etiam rerum. Nam affectus rerum, quae canuntur, oportet, ut imitetur cantionis effectus: ut in tranquillis rebus tranquillae sint neumae, laetisonae in iocundis, merentes in tristibus; quae dura sint dicta vel facta, duris neumis exprimi; subitis, clamosis, incitatis et ad ceteras qualitates affectuum et eventuum deformatis*." *Musica Enchiriadis* XIX. The translation is taken from: Raymond Erickson, *Musica Enchiriadis and Scolica Enchiriadis* (New Haven, 1995), p. 32. The information in parenthesis in bold is my own addition. The possible meanings of the word *neumae* in the context of this text are based on the options presented in the *Lexicon musicum Latinum medii aevi*: <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=LmL&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=MN00030#XMN00030>. (Accessed: 10 May 2019). The text is taken from the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* of Indiana University, Hans Schmid, ed., *Musica et scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis* (Munich, 1981), 1–29, 31–59. <https://chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/9th-11th/musenci_text.html>. (Accessed: 2 May 2019).

61 Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York, 1978), pp. 11–14.

62 These types of letters are found in manuscripts produced in different areas. The meaning of the letters, at least in the St. Gall region, is explained in an epistle attributed to Notker Balbulus. For a discussion of these letters and their performance indications, see: David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 373–75.

63 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 373–75.

that composers, performers, and scribes understood that music was an effective vehicle of communication of ideas and emotions, but also that the contemporaneous audience was eager to experience song and be affected by its discourse.

However, despite the evidence offered by music treatises and the surviving music, musicologists such as Howard Mayer Brown, Ernest Sanders, and Richard Crocker have advanced that there is very little or no relation between music and text in the medieval song.[64] Similarly, John Stevens in his *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* proposes that during that period, music was considered to be primarily mathematical, an art of the *quadrivium*, and as such, the relation between melodies and texts in song was purely numerical in character.[65] Alternatively, musicologists such as Leo Treitler, Ritva Jonsson, Bruce Holsinger, Charles Atkinson, and Rachel Golden Carlson, working with information from medieval treatises in conjunction with musical analysis of the repertoire, have come to the conclusion that the medieval composer set words to music in an act of conjugation.[66] The studies conducted by these

64 See: Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, 1976), p. 3; Ernest Sanders, Communication in *Journal of American Musicological Society* 33 (1980), 607; and Richard Crocker, "Gregorian Studies in the Twenty-First Century," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4 (1995), 33–86. For a discussion of their positions, see: Leo Treitler, "Medieval Music and Language," and "The Marriage of Poetry and Music," in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 435–40 and 456–60.

65 Stevens, *Words and Music*, pp. 13–47. For a similar idea in the construction of text, see: Robert R. Edwards, *Ratio and Invention: A Study of Medieval Lyric and Narrative* (Nashville, 1989), pp. 3–33.

66 For the connection between melody and text in syntactic, semantic, and rhetorical terms, see: Sarah Fuller, *Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1969), 1: 12–13; Ludwig Bronarski, *Die Lieder der hl. Hildegard: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geistlichen Musik des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1973), pp. 104–05; Ritva Jonsson, Leo Treitler, "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship," in *Music and Language, vol. 1 of Studies in the History of Music* (New York, 1983), pp. 1–15; James Grier, "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variants," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 373–427; Gerardo Huseby, "Retórica y Música en los *Plactus* Monofónicos del Códice de las Huelgas: Un Aporte Metodológico," *Nassarre* 8 (1992), 83–108; Charles Atkinson, "Ars musica as Ars cantica in a Twelfth-Century Prose," *Acta* 17 (1993) [dossier *Words and Music,* ed. Paul R. Laird], p. 25; Catherine Mary Jeffreys, *Melodia et rhetorica: The Devotional-Song Repertoire of Hildegard of Bingen*," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Melbourne, 2000), pp. 85–223; Bruce W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford, 2001), pp. 105–15; Leo Treiter, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it Was Made* (Oxford (2007), pp. 435–56; 457–82 (chapters "Medieval Music and Language," and "The Marriage of Poetry and Music,"); and Rachel Golden Carlson,

scholars show that various poetic-melodic strategies were used to create rhetorical effects in song.[67] For example, rhythm, texture, melodic contour, and certain musical patterns helped to accentuate or obscure semantics changes, and intervallic structures and ornamentation emphasised and articulated particular words and rhetorical figures. It seems, then, that the main intention of the poet-musician was the expression of meaning through the combination of two mediums.[68]

## 4 Melody and Text in Gottschalk's Song

We know that *Ut quid iubes pusiole* was meant to be sung since the text is set to music in two of its sources, the tenth-century manuscript in Montpellier, in the Bibliothèque Universitaire Historique de Médecine, H 219 (fol. 1r), and the ninth-to-tenth-century Paris manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale 1154 (fol. 131v).[69] In the Montpellier manuscript, the melody set to the text is written with French neumes arranged primarily in a straight horizontal line (unheightened).[70] While the analysis of the different signs notated in this source suggests a melodic contour, unfortunately not enough information can be extrapolated from them to reconstruct a precise melody.[71] We are a little luckier with the Paris manuscript, however, where the music is copied with Aquitanian neumes that show a degree of heightening that allows for a tentative reconstructing of the melody's shape and movement (still, an actual reconstruction of the piece

"Two Paths to Daniel's Mountain: Poetic-Musical Unity in Aquitanian Versus," *The Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006), 620–46.

67 See the comments by Golden Carlson, "Two Paths to Daniel's Mountain," 620–46. The works on the subject are listed in the previous note.

68 Leo Treitler calls this combination a marriage between melody and text. See: *With Voice and Pen*, pp. 457–81.

69 It has been advanced by Dag Norberg that, in general, rhythmic poetry was meant to be sung and not read. See his *Introduction*, pp. 130–55. The pieces notated with music give us, of course, the rare opportunity to comprehend how some very old texts might have been understood, saved, disseminated, and, especially, presented before an audience.

70 Bernhard Bischoff advanced that the music notation in this manuscript was copied at the same time the text was copied. See: Bischoff, "Gottschalks Lied für den Reichenauer Freund," in *Mittelalterliche Studien, Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1967), 2: 29.

71 Sam Barrett studied the notation of the melody and made a suggestion about its contour for the *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum* (*saec. IV–IX*): <www.corimu.unisi.it/scheda.php?idSchede=28&pagina=tradizioneTrascrizioniMusica&idTesti=181&testo=2A. (Accessed: 2 May 2019).

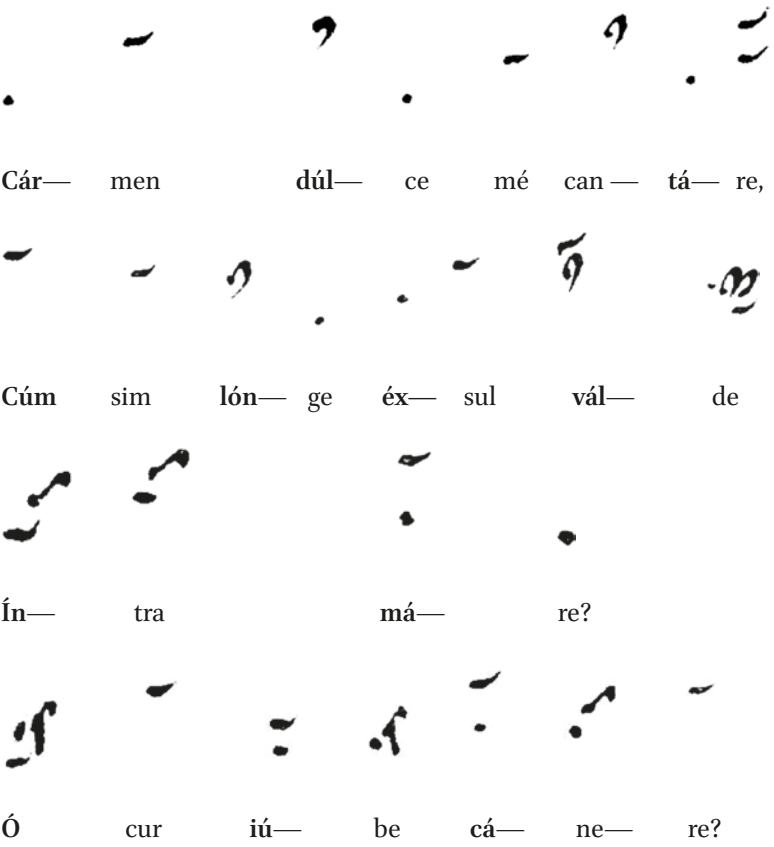
can only be conjectural due to the lack of reference to a starting pitch).[72] Here I present a transcription of the piece using the original heightened neumes (taken directly from the manuscript) with the text edited underneath.[73]

**Út** quid **iu** — bes, pu — **sí**— o— le,

**Quá**— re **mán** — das, fi— **lí**— o— le,

72 For the dates of the manuscript, see: Bernhard Bischoff, "Die lateinischen Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen aus den Oracula Sibyllina," in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, s.j.*, 2 vols. (Gembloux, 1951), 1: 121–47; and Sam Barrett, "New Light on the Earliest Medieval Songbook," in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Helen Deeming, Elizabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge, Eng., 2015), p. 9. For a discussion about the notation of the manuscript and its relation to the earliest layers of Aquitanian notation, see: Sam Barrett, "New Light," pp. 23–29. It is important to mention here that in this manuscript *Ut quid iubes pusiole* is contained within a collection of religious and secular compositions that has been deemed by some as being the oldest extant medieval lyric song compilation. For discussions about the secular and lyrical character of the collection, see: Edmond de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1852), pp. 83–121; Hans Spanke, "Rythmen- und Sequenzstudien," *Studi medievali* 4 (1931), 286–320; Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*. (Musikgeschichte in Bildern III: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 4) (Leipzig, 1975), p. 51; and Stevens, *Words and Music*, pp. 48–52. Nonetheless, other scholars view the collection in a more religious context and argue that the corpus was compiled as a book of prayers for private devotion. See: Jacques Chailley, *L'école musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges, jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1960), pp. 73–6; Sam Barrett, "Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154," *Early Music History* 16 (1997), 55–96; Barrett, "New Light," pp. 9–34; and Jonathan Black, "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to De psalmorum usu," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002), 1–60. The whole manuscript contains a Litany (fols. 1v-25v), prayers and collects (fols. 26r-65v), Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* (books I and II), and the *versus* collection where we find Gottschalk's song (fols. 98r-143r). For a digitalised version of the manuscript, see: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798>.

73 I would like to thanks Raúl Lacilla for helping me with this edition. The text used is again the one edited by Francesco Stella found in the *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum* (*Saec. IV–IX*): <https://www.corimu.unisi.it/public/previewedizione/testo/idschede/28> . (Accessed: 3 March 2019). For a digitalised version of the manuscript, see: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798>.




Throughout the stanza, the relation of melody and text is for the most part syllabic: syllables are usually set either to a *punctum* (a dot) or to a *tractulus* (horizontal line). In certain cases, syllables are also set to neumatic groups containing two to five notes. In those groups we can see the use of a *pes* (two ascending pitches), of a *plica* (a liquescent involving two or more descending pitches with a gliss), the *quilisma* (a liquescent connecting two ascending pitches), and an *oriscus* (mordent-like ornament involving three notes). The last three are usually referred to in modern literature as "ornamental neumes" and imply articulation and pitch inflection.[74] In our piece, the use of these

74 For a study of these neumes and the problem with their denomination as "ornamental," see: Timothy J. McGee, "Ornamental Neumes and Early Notation," *Performance Practice Review* 9 (1996): 30–65, and McGee, *The Sound of the Medieval Song: Ornamentation and*

types of neumes in some specific places of the text and the mixture of syllabic and neumatic textures suggest that the composer was conscious of the importance of the relation between text and notes. Two questions could be raised here: a) could texture, articulation, melodic movement and pitch inflections in this composition have been used to support the projection of meaning and the expression of emotions? and b) how did those elements guide the contemporary singer in constructing a rhetorical performance of the piece? A careful analysis of the combination of text and melody might help us to find answers to these questions.

Taking into consideration the heightening of the neumes, the repetition of signs, and the placement of the *pes*, the *plica*, the *quilisma*, the *oriscus*, and the *punctum* after or below a *tractulus* (which indicates a descending interval), the following can be inferred:

1) The exact same neumes in the first line are repeated on the second line. Thus, verses 1 and 2 seem to have the same, or at least a very similar, melody.
2) The melodies of lines 3 and 4 are different from those of 1 and 2. In 3 and 4 we have the introduction of the *plica* (descending interval with a gliss), and, at the end of line 4, the *oriscus* (mordent) placed on top of the last syllable.
3) The ascent and descent of the melody over the tetrasyllabic verse 5 remind us of the first half (plus a note) of lines 1 and 2. This is clearly shown by the descending movement written by a *tractulus-punctum* that is followed by another *punctum* at the end of the line (as in the case of the half lines of 1 and 2). The ascending movement utilising the formula *tractulus-pes* followed by *punctum-pes* that is placed at the beginning of line 5 also gives the impression of an ornamented version of the ascending movement at the beginning of lines 1 and 2.
4) The melody of the refrain presents the same type of neumes seen in lines 1 and 2: ascending movement through a *quilisma*, descending *tractulus-punctum*, and ascending *pes-tractulus* to close the line. Nonetheless, while the *tractulus-puntum*, *pes*, and *tractulus* progression at the end are set to the closing proparoxitonic word, as in the first two lines, the rest of the neumes are displaced in comparison to those used in connection to the accents, sounds and repeated words of the first line.

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*Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 43–60. See also: David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 340–92.

Let us now connect this with the text. The piece starts with an ascending-descending line set to the question "Why do you command me?" ("*Ut quid iubes*"). The *quilisma* with its "tremulous" sound and the propulsion to the next step up helps create a "wake-up, commanding" opening to the piece that we can relate to the "*audite*" or "*oiez*" call used at the beginning of narrative poems.[75] After the *quilisma* builds momentum and tension, the descending interval (indicated by the *tractulus-punctum* progression) takes us down again melodically, reducing the tension and balancing the line. The descending interval is also carefully placed to give musical support to the accentuation of the word ***iú****bes* (command).[76] The use of descending-interval progressions in places where there is a word accent is present in the melodic-textual relation of psalm tones, and it is also witnessed in many pieces from the period, including Notker's sequence *Scalam ad caelos* and the song *O admirabile veneris idolum*.[77] The *tractulus-puntum* descending motive is repeated almost immediately in the first line. This melodic repetition is the equivalent in rhetoric of the figure called *diacope*, a rhetorical colour of reiteration that it is used to

75 Timothy McGee explains that the *quilisma* is a liquescent neume that connects two ascending notes, usually a third apart. In his *Musica disciplina* Aurelian of Réôme, a contemporary of Gottschalk, describes a passage notated with a *quilisma* as having a tremulous and ascending note: "They sing a tremulous and ascending note on the versus of these parts." ("*Versus istarum novissimarum partium tremulam adclivemque emittunt vocem*"). Text and translation are from: McGee, *The Sound of the Medieval Song*, p. 53. See also: Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 358; and Leo Treitler, "The Unwritten and Written Transmission of Medieval Chant and the Start-up of Musical Notation," *Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992), 131–91. McGee explains that information offered by other medieval writers, such as the eleventh-century anonymous author of the *Commentarius in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini*, suggests that the "tremulous" articulation of the *quilisma* created a "trembling" sound composed of a repeated tone and voice pulsation: "in 'tremula' these same sounds are brought forth with now a greater, now a lesser impulse of the voice, as if trembling (…) that is, a repeated tone, by means of a repeated impulse, but not changing pitch." ("*in tremula vero eaedem nunc maiori, nunc minori impulse vocis efferuntur quasi tremendo* […] *id est varium tenorem per varium impulsum, non per variam vocem*"). For this explanation, and for the text and translation utilised here, see: McGee, *The Sound of the Medieval Song*, pp. 54 and 160. About the opening formulas of narrative songs and their function, see: Paula Elizabeth Leverange, *The Chanson de Geste and Memory* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1999), pp. 11–17.

76 For the use of high notes and descending intervals in connection with accentuation in religious song from the time of Gottschalk, see: Stevens, *Words and Music*, pp. 212–15.

77 Stevens, *Words and Music*, pp. 212–15. For a transcription and study of *Scalam ad caelos*, see: Richard Croker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 218–227; and for *O admirabili veneris*, see: Bryan Gillingham, *A Critical Study of Secular Medieval Latin Song* (Ottawa, 1995), pp. 82–83, and Gillingham, *Secular Medieval Latin Song: An Anthology* (Ottawa, 1993), pp. 54–55.

give emphasis to an idea, and to produce an emotional effect.[78] This descending *tractulus-puntum* formula is also used to accentuate the word *pusíole* in the appropriate place (antepenultimate syllable). The overall impression is of reiteration through the repercussion of consecutive accents (***iúbes, pusíole***). The line then moves up again, probably by conjunct motion, to end on a high note. The upward movement and its goal help to highlight the rhyme on ***-e*** that closes the line and connects all the verses of the poem. Everything described above happens again in the second line where the melody seems to be strictly repeated. Clearly, the melodic repetition accentuates and amplifies the semantic and syntactic parallelism between the first two verses.

Then we move to the next three lines where the poet refers to the song itself and to his exile. The text is set to a melody that ascends and descends four times before going up again at the end of the fifth line. In line 3 we now find plicated notes set to the syllables ***dúl-*** of *dulce* and ***can-*** of *cantare*. It is possible that they were placed there by the composer to mark and ensure the pronunciation of the liquid consonant *L* and the nasal consonant *N*.[79] The plicated notes in line 3 are also in the same syllabic positions as the descending *tractulus-puntum* motive in lines 1 and 2 (syllables 3 and 6). However, while in this third verse, the first plicated note emphasises the proper accent of the adjective ***dúlce***, the second one on the verb *cantáre* is placed on the unaccented first syllable (*can-*). As we can see, the liquescents refer our ears back to the accentuation of the proparoxitonic verses 1 and 2, but with a tweak: verse 3 is paroxitonic and, as such, its verbal accent is placed on a different position (next-to-last syllable). Thus, any type of concordance with the two previous lines happens only at a melodic level. This creates a type of counterpoint between text and melody that might have generated a sense of disorientation or even surprise in the listener who expected another proparoxitonic ending and the melodic-accentual concordance experienced in verses 1 and 2. The sudden change in verse construction and the poetic-melodic counterpoint described might have

78 For Garlandia, the repetition of the same word is called *conduplicatio*. Garlandia explains that it is used for amplification, or to express wonder (*conduplicatio est iterario eiusdem causa amplicationis aut admirationis*. *Parisiana poetria* VI: 185). For a discussion about the diacope, see: Arthur Quinn, *Figures of Speech* (Salt Lake City, 1982) p. 82; Michael Adams, *Slang: The People's Poetry* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 34–36; and Tilmann Habermas, *Emotion and Narrative: Perspectives in Autobiographical Storytelling* (Cambridge, Eng., 2019), p. 54.

79 One of the functions of liquescent neumes seems to have been to ensure the pronunciation of consonants. For a discussion about this subject, see: Leo Treitler, "Reading and Singing," in *With Voice and Pen*, pp. 391–97.

been carefully planned by the poet-composer to generate an emotional reaction from his listener.[80]

Focusing on the third line alone, the liquid notes with their marked glissandi also help in bringing attention to the noun-adjective "sweet song" ("*carmen dúlce*") and the verb *cantáre*: the first one is the object of the piece as requested by the boy, and the second one, the act of composition and performance. Therefore, the two liquid notes seem to be placed on the same line not only to confuse the listener rhythmically, but, at the same time, to call attention to the concept of song and its utterance.

Finally, even though the ending is paroxitonic and there is no accent on the last syllable, the composer makes us focus on the monorhyme sound *-**e*** by putting two descending notes on it (*tractulus-tractulus*). The effect also helps to close the line while, again, artificially creating the feeling of a proparoxitonic ending (thanks to the emphasis that the two descending notes can produce in the ear). We can see this as part of the counterpoint described above between the real accent (which marks the identity of the verse) and the one that the music actually projects. Here, the performer had a crucial role in presenting the intention of the composer. He could choose to make the last two notes short to project the paroxitonic identity of the verse, or long with some ritardando to give the impression of a proparoxitonic ending. The latter would have accentuated the contrapuntal idea advanced above.

Line 4 also presents liquescents, this time set to the proper accentual syllables of the adverbs ***lónge*** ("far away") and ***válde*** (exceedingly), with the second one used as an intensifier of the first one. Both adverbs reflect important concepts of the composition's message: the pain of being away from comrades and the sadness of being afar. Thus, in conjunction with these adverbs, the liquescents help to bring out one of the most emotional points of the discourse. By accenting the last word of the line (*válde*) with the descending progression *tractulus-liquesent* in the right accentual place, the poet-composer helps to clarify the paroxitonic verse structure of the line. Moving forward, we find that on the last syllable there is an *oriscus* as part of the descending movement.[81]

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80 Of course, it is impossible for us to know if the poet also composed the melody. Nonetheless, the composer of the melody, be it the poet or not, obviously had to plan the musical discourse in relation to the text making decisions like the ones that I suggest in this article.

81 The *oriscus* seems to be a liquescent neume (the parts are joined in a single gesture). Timothy McGee explains that it is probably a type of *tremula* ornament performed as a pulsation of the voice or as a change of pitch similar to a mordent (involving the pitch written, a pitch higher, and a return to the original pitch). See: McGee, *The Sound of the Medieval Song*, pp. 55–56. See also: Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 332.

This cadential placement is common in the melodic literature. A good example can be seen in the *neuma* (melisma) attached to the modal formula of the *Tetrardus plagalis* (mode VIII).[82] The movement is usually from the second to the first degree of the mode (a-a-G in the VIII mode).[83] Therefore, both the *plica* and the *oriscus* help us to navigate towards the end of the line in a more or less expected way, first through the proper accentuation of the word, and secondly, through a conventional cadence. For the ear, the sense of regularity and balance seems be restored firstly by the descending progression *tractulus-liquescent* movement, but then is lost again since the *oriscus* stresses the unaccented sound -***e*** of the monorhyme.

However, although we feel a clear resolution of the line in melodic terms, the meaning of the verse is incomplete without the following four-syllable verse "*intra mare*" where some sort of tangible or symbolic remote place of exile is suggested. In this verse, the melody moves back up, emulating the opening of lines 1 and 2 without the *quilisma* but through the use of two *pedes*. The last word is set to the recurrent *tractulus-puntum* motive which, as expected, accentuates the word in the right place. All this recalls to the ear the sub-phrases of verses 1 and 2. Nonetheless, since the verse is only four-syllables long, the full melodic line of the opening verse (with its movement to a higher note through another *pes*), seems to be cut short. The tetrasyllabic verse and the half-melodic phrase again create a sense of unfulfillment that we can connect to the ideas of uncertainty, incapability and incompleteness produced by forced exile.

Finally, we reach the refrain which closes the stanza. Here we find that the melody basically follows the patterns shown in verses 1 and 2. This is not surprising since the refrain reiterates the message presented in those lines ("why do you command me") and even the word *iubes* is repeated here. The *tractulus-punctum* descending motive is placed twice on the accented syllables of the words ***iú****bes* and ***cá****nere* (syllables 3 and 5). The weak second syllable of *iúbes* is also set to a *quilisma* following the neume's treatment in the opening verses (also on a non-accentuated syllable).

Nevertheless, the most interesting use of the *quilisma* is seen at the beginning of the refrain on the interjection ***Oh*****!** Valuable information about the meaning and use of interjections by Medieval Latin poets can be extrapolated from the *Etimologiarum* by Isidore of Seville, a theologian and encyclopaedist

82 The same happens with the neuma or melisma attached to the *Protus authenticus* (Mode 1). For these formulas, see: Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 332.

83 See: Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 359.

who was highly influential among Carolingian writers.[84] In book XX of his *Etimologiarum*, Isidore explains:

> The interjection, so called because it is interjected, that is, interposed, between meaningful phrases, expresses the emotion of an excited mind, as when *vah* is said by someone exulting; *heu* by someone grieving, *hem* by someone angry, *ei* by someone afraid. These sounds are specific to each language and are not easily translated into another language.[85]

Thus, as elucidated by Isidore, the semantic status of interjections is based on the true expression of human emotional states. These parts of speech can project emotions or sudden bursts of such feelings as excitement, joy, surprise or disgust. Their emotional content is expressed with force or is accompanied by sighing. Undoubtedly, their expressivity greatly depends on delivery.[86]

It seems clear that the interjection *Oh* in *Ut quid iubes pusiole* refers to the sadness and pain experienced by Gottschalk due to exile and his inability to compose/sing the requested song. Accordingly, it can be theorised that this interjection summarises and conveys the emotional content of the whole piece, projecting a visceral reaction that the audience was able to understand both through literary convention and empathy. Since the interjection is placed in the refrain, it is reiterated to the listener five more times after its original

84 For information about Isidore and the Carolingians, see: Rosamomd McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989), p. 169; and Evina Steinová, "Innovating Knowledge: Isidore's Etymologiae in the Carolingian Period," *Mittelalter Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Rezeptionsgeschichte* 2 (2019), 12–15.

85 "*Interiectio vocata, quia sermonibus interiecta, id est interposita, affectum commoti animi exprimit, sicut cum dicitur ab exultante 'vah' a dolente 'heu' ab irascente 'hem' a timente 'ei' Quae voces quarumcumque linguarum propriae sunt, nec in aliam linguam facile transferuntur*." Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum* I: 14. The text is from: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore.html>. (Accessed: 3 May 2019). The translation is taken from: Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof, trans., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, Eng., 2006), pp. 46–47.

86 The use of melodic strategies to support interjections is common in the Latin song literature. A good example is found in the famous composition *Heu teneri partum*, also known as Rachel's lament, from the twelfth-century Play of Herod (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 201, fols. 217v-220v). Here the interjection *Heu*, that, as we have seen, was used to represent personal sorrow, is set to both repeated notes and consecutive descending thirds that go from the fifth to the tonic of the mode. The interjection *Oh* found later in the same piece is treated in a similar way: it highlights a melisma that climbs from low D to high D before coming back down to resolve on a repeated *finalis* on G which is set to the word "sorrow" ("*dolor*"). This repetition recalls the *Heu* presented on the first section of the piece.

presentation (stanzas I–VI). Musically, the composer had chosen to set the *Oh* to an ascending melodic line that includes a *quilisma*, a liquescent neume with a "tremulous" sound.[87] We can imagine that a proficient performer might have taken advantage of the interjection, the ascending melody, and the tremulous *quilisma* to convey the emotion specified in the text of the song, perhaps by elongating, exaggerating, and producing a harsh, sudden, clamorous, or agitated sound like those referred to by the writer of the contemporaneous *Musica enchiriadis* treatise.

Thus, as Gottschalk's composition suggests, the projection of emotions was an important strategy used by the composers of Latin songs to affect their audiences and convey meaning. Emotions were projected in the text through the use of rhetorical figures, interjections and the variation in the accentuation of verses. Aware of the emotional power of music, composers set the texts to melodies that helped support the expression of joy, pain, sorrow and the like. The composer had melodic movement, pitch and melodic segment repetition and the use of liquescent neumes at his disposal. If my analysis of Gottschalk's song is correct, we need to approach this musical arsenal in rhetorical terms.

Finally, it was of course the job of the performer to bring the piece alive and project the emotions portrayed in it. For this, he/she had to understand how text and music interacted.[88] Anticipating performance, the composer and the scribe, as we have discussed, utilised and notated neumes, such as the *quilisma*, the *plica* or the *oriscus*, to help in clarifying, obscuring or intensifying the poetic-musical discourse. It is best to understand these "ornamental neumes" as stages or rhetorical *colores* placed along the path of the melodic line: they seem to have been used not only to make the line more interesting, but also to support the projection of meaning. The indicated neumes surely guided singers in their understanding of the piece and in their construction of a performance capable of affecting the listener on intellectual, aesthetic, and

87 In his *Musica disciplina* Aurelian of Réôme describes a passage notated with a *quilisma* as being performed with a tremulous and ascending note: "They sing a tremulous and ascending note on the versus of these parts" ("*Versus istarum novissimarum partium tremulam adclivemque emittunt vocem*"). Text and translation are taken from: McGee, *The Sound of the Medieval Song*, p. 53. See also: Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 358; and Leo Treitler, "The Unwritten and Written Transmission of Medieval Chant and the Start-up of Musical Notation," *Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992), 131–91. See also note 75 in this article.

88 We can wonder if they conducted an analysis similar to the one presented above. Nonetheless, as happens with the music of our time, an understanding of contemporaneous conventions was probably all they needed to understand the intentions of the poet-composer.

emotional levels.[89] Thus, as in the case of their modern counterparts, medieval composers and performers were aware of the need to project emotions in their songs as an essential part of the construction of meaning. Of course, their tools and possibilities were dependent on the conventions and tastes shared by their audiences. Naturally, the recovery of these conventions is crucial for an appropriate understanding of the repertoire and its reconstruction in performance.

89 Clearly, each singer might have decided how to perform the accentuated syllables, repeated melodic segments, and "ornamental neumes," depending on conventions and the demands of the occasion and place of the performance, and the type of audience. Nonetheless, those decisions would have been guided by the interaction between poetry and music.

CHAPTER 10

# Experience and Its Emotional Relation to the Visual. An Epigraphic View

*Vincent Debiais*

## 1 The Jerusalem Cross: Image, Object, Reliquary

In the monumental scene depicting the encounter between Saladin and Baldwin IV in 1184 as pictured by Ridley Scott in his film *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), the cross preceding the Christian soldiers on the battlefield as a banner is shown as a large, mobile object, a true talisman made of gold, silver and precious stones (Figure 10.1).[1] The contemporary chronicles and epic tales emphasise the presence and power of the relics in the fight against Muslims: they protect, encourage and shield the Christian soldiers; they frighten, weaken and repel Muslim warriors.[2] The cross of Jerusalem, relic *par excellence*, transports the *virtus* of the instrument of the Passion onto the battlefield,[3] thus extending the place of Christ's death and resurrection throughout the entire Levant—various narratives from the thirteenth century claim that Christ's blood flowed from the reliquary when carried by the crusaders towards the enemies.[4]

The cross is, at the same time, a relic and the memory of the Passion on the battlefield.[5] It collaborates in the Christian victory because it acts and produces a specific effect on the enemies. In Ridley Scott's film, the effect of the cross is first visual: the arrival of an inordinate, gleaming, striking artefact

1 A detailed analysis of the cinematographic treatment of the "crusade" phenomenon in this film has been published by: Kepa Sojo Gil, "La representación de la historia del cine: A propósito de 'Kingdom of Heaven' ('El Reino de los Cielos', 205), de Ridley Scott y las películas de cruzadas en la historia del séptimo arte," *Clío y Crímen* 6 (2009), 278–93.

2 On this subject, see: Fanny Caroff, "L'affrontement entre chrétiens et musulmans. Le rôle de la vraie Croix dans les images de croisade," *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* (Paris, 2004), pp. 99–114: <https://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/3924>.

3 Cynthia Hahn, *The reliquary effect: enshrining the sacred object* (London, 2017) offers a summary of the function and power of relics.

4 Caroff, "L'affrontement entre chrétiens et musulmans," p. 5.

5 Cynthis Hahn, *Passion Relics and the Medieval Imagination: Art, Architecture, and Society* (Oakland, 2020).

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FIGURE 10.1 *Kingdom of Heaven*: screenshot of the battle of 1184

across the desert, moving by itself, is represented as an apparition; it is another theophany, a new burning bush. Here the director returns to what can be read in the contemporary texts:[6] when seeing the cross in the battle, struck by the visual impact of the relic, the Muslims become terrified and their positions are weakened. The object causes a great commotion both for its external aspect and its significance in the historical context. This trauma-like perception of an object as visually and symbolically powerful as the cross is still present in contemporary life where images are everywhere and used to strike and shake the viewers' senses and emotions. Such a consistency in the emotional responses to objects and images must be nuanced and analysed through a historical perspective and within the framework of specific visual cultures. Scott's artistic grasp of the cross in the desert shows the persistency of the impact caused by the paradigm of Christian culture. The 2020 Easter celebrations in Rome during the lockdown, broadcast on television, displayed the same dramatic staging of the cross in an empty St. Peter's Basilica. The visual presence of the object on screen and its agency during the liturgy virtually recreated the same commotion as the one produced on the battlefield during the crusade, even if the meaning of the episode must be recontextualised within the material and visual culture of the Middle Ages.

Like all material devices that exhibit and conserve relics, the cross of Jerusalem belongs to medieval objects defined by their *agency*; in other words,

6 Caroff, "L'affrontement entre chrétiens et musulmans," p. 11 cites as an example the *Crónica del arzobispo de Tiro* published in *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs. Texte français du XIIIe siècle revu et annoté* (Paris, 1879–1880).

by their capacity for self-action inspired by a certain interiority.[7] Relics and reliquaries are one of the most evident objects of such a power of action, as they are vehicles for the *virtus* of the saints: they cure and absolve those who pray with devotion and request with fervour.[8] The images, whether painted or sculpted, also interact on their own will with those who see or touch them; they move, talk, disappear, break, etc.[9] These artefacts, having that dimension of an object—in other words, being material entities physically present and identifiable by a name or a property—can be experienced and have the possibility of interacting either with other objects or human beings.[10] The cross of Jerusalem awakens an emotion on the battlefield because it imposes itself on sight; the artefact in the landscape and its visual, tactile and sonorous presence provoke commotion among the viewers.

In an image from *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, painted in the fourteenth century, one can clearly see how Muslims fall back before the cross (Figure 10. 2).[11] There is an evident parallel between the movement of the artefact and the soldiers' bending legs. There are no hints of struggle in the image. The object acts alone, with its own power. The eyes of Saladin's army are fixed on the upper part of the cross and the soldiers no longer pay attention to the crusaders. Endowed with its own *agency*, an expression of the will of Christ crucified in the relics of the true cross, the object unleashes fear among the enemies who begin to retreat. Thanks to its activation by the bishop on the battlefield, the cross "affects" the Muslims. It arouses a negative emotion (fear) and grants victory to Christ's followers. The vision of the cross produces a change in the soldiers' affect, in the same way that the *signum crucis* of Constantine, which appeared in 312 in the sky over Milvian Bridge, led the emperor's troops to victory, according to the description by Lactantius and the medieval tradition of the Chrismon.[12]

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7 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, 1998).

8 Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics," *Numen* 57 (2010), 284–316.

9 On this question debated throughout the Middle Ages, see recently: Alejandro García Avilés, *Imágenes encantadas. Los poderes de la imagen en la Edad Media* (Vitoria, 2021).

10 A remarkably stimulating theoretical and practical view of what an "object" is can be found in: Thierry Bonnot, *La vie des objets. D'ustensiles banals à objets de collection* (Paris, 2002).

11 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 52, fol. 312; cited by Caroff, "L'affrontement entre chrétiens et musulmans," fig. 5.

12 William Seston, "La vision païenne de 310 et les origines du chrisme constantinien," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 4 (1936) [*Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Brussels, 1936)] 374–395; Patrick Bruun, "The Victorious signs of Constantine: a reappraisal," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 157 (1997), 41–59; Nathalie De Haan, "'In hoc Signo Vinces.' The Various Victories Commemorated through the Labarum," in *Monuments &*

FIGURE 10.2 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 52, fol. 321r © BNF-GALLICA

In these military examples where visual signs act and produce changes in the viewers' spirit, seeing means feeling. The visual unleashes a series of affective responses (fear, courage) and sharpens the poetic dimension of the artefacts. This complex process between external and internal senses relies on a medieval phenomenology of perception called out by artistic practices.[13] By creating images and artefacts located in monumental and public contexts, medieval art created the conditions for a possible social encounter based on the visual. This encounter is the first, necessary, step toward an eventual turmoil of emotions. Between the activation of the work of art and the experience of its viewer is the experience, natural and social, of the world through the senses.

The following pages are dedicated to this notion of "experience" in its relationship with the visual dimension of medieval art and with a focus on what the artefacts tell us about the very encounter between an acting object and a feeling subject.[14] This chapter does not intend to fully answer such a complex question, which also has widespread implications for today, since art as *performance* has transformed the emotional experience into the exclusive aesthetic form.[15] This chapter instead defines some anthropological schemes of the affective relation between medieval images and their observers (to return to the concept of *regardeur* ("viewer") coined by Joëlle Zask from Marcel Duchamp's comments)[16] around three notions: encounter, wonder and imagination. It is based on the main contributions from the "medieval history of the emotions" and their essential social relevance.[17] It is also based on the

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*Memory: Christian Cult Buildings and Constructions of the Past. Essays in Honour of Sible de Blaauw* (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 17–30.

13 On the relations between external and internal senses, see: Eric Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2014).

14 Here we use the notion of experience as analysed by Gilbert Dahan, "Herméneutique et procédures de l'exégèse monastique," in *L'exégèse monastique au Moyen Âge (11e-14e siècle)* (Paris, 2014), pp. 115–142; Gilbert Dahan, "Symbole et exégèse médiévale de la Bible," *Pris-Ma. Recherches sur la littérature d'imagination au Moyen Âge* 26 (2011), 3–31; Louis Ucciani, "Qu'est-ce qu'une expérience artistique," *Philosophique* 13 (2010), 93–103.

15 On the notion of performance and performativity, see: Laura Weigert, "Performativity," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 61–72.

16 Joëlle Zask, "Spectateur ou regardeur ? Remarques sur l'art public," *Perspective. Actualité en histoire de l'art* 1 (2015), 7–9; Christian Ruby, "La contribution du spectateur. Sur les limites des activités du regardeur moderne," *Réseaux* 166 (2011), 71–98.

17 As proposed by the historiographic survey by Barbara Rosenwein, "Histoire de l'émotion: méthodes et approches," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 49 (2006), 33–48; see also: Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge: une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2015).

research into aesthetics and emotion in the field of contemporary art and literature.[18] These reflections focus on visual productions from the medieval West prior to the thirteenth century, knowing that, throughout the Middle Ages, the theological-aesthetic elaborations established original modalities of interaction between visuality and emotions. They focus on the medieval narratives of experience with art in historical or theological texts, but especially on images and inscriptions offering pictorial and textual discourses on the power of the visual. Because of the public display of most of the examples, a "collective" dimension could be assigned to the emotions triggered by the texts and the images, even if it should always be considered with caution.

## 2 Body and Image Meet

Although fundamentally linked to the mind and thought, emotions are rooted in the human body, either because it expresses them by trembling, smiling, with tears or agitation, or because the body fully reflects the states of the soul.[19] In the artistic context, this link between emotion and corporality is even more obvious. The aesthetic effect requires the presence of a body, either the artist's or the spectator's. In the contemporary sense of the word, the corporality of the spectator is the condition for all experiences through the senses.

Carolingian poetry, taking up and expanding the late-antique tradition of *ekphrasis*, offers numerous examples of that type of encounter between the reader of the poem, and a pictorial or architectural reality.[20] These poems, traditionally designated as *tituli*, both in medieval manuscripts and the nineteenth-century scholarly tradition, present similarities with the surviving contemporary epigraphic documentation.[21] Many of these documents were commissioned by religious institutions to be included in the decorative programmes of churches or cloisters. For example, at the end of the eighth century, Alcuin of York sent around a hundred poetic pieces to the abbot of the abbey of Saint-Vaast in Arras. These were composed for different locations

18 Carole Talon-Hugon, "De la pathétique artistique à l'émotion esthétique," *L'Atelier du centre de recherches historiques* 16 (2016), <http://journals.openedition.org/acrh/7301>.

19 The importance of the body in the history of emotions has been highlighted by Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, "Une histoire des émotions incarnées," *Médiévales* 61 (2011), 5–24.

20 On this theme, see: Vincent Debiais, "La vue des autres. L'ekphrasis au risque de la littérature médiolatine," in *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2016), pp. 99–115.

21 Arwed Arnulf, *Versus ad picturas. Studien zur Titulusdichtung ald Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter* (Munich, 1997).

or images of the abbey.[22] Written for a specific context and addressed to the reader of the poem, the *tituli* frequently describe aesthetic experiences, always linked to experiences of faith and devotion.[23]

At the end of the eighth century, an anonymous author of Irish origin composed various *tituli* for the church of Saint-Denis copied together with a panegyric to Charlemagne. The first poem describes the church as follows:

> Here you have the temple enhanced with great art of varied metals, noble for its clergy, of great repute for their pious attention to the dogma. Its ceilings of gold shine, its wall of silver gleam, its pure marble floors dazzle. This admirable house, you should know, you, traveller, contains the bodies of three saints.[24]

The six verses articulate two recurrent themes in this poetry: the physical presence of the viewer and the effect of the materials used to adorn the church. They are found, for example, in the *tituli* of the mosaics in the Roman apses studied recently by Erik Thunø.[25] As a hypothesis, one can suggest that, given its prosodic similitude and the reference to gold and relics, this poem was composed for a similar setup, in the apse of the church of Saint-Denis, for example. The use of deictics to open verses 1 and 5, the apostrophe to the traveler, the description of the sensations produced by gold, silver and marble—all these discursive tools, typical of the classic *energeia*, place a moving and sensitive body in the middle of a vibrant church.[26] In both the poem and the church, the reader-traveler is converted into a spectator within a theatre of sensations. References to the quality of materials have been interpreted either as a desire to highlight the beauty of the building or the greatness of its patron, or as

22 Vincent Debiais, "La poésie dans son enveloppe," in *Écriture et genre épistolaires* (*IV*$_e$–*XI*$_e$ *siècle*), eds. Thomas Deswarte, Klaus Herbers, Hélène Sirantone (Madrid, 2018), pp. 235–46.

23 See from the example of Paulinus of Nola: Gaëlle Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard, *Descriptions monumentales et discours sur l'édification chez Paulin de Nole. Le regard et la lumière* (Boston, 2006) (epist. 32 et carm. 27 et 28).

24 "*Haec est mira domus vario depicta metallo, nobilis in clero, dogmate clara pio. Auro tecta nitent, paries argenteus albet, ex nitido pressa marmore terra gemit. Haec formosa domus—viator cognoscere debes, Corpora sanctorum continet una trium.*" *Monumenta Germanie Historica. Poetarum Latinorum Mediie Aevum,* 6 vols. (Berlin, 1881), I: 401, c. 6–1.

25 Eric Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome. Time, Network, and Repetition* (Cambridge, Eng., 2015).

26 On the concept of *enargeia*, see: Ruth Werb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Burlington, 2009).

the symbolic expression of the spiritual properties of the church.[27] One can add the poet's desire to transmit the sensorial and emotive conditions of the encounter between the viewer and the visual, or to make this experience available for readers that would be in contact with the visual display.

There are frequent appeals to the viewer in the inscriptions sculpted or painted near medieval images.[28] They invite the reader to look carefully at what is painted or sculpted close to the text, with a wide variety of verse expressions or in prose. At the same time, they reinforce the viewer's corporality by establishing a distance and an ontological difference between the subject and the object, brought together in the experience of the work of art. If the elegiac couplet sculpted on the lower part of the tympanum of the abbey church of Conques can be interpreted as a warning for the viewers of the images of the Last Judgement, it is precisely because it puts the bodies tortured in the infernal sorrows into a dialogue with the reader's body, who presents himself in his full corporality at the door of the church (Figure 10.3).[29] The written expansion of the word *futurum* guides the viewer's senses towards the gates of hell. The deployment of the scripture from heaven to hell passes from the bodies of the chosen ones towards the bodies of the condemned. Sorrow, torture, and suffering staged with great corporal cruelty on the tympanum possess an edifying value only if the viewers can experience the images through their own body in front of the tympanum. The appeal to the reader in the final verses of the monumental poem functions as a reminder of that physical presence and existence. It does not aim to explain or comment on the images of the last judgement but rather to place them in the context of a physical encounter with the viewer. The emotional shock can only arise from that encounter.

For obvious reasons, the bodily encounter between the visual and its viewer acquires an even sharper relevance—more physical, so to speak—in the case of funerary images, the staging of a highly dramatic face-to-face between the living and the dead.[30] Funerary effigies, whether on tombstones or in devotional

27 Gaëlle Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard, "Dire le marbre des édifices chrétiens dans la poésie de l'Antiquité," in *Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-Louis Charlet* (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 279–96; Eric Thunø, "Inscriptions and Divine Presence. Golden Letters in the Early Medieval Apse Mosaic," *The Iconicity of Script. Word and Image 27* (2011), 279–91.

28 For a summary of these questions of the relation between inscription and image, see: Vincent Debiais, *La croisée des signes. Écriture et image (800–1200)* (Paris, 2017).

29 *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale. Tome 9: Aveyron, Lot, Tarn* (Paris, 1984), A10, pp. 17–25; detailed analysis of the inscription in: Jean-Claude Bonne, *L'art roman de face et de profil. Le tympan de Conques* (Paris, 1985).

30 Panofsky's reflections in this respect are still of great use. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London, 1964).

FIGURE 10.3 Abbey church of Conques, tympanum, Aveyron, France
PHOTO: © VINCENT DEBIAIS

paintings, highlight an experience between the present and the absent, the visible and the invisible, in which the formal echo between the bodies—the body of the deceased set in an image for eternity, and the bodies of the living looking at it in the liturgical or devotional context—creates the conditions of affective turmoil. Visual resources encourage empathy, sadness, affliction, fear, anguish, and anger. Medieval epigraphic documentation, which frequently functions alongside these images, translates the dialogue between the living and dead bodies. In the church of Saint-Aubin-de-Scellon, in Normandy, a large tombstone was placed over friar Richard's tomb in 1285 (Figure 10.4).[31] The effigy depicts the deceased praying, eyes open, under an architectural structure with turiferous angels—a living body, staring at anyone who passes in front of the tomb. Around the effigy, a funerary inscription in two languages first identifies the deceased in French and mentions the information referring to his death (date, place, burial); it concludes in Latin with an appeal to the reader; its

31 *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale. Tome 22: Normandie* (Paris, 2002), E104, pp. 166–67.

theme is found in numerous epitaphs from the Late Middle Ages: "Stop here, you who pass before, and read what is written. I have become a vile corpse; you will be a vile corpse" ("*Sta cum transieris et scriptum perlege: visum ville cadaver sum, ville cadaver eris*"). The formula, which proposes a topical reflection about the physiological limitations of the human body, shows a discrepancy between what the text indicates and what the image on the tombstone shows. As he appears in the effigy, Richard is no vile corpse; his body does not suffer the effects of corruption. Therefore, this phrase is not pronounced by the effigy but rather by the body itself from inside the grave. The inscription captures in stone an intangible voice that comes from the ground, in contrast to what happened centuries later with *macabre* art and the rotting effigies, where corpses challenged the reader by their repulsive aspect.[32] In the phylactery of the tomb of cardinal Jean de la Grange, who died in 1402 in Avignon, one can hear the voice describing to the reader the corpse being destroyed by the worms (Figure 10.5).[33] The possibility of an emotion in the viewer arises precisely from this clash between the similitude of the conditions and the discrepancy of the forms. The encounter with the visual constitutes for the viewer a moment of awareness of his own physical, corporal, and sensitive reality.

Funerary documents—both texts and images—offer numerous examples of encounters that trigger affective reactions. Grief, affliction, and sorrow produced by loss, anguish and fear that arise from the anticipation of one's own disappearance are emotions that traverse funerary images and texts.[34] It occurs in the first instance for Christ's death. However symbolic, images of the Crucifixion place Christ's body between life and death and emphasise the necessity for both sacrifice and resurrection.[35] The visual confrontation with the suffering of the Saviour reflexively entails an interrogation of the viewer's body in front of the image, and he is invited to feel the effects of the Passion in his own flesh. In the first quarter of the ninth century, Hrabanus Maurus composed his *De laudibus sanctae crucis* and dedicated one of the calligrams

32 For this type of iconography, see the classic book by Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol. The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1973).

33 Anne McGee Morganstern, "Quelques observations à propos de l'architecture du tombeau du cardinal Jean de la Grange," *Bulletin monumental* 128 (1970), 195–209.

34 Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "Gestes et expressions du deuil," in *À réveiller les morts. La mort au quotidien dans l'Occident médiéval*, eds. Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, Cécile Treffort (Paris, 1993), pp. 121–33.

35 This "double face" of the Crucifixion has been magnificently demonstrated by: Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era. Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, Eng., 2001).

FIGURE 10.4 Tombstone of Friar Ricardo, church of Saint-Aubin-de-Scellon, Eure, France
PHOTO: © CESCM/CIFM

to the figure of the crucified.[36] The poem, demonstrating immense theological complexity, contrasts Christ's body, which is painted in a crude frontal view with the whiteness of his flesh exposed, with a reflection of the reader's body (Figure 10.6).[37] The manuscript Rossianus 3 in the Vatican Library, painted in the early fourteenth century, contains the short treatise on *The Nine Ways of Prayer of Saint Dominic*.[38] Each of these modalities was translated visually into a painting representing the saint praying in front of an image of the

36 Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, ed. Michel Perrin (Corpus Christianorum Continuatui Mediaevalis, 100 and 100A) (Turnhout, 1997).

37 This is especially the case in: BnF MS lat. 2423, fol. 4v.

38 The paintings in this manuscript have recently been studied by: Éric Palazzo, *Peindre c'est prier. Anthropologie de la prière chrétienn*e (Paris, 2016).

FIGURE 10.5 Recumbent statue of cardinal Jean de la Grange. Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais
PHOTO: © CESCM/CIFM

Crucifixion. In each of these images, the painter staged mimetic postures and attitudes between Christ's figure and Saint Dominic. The encounter not only takes place through a sensorial perception but also through a mimesis of both bodies. In Saint Dominic's cell, the crucifix bleeds in the same way that the cross of Jerusalem bleeds on the battlefield. By proposing a physical encounter, the visual opens the corporal perspective. Seeing is feeling and feeling in one's own flesh.

Jacqueline Jung has recently highlighted the importance in Gothic sculpture of touch, and thus of the body, in the perception of forms, especially when appreciating the physical presence of three-dimensional figures.[39] Generally, by establishing the presence, movement and awareness of a body in its context, visual arts from the Middle Ages tended to transform the sensorial perceptions into embodied experiences, here taking the word "experience" in its

39 Jacqueline Jung, "The Tactile and the Visionary. Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination," in *Looking Beyond. Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2010), pp. 203–40.

FIGURE 10.6 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 2423, fol. 4v
PHOTO: © BNF-GALLICA

etymology of "proof," "imprint" or "opening." By opening itself to the presence and effect of the image, the body absorbs the image, and the spirit is moved.

## 3 The Clash of Images

Once the encounter has taken place, the visual leads the viewer to astonishment, this term being understood both in its phenomenological meaning of "event" and in its psychological meaning of stupor or surprise.[40] The encounter with the visual leads to an emotional response because of its content. This is

40 The two concepts of "wonder" and "astonishment" are understood here in the aesthetic sense given by: Robert Klein, *L'esthétique de la technè. L'art selon Aristote et les théories des arts visuels au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2017).

the case of the emotion of Paulinus when describing the works in the sanctuary of Nola in his *Laudes*. It can also be triggered by aesthetic quality. See, for example, Suger's emotion while contemplating the scenes in the stained-glass windows of Saint-Denis. It can also be caused by the combination of the two aspects, content and beauty, which is the characteristic of medieval astonishment in the context of artistic manifestations in the religious domain.[41] The internal and external experience of light, both as sensitive perception and emotional movement, reflects the amazement of the encounter with the visual. Suger describes light in detail as it bathes the church of Saint-Denis and its impact on the viewer's emotions has the same experience on the senses and the soul.[42]

The interplay of sight as perception and vision as movement of the affection translates into admiration in its etymological sense: to be surprised and to desire. For example, traces of this process are found in two sculpted reliefs that designate the image and its contents as an "admirable thing" (*res miranda*). The two sculptures represent the Virgin and Child in a frontal position according to the iconography of the *sedes sapientiae* ("throne of wisdom"). The first sculpture, dated from the twelfth century, is nowadays in the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid and is from the monastery of Sahagún in León (Figure 10.7). The beautiful piece depicts the Virgin dressed in luxurious garments seated on a throne of coloured stones or marbles. Christ wears the same garments and the same crown, blesses with his right hand, and holds a closed book in his left hand. On the right of the Virgin's nimbus, the following inscription can be read: "Things worthy of being admired fully to please the blessed" ("*Res miranda satis bene conplacitur a beatis.*") The second sculpture, also dating from the twelfth century, is located to the right of the main portal in the church in Saint-Aventin, in the French Pyrenees (Figure 10.8).[43] It shows a similar image of the same formal quality, but with a small difference: the Virgin points to her child's face with her left hand, and he raises his eyes towards his mother. In the arch covering the sculpture, another verse can be read: "An admirable thing, truly: she was Mother of God through an all-powerful force."

41 See the essential reflections in: Erwin Panofsky, *Architecture gothique et pensée scolastique* (Paris, 1976) in his analysis of the narrative of the consecration of Saint-Denis: Suger, *Œuvres. Tome 1: Écrits sur la consécration de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1996).

42 On the subject of light and its interpretation by Suger, see: Jean-Claude Bonne, "Pensée de l'art et pensée théologique dans les écrits de Suger," in *Artistes et philosophes: éducateurs?,* ed. Christian Descamps (Paris, 1994), pp. 23–35.

43 *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale. Tome 8: Ariège, Haute-Garonne, Hautes-Pyrénées, Tarn-et-Garonne* (Paris, 1982), HG13, p. 49.

("*Res miranda nimis Mater Dei erat vi nimis.*") In both cases, the inscription designates something (*res*) worthy of being seen and admired (*miranda*), but what exactly is this "something"? The most recent edition of the text, in the volume that the *Enciclopedia del románico* devoted to Madrid, describes the inscription as "alluding to the Virgin," based on the recurrence of the formula in texts dedicated to the mystery of the Incarnation.[44] In the sculpture from Saint-Aventin, with the expression *res miranda*, the inscription seems to refer precisely to Mary's virginal maternity. Thus, *res* would refer to *vis*, because of its meaning and its position in the verse. The Virgin's gesture, pointing her index finger at the child, could support this interpretation and place the admiration outside a specific element of the sculpture. The astonishment is from the visual in its capacity to show properties that escape from the forms. The emotion that arises from the encounter with the image comes precisely from the fact that the sculpture not only shows the *sedes sapientiae*, but also the mystery of the Incarnation in its fullness, according to the contents of the inscriptions.[45] Despite the repetition of the same formula in both images, the difference between the possible audience of each sculpture may have caused diverse emotional responses. Such an archaeological approach to reception is very difficult to do given the many displacements and modifications suffered by these two images, one of them now kept in a museum.

The admiration or amazement before the image (or the visual arts in general) arises from an inward movement, a path towards one's interior starting in what is presented to the viewer's senses. It is not only about seeing, but about looking beyond the material and the obvious—in other words, moving from perceiving to feeling, from "the materials to the truth" in the words of Suger of Saint-Denis. The abbot pays special attention to the description of the ornaments in his church, to this inward movement born from his encounter with beauty, and to the interior/exterior dialectic. When mentioning the objects on the altar, Suger writes:

> I declare it, what seems fair to me, more than anything, is that all the valuable things should serve first for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. I thus affirm that we must serve the holy sacrifice through the

44 *Enciclopedia del románico. Madrid* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2008), p. 133.

45 The classic study on that motif in medieval iconography is still the one by: Ilene Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom* (Princeton, 1972). Regarding the inscriptions related to the theme, see: Robert Favreau, "Origines et succès d'une formule épigraphique: 'In gremio Matris residet Sapientia Patris'," *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie. Sectio F, Historia* 45 (1990), 99–107.

FIGURE 10.7 Relief from Sahagún. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional
PHOTO: © MAN

external ornaments more than anything, with internal purity, with external nobility.[46]

The use of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones enhances the dignity of the sacraments, and the liturgy becomes an experience producing astonishment that allows the viewer to walk from the visible towards the invisible.[47]

46 "*Et nos quidem haec interesse praecipue, proprie, specialiter approbamus. In exterioribus etiam sacrorum vasorum ornamentis, nulli omnino aeque ut sancti sacrificii servitio, in omni puritate interiori, in omninobilitate exteriori, debere famulari profitemur.*" Suger, *Écrits sur la consécration*, p. 138.

47 Suger, *Écrits sur la consécration*, p. 134: "*Unde cum ex dilectione decoris domus Dei aliquando multicolor gemmarum speciositas ab exintrinsecis me curis devocaret, sanctarum etiam diversitatem virtutum de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo, honesta*

FIGURE 10.8 Relief of the Virgin with Child, parish church of Saint-Aventin, Haute-Garonne, France
PHOTO: © VINCENT DEBIAIS

The encounter with beauty is thus fundamentally spiritual and leads to a new encounter with God. In the *Didascalicon*, Hugh of Saint Victor describes the affect/effect of colours as follows:

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*meditatio insistere persuaderet; videor videre me quasi sub aliqua extranea orbis terrarum plaga, quae nec tota sit in terrarum faece, nec tota in coeli puritate demorari, ab hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem anagogico more Deo donante posse transferri."*

> Regarding the colour of things, it is not necessary to argue much, because one's sight shows how much beauty is added to nature, when it is adorned with so many and so varied colours. Is there anything more beautiful than the light that, despite having no colour, nevertheless makes the colours of everything appear by illuminating them? Is there anything more agreeable than the sky when it is serene and shines sapphire, and with a proportion so agreeable of its brilliance that it attracts the eye and gladdens one's sight?[48]

All the physical properties listed by Hugh of Saint Victor Victor have their spiritual correspondence and produce a change of affect.

For this reason, a rhetoric of sight is elaborated in many of the *tituli* of medieval images, inviting the viewer to look beyond the image. This is the case in the famous inscription in the mosaic under the Carolingian image of the Ark of the Covenant in the oratory of Germigny-des-Prés (dated around 840):[49] "Look here on contemplating the holy oracle and its cherubs the ark of the divine testament that shines. On seeing this, try to touch what thunders with your prayers and do not forget, I beg you, to associate Theodulph with your vows" ("*Oraculum sanctum et cerubin hic aspice spectans et testamenti en micat arca dei. Haec cernens precibusque studens pulsare tonantem theodulfum votis jungito quaeso tuis*") (Figure 10.9). The repetition of the verbs referring to the perception of the mosaic (*aspice*, *cernens*, *spectans*) is not only the product of the verse elaboration, but is also a precise description of the intellectual mechanisms of the encounter with the image. It goes beyond the use of the senses; *spectans* and *cernens* indicate an action shared between the observer of the mosaic and the image itself that comes out to meet the viewer. It overcomes the viewer's sight to guide him towards the inner senses (*studens*). Such a qualitative change, defined in the process of textual exegesis as a "hermeneutic leap" by Gilbert Dahan,[50] occurs visually in the movement from what can be

48 "*De colore rerum multum disserere opus non est, cum ipse visus probet quantum naturae decoris additur, cum tam variis distincta coloribus adornatur. Quid luce pulchrius, quaecum colorem in se non habeat, omnium tamen clores rerum ipsa quodammodo illumando colorat? Quid jucundius ad videndum coelo cum serenum est, quod splendet quasi sapphirus; et gratissimo quodam suae claritatis temperamento visum excipit et demulcet aspectum.*" Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon*, ed. Michel Lemoine (Paris, 1991), chapter 12.

49 Olivier Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image. Une archéologie du visuel au Moyen Âge* (*Ve–XVIe siècle*) (Paris, 2008), pp. 136–137; Cécile Treffort, "Les inscriptions de Germigny et la production épigraphique de Théodulf d'Orléans," *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* Hors-Série 11 (2019) <https://journals.openedition.org/cem/16066>.

50 Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval* (*XIIe–XIVe siècle*) (Paris, 1999), p. 389 and following.

seen (the Ark of the Covenant and the cherubs, as they appear in the vault) to what cannot be seen (the thundering God described in the inscription). The insistence on sight as the trigger for this understanding indicates that the visual is not limited to sensory perception, but rather encourages an intellectual experience. The verb *experire* in Latin refers to the attempt, to the test, but also to "feeling" as a consequence of the encounter or try. Emotions that arise from the amazing contact with the visual in the Middle Ages are the beginning either of an inner path, or of a social response. On citing verse 8 of Psalm 5, the inscription sculpted on the lintel of the church of San Bartolomé in Aguilar de Codés describes this physical and spiritual journey:[51] "But I, by your great mercy, will come into your house; in reverence will I bow down toward your holy temple" ("*Introibo in domum tuam domine adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo*"). The epigraph refers to the image of the lamb on the tympanum; the inscription sculpted around the Chrismon is taken from chapter 5 of the Book of Revelation and thus presents the lamb before the opening of the seven seals, before the beginning of the apocalyptic cataclysms. The emotion of the viewer, the fear when approaching the temple, is an anticipation of what the image shows.[52] Astonishment, and emotions in general, give way to an original form of experience, that of imagination, both cause and consequence of human feeling.

## 4 Feel and Imagine

The display of visual richness in the Middle Ages is a demonstration of medieval creativity in its relation to the figurative. The terms of the debate between Saint Bernard and Suger are, in this sense, of extreme importance, not because this debate did not exist, but because it did not arise from questions about the presence of the images in the cloisters, but rather from their use and function in the interior experience of the clergy.[53] Umberto Eco clearly showed that Saint Bernard's *Sermon on the Song of Songs* recognised the power of the visual

51 Luis María de Lojendio, *Navarre romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1967), p. 58.

52 An overview of fear in the Middle Ages appears in: Samuel Sadaune, *La peur au Moyen Âge: craintes, effrois et tourments particuliers et collectifs* (Rennes, 2013).

53 André Moisan, "Suger de Saint-Denis, Bernard de Clairvaux et la question de l'art sacré," in *Le beau et le laid au Moyen Âge* (Aix-en-Provence, 2000), pp. 383–99; and especially: Isabelle Marchesin, "Enjeux et usages de l'Apologia à Guillaume de Saint-Thierry dans la tradition de l'histoire de l'art," in *L'actualité de saint Bernard, Actes du colloque des Bernardins*, eds. Antoine Guggenheim, André-Marie Ponnou-Delaffon (Paris, 2010), pp. 213–240.

FIGURE 10.9 Mosaic in the apse, oratory of Theodulf, Germigny-des-Prés, Loiret, France
PHOTO: © VINCENT DEBIAIS

to stimulate such emotions as amazement or joy, which are conducive of introspection.[54] Hugh of Saint Victor based the *affectio imaginaria* on the aesthetic pleasure that derives from the encounter with the visual (colours, materials, forms, proportions, etc.):

> Observe the world and all the realities it contains; you will discover so many beautiful and seductive things … Gold and the precious stones shine like varied fires, the beauty of the human body has its charms, dyed fabrics and brightly coloured garments have their power of attraction.[55]

Later, Thomas Aquinas established the ontological relation between beauty and good, and justified the spiritual search for the aesthetic experience, the "aesthetic emotion" or "empathy."[56] The school of Saint Victor elaborated that the soul, moved by the enchantment of visual beauty, shifts the focus of what is seen through the senses towards what it "imagines" or "constructs."

54 Umberto Eco, *Historia de la belleza* (Barcelona, 2004), pp. 154–59.
55 Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon*, ed. Michel Lemoine (Paris, 1991), p. 190.
56 See for example: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Teologica* II–II, 145, 2.

The cross of Jerusalem influenced the battlefield because it means (in the proper sense of the word) the Passion of Christ. To see the cross and be moved is to recall the sacrifice of Jesus. Suger describes no less when he dedicates a long passage from the narrative of the consecration of Saint-Denis to the evocation of the monumental cross he had built for the high altar of the church.[57] In a long poem composed in 790 or shortly after, Alcuin of York designed another monumental cross (painted, in mosaic or wood) with verses in one of the churches in Cologne or Salzburg. The text, perhaps intended to be inscribed at the entrance to the church, begins as follows:

> Behold, reader, the pious sign of our salvation, the admirable gift of Christ in the midst of the church: for the living world, the life of the world where I am suspended. For his servants the lord has died: how holy is his will! In order for the servant to live, he redeemed him with his blood of a servant. You, seeing the cross from the entrance to the temple, remember all this, and with joy pray before God without delay. Prostrate your body on the ground, but extend your chest towards the sky, and shed abundant tears for your sins.[58]

The viewer's body, as the place of encounter and amazement with the image of the cross in the church, becomes a place of imagination. The perception of the cross (*videas*) leads to the vision of the Passion and salvation (*adspice*). It puts the memory (*memor esto*) into images and emotions induced by the visual (admiration, terror, joy) sets the body into motion: the viewer lies on the ground, writhes, and cries. He perceives in the form presented to his senses another, denser, more complex, more profound reality inviting him to spiritual commotion. Hugh of Saint Victor, in his *Commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy* by Pseudo Dionysius, wrote: "All the visible objects are given to us in a visible way to awaken our symbolic sense, that is, they are given to us through their figurative transmission to achieve a significance and a declaration of invisible

57 Suger, *Écrits sur la consécration*, p. 126 and following; see: Philippe Verdier, "La grande croix de l'abbé Suger à Saint-Denis," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 13 (1970), 1–31.

58 "*Adspice tu, lector, mostrae pia signa salutis, ecclesiae in medio Christi mirabile donum: pro mundi vita jam vita pependit, Pro servis moritur dominus: quam sancta voluntas! Viveret ut servus, empsit cum sanguine servum. Hoc memor esto, crucem videasque in lumine stantem et mox ante dei faciem feliciter ora. Corpore sterne solum, scande sed pectore caelum, proque tuis culpis lacrimas effunde calentes*." *Monumenta Germanie Historica. Poetarum Latinorum*, 1: 362.

objects. If the beauty of visible objects resides in their formal aspects, perceptible beauty is the image of non-perceptible beauty."[59]

Aesthetic emotion is thus inherent to the production and reception of the visual in medieval artistic practice. The *jubilatio* from the gentleness of music and its rhythms, the geometric proportion of the figures or the physical harmony of the bodies would define, according to Saint Augustine, the principal objective of the artistic practice; the *tremor* provoked by the monstrous figures, hybrids or fantasies in architectural or manuscript margins awaken the spirit and oblige one to "feel."[60] The visual does not represent the end of the process of meaning that, in aesthetic emotion, endures and leads to the internal creation of new images. Mary Carruthers has recently analysed the omnipresence of such a dynamic and iterative conception of the medieval imagination that is not only based on memory, but also intermingles the product of sensorial perception with mental images, fruit of real, fictitious, indirect or hedonic experiences.[61]

In the centre of the paten of the church of Saint George in Hildesheim (dated from the first half of the thirteenth century), one can see an image of Christ enthroned and presenting a Eucharistic form in his right hand (Figure 10.10).[62] In the medallion around the figure an inscription says: "Look, all you men, by dying I have redeemed you" ("*Huc spectate viri sic vos moriendo redemi*"). It translates Christ's voice and calls out the viewer (*spectate*), but the content of the text does not refer directly to the content of the image. The redeeming sacrifice is not figured in the object but rather in its use during the celebration of the Eucharist as a commemoration and actualisation of Christ's death. The second inscription drawn on the outer edge of the paten specifies this content by referring explicitly to the communion: "Whoever wishes to receive this holy sacrament, let him be holy of body and spirit, so what he is waiting for as a reward for his life does not disappear through his fault" ("*Hec sacra svmpturus sit corpore menteque purus+ex hoc ne pereat quo vite premia sperat*"). The paten of Hildesheim was not used during the ritual by anyone but the priest, and the iconographic and epigraphic message was aimed primarily at him. It invites one to "imagine" the narrative and meaning of the Passion in the contemplation of Christ's figure. The exegetic developments on the liturgy of the mass,

59 Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Super Ierarchiam Dionisii*, ed. Dominique Poirel, 2 vols. (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 178) (Turnhout, 2015) 2: 1–3, p. 435.

60 Eco, *Historia de la belleza*, pp. 61–70.

61 Mary Carruthers, "Intention, sensation et mémoire dans l'esthétique médiévale," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 55/220 (2012), 367–78.

62 *Die deutschen Inschriften* 58, 64.

FIGURE 10.10 Paten of Saint Gotthard, church of Saint George, Hildesheim, Niedersachsen, Germany
PHOTO: © DI

especially in the Carolingian era, insist on the necessity for the priest to contemplate Christ in the host both as a suffering man, and as God in heaven. The images of the *majestas Domini* painted on the sacramentaries or the vaults of the apses transcribe the product of the imagination on a monumental scale, in the same way that the image of the paten of Hildesheim does so on the scale of an object. The discrepancy between the content of the inscription and the content of the image is transformed into an available mental space for imagination in which the priest, celebrating "with joy, tremor, affection and reverence," projects the contents of the celestial liturgy.

In the encounter with the visual, a new path of meaning is opened. From the sensation, emotion is born; and from the emotion, imagination is born. The experience is not so much that of the viewer but more that of the image itself, which acts on its surroundings and triggers the production of new visual

FIGURE 10.11 Relief of the Lion, priory church, Usson-du-Poitou, Vienne, France
PHOTO: © VINCENT DEBIAIS

contents. Aesthetic emotion thus responds to a process of proven associations—"experimented" in this sense—between images and affects.

## 5 Conclusion

On the north capital of the door of the priory church of Usson-du-Poitou, near Poitiers, a rough figure of a lion was sculpted in the twelfth century. Just under the image the word *Letare* ("Rejoice") can be read (Figure 10.11).[63] The verb refers to the verses 10–11 of Isaiah 66: "Rejoice with Jerusalem and be glad for her, all you who love her; rejoice greatly with her, all you who mourn over her. For you will nurse and be satisfied at her comforting breasts; you will drink and delight in her overflowing abundance." Its association with the lion, image of the resurrection and figure of Christ resurrected, invites one to read this inscription as the reduction to the minimum of the introit of the mass of the fourth Sunday of Lent. The text-image set would reflect on the door of the

63 *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale. Tome 1-2: Département de la Vienne* (Poitiers, 1975), pp. 143–144.

church a dense, liturgical evocation despite the apparent simplicity of the artistic execution. The text from Isaiah describes various contrasting emotions: joy and solace on one hand, sadness and despair on the other. The encounter with the visual in all its density, as posited by medieval artistic creation, invites one to consider that these emotions also reside in the material figuration and tend to activate such emotions in the spectator.

Medieval descriptions of these aesthetic experiences emphasise the reactions of the audience before the beauty or extraordinary nature of images and artefacts. The elaborations regarding a Christian theology of images, far from claiming an objective coldness of the figuration, promote the spiritual commotion arising from the encounter of a sensitive body and an effective object. Periodising art history and seeing it through an emotionless criticism tends to remove the emotional dimension from medieval art, forgetting the *affect* in benefit of the *effect*. Because historical anthropology supposes the scientific reality of physiological and psychological invariables, it invites one to recapture what Lucien Febvre called the "sensitivity of history."[64]

64 Lucien Febvre, "La sensibilité et l'histoire: comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois," *Annales d'histoire sociale* 3 (1941), 5–20.

CHAPTER 11

# The Portrayal of Emotions in the Medieval Orient. From *Adab* to Oriental Epic and Historical Narrative from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries

*Anna Caiozzo*

Western medievalists have unquestionably opened the field of emotions in the last thirty years. Notable works include the seminal works of Barbara Rosenwein[1] and, in the French-speaking world, those of Piroska Nagy[2] and Damien Boquet, who have continued to explore the topic in their individual and joint work.[3]

Anthropological approaches and studies on medieval Islamised worlds usually have remained the reserve of scholars of the history of law, allowing emotions to be seen through the prism of tradition and law,[4] as in the approach to desires[5] or the expression of mourning, which are particularly well studied.[6]

In fact, in the Islamic worlds, the language of the body, culturally speaking, was governed by a defined set of attitudes for which the prophet Muhammad remained the model. Indeed, during the Middle Ages, the West was supposed to obey the acts of the councils and then later the sermons of preachers and the moral sanctions of *exempla* aimed at delineating the faults of the body and the soul. But in the Islamic world, from the eighth and ninth centuries,

1 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past*; *The Political Uses of an Emotional Community*; *Generations of Feeling* (New Haven, 2020).

2 Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2014).

3 See the works of the ANR Project EMMA directed by Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy: Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2015)*;* Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, Laurence Moulinier-Brogi, eds. "Dossier. La chair des émotions," *Médiévales* 61 (2011), 5–161; Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Politiques des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Florence, 2010); Piroska Nagy, Damien Boquet, eds., *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2009).

4 Mohammed Hocine Benkheira, *L'amour de la loi* (Paris, 1997).

5 Mohammed Hocine Benkheira, *La maîtrise de la concupiscence* (Paris, 2017).

6 Mohammed Hendaz, *Les rituels funéraires dans l'Islam classique* (Paris, 2011); Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's grave* (Columbia, 2007).

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the flowering of schools of *madhahib* or interpretation of *fiqh* (Islamic law), reveals the codification of a "rationality of gestures." The Shar'ia (the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the prophet) set the initial guidelines.[7] These works set guidelines for how the faithful was supposed to behave, especially in public. This language of the body concerns prohibitions in terms of clothing, finery, degrees of nudity and how to comport oneself, particularly for women whether or not in the presence of others.[8]

In recent years, an inter-disciplinary approach[9] reinforced by the rise and expansion of gender studies has made it possible to deal with many transversal issues, including the history of sensibilities, although still in a rather marginal way.[10] Nevertheless, comparative studies offer many possibilities with interesting long-term prospects, particularly in traditions (rites, for example) and norms, of course, but also ways of dealing with the emotions in different periods and also cultural groups, including those in the Islamised worlds.[11] Likewise, body language, familiar to western medievalists,[12] has been little studied so far, with attention focusing on a particular literary genre and gesture of praise. This focus could be extended to other topics.[13]

Apart from literature, body language can be seen in the visual arts and, more specifically, in illuminated manuscripts in the late twelfth and the thirteenth century. For example, the famous literary stories in Hariri's *Maqamat* written in the early twelfth century in Iraq use brief episodes in the form of tableaux to portray an old crook, Abu Zayd, who cross-dresses and assumes different identities on his travels in the regions of the Abbasid caliphate. Touching on many places in both social and professional settings, the character is used in these short stories to hold the reader's attention. The collection aroused the interest of the bourgeoisie and was illuminated in the early thirteenth century, bringing the hero and the whole of contemporary Iraqi or Syrian society alive, as we see portrayed in the earliest copies of this work.[14]

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7 See: Benkheira, *L'amour de la loi.*

8 Mohammed Benkheira*, Hammam, nudité et ordre moral dans l'islam médiéval* (Paris, 2008), pp. 63–76.

9 Abbès Zouache, Pauline Koeschet, "Dossier 'Le corps dans l'espace islamique médiéval'," *Annales Islamologiques,* 48/1 (2014), 3–10.

10 See: Mohammed Hocine Benkheira, "Gender between Law, Religion and Myths. The Surroundings of Fiqh," *Hawwa* 17/2–3 (2019), 95–96.

11 Anna Caiozzo, *Mythes, rites et émotions. Les funérailles le long de la Route de la soie* (Paris, 2016), pp. 153–325.

12 Jean Claude Schmidt, *La raison des gestes* (Paris, 1990); François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image* (Paris, 1982).

13 Brigitte Foulon, Mohamed Bakhouch, eds., *L'Art de l'Éloge chez les Arabe*s (Rome, 2018).

14 Kata Keresztély, *Peinture de fiction* (Paris, 2018).

Before then, illuminated manuscripts had been mainly scientific in nature (astronomy, veterinary science, or medicinal plants), but the central character in the *Maqamat* plays with his audiences, which includes the readers of the manuscript. In his bearing, his gestures,[15] his cross-dressing,[16] his way of moving or positioning his body in different scenes, Abu Zayd arouses pity, interest, admiration, indignation and anger or the pleasure of hearing brief verses declaimed. He is the driver of the emotions with which he plays and deliberately arouses.[17] Admittedly, the artist's skill is essential to trigger the interest of the contemporary viewer, and it is certainly the painter of MS Arabe 5847, conserved in the national library in Paris, who best portrays the emotions through a set of techniques, not limited to the postures of the characters but also the settings in which the scenes take place.[18] To take just two examples—those of a funeral (Figure 11.1) and the Indian queen giving birth (Figure 11.2)—the emotions are visible in the secondary characters. The funeral scene shows the dignity of the men dressed in white attending the burial while the mourners lament, tear at themselves and pull their hair to evoke the pain of mourning. Abu Zayd is not present in the scene because he is taking advantage of the sadness to collect alms for himself. The other copies, however, show him admonishing the participants.[19]

While Abu Zayd visits the palace of the king of India, he learns that the pregnant queen is painfully struggling to give birth to a child. In the scene of childbirth, we observe the contrast between the impassiveness of the king awaiting the birth of his heir in another room and the agitation of the servants around the queen, and their lamentations and tears outside the palace. This contrasts with two wise and impassive men, one of them an astrologer and the other a magician, who are none other than Abu Zayd and his accomplice, who are supposedly making a talisman to induce the birth. The characters in the *Maqamat* that were painted under the Mamelukes are much more static than

15 Anna Caiozzo, "À la recherche d'une gestuelle de l'éloge dans les manuscrits enluminés de l'Orient médiéval (XII$^{e}$–XV$^{e}$ siècles)," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 13 (2018), 15–26.

16 Aya Sakkal, "La représentation du héros des *Maqāmāt*," *Annales islamologiques* 48/1 (2014), 79–102.

17 See the illustrations on the database Mandragore or Gallica at the shelfmark: Paris, Bibliotèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 5847, MS Arabe 3929, MS Arabe 6094.

18 On the pictural techniques of the *Maqāmāt* see: David James, "Space-forms," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 2 (1974), 305–20; George Alain, "The Illustrations of the Maqāmāt and the Shadow Play," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 28 (2011), 1–42.

19 BnF, MS Arabe 3929; Irak-Syrie, MS 1240, fol. 26v; MS Arabe 6094; MS Irak-Syrie 1222–23, fol. 33v.

FIGURE 11.1 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. Arabe 5847 (Maqâma 11), fol. 29v
PHOTO: © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

those in the original thirteenth-century illustrations, and they do not capture the dramatic tensions playing out in certain scenes.[20] The main reason lies

20 Richard Ettinghausen, *La Peinture Arabe* (Tours, 1977), pp. 147–51.

FIGURE 11.2 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 5847, fol. 122v
PHOTO: © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

in the rigid style of Mamluk paintings and we can understand here that the painter of the MS Arabe 5847, al-Wasiti, is the main architect of these emotions through, using his skill to give life to his characters.

However, in the history of painting in the Arab-Muslim world, a certain change appears at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mainly due to the

artistic influences that arrived from the Far East through the contacts between the Ilkhanid of Persia and the Yuan of China. Thanks to the painting techniques introduced by foreign artists, mainly Chinese, the faces display a real sensitivity due to the virtuosity with which their features are drawn, expressing such emotions as pain, sadness, anguish, fear and joy.

These paradigm shifts are discussed first. And then, I dwell on the expression of certain types of emotions, mainly in the epic, and complete my overview with the representations of romantic feelings in epic poetry.

## 1 The Overturning of Socio-cultural Codes and the Intrusion of Emotion in Painting under the Ilkhans in Persia: The Case of Rashid al-Din's Universal History

The new conquerors of the Muslim world came from the Eurasian steppes, from different Siberian peoples united by Genghis Khan (1162–1227), founder of the Mongol nation. His children and grandchildren surged through central Asia into the Arab/Muslim world in the 1220s, and after subjugating Syria and Iraq, they put an end to the caliphate in 1258, executing the Abbasid caliph. Four Mongol khanates emerged in the late thirteenth century: that of Persia under the Ilkhans, that of central Asia under the Chagatayids, that of southern Siberia, the Golden Horde and finally the Yuan empire in China (1368). Thus, the book arts in Tabriz in Persia, benefited from artistic influences from China or even Rum (Byzantium), and certain corpuses such as Rashid al-Din's universal history were marked by this. Until their warlike exploits, destruction and massacres were set down in writing by chroniclers like the vizier and scholar Rashid al-Din (1247–1318), the only information we have appears in "The Secret History of the Mongols" and in the accounts of travellers, Plano Carpini and Rubrouck, which provide much precise ethnographic information.[21]

Regarding the emotions linked to the Mongols, history especially contrasts the memory of the government by terror via the merciless massacres perpetrated by their armies with the way in which Mongol Christian wives interceded to spare Christian communities. Another recorded feature of this period

21 Marie Massot, *Convaincre et être compris: étude comparée de trois récits de voyage du XIIIe siècle dans l'Empire mongol: Historia Mongalorum de Jean de Plancarpin, Itinerarium ad partes orientales de Guillaume de Rubrouck et Le Devisement du monde de Marco Polo* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Université catholique de Louvain, 2017). On Rubrouck, *Voyage dans l'Empire mongol, 1253–1255*: *Guillaume de Rubrouck, envoyé de Saint-Louis* trans. and eds. Claire Kappler, René Kappler. (Paris, 2019).

is the importance attached by the khans and their successors to family ties, and the desire to express this in pictures, in a concern for political legitimacy emanating from real or imagined dynastic lines.[22]

When the Mongols arrived in Syria and Persia in the mid-thirteenth century, as we have seen, the art of illumination was practised primarily in the western part of the Abbasid world, Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia.[23] Changes occurred gradually over half a century, notably in the manuscripts of universal history painted in the first third of the fourteenth century. These first corpora are fundamental for understanding how the art of the miniature developed with a certain stylistic continuity, as shown in the miniatures in a universal history painted in Tabriz at the beginning of the fourteenth century, *Athar al-baqiya'* or The Remaining Signs of Past Centuries.[24] The work is an annotated calendar of the celebrations of the different religious communities of the oriental world by the great scholar al-Bīrūnī (973–1048), who composed it some three centuries earlier.[25] In fact, the miniatures in this manuscript show scenes from the life of the prophet and from the Zoroastrian and Christian calendars that displays a kind of hybrid model between the forms inherited from the thirteenth century and those originating in the fourteenth century, notably in Chinese-style decoration. The scenes can be interpreted in a similar way to the *Maqamat* by Al-Wasiti particularly through an analysis of gestures.

Rashid al-Din's Universal History, also painted in Tabriz circa 1315–17, offers an interesting approach to the treatment of human figures. This work was written by vizier Rashid al-Din and painted on his instructions in order to trace the history of the world and the great dynasties up to the Mongols, whom the vizier, a literate physician, art lover and historian, then served.[26] The illustration, painted by several artists in his own workshop, is strongly marked by models taken from oriental Christian art (Jonah, the Annunciation), but also by Chinese art in the coloured lips, the treatment of landscapes and nature, and,

22 Anna Caiozzo, "La conception de la famille d'après la copie illustrée du Ǧāmi' al-tawārīḫ de Paris," *Annales Islamologiques* 47 (2013), 83–114.

23 See: Anna Contadini, *Arab Painting. Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts* (Leiden-Boston, 2007).

24 Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, MS Arab. 161, 1307/1308, Ilkhānid (al-Bīrūnī, *Athār al-baqiya'*).

25 Priscilla Soucek, *An Illustrated Manuscript of Nizami's Khamseh, 1386–1482* (New York, 1971), pp. 103–168; Robert Hillenbrand, "The Edinburgh Biruni Manuscript," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1–2 (2016), 171–99.

26 On the intellectual life and the painters and calligraphers of this period, see: Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines. Calligraphes et bibliophiles au temps des dynasties mongoles* (Leiden-Boston, 2018).

of course, by the detailed work on expressions and gestures. An onlooker can easily spot looks of suffering, pain and worry on the faces of the protagonists.[27]

Great dramatic events, whether political or religious, engage the viewer, who is captivated by a group of symbols: the hand and arm gestures of the audience, the open mouths of those condemned to death, the position of the lips, the facial expressions, or the blank faces, the gaze (wide eyes, looking down or away), straight or curved postures, the position of the head, etc.

The torture of Jirjīs (Saint George),[28] the death of King Saul[29] or even of the prophet Moses[30] are examples of strikingly dreadful scenes. In the first case, one sees the saint being taken for torture. In the other two cases, one is a suicide (the king kills himself by falling on his sword—his grimacing face shows the pain while his children's horror is shown in their expressions and hand gestures) and in the other, Moses lies on a mountain that envelops him like a shroud. His face is aged yet peaceful, but those close to him show their pain by wringing their hands.[31]

Admittedly, the appearance of the characters varies according to the painter who depicted them. Moreover, in contrast to the dramas and vicissitudes, many depictions are much more static and include no emotion. This is the case with the scenes of majesty of the Turkish Seljuk sultans, for example, to show the superiority of the sovereign whom nothing can disturb. Or, again, in the military scenes where the equipment (helmet) obscures the faces to emphasize the anonymity of the troops.

Numerous copies are known to have been made of this work, as the Diez albums in Berlin confirm.[32] The characters painted in this piece, however, are not as expressive as those in the Edinburgh and Royal Asiatic Society's manuscripts, mainly because only scenes of sovereignty remain, which confirms the hypothesis of the permanent impassibility of princes inaccessible to emotions within the framework of their functions. As we have already demonstrated, the king's body is perfect, and his mind remains outside common emotions, while the hero is doubly endowed with a mortal body, prey to violent emotions.[33]

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27 Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles* (London, 1995): EUL, MS Or. 20 on the website of the Edinburgh University library.

28 EUL, MS. Or.20, fol. 24r.

29 Sheila Blair, *A Compendium*: EUL,MS 727, fol. 56r, K34.

30 EUL, MS Or.20, fol.294 (Khalili Collection, MS. 727, fol. 54).

31 Mika Natif, "Rashid al-Din's Alter Ego: The Seven Paintings of Moses in the Jami al-Tawarikh," in *Rashid al-Din. Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, eds. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (London, 2013), pp. 15–37.

32 Julia Gonnella, *The Diez Albums: Contexts and Contents* (Leiden-Boston, 2016).

33 Anna Caiozzo, "Le sang du héros," *Annales islamologiques* 48/1 (2014), 135–57.

## 2 Firdawsi's Epic Poetry, or the Portrayal of Violent Emotions (Rage, Despair, Pain, and Sorrow)

Among all the illuminations of the Ilkhanid period, the work that best expresses the characters' emotions is the Great Mongol *Shahnameh*.[34] The years from 1300–1340 witnessed the emergence of a painted corpus first appearing under the Muzaffarids and frequently under the Jalayirids,[35] Firdawsi's *Shahnameh* (d. c. 1020), the famous *Book of Kings of Persia*.

A 12,000-verse poem originally composed by the poet Daqiqi (d. c. 980) for the Samanid dynasty, it was continued and completed circa 1020 by Firdawsi, who hoped that the Turkish ruler of Ghazna, Mahmud, would pay him fairly for it.[36] The poem recounts the history of humanity from the Creation down to the Muslim conquest of Persia; the narrative focuses on the rivalry between Iran and its Turanian north-eastern neighbour yet evokes personal relations between the kings and the family, relatives and vassals. The aim of the epic was likely to recall the grandeur of Iran and exalt national feeling as the Abbasid empire began to decline. Heroic deeds lie at the heart of its purpose, but love stories are also told, to make the warriors more vulnerable and human.

When the Persian miniaturists was hired to paint the fourteenth-century epic, it was during a time when the Mongols were at the height of their power. So, it is highly likely that he desired to show the virtues of the kings of Persia, faultless and undaunted: the king sits solemnly while the hero personifies humanity and its range of emotions.[37]

Several manuscripts were painted between 1300 and 1350, but there is no doubt that the Great Mongol *Shahnameh*, painted in the 1340s, is the best conveyor of that power because of how his emotions are portrayed. The

34 On the illustrations, see: Sheila Blair, Oleg Grabar, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago-London, 1980); Sheila Blair, "On the Track of the 'Demotteð Shāhnāma Manuscript'," in *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient. Essais de codicologie et de paléographie*, ed. François Déroche (Varia Turcica 8) (Istanbul—Paris 1989), 125–31; Sheila Blair, Jonathan Bloom, "Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Legacy of the Great Mongol Shahnama," *Islamic Art* 5 (2001), 41–52.

35 Bernard O'Kane, "The Iconography of the Shahnama, MS tarikh farisī 73, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo (796/1393–4)," *Shahnama Studies 1*, ed. Charles Melville (Cambridge, Eng. 2006), pp. 171–88.

36 Khaleghi-Motlagh, Djalal, "Ferdowsi, Abu'l-Qasem," in *Encyclopaedia iranica*, eds. Ehsan Yarshater, Iḥsān Yāršātir, 15 vols. (New York, 1999), 9/fasc. 5: 514–23.

37 Caiozzo, "Le sang du héros," 135–57.

manuscript has been thoroughly studied by scholars,[38] but it is rich in possible interpretations, and there are still various directions to be explored. The manuscript, originally made up of nearly 200 miniatures, was broken up and dispersed after 1910,[39] but the power of its painting is still striking. Moreover, it has a real intertextuality, as shown by A. Soudavar. In fact, in the epic, the scenes can be transposed to the context of disputes between members of the Mongol Ilkhan dynasty.[40]

These scenes are veritable tableaux in which every feature of the decoration, natural settings or characters helps to portray the atmosphere and the feelings of the hero. The emotions depicted include surprise, despair and resignation, anger and fear. Far from being distant from the text, on the contrary, these attitudes are in perfect symbiosis with the verses of the poet.

The scenes in which the hero's rage is expressed are remarkable because such expressiveness is no longer found after the fifteenth century, where features are more rigid, and gestures stylised. However, this does not mean that the Timurid or Turkmen period is devoid of emotions. The explicit gestures persisted, but the refined work on the features of the face disappeared as a sign of a change in style.

A famous example is that of Prince Bahram Gor and the concubine Azada.[41] The young woman ridiculed the prince's skill and ability at the chase and challenged him. Seeing the prince's cruelty to the gazelle, she called him a "demon" and, offended, he trampled her to death. All the painters and miniaturists show the hunter trampling the young woman without a glance, a scene of rare violence.[42] However, in the Great *Shahnameh*, the hunter's raised hand spurs on his mount, while both the beautiful face and closed eyes of the young woman being trampled under the camel's hooves as well as the panic of the gazelles portray the unfolding tragedy impressively.[43]

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38 Sheila Blair, Oleg Grabar, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol "Shahnama"* (Chicago-London, 1980).

39 Blair, "On the Track"; D. Brian, "A Reconstruction of the Miniature Cycles in the Demotte Shāh Nāmah," *Ars Islamica* 6 (1939), 97–102.

40 Abolala Soudavar, "The Saga of Abu-Sa'id Bahādor Khān," in *The Court of the Il-Khans 1290–1340*, eds. Julian Raby, Teresa Fitzherbert (Oxford, 1996), pp. 95–218.

41 Maria Vittoria Fontana, *La Leggenda a leggenda di Bahrām Gūr e Āzāda, materiale per la storia di una tipologia figurativa dalle origini al XIV secolo* (Naples, 1986).

42 Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Art Museum, MS 1919.130–1960.190, Tabriz, 1330–40, (1335); National Library of Russia, MS Dorn 329, fol. 258v ; BnF, MS Supplément persan 493, fol. 386r; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Or. fol. 4255, fol. 220r; BnF, Supplément persan 1280, fol. 386r.

43 Cambridge, Mass., Museum at Harvard University (Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Edward W. Forbes, 1957.193).

The most interesting scenes where emotions are expressed are undoubtedly those of wakes and funerals. In the Great Mongol *Shahnameh*, four funeral scenes are particularly interesting: the procession carrying the body of Prince Isfandiyar after his death in a duel with the hero Rustam, then that with the bodies of Rustam and his horse Rakhsh, the wake for Iskandar and the death of Prince Iraj, son of Farīdūn, one of the first kings of Persia.

The death of Iraj is certainly the most terrible scene as, having been murdered by his brothers, his head was sent to their father in a box. The arrival of the head is a scene of great emotional power: the father, Faridun, is supported by the women of the family as he tears the clothes from his chest and wails, his eyes distraught; the family cry and lower their heads, their eyes closed; the women are seen with their mouths open and wailing. Then the father sits down and takes the head on his knee as the prince's gardens are set on fire in a sign of mourning. This scene depicts the pre-Islamic Iranian tradition.[44]

The body language, the detailed faces, the grimaces and open mouths are also found in Iskandar's wake[45] and Isfandiyar's funeral. Here, the men have their robes open to expose their chests, some tear at themselves, pull their hair and wail, and in Isfandiyar's funeral procession, his horse has its tail cut off and bears the saddle backwards, as three cranes fly above to evoke the ascension of the soul. The Mongol tradition is visible here.

In the cortege carrying the bodies of Rustam and his horse, the atmosphere is completely different: the men are dressed in dark brown with small embroidered white skullcaps, like pious Muslims.[46] The procession is dignified, with no wailing or tears, but rather sombre, closed expressions. In short, they respect the tradition commended by the prophet, whereby tears must be restrained at funerals and the pre-Islamic wailing (such as that seen in a miniature of the *Maqamat*) is condemned.

Common features can be discerned in Iranian and Mongol practices: the cuts and scratches the mourners inflict on themselves, for example, or the dark blue or black clothes worn by mourners in contrast with Muslim mourning, symbolised by white. It should be noted that women are not present at official, public events except at the funerals of Mongol khans, where the wives watch

44 Farīdūn mourns by the Coffin of Iraj. Great Mongol (Demotte) Shahnama. Tabriz, Persia, c.1335. Ilkhānid Illustration. Washington, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1986.101. "The head of Iraj is brought to Farīdūn," Great Mongol (Demotte) Shahnama. Tabriz, Persia. Ilkhānid Illustration. Sackler Gallery, S1986.100.

45 The funeral of Isfandiyār, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1933, 33.70. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/448938>.

46 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MS 22.393.

over the body and accompany it to the place of burial. These codified gestures certainly do not indicate an absence of emotion, but they do show a certain way of expressing them in these circumstances.

Besides "negative" emotions, gestures of friendship and affection were portrayed in a more conventional manner. For example, when seeing Isfandiyar's son, Bahman, the hero Zal embraces him,[47] just like King Khosrow when seeing Zal many years before.[48] The mutual embrace is unambiguous about the feelings expressed here, something rare in an oriental court, where protocol is quite rigid.[49]

Nor are the emotions of people in general forgotten, as in fact the crowd, or the courtiers or even passers-by, can react to the violence or even strangeness of a particular scene. Thus, to indicate surprise the spectators put fingers to their lips.[50] This gesture, found in many situations, was inherited from a pre-Islamic protocol involving gestures of two kinds: the raised finger signifying adoration and respect for the king, as shown in the bas-relief of the priest Kardir under King Ardashir, or when one puts one's hand in front of the mouth in order not to sully the sacred flame.[51] This finger pointing to the mouth here indicates surprise or shock at a particularly unusual, shocking or improper situation. This is the case for King Ardashir who discovered that his wife was about to poison him.[52] Spectators before the body of Mani hang from a palm tree,[53] subjects of King Kawus were shocked when he took flight, witnesses to the murder of Iraj by his brothers, and so on.[54] Thus, ordinary emotions are not always decipherable without understanding the text and context.

Undoubtedly, trying situations produced emotions most clearly, as mentioned above regarding funerals. The reaction to death is, in fact, far from the

47 Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1971–107/1, 2, 3, Tabriz, 1335–40.

48 Toronto, Aga Khan, MS 2005.1.20–22 (Ir.M. 2/0-2B), fol. 3r; MET, MS 1974.290.1–42, 2003.330.1–7, fol. 10 r; Patna, Khuda Bakhsh, MS ACC 1243–1244, fol. 100r.

49 Anna Caiozzo, "La conception de la famille d'après la copie illustrée du Ǧāmi' al-tawārīḫde Paris (BnF, supplément persan 1113)," *Annales islamologiques* 47 (2013) [Dossier "Histoires de famille," ed. Julien Loiseau], 83–114 <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/anisl/047/04/>.

50 Anna Caiozzo, "Percevoir l'altérité et le malheur d'autrui, remarques sur l'expression des émotions," in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, eds. Piroska Nagy, Damien Boquet (Paris, 2009), pp. 415–32.

51 Richard Frye, *Gestures of Deference to Royalty in Ancient Iran* (Leiden-Boston, 1972), pp. 102–07.

52 Washington, Foundation for Government Accountability, Henri Vever collection, S1986.106, Tabriz, 1335–40, fol. 184r.

53 Shāpūr executes Mani, Great Mongol *Shāh nāma.* Tehran, Reza Abbasi Collection, fol. 195v.

54 See above note 50.

spontaneity one might expect; the gestures of despair, grief and sorrow are all codified by cultural rites or practises. In the epic, a wide variety of body language can be found that reflects the cultural practises of the different groups living in medieval Persia. These included the Turco-Mongols, Iranians, and orthodox Muslims. The circumstances are not, in fact, a determining factor in producing a typology of emotion at each different stage of the event: from the bad news to receiving the body, the wake and the procession to the cemetery, the body language changes little.[55]

## 3 Amorous Feelings in Nizami

While political intrigue takes centre stage in Firdawsi, the presence of women is nevertheless important, and it plays a certain role in the unfolding of the fate of some princes. However, some copies of the *Book of Kings of Persia* painted in the fifteenth century, such as the BnF MS Supplément persan 493 or the BnF MS Supplément persan 494, conceal their presence, at least in the illumination.

In Firdawsi's text, the expression of amorous emotions is often implied, even if the role of women is important, as in the case of anger or sorrow. In fact, unlike that of men, except in the case of funerals, the women's behaviour is very discreet in the illustrations of the *Shahnameh* mainly devoted to the exploits of heroes and kings. It is a situation that shows affection, attachment, devotion or amorous passion.[56] Nevertheless, amorous feelings are the driving force in several famous passages of the epic. These include the trial by ordeal of Siyavush provoked by his stepmother's jealousy, followed by his exile and tragic end, or the story of two young people, Bijan and Manijeh, who flout taboos and conventions, and their terrible punishment; or that of Zal and Rudabeh, a couple who symbolises loving happiness, whose story is one of love at first sight between a white-haired young man, son of King Sam of Zabulistan, and the daughter of a vassal of the king of Turan. To join the maiden in her apartments, he has no hesitation in using her long hair as an improvised rope![57] Thereafter,

55 For a typology of types of behaviour at funerals in the Persian and Turkish worlds: Anna Caiozzo, "Les larmes du héros, mythes et rites dans l'épopée orientale," in *Mythes, rites et émotions, les funérailles sur la Route de la soie*, ed. Anna Caiozzo (Paris, 2016), pp. 217–242.

56 Olga Davidson, "Women's Lamentations as Protest in the 'Shâhnâma'," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York, 1998), pp. 131–146; Firuza Abdullaeva, "Women in the Romances of the Shāhnāma," in *Love and Devotion: from Persia and Beyond*, ed. S. Scollay (London-Melbourne, 2012), pp. 41–48.

57 BnF, Supplément persan 1122, fol. 34v, Zāl & Rūdāba.

miniaturists portrayed the couple seated on the same throne, even entwined to show their mutual affection. Zal and Rudabeh symbolise not only marital love but the freedom to choose one's spouse and avoid arranged marriages.[58]

On the other hand, the power of amorous feelings in Nizami's epic poetry is highlighted by miniaturists, from love at first sight to the wedding night, if one considers Khosrow and Shirin in the Timurid or Turkmen versions of the fifteenth century[59] as shown in the miniatures in certain manuscripts in the French National Library (Persan 362,[60] Supplément persan 1112[61] and Supplément persan 578).[62]

Certain scenes are copied again and again by painters as a kind of obligation, like the meeting between Khosrow and Shirin: seeing the half-naked young woman bathing in a river, the prince instantly falls in love, petrified on his horse.[63] (Figure 11.3) The scene is also celebrated because it shows the young woman's body and because it highlights the role of the gaze as a factor in stirring emotions. As Mohammed Benkheira says, one's eyes are the window of one's soul and desire, and therefore—in Islam—sin enters through them, hence the need to cover up the body that is the object of sin.[64]

Later in the story, Shirin falls in love with Khosrow through a portrait the painter surreptitiously places against a tree in the meadow where she and her followers stop. There, the painter observes the effect of the portrait on the young woman, acting as an object of fascination and plunging her into a state of agitation (Figure 11.4).[65]

Their third meeting occurs at the pavilion in Qasr-e Shirin where the prince, although years later, comes to court her. He enters the garden and looks up at his beloved, a scene all the miniaturists use, transposing it to the great love stores, such as the Persian prince Humay and the Chinese princess Humayun, the concubine Gulnar and the Sassanian prince Ardashir and finally the

58 Anna Caiozzo, "Les femmes dans la culture visuelle du Shāhnāma, de Firdawsī: entre mythes, imaginaire et pratiques sociales," *Hawwa and the Islamic World* 17/2–3 (2019), 168–196.

59 Jerusalem, Israel National Museum, 0.s.B77.10.4059, Shiraz, 1485. <https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/301770>.

60 BnF, supplément persan 362, Hérat, 1400–1440, notice 43; Richard Francis, *Splendeurs Persanes* (Paris, 1997), p. 78.

61 BnF, supplément persan 1112, Shiraz, 1450–1460, notice 47; Richard Francis, *Splendeurs*, p. 82.

62 BnF, Supplément persan 578, Shiraz, 1504.

63 BnF, Supplément persan 1112, fol. 17r; BnF, supplément persan 362, fol. 14v; Richard, *Splendeurs*, p. 79, n. 43.

64 Benkheira, *L'amour de la loi.*

65 BnF, Persan 362, fol. 12r; Supplément persan 578, fol. 67v; Supplément persan 1112, fol. 12v.

FIGURE 11.3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Persan 362, fol. 14v
PHOTO: © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

FIGURE 11.4 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Persan 362, fol. 12r
PHOTO: © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

Armenian concubine Shirin and the Sassanian prince Khosrow. The tower is the metaphor for the effort the suitor must make when, after entering the garden of delights, he must still conquer his beloved—a perfect metaphor for the amorous quest.[66]

Finally, the marriage and the festivities take place. The couple are presented on a platform showing their feelings in public as Khosrow is by then a widower after the death of his first wife, a Byzantine princess. The wedding night is publicly displayed to the readers and to the court in some versions, where one sees the culmination of the amorous quest in physical union.[67] This scene precedes

66 BnF, Supplément persan 1112, fol. 53r; On Nīzāmī's works: *A Key to the Treasure of the Hakīm: Artistic and Humanistic Aspects of Nizāmī Ganjavī's Khamsa*, eds. Johann-Christoph Bürgel, Christine van Ruymbeke (Leiden-Boston, 2011).

67 BnF, Supplément persan 1112, fol. 69r; Persan 362, fol. 51v.

the final, most tragic one, Khosrow's murder in his bed beside Shirin and her suicide as she embraces his tomb.[68]

Thus, Nizami's tale tells of the most violent feelings and emotions produced by passionate love through looks as well as body language, leaving no room for ambiguity for his contemporary readers. Indeed, great love stories all involve the same amorous dialectic: the meeting, the quest and conquest of the beloved, the obstacles raised by society and encountered by the couple, liberation by consent and the celebration of the union. Each story falls into a pre-defined scheme that exalts a particular kind of emotion: love at first sight, fascination with the beloved, deception, joyful reunion, then the despair of separation, episodes working in the reader as a catharsis of love and passion, offered by a combination of the poetic text and the performative illustrations or tableaux that accompany it.[69]

The expression of emotions is part of miniature art from the earliest literary corpuses to the thirteenth century. The portrayal of society accompanied the joys and dramas of ordinary life as expressed in the body language or context. In the fourteenth century, the Chinese style conveyed meaning through details of faces: pain, surprise and fear were then shown to the reader through the interplay of looks. Thus, epic poetry really does become a kind of catalogue of emotions, depending on the situation, where a wide array of human passions personified in the characters. The success of the interaction between the viewer/reader and the hero depends on the talent of the illustrators. However, in a multi-ethnic society, emotions were sometimes expressed according to different codes. This is the case of pain, which was not portrayed in the same way in different periods or cultural settings, with Islam, Iranian traditions and those of the Mongols all having their own features.

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68 Anna Caiozzo, "Des femmes, des héros et des peintres," *Journal Asiatique* 2 (2015), 247–58.

69 On the function of the images, see: Anna Caiozzo, "Un prince et sept princesses. Une miniature pour dire le monde et le destin de l'âme," in *Savoirs et fictions dans les littératures romanes*, eds. Barbara Marczuk, Joanna Gorecka-Kalita, Agniezka Kocik, (Krakow, 2014), pp. 77–95.

# PART 5

## *Expressing or Using Emotions on Trial*

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CHAPTER 12

# Emotions in the Middle Ages as Reflected in Legal Sources. Shame, Anger, Male Identity and Female Adultery

*Iñaki Bazán Díaz*

## 1 A *New-Old* History of Emotions?[1]

Ever since Post-Modernism tried to replace the structural history of Modernity by focusing on subjective experience, many new ways of thinking about, studying and explaining history have contributed to maintaining the discipline in a state of permanent crisis and change: the *linguistic turn*, the *cultural turn*, the *biographical turn*,[2] the *spatial turn*,[3] the *tournant critique* of the *Annales* school[4] and, more recently, the *affective turn* or *emotional turn*.

Emotions (feelings, affections, passions, moods) affect thought, behaviour and individual and collective choices. As cultural constructions, emotions have historicity—that is, they have a place in history. For this reason, historians are interested in exploring and reconstructing the emotional dimension of the experience of past men and women, in the same way that anthropologists observe this in contemporary societies worldwide. In addition to political, economic and social historical processes, this approach to history investigates the emotional components of human behaviour, without which no complete

1 This work has been carried out within the framework of research project "Violencia y transformaciones sociales en el nordeste de la Corona de Castilla (1200–1525)," funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (PID2021-124356NB-I00), and research group "Sociedad, poder y cultura (siglos XIV–XVIII)" (IT1465-22) sponsored by the Basque Government.

2 Hans Renders, Binne De Haan, Jonne Harmsma, *The Biographical Turn. Lives in History* (London-New York, 2017).

3 The study of history based on place and space. See, for instance: Berney Warf and Santa Arias, eds., *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London, 2008); Fernando Quesada, "El giro espacial. Conquista y fetiche," *Revista Europea de Investigación en Arquitectura* 5 (2016), 155–70; Fernando Arias, Pascual Martínez Sopena, eds., *Los espacios del rey. Poder y territorio en las monarquías hispánicas* (*siglos XII–XIV*) (Bilbao, 2018).

4 "Histoire et sciences sociales. Un tournant critique?," *Annales Economie, sociétés, civilisations* 43/2 (1988), 291–93; Carlos Barros, "El 'tournant critique' de Annales," *Revista d'Història Medieval* 2 (1991), 193–97.

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interpretation of human behaviour is possible, for emotions are the framework within which sociability and relationships are developed.

A brief historiographical survey will lead us to the isolated studies of a trio of authors who laid the foundations of the historical study of emotions: Johan Huizinga, Lucien Febvre and Norbert Elias.[5] Huizinga is the author of the magnificent *The Waning of the Middle Ages*,[6] published in 1919. In this seminal work, he analysed the artistic depictions of emotions in France and the Netherlands in the Late Middle Ages, while arguing that, during this period, behaviour was ruled by violent emotions and uncontrolled passions (wrath, revenge, fear and mercy).

In 1941, Lucien Febvre wrote a paper entitled "La sensibilité et l'histoire," in which he demanded an alliance between history and psychology for the historical study of emotions. According to Febvre, a comprehensive history could not be constructed unless emotions were taken into consideration: "We have no history of love […]. We do not have a Death story. We have no history of Pity, nor of Cruelty either. We do not have the story of Joy."[7] Both Febvre and Marc Bloch had been directly exposed to the anthropology of Lucien Levy-Bruhl,[8] the psychology of Charles Blondel[9] and the sociology of Emile Durkheim,[10] all of whom argued that emotions constituted the primary experience of individuals in primitive societies.

Finally, Norbert Elias[11] developed a lineal historical model to explain the increasing control of emotional responses, the internalisation of new forms of

5 We could, however, go further back, for instance to 1668, when Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), court painter for Louis XIV, gave a lecture in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture about the pictorial representation of emotions. In this lecture, later published by his disciples, he presented a catalogue of emotions and their morphological representation and talked about the way to express them in drawing. Charles Le Brun, *L'expression des passions*, ed. Julian Philipe (Paris, 1994).

6 Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (London, 1972).

7 "*Nous n'avons pas d'histoire de l'Amour* […]. *Nous n'avons pas d'histoire de la Mort. Nous n'avons pas d'histoire de la Pitié, ni non plus de la Cruauté. Nous n'avons pas l'histoire de la Joie.*" Lucien Febvre, "La sensibilité et l'histoire: comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?," *Annales d'Histoire Sociale* 3 (1941), 5–20. In 1961, Febvre published *L'Introduction à la France moderne: essai de psychologie historique* (Paris, 1961).

8 Lucien Levy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (Paris, 1910); *La mentalité primitive* (Paris, 1922), among others.

9 Charles Blondel, *La mentalité primitive* (Paris, 1926).

10 Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, first published in 1912 (New York, 1955).

11 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, (Oxford, 1994) (first edition, 1939).

expression and the regulation of affective expressions, feelings and behaviour. We shall come back to these ideas shortly.

Other authors, for their part, follow Peter Burke and argue that "never, [to date] has a history of emotions been made. […] Or at least, the right kind of history of emotions."[12] This statement, however, must be modified to include French historiography. Indeed, the third generation of the *Annales* school developed a programme for a *History of Mentalities*, following the path laid out by Lucien Febvre.[13] This approximation to history assumed questions developed by other disciplines, such as anthropology, and incorporated new subject matters, such as "collective behaviours and gestures regarding life and death, beliefs and rituals, educational models, etc."[14] One of the pioneers of this new historical avenue was Philippe Ariès,[15] who studied the emotional component of childhood[16] and love within marriage.[17]

Focusing on the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age, the history-of-mentalities approach, that is, the investigation of historical perspectives that focus on different ways of feeling and behaving with regard to life and death, is heavily indebted to authors such as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, who analysed the lives of the residents of an Occitan hamlet threatened by the Inquisition in

12 Quoted by: Juan Manuel Zaragoza, "Historia de las emociones: una corriente historiográfica en expansión," *Asclepio* 65/1, (2013), <http://asclepio.revistas.csic.es/index.php/asclepio/article/view/547/571> (accessed: 8 June 2018).

13 Georges Duby, "L'Histoire des mentalités," *L'Histoire et ses méthodes*, ed. Charles Samaran (Paris, 1961), pp. 937–66; Robert Mandrou, "L'Histoire des mentalités," *Encyclopedia Universalis*, ed. Claude Gregory, 20 vols. (Boulogne-Billancourt, 1968), 8:436–38; Georges Duby, "Histoire sociales et histoire des mentalités. Le Moyen Âge," *Aujourd'hui l'Historie*, ed. Jacques Berque (Paris, 1974), pp. 201–17; Jacques Le Goff, "Les mentalités. Une histoire ambiguë," *Faire de l'Histoire*, eds. Jacques Le Goff, Pierre Nora, 3 vols. (Paris, 1974) 3:76–94; Philippe Ariès, "L'Histoire des mentalités," *La Nouvelle Histoire*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1978), pp. 402–23; Roger Chartier, "Outillage mental," *La Nouvelle Historie*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1978), pp. 448–52.

14 "*Los comportamientos y gestos colectivos con respecto a la vida y la muerte, las creencias y los rituales, los modelos educativos, etcétera.*" Roger Chartier, *El mundo como representación. Estudios sobre historia cultural* (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 26–27. The quotation may be found in the first chapter, entitled "Histoire intellectuelle et histoire des mentalités: trajectoires et questions," previously published in: *Revue de synthèse* 111–12 (1983), 277–307.

15 In 1978, Ariès was appointed academic director of l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, leading a seminar entitled *Histoire des mentalités*.

16 Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1973) (first edition, 1960).

17 Philippe Ariès, "El amor en el matrimonio," in *Sexualidades occidentales*, eds. Philippe Ariès, André Béjin (Barcelona, 1987), pp. 116–22 (first edition: Philippe Ariès, "L'amour dans le mariage," *Communications* 35 [Dossier "Sexualités occidentales," eds. Philippe Ariès, André Béjin] (1982), pp. 116–122.

its search for Cathar heretics;[18] Jean Delumeau, who studied fear in the transition between the Middle and Modern Ages;[19] Jean-Louis Flandrin, who, in the 1970s and 1980s, examined love, sexual desire and the ideological control of the Church over these feelings;[20] and Robert Muchembled, who investigated violence and feelings of insecurity in the region of Artois.[21] All these works reflect communities in which emotions, be they fear, insecurity, wrath, anger, pain or suffering, are unbridled and expressed uninhibitedly.[22] All of these emotions played a central role in the everyday sociability of these communities. Although they may appear to have been out of control, this was not the case; instead, they responded to well-established behavioural codes, with references to magical and superstitious beliefs and to the notions of violence, honour, etc.

The French approach to the history of mentalities, however, eventually began to exhaust itself and started losing adherents in the 1980s. The approach came under harsh criticism for its ambiguity, for acting as a trump card in historical explanation, for over-emphasising quantitative data (*third level* of serial history), for adopting an inter-classist stance, for being difficult to translate into other languages, for generating confusion, etc.[23] Another reason for the abandonment of this approach was the general retreat of the postulates put forward by the *Annales* school, the result of the emergence of a new postmodernist paradigm and its reaction against structuralism, global history, historical materialism, and the relegation of cultural phenomena to the third level of civilisation. We might also add that, since the beginning of the Internet era, French culture has lost ground vis-à-vis the English-speaking world. Important contributions to this debate about the boundaries of the history-of-mentalities approach and the emergence of other historiographical paradigms are the Italian Carlo Ginzburg's micro-historical approach[24] and the cultural history

18 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975).

19 Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident* (*XIVe–XVIIIe siècles*) (Paris, 1978).

20 For instance, Jean-Louis Flandrin, *L'Église et le contrôle des naissances* (Paris, 1970); *Les Amours paysannes XVI XIX siècles* (Paris, 1975).

21 Robert Muchembled, *La violence au village* (*XVe–XVIIe siècles*) (Brussels, 1989).

22 According to Lucien Febvre, the study of these feelings was essential for a history of emotions that accounted for fear and the human desire for safety. Lucien Febvre, "Pour l'histoire d'un sentiment: le besoin de sécurité," *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 11/2 (1956), 244–47.

23 For problems related to the history of mentalities, see: Geoffrey E. R. Lloyd, *Demystifying Mentalities* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990); French translation: *Pour en finir avec les mentalités* (Paris, 1996); Iñaki Bazán, "La historia social de las mentalidades y la criminalidad," in *Historia a debate*, ed. Carlos Barros, 4 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1995) 2:85–102.

24 "That which has characterised studies of the history of mentalities has been their insistence on the inert, obscure, unconscious elements in a given world view. Survivals,

work of the North American, Robert Darnton.[25] These new ideas led many scholars away from the history of mentalities approach, including Jacques Le Goff, who was one of its original proponents and who thereafter focused on the historical, cultural and symbolic anthropology of the Middle Ages.[26] Something similar happened with Georges Duby, who substituted the notion of "ideology" for that of "mentality."[27]

As such, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed the emergence of a French "cultural turn" ("*tournant culturel à la française*"), a way out of the history of mentalities that was, at the same time, different from the North American takes on *cultural history*, as well as from the *linguistic turn* and from *cultural studies.*[28] Authors such as Roger Chartier and Alain Corbin, who were heavily influenced by such thinkers as Foucault, De Certeau, Bourdieu and Goffman, are significant proponents of this *tournant culturel.* Chartier was not satisfied with the traditional history-of-mentalities approach, and focused on a social history of representation, moving from a social history of culture to a cultural history of society, in which sexual, generational and religious differences were prominent variables for textual exegesis. According to Chartier, societies must be understood—"decipher societies in another way" ("*descifrar de otra manera las sociedades*")—as a culturally-constructed collective *representation*, by which

archaisms, the emotional, the irrational: all these are included in the specific field of the history of mentalities, setting it off from such related and established disciplines as the history of ideas or the history of culture (which, however, for some scholars encompasses both of the preceding). To discuss Menocchio's case only within the limits of the history of mentalities would mean downgrading the strong rational element which is not necessarily identifiable with our own rationality) in his vision of the world. But an even more crucial argument against following the methods of the history of mentalities is its decidedly classless character." Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, 1992), p. XXIII.

25 This author (Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984)), has pointed out that cultural history, understood from an anthropological point of view, already included the analysis of collective worldviews and mentalities. See: Robert Darnton, "Intellectual and cultural history," in *The past before us: contemporary historical writing in the United States*, ed. Michael Kammer (Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 337.

26 From the outset, Jacques Le Goff detected problems in the history of mentalities approach as originally conceived, and sought ways to het round them. Jacques Le Goff, "Les mentalités. Une histoire ambiguë," in *Faire de l'histoire*, ed. Jacques Le Goff et Pierre Nora, 3 vols. (Paris, 1974), 3: 76–94.

27 Georges Duby, *L'histoire continue* (Paris, 1990); Jacques Le Goff, "Georges Duby (1919–1996)," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 40 (1997), 199–209.

28 Philippe Porrier, *Les enjeux de l'Histoire culturelle* (Paris, 2004).

individuals and groups make sense of the world that is their own.[29] For his part, Alain Corbin, who is considered to be Lucien Febvre's heir, has revamped the history of mentalities by using the ideas of Michel Foucault and Norbert Elias,[30] emphasising the role of sensitivity and social imaginaries. Corbin's successor at the University of Paris I (Sorbonne), Dominique Kalifa, also stressed the role of the subjective sensitivities, values, beliefs, imaginaries and experiences of social agents.[31] These arguments form the basis of French cultural history. The Brazilian historian, Nádia Maria Weber Santos, has pointed out that the study of sensitivities is "a branch of the Cultural History" (*una vertiente de la Historia Cultural*,") which allows historians to factor in "emotions of others, a non-rational way of apprehending the world, express sensitive and subjective representations of the world" that reflect "personal historical experience" of historical agents. This experience reveals "feelings, ideas, fears, desires and a whole range of 'representations of the sensible'."[32]

On the other hand, the late twentieth century, but even more so the early years of the twenty-first century, witnessed the emergence of a *new history of emotions* in the United States that was pitched against the *old history of emotions* advocated by the *Annales* school and its *history of mentalities.* This movement spread to Europe not long after its conception. Why are historians turning to emotion? Jan Plamper has claimed that it could be related to the emotional impact of September 11th.[33] Another factor could be the impact of so-called *emotional intelligence*, which is increasingly considered to have a direct effect on well-being and performance in many fields, from economics to sport.[34] In this regard, in 2002, UNESCO

29 "*por la cual los individuos y los grupos den sentido al mundo que les es propio.*" Chartier, *El mundo como representación*, p. 49. These ideas were first presented in: Roger Chantier, "Le monde comme representation," *Annales. Économies, sociétés, Civilisations* 44/6 (1989), 1505–20.

30 Alain Corbin, "'Le vertige des foisonnements'. Esquisse panoramique d'une histoire sans nom," *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine* 39 (1992), 103–26.

31 Dominique Kalifa, "L'Histoire culturelle contre l'historie sociale?," in *L'Histoire culturelle du comtemporaine*, eds. Laurent Martin, Sylvain Venayre (Paris, 2005), pp. 75–84.

32 "*emociones de los otros, una forma no racional de aprehender el mundo, expresa representaciones sensibles y subjetivas del mundo*"; "*experiencia histórica personal*"; "*emociones, sentimientos, ideas, temores, deseos y toda una gama de 'representaciones de lo sensible.'*" Nádia Maria Weber Santos, "¿Ficción en los archivos? Fragmentos caleidoscópicos de narrativas en procesos judiciales: fuentes para la historia de las sensibilidades. Porto Alegre, Brazil, 1980–1982," *Revista Historia y Justicia* 1 (2013), 10.

33 Jan Plamper, "Historia de las emociones: caminos y retos," *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 36 (2014), 21.

34 Daniel Goleman, *Emotional Intelligence* (New York, 1996).

launched a 10-point initiative to improve academic and socio-emotional learning.[35]

As argued by Peter Burke[36] and Juan Manuel Zaragoza,[37] among others, for this *emotional turn* that has emerged in the English-speaking countries over the last two decades to become a recognisable analytical framework capable of successfully addressing its subject of study, several conditions must be met: it needs to become more precisely defined, to clearly establish its sources and to develop its methodology with well-outlined analytical categories, which must play a role similar to that once played by *social class* or *genre*. This is something that, ultimately, the *history of mentalities* never achieved. In this subject of study, more than in any other, the historian needs to establish a relationship of dialogue with psychology, for which emotions are innate and prior to intentions, meanings and beliefs. The objective must be to combine biologicist and culturalist approaches so they complement one another, overcoming the difficulties that have, to date, precluded the coexistence of both perspectives.[38]

Among the analytical categories that are being developed to deal with emotions in history, we will highlight those put forward by Peter N. and Carol Z. Stearns, Barbara H. Rosenwein and William Reddy. In 1985, Peter N. and Carol Z. Stearns coined the expression *emotionology* to express the sense that all historical societies possessed normative systems to regulate emotional behaviour and the expression of emotion.[39] The medievalist Barbara H. Rosenwein developed the idea of *emotional community* as a tool for historical analysis.[40] All societies operate in a state of emotional pluralism, crystallised in different *emotional communities*, be they families, guilds, monastic communities, etc. These *communities* have their own norms and ways of expressing emotion, which help members of the community to recognise one another. However, each *emotional community* has its own take on the emotions of society at large; some may be accepted or even positively appraised, others will be rejected. Finally, William Reddy proposed the concepts of *emotive*, *emotional regime*

35 Maurice J. Elias, *Aprendizaje académico y socio-emocional* (Bruselas, 2003).

36 Peter Burke, "Is There a Cultural History of the Emotions?" in *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music and Medicine*, eds. Penelope Gouk, Helen Hills (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 35–48.

37 Plamper, "Historia de las emociones."

38 Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and methods in the history of emotions," *Passions in context: International Journal for the History and Theory of Emotions* 1 (2010): <https://www.passionsincontext.de/index.php/?id=557> (accessed: 22 March 2019).

39 Peter Stearn, Carol Stearn, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* 90/4 (1985), 813–36.

40 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006).

and *emotional refuge.*[41] The first of these notions refers to emotion-reflecting acts, such as speech. The second alludes to the set of emotional norms and rituals that the ruling group in every society imposes upon the rest in order to lend stability to the prevailing political regime. Reddy adds that, when this imposition becomes too heavy, those under it create an *emotional refuge*. From this perspective, emotional suffering can be considered an agent of historical change. Rosenwein admits that the concept of *emotional regime* works better for the Modern Age, with the emergence of state-led structures of censure and control, than for the Middle Ages, although she still sees value in the concept for medieval studies. For instance, she thinks that the notion of *emotional regime* can be made compatible with that of *emotional community*, insofar as the emotional community dominates the emotional norms that bind most of society.[42]

Clear evidence of the success of the *history of emotions* are the numerous research centres that are currently pursuing this subject, including the *Research Center History of Emotions* at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development, the *Centre for the History of the Emotions* at Queen Mary University of London, the *Amsterdam Centre for Cross-Disciplinary Emotion and Sensory Studies* and the *Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions* (Perth). Publications abound, such as the work by Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiévale.*[43] Further evidence of the development of this historiographical approach is the fact that conspectuses are already available, such as Jan Plamper's.[44]

41 William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, Eng., 2001).

42 Rosenwein, "Problems and methods in the history of emotions," p. 22.

43 Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiévale* (Paris, 2015).

44 Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions. An Introduction* (Oxford, 2015). Much work is also being carried out in Spain. Between 2011 and 2013, Javier Moscoso of the Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas led a research project entitled *Epistemología histórica: estilos emocionales y comunidades en los siglos XIX y XX*. In 2013, Stéphan Michonneau, Juan Pro directed a Ph.D. workshop in Casa de Velázquez under the title *Emociones: ¿un giro en Historia y Humanidades?* In 2014, the journal *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, published by the Universidad Complutense (Madrid), dedicated a special issue to the history of emotions, under the direction of Carolina Rodríguez-López. In 2015 the journal *Vínculos de Historia*, published by the Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, produced a dossier entitled *History of Emotions*. And in 2018 it was published the book: Luisa Elena Delgado, Pura Fernández, Jo Labanyi, eds., *La cultura de las emociones y las emociones en la cultura española contemporánea* (*siglos XVIII–XXI*) (Madrid, 2018).

Despite all of these terminological and methodological innovations, some scholars still follow the "old" model proposed by the *Annales* school, for instance Jean Delumeau from his chair in the *Histoire des mentalités religieuses* at the Collège de France. Delumeau has examined fear, the feeling of safety and dreams of happiness. In a recent work, he has argued that:

> The term "mentalities" is a matter of discussion, and I am the first to make the criticisms my own [...], I have avoided entering into semantic debates on the term "mentalities." I just want to point out that the word is convenient for designating feelings and behaviors that are sufficiently significant on a collective level.[45]

Hervé Martin expresses himself in similar terms: 'Mentalités' is a beautiful term, very evocative [...] this word has aged, but aged well, like the great wines"; "rather to the depths of collective psychology, to the slow intellectual, affective, imaginary and behavioural sedimentations.[46]

The heirs of the *Annales* school's original *history of mentalities*, the approach towards sensitivity and feelings proposed by Lucien Febvre (although updated in the historiographical renewal launched by the so-called *cultural history*), are Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine and Georges Vigarello, authors of the ambitious *Histoire des emotions.*[47] For these authors, emotions reflect a culture and an epoch, and respond "to a context, adopts a profile of sensitivity, translates a way of living and existing, itself dependent on a precise, singular environment, orienting the affect and its intensities."[48]

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45 "*el término 'mentalidades' es materia de discusión, y soy el primero en hacer mías las críticas* [...]*, he evitado entrar en debates semánticos sobre el término 'mentalidades'. Sólo quiero señalar que la palabra es cómoda para designar sentimientos y comportamientos suficientemente significativos en un plano colectivo*." Jean Delumeau, "La religión y el sentimiento de seguridad en las sociedades de antaño," in *Historiografía francesa. Corrientes temáticas y metodológicas recientes*, eds. Hira de Gortari, Guillermo Zermeño (Mexico City, 2000). Consulted version: Open Edition Books, 2013, paragraphs 3 and 4, <https://books.openedition.org/cemca/610?lang=es>.

46 "*'mentalités' est un beau terme, très évocateur* [...] *ca vocable a vieilli, mais bien vieilli, comme les grands cruz"; mentalities appeal "plutôt aux profondeurs de la psychologie collective, aux lentes sédimentations intellectuelles, affectives, imaginaires et comportementales.*" Hervé Martin, *Mentalités médiévales. Répresentations collectives du XIe au XVe siècle,* 2 vols. (Paris, 2001), 2: VI and 236.

47 Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, Georges Vigarello, eds. Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, Georges Vigarello, eds. *Histoire des emotions*, 3 vols. (Paris, 2016)..

48 "*À un contexte, épuse un profil de sensibilité, traduit une manière de vivre et d'exister, elle-même dépendante d'une milieu précis, singulier, orientant l'affect et leurs intensités*." Alain

From these perspectives, *emotional behaviours* and *emotional discourses* have become a fascinating historical subject: emotion-led behaviours and discourses (the subjective experience of historical agents), their construction, expression, representation and evolution over time. Emotions, apart from triggering a physiological and cognitive response in the individual, also bring about social responses, activated by the interaction of individuals in a given social context. A clear example is the expression of bereavement after the death of a loved one, and the attempts, from the thirteenth century onwards, to control these emotions by channelling them through the conduits of Christian culture. Excessive gestures of mourning were forbidden as a pagan expression which was very much at odds with the Christian belief in the resurrection of the soul.[49] We must try to understand how societies raise emotionally competent individuals by inhibiting or stimulating emotions and feelings, which can be considered positive or negative, through the application of such mechanisms as morals, confession, education and the penal system. This creates models of social normalisation that frame emotions within the parameters of an *emotional community* or *regime*.

## 2 Emotions and Judicial Sources

Judicial sources allow the historian of emotions to take a look at context, without which establishing information about emotions is impossible. As pointed out by José Carlos Bermejo, "it is not possible to study feelings if there is no narrative that tells who feels what, when and how they do it."[50]

The use of judicial sources must overcome a set of epistemological problems, among which we will highlight two.[51] The first is related to hermeneutics,

Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, Georges Vigarello, "Introduction," in. *Histoire des emotions*, Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, Georges Vigarello, eds. 3 vols. (Paris, 2016), 1:7.

49 César González Mínguez, Iñaki Bazán Díaz, eds., *El discurso legal ante la muerte durante la Edad Media en el nordeste peninsular* (Bilbao, 2006).

50 "*No es posible estudiar los sentimientos si no existe una narración que cuente quién siente qué, cuándo y cómo lo hace.*" José Carlos Bermejo, "La nostalgia de las cosas, la arqueología de los sentimientos y el trampantojo foucaultiano," *Memoria y Civilización* 19 (2016), 398.

51 Judicial sources, especially in the Middle and the Modern Ages, present other epistemological problems which we are not going to go into at present, including the often difficult palaeography and diplomatic structure of documents; the understanding of the *iter procesal*; problems in the preservation of the records; and, the existence of multiple and overlapping jurisdictions.

and it ultimately alludes to the impossibility of reaching historical truth, a sceptical stance which has gained ground with the advent of post-modernism. The second problem refers to the representativeness of the cases on record. Are these cases representative of the society in which they occurred, or are they exceptional? This paradox has been defined from the field of micro-history as *normal exceptionality*.

Concerning the hermeneutical problem, we might ask up to what point we can know or reconstruct the truth of the facts on the basis of a forensic record. Can we consider what is in the judicial record as truthful or valid? In the late 1980s, Natalie Zemon Davis pointed out, in her study of pardon letters in sixteenth century France, that judicial documents drew a link between history and fiction. These letters to the king tried to induce the monarch to concede a pardon by presenting him with an *ad hoc* narrative.[52] As such, *a priori*, judicial sources do not seem to be excessively reliable. According to Michel de Certeau, they force the historian to make history, overcoming the discourse and its fabrication in order to "capture the nature of the relationships that he maintains with his 'other,' the real."[53]

It is important to clarify that neither the accuser nor the defendant speak directly in the judicial documentation. Their voices are filtered through their lawyers, who know their clients' versions and turn them into a believable judicial discourse. The case of witnesses, who answer questions directly, is different, although there is always the question of whether the court clerk has transcribed their statements accurately. A clear instance of this problem involves witnesses who had to be orally interpreted—that is, translated. One example is Basque witnesses before the court of the Royal Chancellery in Valladolid who did not have full command of the Castilian language. In consequence, it was the legal professionals (barristers, lawyers, prosecutors and judges) who could

52 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Pour sauver sa vie. Les récits de pardon au XVIème siècle* (Paris, 1988). In recent years, the journal *L'Atelier du Centro de Recherches Historiques* has published a special issue entitled "Les archives judiciaires en question," 5 (2009), in which this problem is examined; the journal *Historia y Justicia* has published a similar special issue under the title "Ficción, archivo y narrativas judiciales," 1 (2013). In Spain, Maria Dolores Madrid Cruz has recently published a clear-sighted article about the construction of judicial discourses: "Relatos y narraciones en los procesos criminales. La construcción de lo verosímil en el espacio judicial," *Clio & Crimen. Revista del Centro de Historia del Crimen de Durango* 10 (2013), 225–43. Concerning the relationship between history and fiction, analysed in more general terms, the journal *Le Débat* published a dossier entitled "L'Histoire saisie par la fiction," 165 (2011), 6–222.

53 "*Captar la naturaleza de las relaciones que mantiene con su 'otro,' lo real.*" Michel de Certeau, *La escritura de la Historia* (Mexico City, 2006), p. 35.

express themselves without filters. The discourse of the actual protagonists being judged was filtered and reconstructed, and there is no way of knowing how close this discourse is to what they really wanted to say.

Courtrooms were a stage in which not only power relations were performed, but also identities, cultural representations, social tensions, the social imaginaries of crime and the emotions that are inherent to it. They were places where, through legal, social and cultural arguments, narratives and judicial discourses were displayed as a way to convince audiences about the legitimacy of a cause, be it the grievances of the accusers, the innocence of the defendants or the ruling of the court.[54] These arguments were based on shared and accepted social and cultural values, and combined rational and emotional arguments within the framework of the judicial strategy. Therefore, these arguments are neither objective nor neutral. The reconstruction of facts involves representing and imagining them through a *plausible*, but not necessarily truthful, narrative discourse.[55] One example of this is the construction of an argument to challenge the credibility of a witness, which includes bringing to the fore all those attitudes that society considers unacceptable in order to discredit a witness's testimony.[56] As such, judicial sources are constructed fictitious narratives built *ad hoc* which force the historian to pay attention, not to reality, but to "the way in which men think about it and transpose it," and to how they "constructed according to categories, schemes of perception and appreciation, rules of operation" that point towards the conditions and reasons that had led to the writing of these in the first place.[57] The truth of the facts is not judicial truth, which is but a means to an end.

One of the earliest uses of judicial sources for the reconstruction of everyday life, worldviews and feelings was Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie's celebrated work about Montaillou, a hamlet in the French south-west. The interrogations

54 Recently Catherine Denys and Naoko Seriu have edited a special issue entitled: "L'argumentation au coeur du processus judicire," *Clio Themis. Revue électronique d'histoire du droit* 8 (2015), <https://www.cliothemis.com/L-argumentation-au-coeur-du> (accessed: 12 June 2018).

55 Mª Dolores Madrid Cruz, "Relatos y narraciones en los procesos criminales," 238.

56 See, as an example, the smears presented in a court case which, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, pitched Juan Alonso de Múxica, lord of Aramayona, against the residents of the eponymous valley; Iñaki Bazán Díaz, María Ángeles Martín Miguel, *Colección documental de la Cuadrilla de Zuia. Archivo Municipal de Aramayona* (Donostia, 1999), pp. 43–49.

57 "*La forma en que los hombres lo piensan y lo trasponen*"; "*construido según categorías, esquemas de percepción y de apreciación, reglas de funcionamiento.*" Chartier, *El mundo como representación*, p. 40.

undertaken by the inquisitor Jacques Fournier in the early fourteenth century touch upon such sentiments as love and fear. Soon afterwards, Carlo Ginzburg also used inquisitorial records to investigate the intellectual and psychological impact of Reformation ideas in popular culture, as they were interpreted by the miller, Menocchio.

These examples introduce the second epistemological problem of judicial sources, which was pointed out by Lawrence Stone: how representative of a broader reality can cases such as those presented by Montaillou and Menocchio be? How much can the exceptional and abnormal tell us about what is at the centre? In order to answer these questions, Edoardo Grendi coined the concept of "normal-exceptional" (*eccezionale normale*). Exceptions, present in the judicial sources are a negative of reality, allowing us to rethink broader questions.[58] In this regard, Arlette Farge pointed out that: "Abnormality and marginalisation say a lot about the norms and political power, and each type of crime reflects an aspect of society."[59]

Therefore, research based on judicial sources opens the possibility of analysing, at the primary level, the institutional framework of the administration of justice by confronting the law (its norms and legal literature) and judicial praxis. This methodology stresses coincidences or contradictions between the law and its implementation. On a deeper level, criminal processes offer a glimpse into the law's silenced areas; they display society's interpretation, changes and rejections of the law, illuminating the cultural representation of reality. In this regard, judicial sources may be regarded as a narrative (a discourse between reality and fiction) which reflects, in Roger Chartier's words, society as "a system built of categories, schemes of perception and appreciation, rules of operation."[60] Indeed, the discursive strategies of litigants, witnesses, barristers, prosecutors and judges, activated in the course of courtroom rituals, tap into individual and collective fears, justifications, emotions and values. As pointed out by Nádia Maria Weber Santos, judicial sources:

> reveal a great deal about a society, its sensibilities and the ways of socialising values, beliefs and, why not say it, its fictions. It is true, because the main objective of the production of this type of document is not

58 Edoardo Grendi, "Microanalisi e storia sociale," *Quaderni Storici* 35 (1977), 506–20.

59 "*La anormalidad y marginación dicen mucho sobre la norma y el poder político, y cada tipo de delito refleja un aspecto de la sociedad.*" Arlette Farge, *La atracción del archivo* (Valencia, 1989), p. 26.

60 "*Un sistema construido de categorías, esquemas de percepción y de apreciación, reglas de funcionamiento.*" Chartier, *El mundo como representación*, p. 40.

> the reconstruction of historical facts, but the production of a truth to endorse or annul something that has already been agreed. In addition, these 'truths' are based on evidence and depositions [...]. To this extent, the proceedings may contain contradictions, inconsistencies and even lies. As sources, they enable the historian to work with versions, thus perceiving the way in which they are constructed.[61]

Therefore, judicial sources narrate and describe the emotions and feelings of the participants. They present the meaning of emotions by explicit emotional references, but also by allegorically emotional discourses, such as metaphors. These records convey both language and emotional behaviour.

One question, however, still remains: what emotions must we study?[62] According to Stuart Walton there are ten basic emotions: fear, anger, disgust, sadness, jealousy, contempt, shame, embarrassment, surprise and happiness.[63] For the Medieval theologian, Thomas Aquinas, there were only four basic emotions: joy, sadness, hope and fear. The remaining emotions were a function of these four with good and evil: "joy is of a present good, and sadness of a present evil, while hope is of a future good, and fear, of a future evil."[64] Emotions lead to passion-driven action and reaction, which can be more or less intense depending on the distance to the good or evil towards which they drive. Emotions, in addition to action, also engender feelings: "they are more stable and lasting moods than the emotions that have generated them, which are characterised

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61 "*Revelan mucho sobre una sociedad, sus sensibilidades y las formas de socializar los valores, las creencias y, porqué no decirlo, sus ficciones. Es cierto, pues el objetivo principal de la producción de este tipo de documento no es la reconstrucción de hechos históricos, sino la producción de una verdad para refrendar o anular algo que ha sido ya acordado. Además, estas 'verdades' se basan en pruebas y en deposiciones* [...]. *En esta medida, los autos procesales pueden contener contradicciones, incoherencias y hasta mentiras. En cuanto fuentes, posibilitan al historiador trabajar con versiones, percibiendo así la forma en que son construidas.*" María, Santos, "¿Ficción en los archivos?," 3.

62 Prior to the emergence of psychology, philosophers and theologians paid great attention to human emotions and passions, including such prominent figures as Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Hobbes, Descartes, Kant, etc. See for example: Cristina Casado, Ricardo Colomo, "Un breve recorrido por la concepción de las emociones en la Filosofía occidental," *A Parte Rei. Revista de Filosofía* 47 (2006), 1–10.

63 Stuart Walton, *Humanidad. Una Historia de las emociones* (Madrid, 2005). Other authors, such as Jesse Prinz, point to six basic emotions: surprise, disgust, sadness, anger, fear and happiness; see: *Gut reactions: a perceptual theory of emotion* (Oxford, 2004).

64 "*El gozo es del bien presente, y la tristeza del mal presente, mientras que la esperanza es del bien futuro, y el temor, del mal futuro.*" Thomas Aquinas, *Suma de Teología II. Parte I–II*, (Madrid, 1989, 2nd ed.), pp. 241–42 (I–II, q. 24, 4).

by greater intensity and shorter duration."[65] Feelings last longer and can be verbalised, for instance in the statements made by the participants in a judicial process. Emotions are cultural, social and public, whereas feelings are individual and private.

Focusing on female adultery, judicial records display the disgust of the cheated husband, which triggers a complex set of emotions and feelings, including indignation, affliction, anger, shame and hatred. The judicial discourse presents the ideological and emotional arguments that lie behind the social rejection of female adultery and explain the social acceptance of such acts as the murder of the adulterous wife. This discourse or narration is connected to the social representation of honour on which male identity rested and which had been violated by the adulterous act.[66] Concerning the analysis of emotions related to the sin-crime of adultery, we may focus on several protagonists: the adulterous woman; her accomplice; her parents and other relatives. In this case, however, I have decided to focus on the emotion and feelings expressed in the courtroom by cheated husbands.

## 3 What Lies behind the Emotional Response to Female Adultery?

Matrimony can be an emotional community—in the sense coined by Barbara H. Rosenwein—because it contains a group of people who share the same emotional norms.[67] A "conjugal community" not only shares feelings, bodies and a life project, but also values and interests, such as the defence of family honour. Within a "conjugal community," emotions run between parents and children, siblings, etc., but here I want to focus exclusively on the link between spouses. Between them, emotions are expressed in the form of gestures, words, loving attitudes and sexual desire, but also in intense emotional events, such as conflict, births, marriage and death. How are these emotional norms constructed?

65 "*Son estados de ánimo más estables y duraderos que las emociones que los han generado, que se caracterizan por una mayor intensidad y menor duración.*" Miguel Pallarés, *Emociones y sentimientos. Dónde se forman y cómo se transforman* (Valencia, 2010), p. 73.

66 Pierre Bourdieu, *La dominación masculina* (Barcelona, 2000); Rafael Manuel Mérida Jiménez, "'Masculinidades' y sodomía en el medievo hispánico," in *Feminidades y masculinidades en la historiografía de género*, ed. Henar Gallego (Granada, 2018), pp. 57–72. This last work also includes a historiographical review of the analysis of Hispanic masculinity during the Middle Ages.

67 Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 2.

Which were accepted and which forbidden? Some of these depend on age, gender and the position of each person in the family hierarchy.[68]

In the Middle Ages, matrimony was instituted as the Christian mechanism to keep sexuality within morally acceptable limits, to organise society according to kinship principles and to regulate inheritances. Extra-conjugal relationships were labelled as a sin and a crime, because they transgressed moral and social norms. They involved breaking the matrimonial vows and separated bodies that had been united by means of marriage. As such, adulterous relationships, the most perfect manifestation of extra-conjugal relation, were regarded as a mortal sin and a grievous crime. Medieval Castilian laws (*Partidas* 7, 17, 1) considered adultery an illegitimate sexual relationship that a "man commits in the knowledge that he is lying with another man's woman" ("*ome faze a sabiendas, yaciendo con muger casada, o desposada con otro*"). Guilt lay with the woman, not the man, unless his act was committed with a married woman. If the woman was unmarried, the penal category of adultery did not apply, although for canon law experts and theologians, for instance Gratian in his *Decretum*, both spouses were equally liable. This legal, but not moral, difference, was based on the fact that female adultery caused more damage, especially in terms of honour and the transmission of wealth, than male adultery.

Female adultery dishonoured the woman, her husband and her family, especially if it was *vox populi*, when the broader community indulged in all manner of speculations concerning the woman's licentious behaviour or the man's inability to satisfy and control his wife and maintain domestic order. This unruly manifestation of sexuality was an affront to the reputation of a family, which was consequently dishonoured and, therefore, socially marked. In addition to this, if female infidelity led to pregnancy, this could gravely undermine the economic interests of the family by bringing a stranger into the inheritance. The woman committed fraud and cast a shadow of doubt over the legitimacy of her other children. It was believed that the male sperm not only conveyed a lineage and an inheritance, but also moral stature. If a father was a traitorous and thieving person who had taken another man's woman, his children would be likewise. Finally, when a woman committed an adulterous act, it deprived her husband of her body and God of her soul. The man with whom adultery had been committed took something that did not belong to him (the woman was handed to her husband as his property, along with the dowry) in order to soil it. As a result, morally, legally and socially, female adultery was considered

68 See: Didier Lett, "Famille et relations émotionnelles," in *Histoire des emotions*, Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, Georges Vigarello, eds .3 vols. (Paris, 2016), 1 (*De l'antiquité aux Lumières*): 179–201.

more dangerous, and for this reason, female bodies and sexualities were subject to especially strict controls. This control could take the shape of domestic reclusion and the avoidance of contact with other males, but also of legal dispositions. In the Crown of Castile, multiple municipal charters and, later, the general laws of the kingdom authorised the husband to kill a woman caught *in fraganti*: that is, they were granted the *ius occidendi.*[69]

Arriving at the conjugal home and finding one's wife in bed with another male triggered a series of emotional responses and feelings that were accepted by the community and society, which had created a convention around such acts. Surprise in the face of treason and the breach of matrimonial faith; disgust and revulsion for the implications of the act committed; shame because of the loss of honour and male esteem;[70] sadness for the consequences and damage caused (including to the offspring). All of this led to overwhelming emotional pain which could only be channelled through anger directed at the adulterers. This was not merely an irrational emotional response; it sprang from an assessment of the context, which signalled the enormous threat that this act posed to the social position of the victim, his wealth and lineage. Additionally, this response was also accepted by the law.

Late-medieval society distinguished between anger as a circumstantial emotion and ill humour as a permanent attitude. The former drove the individual out of his senses, to punish whoever had done him ill. The latter was the permanent character of the person, which marked his relationship with others. The former could be legitimate[71] and the latter sinful. For instance,

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69 For female adultery and the administration of punishment by the husband, be it because the adulterer was caught *in fraganti*, because the courts had authorised the husband to act as he will, or because he acted on his own initiative, see: Iñaki Bazán, "El pecado y el delito de adulterio en la Castilla medieval. Transgresión del modelo de sexualidad conyugal y su castigo," in *Arte y sexualidad en los siglos del románico: imágenes y contextos*, ed. Pedro Luis Huerta (Aguilar de Campoo, 2018), pp. 11–51. This work includes a plentiful up-to-date bibliography.

70 About shame in the Middle Ages, see: Bénédicte Sère, Jörg Wettlaufer, eds., *Shame between Punishment and Penance. The Social Usages of Shame in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (Florence, 2013).

71 For instance, for royal anger, see: Hilda Grassoti, "La ira regia en León y Castilla," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 41–42 (1965), 5–135; Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger," in *Anger's past. The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca-London, 1998), pp. 127–52; Komé Koloto De Dikanda, "La ira regia en el Poema de Mio Cid," *Revista Analecta Malacitana Electrónica* 16 (2004), <http://www.anmal.uma.es/numero16/indice.htm> (accessed: 4 April 2019); Óscar Villarroel, "El crimen político en la Baja Edad Media: entre la oposición política y el delito. Primera parte. Estudio," *Clio & Crimen. Revista del Centro de Historia del Crimen de Durango* 5 (2008), 268–374.

the *Universal vocabulario*, published by the chronicler Alfonso de Palencia in the second half of the fifteenth century, defined anger in the following terms: "Feeling or passion that takes away [a man's] wits in order to punish another. But God's wrath does not involve mental imbalance: he punishes in all justice. Wrath is a momentary emotion, not a permanent feature. Ill humour is a vicious passion."[72] Likewise, at the end of the *Canterbury Tales*, Geoffrey Chaucer pointed out that there are two kinds of anger, one which is good and is not against men but against bad things, according to the prophet David.[73] Immediately, he stated that the sin of anger also has two categories. One is a venial sin, in case of sudden anger or hasty anger without aforethought and consenting of reason; and another one is a mortal sin, in case of felony of the heart aforethought and planned before, with wicked will to take vengeance.[74] The archdeacon Clemente Sánchez de Vercial, in his *Libro de los exemplos por A.B.C.*, written between 1421 and 1423, suggested patience as a mechanism to arrest anger.[75] Therefore, the anger of a cheated husband who punished a wife

72 "*Es affecto o passion destenprada que arrebata el animo para luego punir a otri. Pero la ira o furor de Dios no significa perturbaçion mental: mas vigor con que muy iustamente castiga. Yra es presente et adesora no permanesçiente perturbaçion. Et la iracundia es viciosa possion* [*sic por pasión*] *que naturalmente es in iunta a alguno.*" Alfonso de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario en latín y romance. Tomo I* (Seville, 1490), fol. 224v.

73 "Ye shal understonde that Ire is in two maneres, that oon of hem is good, and that oother is wikked. The goode Ire is by jalousie of goodnesse, thrgh which a man iswrooth with wikkednesse and agayns wikkednesse; and therfore seith a wys man that Ire is bet than pley. This Ire is with debonairetee, and it is wrooth withouten bitternesse, nat wrooth agayns the man, but wrooth with rhe mysdede of the man, asseith the prophete David: 'Irascimini et nolite peccare'." Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Canterbury Tales," *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford, 2008), p. 305.

74 "Now understondeth that wikked Ire is in two maneres; that is to seyn, sodeyn Ire or hastif Ire, withouten advisement and consentynge of resound. The menyng and thesens of this is that the resound of a man me consente nat to thilke sodeyn Ire, andthanne is it venial. Another Ire is ful wikked, that comth of felonie of herte avysed and cast biforn, with wikked wil to do vengeance, and therto his resound consenteth, and smoothly this is adeedly synne." Geoffrey Chaucer, "The Canterbury Tales," p. 305.

75 "An ill-humoured man told himself: 'If I was to live alone, I would not be so angry." So he went to live by himself. But one day he dropped a jar of water, and the water spilled; and he filled it a second time, but it spilled again; and a third time. And with great anger he broke the jar. When he was himself again he understood that the devil had possessed him and told himself: I am alone, yet anger possessed me. I shall return to my monastery, because toil awaits you everywhere, and God-given patience is necessary wherever you are'." ("*Un ombre era muy sañudo e dixo entre sí: 'Si yo morasse solo, non me movería tan aína en saña'. E apartosse a morar solo. E un día inchió un cántaro de agua e trastornosele e vertiose; e enchiolo otra vegada e trastornosele e vertiosse, ae así mesmo la tercera vegada. E él con gran saña quebrantó el cántaro. E tornó en sí e entendió que el diablo de la ira le avía escarnecido e dixo: -Aquí estó solo e benciome la ira. Quiérome tornar a mi monasterio, ca en*

caught in the act was licit, and at the most, a venial sin. Anger was a justified and socially legitimised emotional response in the right context.[76]

Examples of this sort of emotional response abound. For instance there is the knight from Ciudad Rodrigo who, during the reign of Ferdinand III (1199–1252), caught his wife with another man, and "cut off his dick and balls;"[77] or the resident of Logroño, Juan Cabezudo, who during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs (1474–1504) caught his wife María Ortiz in the act with her lover, who forthwith "jumped off the roof and the husband, not being able to catch him, was said to stab María his wife, causing her death."[78] Juan Cabezudo could not unleash his anger against María's lover, who ran away, and so he took it out on María. The knight from Ciudad Rodrigo's anger focused on his wife's lover; the latter was sent to the scaffold, because Castilian law demanded that, should they be caught *in fraganti*, the *ius occidendi* was to be applied to both lovers.

The *ius occidendi* could also be exercised—and this was the preferred legal option from the late fifteenth century onwards, and especially after the enactment of the *Leyes de Toro* (1505)—after bringing the act of adultery before the law, when a court ruling would authorise the husband to do with the adulterers as he pleased.[79] The court that judged Beatriz Álvarez, wife of Rodrigo de Rabanal, in 1515 gave the following ruling:

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*todo lugar ay trabajo e en todo lugar es menester la paciencia e ayuda de Dios"*). María del Mar Gutiérrez Martínez, "Edición del Libro de los exemplos por A.B.C.," *Memorabilia* 13 (2011), 1–216 (especially 101).

76 About anger in the Middle Ages, see: Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past. The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca-London, 1998).

77 "*E castrol de pixa et de coiones.*" Galo Sánchez, *Libro de los fueros de Castiella* (Barcelona, 1924), pp. 58–59 (tít. 116).

78 "*Saltó por el tejado e* [*el marido*] *non podiéndole alcanzar, dis que dio çiertas puñaladas a la dicha María su muger, de que murió.*" Maria Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media* (Valladolid, 2015), pp. 220–21 (doc. No. 13).

79 The legal framework inaugurated by the *Leyes de Toro* did not question the husband's right to revenge in case of flagrant adultery, but they aimed to frame the emotional response within a legal process and a court ruling. This was the first step in a long road towards a new way to deal with these conflicts, based on the ideas of the increasingly important Humanistic principles. As a result, a few years after the enactment of the *Leyes de Toro*, in 1538, Luis Vives argued that: "anger and vehement wrath subverts the spirit, to the point that no heed will be paid to what's good and charitable, good-will and kinship, and there were some who, blinded by anger, killed his wife." ("*Con la ira y el enojo vehemente se pervierte el espíritu hasta el punto de no atender á lo que es bueno y piadoso, de no tener en cuenta la benevolencia ni el parentesco, pues hasta hubo quien, arrebatado de ira, dio muerte á su mujer*"). Luis Vives, *Tratado del alma*, trans. José Ontañón, prologue Martín Navarro, introduction Foster Watson (Madrid, 1916), p. 262. In this treatise, the Humanist Vives explained all the ills that sprang from anger, beginning with the physiological ones.

> that she be taken from the jail where she is confined to ride an ass with an esparto rope around her neck, accompanied by a crier to the places that she frequents in the city of Ecija, and there to the scaffold, where she be put in the hands of the councillor Rodrigo de Rabanal with all her property, so he can do with them as he thinks best, as the law commands.[80]

On the way to the scaffold, Beatriz suffered public humiliation on the city streets. The crier announced her betrayal publicly; she rode with a rope around her neck, which signalled her as guilty of a crime; her neighbours, on seeing her, hurled insults at her and showed their contempt. In addition to humiliating criminals, these processions aimed to proclaim the triumph of justice and publicly compensate the victim for the damage suffered. Beatriz would experience this public ordeal with anguish, but also with uncertainty; what would her husband's final decision be when she was handed to him at the scaffold? Would he forgive her, punish her or have her executed? Rodrigo de Rabanal could decide to unleash his anger against the adulterers *in situ*, before the community, after being authorised to do so by the court. On the scaffold, the cheated husband substituted the hangman, cleansing his violated honour and restoring the broken domestic and social order in the presence of his neighbours. A questioned paternity, a compromised lineage, a jeopardised inheritance and a humiliated male identity could be thus healed.

We do not know what Rodrigo de Rabanal's final decision was, but we do know the outcome of a case in Dos Hermanas (Seville) in 1478, which involved Martín Sánchez, his wife, Ana López, and her lover, Juan Alfonso. In this instance, the husband cut the adulterers' throats with his own hands: "the officials handed them to him to do as he will, and because of the great damage that they had inflicted on him and his honour, he slit their throats publicly in the city of Seville."[81] The court ruling turned Martín Sánchez into the

80 "*Que desde la cárçel que donde asy está presa vaya caballeroençima de un asno e una soga de esparto a la garaganta, e con pregón e pregonero sea llevada por las plaças e logares acostunbrados de la dicha çibdad de Éçija, e sea llevada a la picota o rollo della e allí sea entregada e puesta en poder e manos del dicho jurado Rodrigo de Ravanal con todos sus bienes muebles y rayzes, para que della e dellos haga lo que quisiere e por bien toviere, según e por la forma e manera que la ley en tal caso quiere e dispone.*" María de los Ángeles Martín, Clara Almagro, Luis Rafael Villegas, Juan Miguel Mendoza, "Delincuencia y justicia en la Chancillería de Ciudad Real y Granada (1495–1510). Segunda parte. Documentos," *Clio & Crimen. Revista del Centro de Historia del Crimen de Durango* 4 (2007), 574.

81 "*Por nuestros alcaldes le fueron entregados para que él fyziese de ellos lo que quisiese, e que por la grand injuria que le fizyeron e por restituir su honra, los degollara por justicia públicamente en la dicha ciudad de Seuilla.*" Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "Adulterio, sexo y

executioner in order for him to avenge the affront committed by the adulterers. Like Rodrigo de Rabanal, Sánchez did not unleash his anger when he discovered his wife's infidelity. Rather, he reported it, waited for the court ruling, and then took his vengeance on the scaffold. By acting this way, Martín Sánchez demonstrated that, despite the time elapsed between the adulterous act and the moment of the execution, despite the jail to which the adulterers had been confined[82] to prevent their escape,[83] despite the public humiliation suffered by the prisoners on the streets, despite their terror before his vengeful wrath, honour had not yet been satisfied, and the pain, shame and hatred were not yet over.

Not all cases led to revenge on the scaffold; some ultimately ended in pardon and reconciliation. For instance, in 1468 Gonzalo Martín de Santillana, a resident of Seville, pardoned the two lovers, Mari Díaz and Pedro García, after they had been found guilty: "he dismissed the sentence that the Seville tribunal had passed for both of them."[84] What was behind this pardon? A husband's love for his wife? Pity, perhaps? The pressure of relatives and friends, who may have been trying to convince the cheated husband that the fear and anguish suffered by the adulterers since their arrest was punishment enough?

However, the cases that are most revealing from the point of view of emotions are those in which the husband acts on *propia authoritate*, that is, outside the official channels, an option that the law reserved for those who discovered

violencia en la Castilla bajomedieval," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie IV, Historia Moderna* 7 (1994), 182–83.

82 Juana de Cearra, from Bilbao, was accused of adultery by her husband, Íñigo López de Jauregui, in 1494. The accuser asked the *corregidor* that, during the trial, she be kept "in the basement, behind strong iron so she cannot escape." ("*en el soterraño e debaxo de grandes hierros e presiones en manera que non pudiese huir ni soltarse*"). Iñaki Bazán Díaz, *Delincuencia y criminalidad en el País Vasco en la transición de la Edad Media a la Moderna* (Vitoria, 1995), p. 543.

83 Some women did not simply sit waiting for the decision of the court (guilty or innocent) and the husband (pardon or death), so when their husband's heard of their adulterous relationship or formally accused them of it, they tried to escape as far away as possible. In 1488, Catalina García, wife of Juan Pellejero, from Molina, escaped the jail where she was confined awaiting for her trial, and sought refuge in a church. In her absence, she was found guilty and condemned to "be handed with her possession in her hands" ("*puesta con sus bienes en poder*") to her husband "for him to do with her and them as he saw fit." ("*para que de ella e de los dichos bienes fizieren lo que quisiesen*"). Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media. Documentos para el estudio de las mujeres como protagonistas de su historia* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad de Valladolid, 2013), pp. 396–97 (doc No. 20).

84 "*Dio por ninguna la sentencia que contra ellos e contra cada uno dellos dio el dicho alcalde de la justicia de Seuilla.*" Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "Adulterio," pp. 180–81.

the adulterers *in flagrante delicto*. The judicial sources refer to this as follows: "on his own authority and not having waited for the legal authorisation to inflict this death."[85] Two examples will suffice to illustrate this emotional process.

In the first case, Juan Sánchez de Medina, a herdsman from Seville who, in the company of his brothers Diego and Fernando, killed his wife Marina and her lover Diego de las Cumbres, in 1477. The discourse conveyed by the judicial record justifies the murder, which is furnished with a list of social attitudes towards adultery. It is pointed out that Juan and Marina were "legitimately married under the aegis of the Holy Church" ("*casados legítimamente segund orden de la Santa Madre Yglesia*") and that, despite this, Marina proved her disloyalty by giving her body [to Diego de las Cumbres]. She broke her matrimonial vows, and he took something that belonged to Juan Sánchez de Medina, the body and sexuality of Marina. On top of that, Marina left the conjugal home and fled with Diego. If that was not enough, the adulterers took the shared conjugal possessions with them. In short, Marina had violated one of the pillars of society with all the consequences that this was to have for her husband and family. For this reason, Juan Sánchez, with the help of his brothers who were affected by this situation, unleashed the vengeance that the laws of this realm granted him as a right and killed her. In this dramatic case, the couple were neither caught *in flaganti* nor taken before the courts. The de Medina siblings acted against Marina without any of these conditions applying, and for these reason, they were taken to court themselves. However, the damage caused by Marina was enough for her father, Esteban García, to forgive his son-in-law for his actions, because in his opinion he had acted reasonably, "as her death was justified" ("*con quand justa cabsa fue la dicha muerte*"). The extended family was an emotional community within which each member defended collective honour. As pointed out by Didier Lett, when this honour was under threat, bonds of solidarity came into action.[86] The husband's response was, therefore, considered appropriate given the circumstances, because it contributed to defending the family honour from shame. It was thus an emotional reaction that the community endorsed and approved. For their part, given the extenuating circumstances and a centuries-old tradition, the monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, pardoned the murderers, even though their actions had transgressed established norms. They pointed out that "the death was justified and

85 "*Aver guardado en la dicha muerte la forma e horden que las leyes de nuestros reynos en tal caso quieren e mandan.*" Iñaki Bazán Díaz, "El pecado y el delito de adulterio en la Castilla medieval," p. 43.

86 Didier Lett, "Famille et relations émotionnelles," p. 189.

Juan Sánchez, prompted by his pain, acted with the authorisation that the laws of our realm grant him."[87] The phrase "Fair pain" ("*Justo dolor*") summarises the whole case, as we shall see also in the following example.

In 1477, another Sevillian, Alfonso González de Paules, also killed his wife, Catalina Rodríguez.[88] Initially, Alfonso had dealt privately with his wife's adultery, locking her up to do penance in the monastery of Santa María la Real.[89] She was not allowed out without the authorisation of the prioress, and then only in the company of the nuns. Alfonso was to contribute to her upkeep. He was trying to solve the conflict by informal means, as a matter of misconduct that had not gone beyond the family unit. The husband's authority to correct the conduct of others was fully endorsed by the patriarchal legal system prevailing at the time. We do not know how Alfonso learned of Catalina's infidelity, or whether her reclusion in the monastery was Alfonso's decision alone, or perhaps the result of a negotiation between the spouses' families. The fact is that Catalina was locked up to expiate her misdeeds, in what was surely an unpleasant situation: "so she [could] do penance and live a good life" ("*allí fisiese penitençya e bivyese bien*"). Catalina's escape is evidence that this confinement was difficult for her. It is also possible that Alfonso, following the *Partidas* (7, 25, 10), had finally decided not to forgive her and, after two years of confinement, would instead force her to become a nun against her will. According to Alfonso and his lawyer, her decision to escape demonstrated that she had "forgotten all fear of God and all shame" ("*pospuesto el temor de dios e toda Vergüença*") in her infamy. It was an insult to God, Alfonso and his family; the sin compounded with the humiliation. Without any support from her relatives or her husband's family, Catalina had no means to survive, and decided to become a prostitute and work in a brothel. For Alfonso, this was the final confirmation of his wife's dissipated and immoral life. In his declarations in court, he claimed that she "not only committed adultery with specific people, but went into the brothel to make money, publicly giving herself to whoever wanted her" ("*fiso Adulterio no solamente con particulares personas, más antes*

87 "*La dicha muerte fue con tan justísima cabsa e el dicho Juan Sánchez mouido con justo dolor e por la permisión de las dichas leyes de nuestros reynos a ello le dan lo fizo.*" Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "Adulterio," p. 181.

88 Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "El homicidio en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media. Segunda parte. Documentos," *Clio & Crimen. Revista del Centro de Historia del Crimen de Durango* 2 (2005), 545–48.

89 The *Partidas* (4, 9, 2) already established that "a man that discovers his wife's adultery […] if he understands that by doing penance she will be free from sin, he is not compelled to accuse her." ("*todo ome que sopiere que su muger le faze adulterio* […] *si entendiere que se parte del pecado, e que faze penitencia del, estonces si la non quiesiere acusar non peca*").

*públicamente se puso a la mancebía a ganar dinero e se dava e echava a quantos la querían*"). Her actions had caused Alfonso "a great deal of public dishonour and shame, because her adultery was notorious and public" ("*grand deshonrra e Vergüença de la gente, e que porque su Adulterio era Notorio e muy público*"). The public nature of her adultery, the escape from the monastery, and finally the new infidelities committed in the brothel, gravely damaged Alfonso's honour and that of his family. Her humiliating actions cast a shadow of doubt over the honesty of other women in the family, the legitimacy of possible children, and Alfonso's male identity, which was expressed through his virility and his ability to keep his household in order.[90]

Eventually, Catalina was arrested and taken to court. With this arrest, her accusers decided to give up their attempts to solve the issue privately, as they had tried to do at the start. Now, Catalina's immoral behaviour was to be tried by a court. However, justice was slow, and the case went unresolved for some time. Public rumours were rife among Alfonso's neighbours, which further humiliated him and his family. Here is where the expression "fair pain" ("*justo dolor*") comes back as a judicial argument to justify the actions of men who decided to kill their wives *propia authoritate*. In this context, Alfonso decided to kill Catalina while she was being taken to court. He leapt on her and stabbed her twice, causing her death and that of the unborn baby that she had conceived in her adulteries. Alfonso did not know that she was pregnant.[91] This act was justified by "the great and fair pain suffered, and my public shame" ("*con el grande e justo dolor que tenyades e con la Vergüença de la gente*"). Alfonso had not acted in a bout of temporary anger, but with a premeditation that combined multiple feelings (sadness, hatred, shame …) with the need to end the episode for once and for all. By stabbing her, Alfonso wanted to cleanse the "public shame" ("*Vergüença de la gente*") caused by Catalina's immoral and disloyal behaviour. She had shamed and ridiculed him. In short, he had washed away the public stain, although he had no authorisation from the courts to do so.

Aware that he had acted outside the legal framework, Alfonso gave himself up at the jail of the Archdiocese of Seville, alluding to the fact that he

90 "'Virility', understood as a reproductive, sexual and social capacity, but also as an aptitude for combat and for the exercise of violence (in revenge, above all)" ("*la 'virilidad', entendida como capacidad reproductora, sexual y social, pero también como aptitud para el combate y para el ejercicio de la violencia* (*en la venganza, sobre todo*") which needs to be demonstrated constantly. Pierre Bourdieu, *La dominación masculina* (Barcelona, 2000), p. 68. About the emotions present in revenge see: Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Les émotions de la vengeance," in *La vengance, 400–1200,* eds. Dominique Barthélemy, François Bougard, Régine Le Jan (Rome, 2006), pp. 237–57.

91 Case of *turbatio sanguinis*.

had received the tonsure. In the case against him, several of Catalina's relatives were called as witnesses, but they "did not turn up" ("*non vinyeron*"), which in effect conveys that, in their opinion, her offences were so grave that her murder at her husband's hands was fully justified. The ruling read to Alfonso by the archbishop's official determined that "given how you have proven your pain, I sentence you to the smallest penalty: exile for a year and a fine, which will be used to rescue a Christian captive from the Moors and for the soul of your wife."[92] He was also made to pay the costs of the trial. The court admitted that Alfonso was guilty of homicide, but also that he had done so prompted by powerful reasons, so the sentence passed was a minor one. Not in vain did Castilian law admit the "pain" ("*dolor*") of cheated husbands as an extenuating circumstance, instead turning the death of the woman and her lover at the man's hands into a just outcome: "a man that kills another on purpose must be executed unless […] he finds him in bed with his wife."[93] Similarly, the *Partidas* (7, 17, 4) recognised the "great pain that comes with dishonour" ("*grand pesar que ha dela desonrra*") as an extenuating circumstance. After being sentenced "to the smallest penalty," Alfonso González de Paules was concerned that the Crown's justice system would act against him *ex officio*, or at the request of the public prosecutor or a private accuser. For this reason, he asked the Crown to confirm this sentence to be exile and a fine, which he had already paid. But he also implored ("for the love of God, use your mercy, clemency and pity") for his exile to be condoned by means of a royal pardon. Queen Isabella, with the rhetoric characteristic of royal pardons,[94] confirmed the sentence and then granted him a royal pardon so that he would not be sentenced to death or his assets be seized. This pardon not only condoned the sentence, but also restored his reputation, despite the fact that the death of his pregnant wife had taken place outside the law: "I take away from you all stain and infamy that such a death might have brought upon you, and I give back to you the good reputation that you had before this death occurred."[95]

92 "*Visto vuestra provança e el justo dolor que vos dyó, a la menor causa vos condenó a pena de destierro por tienpo de un año e en çierta pecunya para Redençion de un cautivo que estava en tierra de moros por el Anyma de la dicha vuestra mugger.*" Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "Adulterio," 545–48, (doc. No. 11).

93 "*todo home que matare à otro à sabiendas, muera por ello, salvo si* […] *le fallare durmiento con su muger*," *Fuero Real* 4, 17, 1; see also: *Fuero Juzgo* 3, 4, 4.

94 For royal pardons see: Roberto González Zalacaín, *El perdón real en Castilla a fines de la Edad Media. El ejemplo de la cornisa Cantábrica* (Bilbao, 2013).

95 "*Alço e quito de Vos toda mancha e ynfamya en que por causa e Rasón de la dicha muerte avyades caydo e incurrido, e vos restituyo en vuestra buena fama e imagen segund en el primero estado en que estávades antes que la dicha muerte por Vos fuese fecha e cometida*"; Córdoba de la Llave, "El homicidio en Andalucía," pp. 545–48 (doc. No. 11).

These, therefore, are murders committed extemporaneously, that is, without the husband discovering the adulterers in *flagrante delicto*, and without the mediation of a judicial authorisation. These were, instead, acts committed when the husband got wind of the situation *ex post facto*, or simply when they had the chance. In the former case, the husband took revenge moved by his anger, and in the latter, from a long-brewed rancour or hatred. Often, these acts were committed when the women were most defenceless: at night, while they slept. One night in May 1477, Fernando de Valdelomar, head bailiff in the village of Lora, smothered his wife Beatriz de Neira and left her there until her body was discovered. The official enquiry concluded that she had been murdered by her husband because of her adultery.[96] In 1488, Fernando Calderón, a resident of Melgar de Fernamental, attacked his wife María García with a knife while they were in bed one night, threatening to kill her unless she confessed to her adulterous relationship with the cleric, Juan Sánchez.[97] In 1492, Alonso de Carmona, a resident of Úbeda, prompted by Catalina de Baldivia, who hated Alonso's wife María Sánchez and told him that she was cheating on him, one night, while in bed with his wife stabbed her fifteen times, almost causing her death.[98] Also in 1492, Juan de Moya, a resident in Utiel, killed his wife, Mari Sánchez, at night, during the fair, while they were in bed by stabbing her repeatedly and later slitting her throat, also because of her adultery.[99] Once again in 1492, Rodrigo Álvarez, a resident in Seville, being in bed one night with his wife Beatriz Fernández, "for no legitimate reason or suspicion" ("*syn cabsa nyn Rasón alguna legítima e syn tener sospecha*") stabbed her to death while she slept.[100]

The "fair pain" ("*justo dolor*") and "public shame" ("*vergüenza de la gente*") arguments justified the wife's murder on the husband's *propia authoritate* and were a lever to ensure the sympathy and empathy of both relatives and the Crown, as illustrated by the example presented by Alfonso González de Paules. Similar instances are not hard to find. In 1449, Diego del Poyo, a resident of Murcia, killed his adulterous wife *honoris causa*. Since none of the legal formalities had been met, Diego decided to flee. Soon afterwards, he

96 Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media*, pp. 215–16 (doc. No. 9).

97 Isabel del Val Valdivieso, "La acusación de adulterio como forma de ejerce violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del siglo XVI," *Estudios de Historia de España* 12/1 (2010), 179.

98 Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "El homicidio en Andalucía," pp. 659–60 (doc. No. 54).

99 Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media*, pp. 207–08 (doc. No. 4).

100 Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, "El homicidio en Andalucía," pp. 664–707 (doc. No. 56).

returned to Murcia and put himself in the hands of the courts, which cleared him with the argument that "given the woman's bad reputation, he had more than enough reasons to kill her." Moreover, the tribunal thought that this case should stand as an example to other women who might be tempted to commit this sin-crime: "let it be an example to other women, so they avoid making this same mistake."[101] The death of the adulterer spared the community the presence of an impure person, who was "a dangerous focus of contagion."[102] In 1478, Pedro García de Herrera killed his wife, Antonia, in Seville, and was sentenced *in absentia* to the death penalty. Sixteen years later, he applied for a royal pardon, arguing that he had been forgiven by his wife's relatives up to the fourth degree.[103] In 1485, Fernando de Osma, resident of Huete (Cáceres), killed his wife, Adona, for being an adulterer and "the relatives of Adina, your wife forg[ave] [him] for this death," as did the Crown.[104] In 1495, after murdering his wife Catalina Sánchez, Marcos de Segura fled from the authorities of Marbella, who sentenced him to death *in absentia*. Eventually, his father-in-law and his brother-in-law forgave him for the murder which, in their opinion, had been fully justified.[105]

In short, the defence of men who killed their wives *propia authoritate* was based on a discourse, a narration of facts, truthful or not, constructed around the moral, legal and social damage to the family's honour (public reputation), property and inheritance, as well as on the man's masculinity and authority that had been caused by the woman's adultery. This discourse, in turn, reveals Castilian late-medieval society's cultural representation of adultery. From this perspective, murdering one's wife was a response to the "fair pain" ("*justo dolor*") and "public shame" ("*vergüenza de la gente*") suffered by the cheated husband as a consequence of his wife's actions, which triggered a set of emotions and feelings. As such, it was argued that these men acted justly as they

101 "*Según la fama de aquella mala mujer lo que aquel hizo tuvo mucha razón para ello*"; "*porque sea de otras mujeres ejemplo y se guarden de semejantes errores*." Luis Rubio, *Vida licenciosa en la Murcia bajomedieval* (Murcia, 1991), pp. 26 and 234–35.

102 "*Un peligroso foco de contagio.*" Plácido Fernández-Viagas Escudero, "La honra del marido como bien jurídico protegido en el delito de adulterio," p. 60.

103 Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media. Documentos para el estudio*, pp. 362–65 (doc. No. 6).

104 "*Los parientes de la dicha Adina, vuestra mujer, vos perdonaron la dicha muerte.*" Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media. Documentos para el estudio*, pp. 356–58 (doc. No. 4).

105 Mª Teresa López Beltrán, "Repoblación y desorden sexual en el Reino de Granada en época de los Reyes Católicos," in *La Historia del Reino de Granada a debate. Viejos y nuevos temas. Perspectivas de futuro*, eds. Manuel Barrios, Ángel Galán (Málaga, 2004), p. 527.

were "unable to withstand so much infamy and dishonour."[106] According to Thomas Aquinas, in these circumstances, reason could not control emotions and thus mitigate the man's feeling of anger and fear.[107] And, as I have pointed out, this emotional response was often accepted by the family and found accommodation in the prevailing legal framework.

Both Johan Huizinga and Norbert Elias, from the perspective of evolutionist interpretation, described medieval society as impulsive and irrational, a society in which instinct and emotions prevailed. The control of these emotions was a long process of *civilisation des moeurs* initiated in the Renaissance and led by the elite. This psychogenetic and socio-genetic process led individuals to interiorise new behavioural values, to practice self-control and to inhibit their emotional responses. Yet recent research suggests that medieval men and women had ritualised behavioural codes which also applied to emotions and which played a functional social role. Violence was not always the result of impulsive and irrational (i.e. emotional) actions. Violent acts could be grounded in duty, protection, honour, virility, etc. And even when violence could be linked to a purely emotional reaction, it still corresponded to a form of logic, as illustrated by the cases of female adultery. As noted, this reaction was conventional and codified. In the framework of the emotional community that was the family, it was considered admissible, legitimate and legal. For this reason, members of the community were sympathetic and indulgent with the aggressor, who enjoyed the solidarity owed to a defender of family honour and male identity. This identity, as a cultural construction, set a behavioural paradigm; society expected males to comply and thus contribute to the reproduction of the patriarchal order. A "consenting cuckold" ("*patiente cornudo*") was socially rejected as a male, and his neighbours would step in to do his job

106 "*Non podiendo sofrir tan grande infamia e desonrra.*" This was Juan Cabezudo's argument in 1496, in one of the cases explained above; Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media*, pp. 220–21 (doc. No. 13). García Fernández, from A Coruña, also pointed out in 1480 that the act of adultery committed by his wife Inés de Leiva caused "great harm and infamy" ("grand injuria y mengua suya"); Sabina Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media. Documentos para el estudio*, pp. 379–81 (doc. No. 12). García Fernández, from Noya (A Coruña), argued that Inés de Leiva had left the conjugal home to join her lover Lanzarote de Futinos—they lived like husband and wife ("*fasían vida en vno como marido*")—, and they had been in this situation for over a year, which caused García "great harm and infamy" ("*grand injuria y mengua suya*") and "such fair pain" ("*tan justo dolor*") that he decided to kill her. Álvarez Bezos, *Violencia contra las mujeres en la Castilla del final de la Edad Media*, pp. 219–20 (doc. No. 12).

107 Thomas Aquinas, *Suma de teología. Parte I*, pp. 744–45 (I, q. 81, 3).

for him.[108] The behaviour of adulterous wives broke legal, moral, social and educational conventions.[109]

108 José Julio García Arranz, "El castigo del 'cornudo paciente': un detalle iconográfico en la vista de Sevilla de Joris Hoefnagel (1593)," *Norba-Arte* 28–29 (2008–2009), 69–79.

109 See, for instance, two treatises, one published in Castile in the fifteenth century, and the other published in France in the late fourteenth century: *Castigos y doctrinas que un sabio daba a sus hijas*, ed. Rafael Herrera Guillén (Murcia, 2005); Geoffroy IV de la Tour Landry, *Le livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, ed. Anatole de Montaglon (Paris, 1854). Tour Landry's treatise is available online: <https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Livre_pour_l'enseignement_de_ses_filles_du_Chevalier_de_La_Tour_Landry> (accessed: 4 April 2019).

CHAPTER 13

# Tears, Weeping and *lacrimae*. The Truth of the Eyes? Emotions and Gestures of Female Jewish Converts in Aragon on Trial under the Spanish Inquisition in the Middle Ages

*Jonas Holst and Miguel Ángel Motis*

## 1 Introductory Methodological Remarks

Over the last three decades, together with sociology and philosophy, anthropology has had a significant impact on history as a discipline. By incorporating cultural studies as well as conceptual and iconological studies of emotions into its semantics, history has been "anthropologised."[1]

What is historically salient about the inquisitorial records, which form the basis for the present study, is that the notaries, who meticulously recorded what was being said at trials, did not carry out their job in order to preserve it for posterity. Furthermore, the details, which the documents contain regarding the material and mental life of people and their families, are incidental to the ultimate purpose, namely, to make the "heretics" admit their guilt through trial procedures.[2] No one at the trials could have guessed how useful they would become for the research of sociologists, historians, and anthropologists centuries later.[3]

1 Beatriz Moncó Rebollo, "Antropología e Historia: un diálogo interdisciplinar," *Revista de Antropología Social* 9 (1991), 173. See also: Margrit Pernau, Imke Rajamani, "Emotional Translations: a conceptual history beyond language," *History and Theory* 55 (2016), 47–48.

2 Although the notary's transcription of the speech in direct style suggests a remarkable fidelity to what was being said, one should not underestimate the reconstruction made, consciously or unconsciously, for ideological or subjective reasons. However, this does not affect the basic content of the documents. Rolf Eberenz, Mariela de La Torre, *Conversaciones estrechamente vigiladas* (Saragossa, 2003), pp. 11–12; Jean Pierre Dedieu, "The Archives of the Holy Office of Toledo as a source for historical Anthropology des vieux-chrétiens. Un exemple et quelques réflexions," in *La Inquisición española. Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, ed. Jopaquín Pérez Villanueva (Madrid, 1980), p. 168.

3 Access to court records was restricted to the members of the court and was protected by secrecy, which was the main concern of the judicial system. Enrique Gacto Fernández,

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Although the documents need to be approached, methodologically speaking, with great caution, in so far as the notaries could not possibly have conveyed every detail of the trials truthfully[4] and because "the conceptual scaffold upholding the legitimacy of the inquisition is not wholly reliable,"[5] they still allow us to approach the religious profile of female Jewish converts and the feminine dimension of Jewish practices.[6] Together with the notarial protocols and the surviving literature from the epoch, they remain the best we have as intellectual historians trying to tap into the emotional and gestural resources of the *conversas*.

Many of these women, whose physical and verbal expressions are often reproduced directly, may have attempted to reconstruct what they considered to be the truth, but it remained just that—a reconstruction. Through conversational narratives, in which different voices are employed, such as reflexive and feminine voices,[7] they make use of masks and pretend to tell the truth. The "accessory speech acts" are reproduced in an indirect style or summed up in "authorial speech,"[8] making clear the importance of the story.[9] Although their ideas, beliefs and yearnings are handed down, to a greater or lesser extent, through a filter created between them and the inquisition,[10] their particular ways of speaking in the feminine singular can be interpreted from the vantage point of microhistory. This viewpoint opens up a significant debate about concepts and beliefs that would otherwise remain concealed.[11]

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"Consideraciones sobre el secreto del proceso inquisitorial," *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 67 (1997), 1648–50.

4 Jennifer Deane Kolpacoff, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, 2011), p. 108.

5 Ricardo García Cárcel, "¿Son creíbles las fuentes inquisitoriales?," in *Grafías del imaginario: representaciones culturales en España y América* (*siglos XVI–XVIII*), eds. Carlos-Alberto González-Sánchez, Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Mexico City, 2003), pp. 96–97. For further discussion of the reliability of the inquisitorial sources, see: Renée Levine Melammed, *A Question of Identity: Iberian Conversos in Historical Perspective* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 28–29.

6 Jim Sharpe, "Historia desde abajo," in *Formas de hacer Historia*, ed. Peter Burke (Madrid, 2014), pp. 46–48.

7 Ruth Behar, "La presencia del pasado en un pueblo español: autocríticas y reflexiones," in *Antropología sin Fronteras. Ensayos en honor a Carmelo Lisón* (Madrid, 2007), p. 258.

8 Antonio Briz Gómez, "La segmentación de una conversación en diálogos," *Oralia: Análisis del discurso oral* 9 (2006), 45–72.

9 Antonio Briz Gómez, "Límites para el análisis de la conversación: órdenes y unidades: turno, intervención y diálogo," *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 9 (2007), 23–38.

10 Carlo Ginzburg, *El queso y los gusanos. El Cosmos, según un molinero del siglo XVI* (Barcelona, 1999), p. 4.

11 Giovanni Levi, "Sobre la Microhistoria," in *Formas de hacer Historia*, *Formas de hacer Historia*, ed. Peter Burke, (Madrid, 2014), pp. p. 137.

Some parts of the summary contain *Ego Dokuments* or *Selbstzeugnisse*, similar to the concept defined by W. Schulze: Personal attitudes and emotions are expressed by "the I's voice."[12] Occasionally, the documents highlight pragmatic facts and details related to the intention behind the words or non-verbal gestures, such as *lacrimali* (crying) or *genuflexi* (kneeling), without which it would be practically impossible to make sense of what happens. The inquisitors and the accused on trial may not agree on much, but they coincide in endowing *lacrimae* with a spiritual meaning of contrition and marking it as a sign of dejection.

## 2 *Cogmotion*: Anthropology of Emotions and Gesturality[13]

Cultural studies have only recently started to move from relying on epistemic virtues, such as objectivity and impartiality, to tapping into the experiential resources of different subjectivities and their complex emotions. Such research into emotions does not abandon objectivity as a methodological ideal, but it recognises that emotions are not merely "objects" represented by concepts.[14] They are also embodied expressions of something felt, which is not always verbalised or at least not fully exteriorised in words. Still, emotions are, similar to conceptual representations, cultural constructions[15] built upon, inherited, or acquired schemes of behaviour and tastes. Thus, studying the history of emotions and the way people have felt and expressed themselves emotionally is not reserved for psychologists or biologists,[16] but pertains as much to historians of temporal and cultural phenomena.[17]

12 James S. Amelang, "La autobiografía moderna. Entre la Historia y la Literatura," *Chronica Nova* 32 (2006), 146–147.

13 Ricardo Sanmartin Arce, "Confesiones de conversión. Dolor, valor y cultura," *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 54 (1999), 299.

14 Javier Moscoso Sanabria, "La historia de las emociones, ¿de qué es historia?," *Vínculos de Historia* 4 (2015), 15–27.

15 Juan Manuel Zaragoza Bernal, "Historia de las emociones: una corriente historiográfica en expansion," *Asclepio* 65 (2013) art.1 e012. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/asclepio.2013.12>.

16 Crying is an expression of human emotions, observable already in babies from six weeks to four months old. It is linked to moods with reliable cognitive and emotional components. Elena Jarrín Hernández, *Dacriopsicología: Estudio sobre el origen y la clasificación del llanto emocional* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2011), pp. 17, 20, 34, 38. <https://ebuah.uah.es/dspace/bitstream/handle/10017/11223/TesisE.Jarr%c3%adnDacriopsicolog%c3%ada.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (accessed: 17 May 2019).

17 Dolores Martín Moruno, "Historia cultural del dolor, de Javier Moscoso," *Teorema: Revista Internacional de Filosofía* 32 (2013), 231.

Conceptual history offers essential insights into the language-dependent evolution of emotions. Nevertheless, it remains an insufficient approach for studying the emotions, as long as it does not reach beyond language in an attempt to capture the affective content stored in images, sounds, smells, spatial organisation, and patterns of how people use and move around in space.[18] Seen from the perspective of an *incarnated history*,[19] emotions, bodily expressions and rationality are tied together in an intricate way which calls for, insofar as the sources lend themselves to it, simultaneous studies of verbal, bodily and emotional expressions.[20]

As pointed out by Norbert Elias—who has interpreted the individual person as a *homo apertus*[21]—emotions correspond to specific levels of social relations and a certain type of society. In our study, the interpersonal relations are embedded in a society, whose disciplinary control of its members runs parallel to the modern state.[22] In analysing the emotional experiences, we employ a *cogmotional* approach that draws on social constructivism and narrative and psychological theories.[23]

## 3 The Inquisitor's Patriarchal Discourse: Women and Heresy

Facing the inquisitor, who represents the discourse of andro- and ethnocentric power par excellence, female Jewish converts suffer a double marginalisation because of their gender and their culture. As women, they feel vulnerable and subdued. As Jews, they know that they are under severe suspicion of heresy.[24]

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18 Peter Burke, "Is There a Cultural History of the Emotions?," in *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music and Medicine* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 35–48. It should be said that new strands within conceptual history have started to explore these aspects.

19 Marcel Mauss, *Sociología y Antropología* (Madrid, 1979), pp. 340–43 (chapter "Técnicas y movimientos corporales").

20 Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani, "Emotional Translations: conceptual history beyond language," *History and Theory* 55 (2016), 49.

21 Julián David Romero Torres, "Un acercamiento a la propuesta epistemológica de Norbert Elias," *Revista Internacional de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales* 8 (2012), 259.

22 Fernando Ampudia de Haro, "Cortesía y prudencia: una gestión civilizada del comportamiento y de las emociones," in *Accidentes del alma: las emociones en la Edad Moderna,* eds. María Tauset, James S. Amelang (Madrid, 2009), pp. 123–124.

23 Daniel Wickberg, "What is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New," *American Historical Review* 112 (2007), 661–84.

24 In the penitential manuals from around the mid-fifteenth century, warnings were collected against "the Devil's schools," which referred to the conversations between female spinners like the ones conducted by women in their homes, when their husbands were

In the ideological framework of the tribunals of the Holy Office, heirs of the patriarchal line of Augustinian and Thomistic thought, women were considered to be imperfect beings, naturally inclined to sin and lacking in rational judgment.[25]

The relationship between the inquisitor and the accused was based on inequality. It played out as a game of strategy which some authors have compared to a game of "cat and mouse,"[26] in which the accused only had a tiny chance of "deconstructing this cultural construct."[27] The paternalistic discourse of the inquisition may appear to show a concern for the accused. However, it was purely out of pragmatism and hypocrisy,[28] which sooner or later induced suffering and fear.[29] There are numerous trials and verdicts which reflect this ambivalence and put the converts under intense emotional pressure:

> We (the inquisitors), on who it is incumbent, due to our Ecclesiastical office, to impress the holy Catholic faith on the hearts of people and eradicate the heresy of their thoughts, we want to welcome you with mercy. We have observed that you follow the commandments of the Holy Mother Church, willingly submitting yourself, recognising your mistakes and abjuring them publicly, demanding penance and mercy by sobbing and shedding many tears.[30]

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away. Helene Thieulin-Pardo, "'Yo pecatriz pequé en estas cosas dichas', Péchés de femmes dans les manuels de confession des derniers siecles du Moyen Age," *Cahiers d'Etudes Hispaniques Medievales* 34 (2001), 27.

25 Ricardo Muñoz Solla, "Percepciones femeninas en un mundo trastocado: mujeres conversas e inquisición," in *Hijas de Israel, mujeres de Sefarad*, ed. Yolanda Moreno Koch (Cuenca, 2010), p. 72.

26 Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "El reo y los inquisidores: un juego de estrategias," in *En el primer siglo de la Inquisición Española*, ed. José María Cruselles (Valencia, 2013), pp. 387–408.

27 Ana Benito, "Inquisition and the creation of the other," in *Marginal Voices. Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain*, eds. Amy Aronson-Friedman, Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden, 2012), p. 57.

28 Ricardo García Cárcel, "De la Inquisición y de la intolerancia," in *Intolerancia e Inquisición: Actas del Congreso Internacional de Intolerancia e Inquisición celebrado en Madrid y Segovia en febrero de 2004*, ed. José Antonio Escudero, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2006), 1: 53–54. See also José Antonio Pascual, "Del silencioso llorar de los ojos," *El Crotalón* 1 (1984), 799–805.

29 Fear and anxiety often emerged concerning power. See: Joanna Bourke, "Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History," *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003), 111–29.

30 "*E nos, a quien se incumbe de nuestro officio a nos atribuydo e dado, la sancta fe catholica en los coraçones de las personas poner e imprimir, e la heretica pravedat de las piensas de aquellos quitar. Querientes, segund somos tovidos, a los tales recebirlos a misericordia. E mas*

When it comes to transgressions, the magistrate assumed that the behaviour of men and women was different. Women were said to personify certain sins, which became meaningful in the light of social and religious convictions.[31] Although discriminatory, the *Libri Poenitentiales* emphasise how to proceed with a confession according to the gender of the accused, "order him to kneel at your feet, if he is man, but if she is a woman, do not let her see your face nor should you see hers."[32] Similar precautions are adopted when reaching absolution, where the imposition of hands was to be avoided when women were on trial.

More than mere bureaucrats, who followed the ecclesial doctrine or criteria originating from the public administration (as happened under the Habsburg dynasty), the inquisitors came closer to being theologians and jurists,[33] whose declared purpose was to obtain confession and abjuration.[34] Acquittal was considered a complete failure by the inquisitor, who demanded the full submission of his "victim" and looked for all possible signs of sin in her past life. The procedure allowed for each magistrate to leave his stamp[35] by applying his religious conviction and evaluation,[36] although he would not always be able to tell the truth from falsehood.[37]

Accomplishing their objectives was considered hard work, as it implied dismantling a solid heretic group, eradicating it and shattering its circles of solidarity. Thus, in the verdict on the heresy of Esperanza de Santa Fe, living

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*te havemos visto e vemos haver venido a la obediencia de la sancta madre Yglesia, submetiendote e queriendo aderir y venir a la suya e nuestra misericordia, conosciendo los dichos tus errores, y aquellos publicamente abjurando, e a la unidat de la sancta madre Yglesia, con multiplicadas lagrimas e sospiros, penitencia e misericordia demanda*." Zaragoza, Archivo Histórico Provincial, Sección Inquisición, 1486, leg. 6, n. 9, fol. 23r-v.

31 Cristina Segura Graiño, "La sociedad y la iglesia ante los pecados de las mujeres en la Edad Media," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 4 (1993–94), 850.

32 "mándale que se asiente a tus pies, si fuere ome commo quisiere, si fuere muger en guisa que non veas tu su cara nin ella la tuya." Zaragoza, Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza, Procesos civiles, caja n. 408, leg. J/14, 1420, p. 18.

33 Adriano Prosperi, "El inquisidor como confesor," *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna* 13 (1995), 61–85.

34 José Carlos Martín de Lahoz, "¿Confesión o conversión?: objetivo del proceso inquisitorial," *Communio* 37 (2004), 185–98.

35 Julio Caro Baroja, *El señor inquisidor y otras vidas por oficio* (Madrid, 2006), pp. 15–63.

36 Ana Benito, "Inquisition and the creation of the other," p. 50.

37 Jaime Contreras Contreras, "Los primeros años de la Inquisición: guerra civil, monarquía, mesianismo y herejía," in *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su época. Actas del Congreso Internacional de Historia*, eds. Luis Antonio Ribot, Adolfo Carrasco, Luis Adão da Fonseca, 3 vols. (Valladolid), 2: 693–94.

in Sariñena (Huesca), the inquisitors, Pedro de Valladolid and Martin Navarro, with jurisdiction in Huesca, Lleida and Urgell, proclaim:

> We (the inquisitors), on who it is incumbent, due to our Ecclesiastical office, to impress the holy Catholic faith on the hearts of men and eradicate the heresy and apostasy from their thoughts, we receive her with mercy, in so far as she has confessed such crimes spontaneously and freely within the time of grace, acknowledging them publicly and abjuring with tears of pain.[38]

In sum, these ministers, representing a patriarchal society validated by the church, were in a privileged position to employ a culturally constructed concept of "feminine" independently of what the women on trial were, or thought about themselves.[39] Still, in the formal description of rituals and practices, and insofar as the strategies adopted depended on the profile of the prosecuted (age, physical strength and psychological resilience), the voice of each Judaizer is recognisable.[40] In the inquisitorial reconstruction of the "truth,"[41] the presence of the accused played a pivotal role, as it involved certain gestures and emotional expressions which the inquisitor registered carefully, yet cautiously, not taking such expressions at face value.

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38 "*E nos, a quien se incunbe y spera deste nuestro Sancto Officio a nos atribuydo y dado la sancta fe catholica en los corazones de los hombres poner e inprimir y la heretica pravedad de la piensa de aquellos quitar, querientes, segun somos tuvidos a los sus tales crimines de heregia y apostasia libera y spontaneamente confesantes dentro el tiempo de la gracia recibirlos a misericordia, queriendo venir a ella conosciendo los dichos sus errores,my aquellos publicamente abjurando penitencia con misericordia con intrinsiquas lagrimas demandando.*" AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición,* leg. 13, n. 10a. fol. 5r-v. Similarly, in the case of Clara Díez, widow of Martín Falcón, also resident in Sariñena: "Since the Holy Church does not shut the doors on the true penitents (*los verdaderos penidientes*), we have deliberated and decided, after having listened to the formal abjuration in front of the Holy Mother Church and all Christian people, to absolve her from the judgment of excommunication (*absuelta de la sentencia d'escomunicacion mayor*) and related crimes, reconciling and returning her to the unit of the Holy Mother Church and the ecclesiastical sacraments (*deverla reconciliar y restituyr a la unidad de la sancta Madre Yglesia y ecclesiasticos sacramentos*)." AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición,* 13, n. 10b, fol. 12r-v.

39 Some devotees, when vindicating the authority of feminine wisdom, would suffer the infamous punishment of public lashing and seclusion. Bartolomé Bennassar, *Inquisición española: poder político y control social* (Barcelona, 1984), pp. 171 and 179.

40 Ricardo Muñoz Solla, "Percepciones femeninas en un mundo trastocado: mujeres conversas e inquisición," p. 73.

41 Alejandro Morín, "Toleratio malorum, pecadores ocultos y herejías," *Glossae. European Journal of Legal History* 11 (2014), 111–112.

## 4 The Polysemy of Emotions: Tears

Weeping is probably one of the strongest and most disturbing outlets of emotions that exist. It is often rooted in an experience of profound pain and suffering which a person can only express by bursting into tears, as understood in modern Western discourse. Because of their apparently direct and uninhibited link to emotions, tears have often been seen as a verifiable way to know the truth about a person's innermost feelings and attitudes.[42] In his reflections on eyes as the medium of weeping, the French philosopher Jacques Derrida ventures that, "the blindness that reveals the very truth of the eyes would be the gaze veiled by tears."[43]

However, in ritualised contexts, whether in the East or the West, weeping becomes "a culturally choreographed act, a stylized, not spontaneous, expression of emotion," which often displays "ideal hierarchical relations between individuals."[44] In a medieval European context, multiple materials and written sources testify to the widely held belief in "the potential to control and manipulate crying, especially crying performed by women": "Numerous early Christian thinkers and writers, including Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nyssa, as well as Bernard of Clairvaux, William of Thierry, and Bonaventura in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries articulated strong views on the religious significance of tears and on the appropriate expression of lament. They all, in various ways, distinguished 'true' tears, which attested to contrition, from the 'excessive,' unrestrained outpouring of emotions, which, they held, implied disbelief in salvation."[45]

An excess of gestures, also called *gesticulatio*, in specific contexts, such as the monastery, was contrasted with *modestia*, the virtue of modesty.[46] Likewise, in inquisitorial interrogations, exaggerating one's account of the past, filling

42 Lyn A. Blanchfield, "Prolegomenon: Considerations of Weeping and Sincerity in the Middle Ages," in *Crying in the Middle Ages. Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman, (New York, 2012), p. xxii.

43 Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind* (Chicago, 1993), p. 127.

44 Gay L. Ebersole, "The Poetics and Politics of Ritualized Weeping in Early and Medieval Japan," in *Holy Tears. Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, eds. Kimberley Christine Patton, Jon Stratton Hawley (Princeton, 2005), pp. 25–26.

45 Judith Steinhoff, "Weeping Women. Social Roles and Images in Fourteenth Century Tuscany," in *Crying in the Middle Ages. Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman, (New York, 2012), p. 35.

46 Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La moral de los gestos," in *Fragmentos para una historia del cuerpo humano*, 3 vols., eds. Ramon Nadaff, Nadia Tazi, Michel Feher, (Madrid, 1992), 2:138.

it with an array of detailed descriptions, or blatantly showing one's emotions, would arouse suspicion and do more harm than good to the accused.

From the transcriptions of the inquisitorial interrogations of Jewish converts, it becomes clear that what was expected of a woman was modest behaviour. When the *conversas* burst into tears, they were supposed to do so in an educated and modest manner, not unlike the heroines of contemporaneous Spanish literature, who shed "tears of the eyes,"[47] in contrast to *planctus*, which referred to an overdramatic expression of pain and suffering. Insofar as "weeping involves much more than 'shedding tears', it implies all the symptoms of the pain entailed in crying,"[48] and given that women were considered passive and submissive by nature, a quiet, almost noiseless form of weeping would be received by the inquisitors as both a more proper and more truthful response for a suffering woman repentant of her sins. In the confession of Florencia de Peñas from Monzón, she is said to have tears in her ears, while she pleads for forgiveness and compassion*: "She pleads for forgiveness and mercy, being willing to fulfil patiently the penance imposed on her by the reverend inquisitor*."[49]

Considered to be involuntary and god-sent (*gratia lacrymarum*) by Christians and Jews alike, *lacrimae* were given a "theurgic role" to play, which could supersede prayer and "invoke a divine response, especially that of compassion or mercy."[50] In Jewish sources, even the God of Israel is said to weep, and it is a common notion that "penitent tears stir up divine passion."[51] Notwithstanding its sacred and emotionally profound significance, which corresponds to an internally somatised representation,[52] weeping cannot remain hidden within but appears by its very nature on the outside, taking bodily form

47 Elina Gertsman, "Going They Went and Wept," in *Crying in the Middle Ages. Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman, (New York, 2012), pp. XI-XII.

48 Santiago Disalvo, "Gestualidad en el Cantar de Mío Cid: gestos públicos y modestia," *Olivar* 10 (2007), 73.

49 "*demanda agora con lagrimas perdon e misericordia, e que ella sia appareiada de fazer aquella que a su reverenda sennoria plazera e aquella tomar e cumplir con paciencia*." AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, 1486, leg. 6, n. 9, fol. 8v.

50 Christine Patton Kimberley, John Stratton Hawley, "Introduction," in *Holy Tears. Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, eds. Kimberley Christine Patton, Jon Stratton Hawley (Princeton, 2005), pp. 1–2. See also: William A. Christian, Jr., "Llanto religioso provocado en España en la Edad Moderna," in *Accidentes del alma: las emociones en la Edad Moderna*, eds. María Tausiet, James S. Amelang (Madrid, 2009), p. 144.

51 Herbert W. Basser, "A Love for all Seasons. Weeping in Jewish Sources," in *Holy Tears. Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, eds. Kimberley Christine Patton, Jon Stratton Hawley (Princeton, 2005), p. 180.

52 Michael Bamberg, "Language, concepts and emotions: the role of language in the constructions of emotions," *Language Sciences* 19 (1997), 311.

and becoming visible, even when somebody tries to shy away and hide his or her face. This profane and public side of weeping lends itself to analysis, objectivisation and training, which was not only recognised but also promoted in order for the inquisitor to perceive both *lacrimae compassionis* and *lacrimae compunctionis*[53] as "objective" ways of evaluating the sincerity of any given abjuration before pronouncing his condemning verdict or forgiving a contrite heart.[54]

Being both sacred and profane, private and public, weeping is a genuinely ambiguous phenomenon, situated between feelings and representation.[55] In expressing emotions such as sorrow and its concomitant outlet, weeping can be learned as one more cognitive habit to be acquired.

### 4.1 *"Lacrimae": Contrition or Persuasion?*

The person on trial calibrated her manifestation of emotions, motivations, and desires through postures, gestures, and intonation in order to arouse an emotional response in the inquisitor. If she succeeded, a relation of empathy could be established, in which a specific bodily sensibility and gesturality, linked to weeping and kneeling, would come to the fore.[56] The *Epitomes*, employed for education, repeatedly emphasise that pain and tears—symbolic equivalents to the blood of the heart and the spirit—constitute one of the punishments that spring from sin itself. Nevertheless, at the same time, tears are a means of washing away and redeeming guilt. As one Biblical verse has it, "my sacrifice is a contrite spirit: A humiliated heart, oh God, do not despise it."[57]

Many women, when forced to realise their mistakes, defended themselves: "She acted and did not think that she committed any mistake."[58] Shedding tears meant for most of them a purification of their sins, and thus their souls, through contrition. Whether they saw and felt their past life as sinful or not, the Jewish converts knew that their path to salvation had to pass

53 Catherine Lutz, "The Domain of Emotion Words in Ifaluk," *American Ethnologist* 9 (1982), 113–128.

54 "Tears of compassion"; "tears of remorse." Elina Gertsman, "Going They Went and Wept," pp. XI-XII.

55 María Tausiet, "Agua en los ojos: el 'Don de lágrimas'," in *Accidentes del alma: las emociones en la Edad Moderna*, eds, María Tausiet, James S. Amelang (Madrid, 2009), pp. 167–68.

56 M. L. Hoffmann, "Perspectives on the difference between understanding people and understanding things: the role of affect," in *Social Cognitive Development. Frontiers and Possible Futures*, eds. John Hurley Flavell, Lee Ross (Cambridge, Eng., 1981), pp. 74–80.

57 Psalms, 51:17.

58 *Esto fizo pensando que no errava.* AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 9, n. 2, fols. 5r-6v.

through a "valley of tears," which served as a renewed baptism in the depths of their consciences.[59]

The culmination of the whole process was reached in the *Confessio* and the *Abjuratio*, in which the *conversas* tried to obtain reconciliation and mercy. It is also where the inquisitorial discourse of power and the subsequent hierarchy manifest themselves most clearly: The accused immediately assumed the role of being inferior by addressing the magistrates as "very reverend lords" ("*muy reverendissimos senyores*") or "paternities" (*paternidades*), confessing and expressing "mi grant culpa," before them. The *intitulatio* of this significant part of their discourse leaves no doubt about their attempt to play by the rules of Christian orthodoxy: "Jesus, have mercy on me. I am a sinner (*Yo, peccadora*)."[60]

Employing *paternĭtas* implies a respectful reverence towards the Inquisition, whose members were spiritual fathers demanding the submission of the *conversas*. Their suffering was not just a pure sensation of pain, but also a phenomenon invested with moral content.[61] Some *conversas* also cried out in intense physical pain due to some debilitating disease, such as chronic arthrosis,[62] or dementia.[63]

Most of the prosecuted women were kneeling (*genuflexi*) when confessing. It is a sign of respect, penance, and recognition of having sinned, but also of dependence, humbleness, and submission to ecclesiastical authority.[64] Thus the widow, Donosa Gracias, a convert from Teruel, approached the inquisitor in the Aljaferia Palace: "Publicly, kneeling in front of the reverend inquisitor with tears in her eyes, she pleaded for mercy to the Holy Mother Church and the magistrate, as she wanted to confess her mistakes and sins, recognising her guilt, for which she asks forgiveness."[65]

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59 María Tausiet, "Agua en los ojos: el 'Don de lágrimas,'" p. 176.

60 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Inquisición, leg. 544, n. 7, fol. 19r.

61 Talal Asad, "Medieval Heresy: An Anthropological View," *Social History* 11 (1986), 348.

62 Isabel Ruiz, widow of Antón Ximénez from Rueda, inhabitant of Calatayud, confesses that once she found herself in her tent, old and crippled, crying because of a severe illness which prevented her from walking, causing both pain and fatigue. A Jew, who had heard her crying, had told her that if "she did and said what he advised her, she would heal, as no ill Jew could be found with such a disease." Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, Manuscrits médiévaux, MS 1166–30, fol. 36v.

63 Among the symptoms described by the doctor in defence of Isabel de Santángel, who is attributed with a mental disorder (*mania mirarchia*), he enumerates, "singing, praying, crying, talking, cursing (*maldezir*), denying doctors." AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 13 n. 4, fol. 35r.

64 José Aldazábal, *Gestos y símbolos* (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 116–20.

65 "*in Audiencia, delante del reverendo padre inquisidor, con lagrimas de sus ojos e sus rodillas en tierra, dixo que demandava misericordia a la Sancta Madre Yglesia e a su reverencia en*

Those who declared themselves innocent or half guilty would immediately arouse suspicion,[66] whereas others, who implored for mercy in their confessions, would stand a better chance of mitigating their punishment[67] and of being met with something radically different than the rigour of the law, including compassion and, at times, advice and help.[68]

In the same vein as other confessing converts, Luisa Pallarés, from Barbastro, "plea[d] for mercy and throws herself in the arms of the Holy Mother Church,"[69] and Donosa Ruiz, widow of Juan Ruiz, from Teruel, who had turned Christian ("*se havia tornado christiana*"), after having submitted her confession, implored: "Mercy, Lord!, Mercy, Lord father!, Have, my Lord, compassion and mercy on me, a sinner!."[70]

Fear, which inhibits reason, sometimes made the Jewish converts act without having certainty of what was best for them. Affirming or denying certain things had consequences which they could not anticipate. Some chose to dissimulate in order to survive.[71] All of them knew that their life was on the line and that they had to choose their arguments well in order to appear

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*su nombre, e queria confesar sus yerros y pecados, y dezir sus culpas, de las quales venia demandando venia y perdón.*" AHN, Sección Inquisición, leg. 540, n. 13, fol. 62r.

66 Ana Benito, "Inquisition and the creation of the other," p. 55.

67 "Imploring and pleading you to administer justice mercifully on behalf of our redeemer Jesus Christ and your benignness, magistrates of the Office of the reverend inquisition" ("*in auxilium redemptoris Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et vestrum benignum oficium reverendorum inquisitorum humiliter implorando, petendo et suplicando justiciam qualem decet misericorditer ministrari.*") AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 4, n. 6, fol. 36v.

68 As an example, Aldonza de Ali, widow of Luis Gracián, from Teruel: "Seeing that she pleaded for mercy, kneeling and with tears in her eyes ("*con lagrimas de sus ojos, los ginollos en tierra*"), asking to be reconciled to the Holy Mother Church, and in a spirit of contrition to amend any mistake made, we want to show mercy, according to our criteria and after having deliberated and agreed with learned men of good faith ("*nuestra deliberacion e acuerdo con varones letrados e de buena conciencia*"), who have also studied the case, and keeping the lord Jesus Christ before our eyes, from who all righteous judgment springs." AHN, Sección Inquisición, leg. 534, n. 18, fols. 13v-14r.

69 "*demanda misericordia y se echa en los braços de la Sancta Madre Yglesia.*" AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 8, n. 12, fol. 22r-v.

70 "*¡senyor, misericordia! ¡senyor padre, misericordia! ¡senyor havet compasion e misericordia de mi peccadora!.*" AHN, Sección Inquisición, leg. 544, n. 7, fols. 19r-20v.

71 In *Diccionario Eclesiástico* by Rodrigo de Santaella, published in 1499, simulating is defined as "showing what one is not, as when we pretend to be good, although we are awful (*como mostramos ser buenos siendo malos*)," whereas dissimulating "is to do something pretending not to do it (*es fazer una cosa y mostrar que no la faze*)." Both are described as ways of cheating. Yet simulating is related to pretense, dissimulating to concealing. Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, "'Simular' y 'disimular', percepción de un concepto moderno en la Edad Media hispana," *Res Publica. Revista de Filosofía Política* 10 (2007), 343.

convincing[72] and to avoid conflicts, and so minimise the harmful effects of any possible confrontation. They tried to get around the inquisitorial pressure by omitting any of their family members or friends, which would mean the dissolution of their social network.

In addressing the inquisitor, who was called upon to discern between truth and falsehood, they would show a willingness to cooperate and hope for benevolence and a particular form of empathy, *ecpatía*, toward heretics.[73] Whether they had learned their lesson before or not, they were aware of the sacramental significance of their confession, which did not include any judicial connotations or penal considerations. Instead, they drew attention to their blameful and sinful acts, assuming their guilt and accepting any penance from the inquisitors unconditionally.[74]

The confessor, who acted like a doctor healing disease,[75] had to discern when the penitent performed a pure act of contrition for amendment, although in the prosecution attempts were made to find more evidence against her.[76] Readmission into the Christian church could only be obtained—so Gracia de Esplugás from Saragossa was told by the inquisitors—if she proved to be honest and stuck to the truth: "we received her with mercy and let her be reunited with the community of Christian believers, because she confessed, spontaneously and without inventing anything, all the sins (*sponte et non ficte cuncta peccata*) which she had committed and perpetrated."[77]

Among the *conversas* who showed reluctance to accept their punishment or kept transgressing the limits marked by the Inquisition, some seemed to be aware of the full weight of the law, as in the case of Violante de Castro: "So, I humbly swear and promise that I will fulfil any penance pronounced by your reverend magistrates, and I will comply fully without going against any suspicion you may have. Otherwise, I will incur penalties established by canon law."[78]

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72 Martín de Lahoz, "¿Confesión o conversión?," 185–198.

73 José Luis González de Rivera, "Empatía y ecpatía," *Psiquis: Revista de Psiquiatría, Psicología médica y psicosomática* 25 (2004), 5–7.

74 AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 4, n. 6, fol. 52r-v.

75 José Carlos Vizuete Mendoza, "¿Dolor de corazón? Contrición, literatura espiritual y la formación de una sensibilidad religiosa postridentina," *Vínculos de Historia* 4 (2015), 113.

76 "Humiliter implorando protestatur dictus procurator quod si opus fuerit in disensione huius cause posit offere articulos latius addere et mutare ad veritatem lucidandam etc." AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 13, n. 3, fol. 46v.

77 AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 4, n. 6, fol. 37v.

78 "*Assi lo juro y prometo y juro y prometo que humilmente y con pasciencia recibire qualquier penitencia que por vuestras reverencias por las dichas sospechas me sera dada e la cumplire enterament sin diminucion alguna, y sin yr ni venir en todo ni em parte contra ella, so pena*

One might ask if the confessions were conditioned by some script.[79] Despite the confidentiality of the declarations in the trials, the witnesses could be confronted with their own experiences before and after the trials. In the prisons, there was no strict isolation. Prolonged captivity betrayed many wills, as becomes evident from certain interrogatories: "Asked if she wanted to confess the sins and crimes which she had committed against the Holy Catholic faith, she first declared that she had sinned without telling the whole truth, but she had instead committed perjury."[80]

Once they had overcome the perplexity and consternation of detention, they could start to realise how the inquisitorial power worked through its rules and logic. Furthermore, in prison, they could glimpse who among their family members, close friends, and neighbours had denounced them.[81] Some authors assert that women employed different strategies to protect themselves and their families, receiving advice from family and friends who were also confined behind bars.[82]

Like Luisa Pallarés from Barbastro, mother-in-law of micer Fatás, the aspiration of most women was to be absolved by using all means at their disposal:

> As the Holy Mother Church does not close the door on the true penitents, and after a mature and complete council with jurists, learned men and other masters of Holy Theology, religious people, men of good faith and our advisers, we deliberate about the following in front of the Holy Mother Church and all people of Christian faith: if you are to be absolved of the sentence of ex-communication due to your crimes of heresy and

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*de incurrir en las penas por los sacro canones estatuydas contra aquellos que fazen o torna a caher en lo que yo he jurado e abjurado, los quales quiero y consiento me sean impuestas, segund que el Derecho dispone.*" AHPZ, *Sección Inquisición*, leg. 11, n. 3, fol. 14r-v.

79 Judeo-converts make the transition from one space of existence to another, which Erin Graff-Zivin has defined as dramaturgy. Fernando Blanco, "Imaginarios marranos: la lógica inquisitorial," *A Contracorriente, Una revista de Historia Social y Literatura de América Latina* 13 (2016), 319.

80 "*Interrogada que es lo que queria dezir y confessar, y que pecados y delictos son los que ha hecho contra nuestra Sancta fe catholica, dixo primerament que se acusava por pecadora que quando aquella avian hobido a que confessase la verdat de lo que avia cometido sobre lo que era presa, non avia dicho la verdat nin guardado la solempnidat de juramento*." AHN, Sección Inquisición, leg. 540, n. 13, fol. 62r.

81 Silvia Hamui Sutton, "Identificadores de los judaizantes y la resignificación de sus rituales en el contexto novohispano," *Fronteras de la Historia* 12 (2006), 90–91.

82 Gretchen D. Starr-Lebeau, "Writing (for) Her Life: Judeo-Conversas in Early Modern Spain," in *Women, Texts, and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*, eds. Marta V. Vicente, Luis R. Corteguera (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 57–72.

apostasy, restoring you to the unity of the Church and the benefits of the ecclesiastical sacraments.[83]

### 4.2 *"Planctus & Gesticulatio": Suffering, Tribulation, and Mourning*

The certainty of death had an immense impact on the *conversas*, who looked for consolation in the practices of the elders. It was crucial to die Jewish, especially for those women, who had suffered a forced or feigned conversion. It was one thing to lead a regular life daily, quite another to face death, which is when authentic beliefs became manifest. Reaffirming one's Jewishness before dying assured one's "place in the ancestral tradition."[84]

Mourning is a socially codified expression, not an individual's spontaneous reaction.[85] Its rituality constitutes a collective response to the experience of misfortune.[86] Emotions make up the invisible web through which social life is articulated.[87] In staging the act of mourning, weeping, words and gestures come together to enforce each other, which again "takes us into a world of tears, ritualised gestures of performing actors and acoustic signs expressed in order to calm the pain."[88]

Expressing pain at funerals produces an intense outpouring of tears ("*grandes llantos o lloros e llantos*"), so much so that the pain becomes collectivised. Spanish sources refer to women "lamenting and singing" ("*endecharon e cantaron*"), slapping themselves, "as Jews do" ("*como fasen los judios*");[89]

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83 "*Como la Sancta Madre Yglesia no cierra ni barra la puerta a los verdaderos penitentes e habido sobrello maduro y pleno consexo con juristas, letrados e otros maestros en Sancta Theulogia, religiosas personas, honbres de buena conciencia, de consexo de nuestros assessores, deliberamos que fecha por tu en faz de sancta madre Yglesia y de todo el pueblo christiano. E primero tu, por nos absuelta de la sentencia d'escomunicacion maior en la que encorriste por haver caydo en los dichos crimines de heregia y apostassia deberse reconciliar y restituyr a la unidat de la sancta Madre Yglesia y a los ecclesiasticos sacramentos*." AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 8, n. 12, fol. 32v.

84 David Gitlizk, *Secreto y engaño. La religión de los criptojudíos* (Valladolid, 2003), p. 254.

85 Émile Durkheim, *Las formas elementales de la vida religiosa* (Madrid, 1993), <http://www.arnaldomartinez.net/sociologia/durkheim_Las_formas.pdf> (accessed: May 27 June 2022).

86 Ramón Ramos Torre, "Sociología del mal y teodicea en Las Formas Elementales de la Vida Religiosa de E. Durkheim," *Política y sociedad* 49 (2012), 227–28.

87 Fina Antón Hurtado, "Antropología del miedo," *Methaodos. Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 3 (2015), 264–65.

88 Ángela Muñoz Fernández, "Llanto, palabras y gestos. La muerte y el duelo en el mundo medieval hispánico (morfología ritual, agencias culturales y controversias)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España, versión On-line* 83 (2009), 107–39.

89 Yolanda Moreno Koch, "La comunidad judaizante de Castillo de Garcimuñoz: 1489–1492," *Sefarad* 37 (1977), 356.

"endechar," originating from the Hebrew term *qîn,* refers to a form of lament akin to singing ("cantar"), i.e. a sad and melancholic song which laments and mourns the death of a close relative or friend.[90]

Donosa Graciana, widow of Jaime de Esplugás, from Teruel in the south of Aragon, carried out the mourning ritual after having received the news of the murder of one of her sons: "After she had received the news of the killing of her son, she was seen at home reciting songs of sorrow and lament, slapping herself and placing her hands on her head."[91] On certain occasions, Jewish women and converts shared linseed to wipe away their tears, as they went to the deceased's house.[92] In contrast, Donosa Ruiz, who lived to receive the news that three of her sons had died, one of them in Otranto against the Turks, suffered alone without seeking the Christian form of consolation: "Having grieved much (*grant duelo*), instead of entrusting myself to our redeemer Jesus Christ, I locked myself up like a bad Christian (*como a mala christiana*) at home, crying for a long time without going to mass or leaving my house."[93]

The inquisitors distinguished between two forms of "planto" which, according to common anthropological knowledge, is a universal expression of sadness: The Christian form and another form described in their handbook as mourning the dead, "*a modo judayco*." This expression is no mere abstraction. Witnesses described the people mourning in the same way, as in the case of María Salvat from Monzón, whose husband had died, and who expressed her loss "*a modo judayco*," following Jewish custom.[94]

The testimonies of the Jewish mourning ritual revolve around the same common elements of verbal and gestural expressions, always accompanied by a mourning cloak covering the head: "standing with a cloak covering her head, crying and mourning" ("*con el manto en la cabeça, plorando y moldando*"); "Crying with a cloak covering her head, gesturing with her body, being in pain over her husband's death" ("*doliendose de la dicha muert de su marido*"); "when

90 Manuel Alvar López, "Precisiones en torno a las endechas judeo-españolas," *Sefarad* 17 (1957), 129–143.

91 "*en el tiempo que vino una nueva que havian matado a un fijo de la dicha Donosa, la vio como un dia estava dentro de su casa en un palacio de la dicha casa, e estava endechando como judios, e cantava e dizia tales o semejantes palabras 'ya guaya fijo Gil,' y tocava palmas y poniase las manos en la cabeça*." AHN, Sección Inquisición, leg. 540, n. 13, fol. 54r.

92 Encarnación Marín Padilla, "Relación judeoconversa durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV en Aragón: Enfermedades y muertes," *Sefarad* 43 (1983), 287.

93 AHN, Sección Inquisición, leg. 544, n. 7, fol. 20v.

94 AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 6, n. 8, fol. 47r.

my husband died, I cried *a modo judayco*, with a cloak around my head, gesturing like a Jew and a bad Christian" ("*como judia e mala christiana*").[95]

## 5 Conclusions

Our reading of the inquisitorial documents, which contain detailed information about the emotional life of the Jewish converts on trial in medieval Aragon, has shown that the non-verbal gesture, *lacrimali*, played a key role both for the inquisitors and for many of the accused women. The former looked for signs of submission and contrition, among which weeping was considered to be decisive for the inquisitors' authoritarian-paternalistic reconstruction of the "truth." Those who hoped for absolution would make an effort to appear repentant in order to be forgiven for their sins.

Although "tears of the eyes" were seen as a potential revelation of truth, appearances can be deceptive. Many Jewish converts learned the culturally accepted ways of shedding tears according to the normative standards of the Inquisition, whose representatives held women to be imperfect and inferior. The converts remained under constant suspicion of heresy throughout the trials, in which the inquisitors would interpret and register every one of their feelings and gestures. Their Jewish origin was the main incriminating feature, but being a woman added one more layer to their sinfulness in the eyes of the inquisitor, who expected total submission from the accused and viewed acquittal as a failure.

Still, if a Jewish convert succeeded in conveying her regretful emotions modestly, kneeling and weeping without exaggerating the emotional outlet, she might obtain the desired *benevolencia* from her judges. Showing pain and repentance was considered to be one of the punishments which sprang from sin itself, and so shedding tears meant, for most of them, a purification of their sins, and thus their souls, through contrition. Those who implored for mercy and *misericordia* in their confessions would stand a better chance of mitigating their punishment than others—usually punished with abjuration, fines and spiritual penalties but not with the accessory penalty of confiscation of property—who pleaded innocent or not guilty.[96]

This stylised way of crying in the inquisitorial trials proved to be differently motivated than another culturally shaped lamentation, namely mourning over

95 AHPZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 6, n. 8, fols. 47r-v, 74r-v, 82v, 85r-v.

96 Miguel Ángel Motis, *Vivencias, emociones y perfiles femeninos, Judeoconversas e Inquisición en Aragón en el siglo XV* (Madrid, 2020), p. 148.

the death of a loved one. Staging the act of mourning channelled the pain and grief experienced while also confirming the bond with the rest of the community. The latter form of shedding tears and manifesting sorrow loudly was not as modest as the former, which had to be carried out almost silently in order to be accepted. Mourning *a modo judayco* with a cloak covering the head was so intimately linked to Jewish custom that it was, by Christian standards, considered to be a bad form of Christianity; a standard by which Jewish women also judged themselves when confronted with their actions.

# PART 6

## *Emotional Travellers*

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CHAPTER 14

# Facing Hard Times. Emotion and the Expression of Self in the Autobiographical Accounts by al-Qalaṣādī and al-Ḥaǧarī[1]

*Maravillas Aguiar Aguilar*

Subjectivity is necessarily embedded in place.[2]

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## 1 Introduction

It is generally accepted that the first texts of Medieval Arabic travel literature date from the ninth-tenth centuries and that their main contents are descriptions of routes, cities, mores and people. This group of works, inherited from Roman itineraries, then grew with other texts of descriptive geography, creating a particular category of texts comprising travel information useful for trade and political interests.[3] In the following centuries, Arabic travel writing turned into a successful style with many features. The main form involved recounting

1 This study is part of the research project *Cultural and Religious Identity in Sufism in Morocco and Senegal* (*9th-20th Centuries*): *Hagiographies, Gender Issues, and Symbolism* (PID2023-151079OB-100), funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovations, and Universities, led by Rachid El Hour Amro (Universidad de Salamanca).The system of transliteration used in this chapter is the following: ʿ – b – t – ṯ – ǧ – ḥ – ḫ – d – ḏ – r -z – s – š – ṣ – ḍ – ṭ – ẓ – ʿ – ġ – f – q – k – l – m – n – h – w – y.

2 Jeff E. Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography* (Cambridge, Eng. 1999), 176.

3 Francisco Franco-Sánchez, "al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik: Precisiones acerca del título de estas obras de la literatura geográfica árabe medieval y conclusiones acerca de su origen y estructura," *Philologia Hispalensis* 31/2 (2017), 37–66, http://dx.doi.org/10.12795/PH.2017.i31.1; Francisco Franco-Sánchez, "Masālik wa-l-Mamālik. Construyendo una nueva imagen del mundo: Ruteros, geografía y cartografía al servicio de la causa šīʿī," *Cuadernos del CEMyR* 26 (2018), 111–70, <https://doi.org/10.25145/j.cemyr.2018.26.05>.

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one's pilgrimage to Mecca (*riḥla*),[4] a genre that emerged in the twelfth century with Ibn Ǧubayr's journey.

*Riḥla* texts are autobiographical first-person written accounts focused on the journey to Mecca in the context of the Islamic pilgrimage (*al-ḥaǧǧ*),[5] one of the pillars of Islam or pillars of the religion (*arkān al-islām* or *arkān al-dīn*). The narrator of these *riḥla* texts is a Muslim man who has travelled to various cities and recounts his journey. His trip is a journey through different places until he reaches Mecca, the visit to the sacred places in Mecca itself, and the homeward journey. These texts usually include the mention of teachers and works that constituted the traveller's learning on the long journey. This type of journey is known in Arabic as *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* ("travel in search of knowledge"),[6] a *riḥla* account where the author records the names of his masters, the places where he was taught and the selected texts he memorised during this education. In addition to its descriptive content, narrating a travel experience implies an organisation of memories and also interpretation of what the traveller felt. This traveller and pilgrim visited many places, meeting a variety of "others" and experienced a range of emotions. Therefore, recounting his journey implies an attitude towards one's own existence and the construction of the memory of oneself. On the other hand, and in this context, writing on feelings and emotions is related not only to the one who writes, but also to the audience for whom it is written. This binomial establishes the form, contents, aim and projection of Arabic travel writing.

In this chapter, a synthesis of some representative Arabic travel accounts is first presented in order to frame the travel writing of two well-known personalities: Abū-l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Qalaṣādī (b. Baza, Spain, 1412 – d. Béja, Tunis, 1486) and Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaǧarī (b. Hornachos, Spain, 1570 – d. Tunis after 1642). Then, a new perspective is introduced about the significance of al-Qalaṣādī's *Riḥla*[7] and al-Ḥaǧarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfirīn* [The

4 Ian Netton, "Riḥla," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Peri Bearman, Thierry Bianquis, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, Wolfhart Heinrichs, 8 vols. (Leiden, 1995), 8:528; Daniel Newman, "Arabic Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, eds. Nandini Das, Tim Youngs (Cambridge, Eng. 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316556740>.

5 Dwight F. Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self. Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (Berkeley, 2001), <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft2c6004x0/>.

6 Maria Luisa Ávila, "The search for knowledge: Andalusi Scholars and their Travels to the Islamic East," *Medieval Prosopography* 23 (2002), 125–39.

7 Al-Qalaṣādī, *Tamhīd al-ṭālib wa muntahà al-rāġib ilà aʿlà al-manāzil wa-l-manāqib* [Preparation of the disciple and perfect complement for the interested party on the most outstanding places and ways], ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Aǧfān (Tunis, 1978).

supporter of religion against the infidels],[8] known as *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn*. The reason for choosing these texts is the apparent great difference between them. While al-Ḥaǧarī presents the memories of his travels in a very emotional way, al-Qalaṣādī only lists the names of his masters and the titles of the works he studied. I conclude that al-Qalaṣādī's *riḥla* and al-Ḥaǧarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn* show how the authors confronted hard times differently.

Both texts reveal the mental representation of interrelated circumstances and spaces in a common socioeconomic frame that does not welcome individual lives, but a steady state and society.

Hence, al-Qalaṣādī and al-Ḥaǧarī's autobiographical texts are not mere translations of their cultural speech into writing, they are also both testimonies of their growth as individuals based on the places and moments experienced. Although Netton[9] argued that "Pilgrim paradigm comprises a series of four searches: for the shrine and/or its circumambient religious geography; for knowledge; for recognition and/or power; and for the satisfaction of a basic wanderlust," we consider that pilgrimage also involves the search for self, as well as the construction of one's self, through the experience of the collectivity in different places and in the memory built of such experiences, an aspect to which little attention has been paid.

## 2 Travel Writing in the Islamic Medieval Context

The study of narratives of journeys first developed as a genre in Western literature. A large number of works have dealt with travel writing, addressing

8 *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfirīn wa-huwa al-sayf al-ašhar ʿalā kull man kafar* [The defender of religion against unbelievers: The mightiest sword against all who do not believe], Autobiography of al-Ḥaǧarī. It is considered that the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn* is a summarised version of the *Riḥlat al-Šihāb ilā liqāʾ al-aḥbāb* [Fleeting Journey to the Beloved = Šihāb's Autobiography dedicated to his loved ones] by al-Ḥaǧarī himself, that is thought to be lost. Maravillas Aguiar Aguilar, Kevin Rodríguez Wittmann, "Al-ǧuzur al-ḫālidāt al-musammāt al-ʾān bi-qanāriya (Las Islas eternas conocidas ahora como Qanariya): La mención a Canarias de Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaǧarī (Hornachos, ca. 1570-Túnez, después de 1642)," *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 68 (2022), 1–15 <https://revistas.grancanaria.com/index.php/aea/article/view/10790/10381>.

9 Ian Richard Netton, "Arabia and the Pilgrim Paradigm of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: A Braudelian Approach," in *Arabia and the Gulf: From Traditional Society to Modern States*, ed. Ian Netton (London, 1986), pp. 29–42; Ian Richard Netton, "Basic Structures and Signs of Alienation in the 'Riḥla' of Ibn Jubayr," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22/1 (1991), 21–37.

different aspects, but a general theory has yet to be proposed.[10] In the case Arabic travel literature, we have a large number of surviving texts, currently without an established textual corpus from which it is possible to address theoretical aspects. The Arabic texts that narrate journeys, those that represent both the individual and collective experience, denote the existence of complex relations between the individual and the community, the ability of the journey to represent and describe the world, as well as experience, observation and apprehension of the social, the economic, the geographic, the real, but also the extraordinary, the marvellous and even the non-existent. They do so in such a way that, as we shall see, by virtue of the journey, the experience of the individual entered the written record, defining an understanding of the world articulated around the knowledge shared by the collective.

A first group of Arabic travel accounts is made up of texts which gathered news about places, routes or ways, and people ("others"). This set of texts shares the title of *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* [Treatise on Roads and Kingdoms].[11] They were written by authors of Persian origins in the era of the ʿabbāsí empire during the ninth and tenth centuries.[12] One ninth-century work is that by Ibn Ḫurradāḏbih, an official in the caliph's postal service, who was very interested in compiling all kinds of descriptive details about postal relay points, distances, roads, judicial districts, frontiers, etc. At the end of the ninth century, Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī compiled his work titled *Silsilat al-tawāriḫ* [Chain of Chronicles], in which he gathered valuable details about navigation in the Indian Ocean, India and China. In the second half of the tenth century, the Persian Bozorg collected stories about the Far East.[13] From the tenth century is the work by Ibn Faḍlān, protagonist of a mission commissioned by the Caliph al-Muqtadir, which would lead him to travel in 921 from Bagdad to the Volga lands to visit the king of the Bulgars, in order to gather information about the peoples of the area and their customs. In his *risāla*, he describes what he calls the tribe of the *rūsiyyā* (the Russians), only known, until the twelfth century, through this source. Other similar missions were entrusted to various

10 François Moureau, "Descubrimientos y redescubrimientos: estado actual de los estudios sobre la literatura de viajes," in *Escrituras y reescrituras del viaje: miradas plurales a través del tiempo y de las culturas*, eds. Berta Pico Graña, Clara Curell, María Cristina González de Uriarte Marrón, José Manuel Oliver Frade (Bern, 2007), 11–20; Maravillas Aguiar Aguilar, "El relato de viajes (*riḥla*) en la literatura árabe," in *Escrituras y reescrituras del viaje: miradas plurales a través del tiempo y de las culturas*, eds. Berta Pico Graña, Clara Curell, María Cristina González de Uriarte Marrón, José Manuel Oliver Frade (Bern, 2007), pp.21–28.

11 Franco-Sánchez, "Masālik wa-l-Mamālik," 37–66.

12 Franco-Sánchez, "Masālik wa-l-Mamālik. Construyendo," 111–70.

13 Régis Blachère, *Éxtraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1932), p. 94.

figures by the authorities of the empire. For example, there was the mission the vizier of Khorasan entrusted to Abū Dulaf al-Yanbūʿī. In 942, he accompanied the Chinese ambassadors travelling to Turkestan and China and gathered news of interest about the Far East along the way.[14] Then there was the journey by Sallām ordered by Caliph al-Wāṯiq in the mid-ninth century in search of the wall of Gog and Magog. On his return, he passed through Turkestan and Persia collected news by Ibn Ḫurradāḏbih. Scholarship and the need to collect information from foreign countries prompted this type of travel account. The data gathered, whether real or legendary, was transferred to a language converted into that of a thriving civilisation which held a large territory stretching from Asia to the Atlantic.

On the other hand, pilgrimage to the sanctuary in the city of Mecca (*al-ḥaǧǧ*) was among the mandatory rites of Islam. On this journey, the Muslim had the opportunity to visit different places and reside temporarily in them. The vicissitudes of these travels were recorded in writing on numerous occasions, particularly among Andalusian authors, which has led to these texts being distinguished from others as a specific genre in Arabic literature. The literary category of the journey, the *riḥla*, is a non-indigenous genre in Arabic literature. Brockelmann[15] classified it in Arabic geographic literature, which came from the Greeks. In Greek literature, texts describing distant countries and their customs, the *Periegesis*, from which the *Periplos* derived, are well known. These, in turn, are related to the geographic descriptions of the Earth from Alexandrine and imperial times.[16]

In his *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Âge*, Blachère offered a selection of texts from works by Arab geographers from the Middle Ages and outlined the following chronological and thematic milestones of geographic literature:

14 Vladímir Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's Travels in Iran* (Cairo, 1955) ; Richard W. Bulliet, "Abū Dolaf al-Yanbūʿī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, eds. Ehsan Yarshater, Iḥsān Yāršātir, 15 vols. (New York, 1983) 1/ fasc.3: 271–72; an updated version is available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abu-dolaf-al-yanbui-mesar-b>. (Accessed: 27 November 2021). The *Encyclopaedia Iranica* is freely accessible at <https://brill.com/display/db/eiro>.

15 Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1943).

16 Ignacio Rodríguez Alfageme, *Literatura científica griega* (Madrid, 2004), pp.79–80.

**Typology of travel writing**

Ninth-tenth centuries: literary geography appears in the form of compendia for the use of officials and geographic works aimed at the courtly reader.
Tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries: other interests and the literary development of the Islamic Arab culture exhaust the previous genres, giving rise to:
– Accounts by travellers, between the tenth and twelfth centuries.
– The genre of *al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* [The itineraries and kingdoms] begins to develop. This produces works from a *šīʿī* perspective, of Persian origins and typical of the *ʿabbāsī* Empire, defined in its essence by opposition to the Hellenistic legacy in geography, sciences and Ptolemaic astronomy.
– Works popularising geographic knowledge appear, such as those by al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) and al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048).
From the twelfth century, the genre evolves and information about journeys is collected in:
– Gazetteers.
– Cosmographies and universal geographies.
– Historical-geographic encyclopaedias.
– Travellers' accounts (*riḥla*).

Blachère's classification mainly considers the written record of the golden age of Arabic literature. The centuries selected belong to the period of splendour of the Islamic-Arabic civilisation. However, after the twelfth century, the genre of travel writing continued to be cultivated in both Western and Eastern Islam.

Without the need to go back to what some have considered the first known travel account in Arabic literature, contained in the story of "Sinbad the Sailor" (*Sindibād al-Baḥrī*) in the *Thousand and One Nights*,[17] we can affirm that, since the ninth century, an Arab-Islamic sphere of works written in Arabic, of varied themes, which collected anecdotes, geographical, mathematical, astronomical, botanical and even ethnographical data, has been documented. The travel story we call *riḥla*, in other words, the narration of places, people and vicissitudes experienced by the medieval Muslim traveller, has traditionally been classified as one of the genres of medieval Arabic geography.

17 Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes*, p. 93.

On the other hand, the "journey in search of knowledge" (*riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*) is a narrative modality that has been included in the Arabic genre of biographical dictionaries. Compared with other types of travel stories in which a marked explanatory character is observed and through which the distant, the strange, the marvellous are told, the *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* is the presentation of data about teachers, the cities where they resided and the works they studied. Between the twelfth and fourteenth century, tales were written about pilgrims who recounted their adventures during their journeys to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. This type of narration was called generically *riḥla*, a genre that collected geographical and social information provided by the pilgrim who wrote the story. The genre is more specifically called *riḥla ḥiǧāzịyya* or *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*.

Arabic sources, such as bio-bibliographies and stories of the journey to Mecca, which were at the same time study and learning trips, contain testimonies of stereotyped Muslim pilgrims, men who start out from some point in Western Islam (al-Andalus-Maghreb) for the holy city of Mecca knowing that they are undertaking a spiritual, intellectual and educational journey. The pilgrim's itinerary included precise points on the map of the knowledge of the time, a map never drawn except in the plot of the text of the tales of pilgrims. Thus, the obligation to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and to seek knowledge wherever one might find oneself defined the concept of *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, or journeys in search of knowledge.

Al-Andalus remained, in principle and until the twelfth century, detached from this development of the concept of pilgrimage linked to both spirituality and the search for knowledge. This idea came to al-Andalus in a later period. Ibn ʿArabī of Murcia (Murcia 1165 – Damascus 1240), the "greatest master" (*al-šayj al-akbar*) of Islamic mysticism, may have been one of the promotors of the combined concept of pilgrimage and education. He spent part of his life in al-Andalus and the Maghreb and later travelled around the Islamic East spreading his teachings. Ibn ʿArabī spent his life on a spiritual journey. He reproduced two of his journeys in writing and contemplation: the interior and the exterior, in his goal of achieving the unification of the two horizons, that of the individual dimension and that of the collective aspect, the experience of being and the experience of existing.[18] In the twelfth century, the strictly literary genre of travel accounts, the *riḥla*, appeared as a creation of Western Muslims. The origin of the travel narration in prose lies in a journey with the purpose of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. The journey was understood to be cloaked in the

18 Alfonso Carmona, *Los dos horizontes: escritos sobre Ibn Arabí* (Murcia, 1992).

solemnity that was implied by a religious and spiritual route through the lands of Islam to the holy city of Mecca.

The two reference works in this genre of Arabic travel literature date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and contain the details of the pilgrimages by two figures of Andalusian origin: Ibn Ǧubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The former, Abū-l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ǧubayr al-Kinānī al-Ġarnātī al-Balansī,[19] was born in Valencia in 1145 into a family that had been settled in al-Andalus since 740. He was educated in Xàtiva, where his father was a government official, receiving the traditional education for young men of his class, beginning with religious sciences and literature (*adab*) at the same time. His aptitudes earned him a secretarial post in the service of the governor of Granada, Abū Saʿīd ʿUṯmān b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. It is said that one day, Ibn Ǧubayr was forced to drink wine, and out of deep regret, he decided to clear his error by making the journey to the holy places of Islam. This event gave rise to the work that would bring him fame, his *riḥla* or narration of his travels to Mecca.[20]

The journey of Ibn Ǧubayr began in Granada, which he left on the 19th day of the month of *šawwāl* in 578 (15 February 1183). After passing through various places, he reached the holy city, where he stayed for nine months. He returned to al-Andalus via Cartagena and from there to Granada in 1185. Ibn Ǧubayr travelled to the Orient again between 1189–1191 but did not write about the second trip. In 1217, he moved to Alexandria, where he died at the end of that same year.

Ibn Ǧubayr's book was the first to be written in this genre and became a model admired and imitated by later authors, like Ibn Ǧuzayy,[21] the compiler of the *riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The *riḥla* by Ibn Ǧubayr is considered to be a magnificent source that informs and illustrates, among other things, the history of the Crusades, the conditions of navigation in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages, the political and social state of the regions he passed through, etc. In general, the book's style is lively, and the narrative passages are written in an almost journalistic manner. When the author describes a region or city, or the feelings he experiences, the account becomes extremely precise and rich, making use of rhymed prose. The book became known in Europe in the mid nineteenth century, although the first translation into a European language did not appear until 1906, when Celestino Schiaparelli translated it into Italian.

19 Charles Pellat, "Ibn Djubayr," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Charles Pellat, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, Bill Lewis, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1986), 3:755.

20 Netton, "Basic Structures."

21 André Miquel, "Ibn Djubayr," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Charles Pellat, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, Bill Lewis, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1986), 3:756.

Around 1950, French and English translations by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Wright and Broadhurst were published. Felipe Maíllo Salgado's Spanish translation was published in 1988. Another edition appeared in Cairo in 1955.

Rachel Arié[22] has pointed out that the *riḥla* by Muḥammad al-ʿAbdarī inaugurated a new form of travel narrative that is related to the journeys by the Maliki jurist, Ibn Rušayd, also in the thirteenth century, although some years later. Al-ʿAbdarī wrote his *riḥla* at the end of the century. He likely lived in Marrakech, but the dates of his birth and death are unknown. His journey began in December 1289 and his account contains abundant details about Maghreb Sufi saints and Muslim scholars. Another author of a *riḥla* is Ibn Rušayd. Born in Ceuta in 1259, he began his journey of pilgrimage and learning in 1284. He joined Ibn al-Ḥakim of Ronda, future vizier in the Nasrid court of Granada, in Almeria. He was the *imām* and *ḫaṭīb* in the great mosque in that city and later in the old mosque in Marrakech. He died in 1321. His *riḥla* compiles the names and titles of outstanding works from the cultural environment of his time. Arié mentions the mannered style of both stories with a profusion of quotes from verses recited by their interlocutors. On the other hand, the cities are described in a literary way without any interest being shown in describing them realistically.[23]

Another well-known *riḥla* is *Taǧ al-mafriq fī taḥliyat ʿulamāʾ al-mašriq*[24] by the judge (*qāḍī*) Ḫalīd b. ʿIsā al-Balawī (d. 1364), who was born in Cantoria (Almeria) into a family of lawyers with Yemeni ancestors. Educated in Granada, he was *qāḍī* in Cantoria and later in Purchena.[25] He began his journey to Mecca in 1335, returning to al-Andalus in 1340 and finishing his account of his travels in 1366. Al-Balawī's *riḥla* was written in rhymed prose and includes poems by the author. It is a poetical panorama of the places he visited and the people he met.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[26] is well known for his account of his journey to Mecca. Starting from his *riḥla*, his biography can be reconstructed to a point, although we always find ourselves between what the author wanted, and did not want, to explain. Born in Tangier in 1304, he began his *riḥla* on the 2nd of *raǧab* in

22 Rachel Arié, "Viajeros de occidente a oriente," in *Historia y cultura de la Granada nazarí*, ed. Rachel Arié (Granada, 2004), pp. 142–43.

23 Arié, "Viajeros de occidente," p. 143.

24 Ḫalīd b. ʿIsā al-Balawī, *Taǧ al-mafriq fī taḥliyat ʿulamāʾ al-mašriq*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sāʾiḥ (Rabat, without date).

25 Arié, "Viajeros de occidente," pp. 144–7.

26 André Miquel, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Charles Pellat, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, Bill Lewis, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1986), 3:735–6.

725 (13 June 1325), a few days before turning twenty-two. His travels to Mecca took him to numerous cities and villages and along many routes over several years. After visiting Mecca and completing the rituals of the pilgrimage, he continued to travel around the Orient. He spent almost ten years in India until 1342. He undertook this ritual pilgrimage four times and witnessed many great events in his day.

The Granadan polygraph, Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb[27] wrote two pieces resulting from political travels. These are the *Ḫaṭrat al-ṭayf fī riḥlat al-šitā' wa-l-ṣayf* and the *Nufāḍat al-ğirāb fī ʿulālat al-iġtirāb*. *Ḫaṭrat al-ṭayf* is a brief tract written in rhymed prose that contains Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb's experiences on the journey he undertook with Sultan Yūsuf I to inspect the eastern frontiers of the kingdom in 1347. The work is a unique testament of the political, social and military history of Nasrid Granada in the fourteenth century.[28] For its part, the *Nufāḍat* includes information about the journey by Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb to Fez in 1359, as well as his wanderings in the Maghreb Atlas after settling in Salé, when the official retinue had chosen to set its residence in the Marinid court in Fez. These two works conserve a collection of news and events of a historical nature that their narrator, one of the most relevant figures of the fourteenth century in al-Andalus, compiled following his travels along the Nasrid frontier and in the Maghreb. The documentary nature of these works is evident and constitutes an example of a specific type of Arabic travel writing.

Some examples of travel literature written by Maghrebis come from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were Maghrebis, but we should remember that this group includes Andalusians living in the Maghreb as a result of the progressive disappearance of the Islamic state of al-Andalus. To this it can be added that, despite the small number of travel books from this time (at least as far as we know today), stylistically they are heterogeneous and fluctuate between detailed descriptions of the surroundings and the bare recording of news about people and places. The latter is the case of the *riḥla* by al-Qalaṣādī, a work that departs from the literary model to adhere to the essence and spirit of the *riḥla*, a study trip for intellectual and religious learning, creating an atmosphere of social cohesion around knowledge. In this sense, a basic distinction should be made between travel books of a literary nature and

27 Jacinto Bosch Vilá, "Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. Charles Pellat, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emeri van Donzel, Bill Lewis, 12 vols. (Leiden, 1960–2005), 3:860; Celia Del Moral, Francisco Velázquez Basanta, *Ibn al-Jatib y su tiempo* (Granada, 2012).

28 Emilio Molina, *Ibn al-Jatib* (Granada, 2001), p. 190.

those of a non-literary character or of descriptions of itineraries of medieval wisdom.

The *riḥla* by al-Qalaṣādī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qalaṣādī al-Baṣtī al-Garnaṭī, is from the fifteenth century. He was born in Baza in 1412 and died in Tunis in 1486 and is best known for his contributions as a mathematician.[29] The account of his journey, undertaken around 1439, contains the list of teachers and ulamas who participated in his education during his time in various places in the Arabic-Islamic sphere. Al-Qalaṣādī's contemporary, Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, was born in Almeria and died after 1490.[30] He is considered to be the last classical traveller (*raḥḥāl*). His *riḥla* is titled *Minšāb al-aḥbār wa taḏkirat al-ahyār* [Origin of the events, Memory of the Virtuous]. Franco Sánchez (1995) highlights the great similarities between the praise dedicated to the Kingdom of Granada by Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ and that which appears in the *Ḥaṭrat al-ṭayf* by Ibn al- Ḫaṭīb. He also highlights the similarities between the descriptions of the Kingdom of Granada in the *Minšāb al-aḥbār* and those in *Miʿyār al-iḫtiyār fī ḏikr al-maʿāhid wa-l-diyār*, also by Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb, the former seeming to summarise the latter. It is no surprise that the work of this Granadan polygraph served as a model for other authors.

From the sixteenth century, there are the books of voyages by Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥağarī, which is dealt with below, and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamarūtī, *Al-nafḥat al-miskiyya fī l-sifāra al-ṭurkiyya* (The Musk scent: The Turkish trip).[31] Written in 1591, a few years before his death in 1595, *Al-nafḥat al-miskiyya* contains the account of a journey that, for a little over two years, the author undertook as the ambassador of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Ḏahabī before the Ottoman caliph Murād III in the city of Constantinople. This book is especially useful for its details about the diplomatic relations between the Maghreb and the Turkish-Ottoman Empire. The title itself (*The Musk scent: The Turkish trip*) would seem to suggest, a priori, a narrative posture related to sensuality and exoticism. However, this type of title with a bi-membered and rhymed structure is very frequent in Arab-language written production[32] and

29 Manuela Marín, "The making of a mathematician: al-Qalaṣādī (d.891/1486) and his Riḥla," *Suhayl* 4 (2004), 295–310.

30 Francisco Franco-Sánchez, "El reino nazarí de Granada según un viajero mudéjar almeriense: Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ (m. después 895/1490)," *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos* 13 (1995), 203–24.

31 Henry de La Croix comte de Castries, *Rélation d'une ambassade marocaine en Turquie (1589–1591)* (Paris, 1929).

32 George Michael Wickens, "Notional significance in conventional Arabic 'book' titles: some unregarded potentialities," in *The Islamic world from Classical to Modern times: essays in*

its purpose is to help to recall the title of a work. These titles constitute a kind of mnemonic in which the evocative nature of its rhyme and aesthetic sensation evoked is undoubtedly highly functional. The title, then, is remembered for the emotional trace of how it sounds and what it suggests.

## 3 The Serenity of Being Part of a Collectivity: The *Riḥla* by al-Qalaṣādī

The mathematician of Granadan origin, Abū-l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Basṭī al-Qalaṣādī was born in Baza, in the province of Granada, in 815/1412. He spent fifteen years travelling through the main towns on the Maghreb coast and the Orient until reaching Mecca. His *Riḥla* is traditionally part of the genre of journeys of pilgrimage in search of knowledge (*riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*), although it lacks the stylistic characteristics we find in travel accounts like those by Ibn Ǧubayr or Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

The *Riḥla* by al-Qalaṣādī is presented to us as an impeccable example of objective writing in which the mathematician gives an orderly account of the teachers from whom he learned, the titles of the fundamental texts for classical Islamic learning, his level of knowledge of these and the city where he resided when he received these teachings. The work encapsulates the well-known experience of learning in various places in the Arabic-Islamic realm on a real intellectual journey to and from Mecca. Such objectivity transcends the author's choice about how to represent his intellectual universe as part of a set of knowledge that constituted the thought of his time and its context. However, it is also a means of reaching a higher personal level by virtue of learning and understanding. Thus, the phenomenon of the *riḥla* supposes a physical and, at the same time, intellectual journey, a metaphor for the path towards the growth of the individual, which fits perfectly into a network of teachers and knowledge.

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*honor of Bernard Lewis*, eds. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory, A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1989), pp. 369–88; Alfonso Carmona, "Sobre la estructura convencional del título en los libros árabes," *Al-Qanṭara* 21/1 (2000), 85–95. In this type of title, the rhyme divides it into two parts or syntagms each with a full sense. The first part or syntagm is the brief title by which reference is made to the work and the second is a subtitle where the theme of the work is expressed. The first part tends to be an aesthetic syntagm, such as this title of the work by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamarūtī: *Al-nafḥat al-miskiyya* [The Musk scent].

His *Riḥla* is also a choice, a positioning, a point of arrival, that al-Qalaṣādī reaches after reflecting about his life, experiences and, above all, his memories. In other words, he chose how to manage the memory.[33] The *Riḥla* of al-Qalaṣādī is a very valuable source for documenting the names of the teachers and the titles of the texts that were considered essential for higher education in the Islamic context of the ninth/fifteenth century. But its significance goes beyond the verification of bio-bibliographic data, since it offers us the opportunity to observe writing in which objectivity is an indication of the creation of a subjectivity and a specific representation of the author's vital context. The world we access through al-Qalaṣādī's *Riḥla* is one without conflicts, where there is no mention of any type of danger or threat, in which there is no "other." The account maintains an "I" that travels to points on the map of knowledge in the Arabic-Islamic realm of the fifteenth century, showing us an itinerary (a world) unified around knowledge and teaching, a world which is both internal (the individual, al-Qalaṣādī) and external (the teachers, the group).

In his hometown, al-Qalaṣādī followed the teachings of ʿAlī b. Mūsà on law, Qur'anic exegesis, *adab* and the calculation of inheritances. From Baza, he moved to Granada where he lived part of his life. In the Nasrid capital, he studied under various teachers, including Ibn Futūh, who taught him philosophy, science and philology, and al-Saraqusṭī, with whom he would mainly study *fiqh*. Al-Qalaṣādī stood out in his time for his pious character, for being a prolific author and above all for being an expert in inheritance law (*ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ*). His higher education lasted fifteen years in different parts of the Maghreb until he reached Mecca. There he ended the outward stage of his study trip after ten years. From Mecca, he undertook the return journey mainly by sea, sailing down the Nile and along the Mediterranean, until he reached Almeria. After five years, he finished his journey in this Andalusian city in 851/1447.

Thus, as we have seen, executing the *riḥla*, which includes the *ḥağğ*, means travelling within oneself and outside oneself. The external, that network of teachers and fundamental texts for traditional Islamic knowledge (grammar, law, mathematics …), solidifies the individual who thus perfects two complementary and indissoluble aspects in the conformation of the model of pious Muslim: knowledge and spirituality.

33 Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York, 1992); Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago, 2004).

## 4 In Search of a Meaningful Life: The Journeys of al-Ḥaǧarī

Aḥmad b. Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn al-faqīh Qāsim ibn al-šayḫ al-Ḥaǧarī al-Andalusī, with the Moorish name of Ehmed ben Caçim Bejarano, and the Christian name of Diego Bejarano, was born in Hornachos, in south-western Spain, around 1570.[34] According to his own account, a Moorish physician taught him to read and write Arabic, knowing Arabic as a spoken language.[35] In 1590, al-Ḥaǧarī served the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, founder of Sacromonte Abbey, who was immersed in the episode of the Lead Books of Sacromonte.[36] Regarding his works,[37] Jaime Oliver Asín (1905–1980) was the first to study the Aljamiado-Moorish manuscript D 565 in the University Library of Bologna, where al-Ḥaǧarī's writings in Spanish are kept. Aḥmad al-Ḥaǧarī wrote his *Letter to the Moors of Constantinople* in Arabic in Marrakech in 1612. His translation into Spanish is preserved in the

34 Leonard P. Harvey, "The Morisco who was Muley Zaidan's Spanish interpreter: Ahmad bnu Qasim ibn al-faqih Qasim al-shaikh al-Hajari al-Andalusi, alias Ehmed ben Caçim Bejarano hijo de Ehmed hijo de alfaquí Caçim hijo del saih al-Hhachari Andaluz," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 8/1 (1959), 67–97; Gerard Albert Wiegers, "A life between Europe and the Magrib. The writings and travels of Ahmad b. Qasim ibn Ahmad ibn al-faqih Qasim ibn al-shaykh al-Hajari al-Andalusi (born c.977/1569–70)," in *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges* [*Orientations*, 1], eds. Geert Jan van Gelder, Ed de Moor (Amsterdam, 1993), pp.87–118; Jaime Oliver Asín, "Noticias de Bejarano en Granada;" "Aḥmad al-Haŷarī Bejarano. Apuntes biográficos de un morisco notable residente en Marruecos," in *Jaime Oliver Asín. Conferencias y apuntes inéditos*, ed. Dolores Oliver (Madrid, 1996), pp. 127–50; 151–64; Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, "Aḥmad al-Ḥaŷarī," in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, 2018), <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/39313/ahmad-al-hayari>; Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, "Una nota sobre Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaŷarī Bejarano," *Sharq al-Andalus* 13 (1996), 123–28; Houssem Eddine Chachia, "La expulsión en las escrituras moriscas: ¿'Por qué se nos echa'?," in *Actas del XIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (*Teruel, 4–5 de septiembre de 2014*) (Teruel, 2017), pp.379–93.

35 Mercedes García Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, Rachid El Hour Amro, eds., *Cartas marruecas: documentos de Marruecos en archivos españoles* (*siglos XVI–XVII*) (Madrid, 2002), pp. 40–41; Maravillas Aguiar Aguilar, "Los moriscos en la encrucijada política y científica de la Europa moderna: la pervivencia de una minoría," in *La cuestión morisca y el derecho*, eds. Kaoutar El Amri, Rahma Hadri, Mohammed Najib Lourbaris (Rabat, 2018), pp. 125–31.

36 Mercedes García Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid, 2010); Mercedes García Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Diego Bejarano al-Ḥajarī and the Morisco Understanding of the Lead Books," in *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, eds. Mercedes García Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, trans. Consuelo López Morillas (Leiden, 2013), pp. 139–53.

37 Aguiar Aguilar, Rodríguez Wittmann, "Al-ǧuzur."

mentioned manuscript D 565 in the University Library of Bologna. Around 1625, during his stay in Marrakech, he translated Abraham Zacuto's *Ha-Ḥibbur ha-gadol* (*Almanach perpetuum*) into Arabic. This is preserved in his *al-Risāla al-Zakūṭiyya*. He also translated some passages from the *Kitāb al-Šifāʾ* by qāḍī ʿĪyāḍ b into Spanish between 1634 and 1637. This text is conserved in the abovementioned manuscript D 565. Additionally, Aḥmad al-Ḥaǧarī's correspondence with the Sultan of Morocco, as well as with Erpenius and Golius, is preserved. Finally, the *Riḥlat al-šihāb ilā liqāʾ al-aḥbāb* [Fleeting Journey to the Beloved = Autobiography of Šihāb dedicated to his loved ones], is al-Ḥaǧarī's autobiography, a work that is considered lost. It is summarised in the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfirīn wa-huwa al-sayf al-ašhar ʿalā kull man kafar* [The Defender of the Religion against the Disbelievers: The mightiest sword against all those who do not believe]. The *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn*, written by Aḥmad al-Ḥaǧarī at the request of the Mālikī *qāḍī* of the Azhar al-Uǧhūrī (d. 1066/1656),[38] survives in three manuscript copies that present different stages of the text. There is one from 1046/1636–7 and another from ca. 1052/1642. Moreover, an unheaded acephalus version is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn*, al-Ḥaǧarī recounts his life during his travels to Marrakech, France and the Netherlands. In 1598, he embarked from Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz) bound for the port of Mazagán (a Portuguese possession, nowadays El-Yadida). From there, he journeyed to the court of Muley Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in Marrakech, where he arrived in July of the same year. He stayed there for several years working as a secretary and translator of diplomatic documents and scholarly texts on various topics. He was secretary and interpreter to Muley Zaydān from 1608. In 1611, he travelled to France on a diplomatic mission tasked with defending the interests of the Moorish refugees there. He then embarked on Le Havre bound for the United Provinces of the Netherlands, territories with which Morocco maintained good diplomatic and trade relations. He stayed in Amsterdam between June and September 1613, maintaining contacts with scholars like Golius and Erpenius as well as representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community. Back in Marrakech, he continued in his post as secretary and interpreter during the reigns of ʿAbd al-Mālik

38 ʿAlī Wanīs, *Tarǧamat al-šayḫ al-ʿalāmat ʿAlī b. Zayn al-ʿĀbadīn Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. ʿAlī Abū al-Iršād Nūr al-Dīn al-Uǧhūrī al-Mālikī* (*T. 1066 H*) [Biography of the distinguished master ʿAlī b. Zayn al-ʿĀbadīn Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. ʿAlī Abū al-Iršād Nūr al-Dīn al-Uǧhūrī al-Mālikī (d. 1066 = 1656)] (2016), <https://www.alukah.net/>.

and al-Walīd. In 1634, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1637, he moved to Tunis, where he translated some works. His death likely occurred around 1642.

Regarding the traditional features of Arabic travel writing, a kind of modernity emerges in al-Ḥaǧarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn* in the sense that he chooses his position regarding a collection of selected experiences. This is what Penella[39] calls "preference." Al-Ḥaǧarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn* is a journey through his memories, constructed and framed in his own time and for his potential readers. The autobiographical narrative encompasses various levels of the expression of the self. The evolution that takes place in the Arab travel genre over the centuries is linked to the fact that the medieval pilgrim's account of his travels to Mecca was an individual journey framed in a collective context. In the *riḥla* genre, the individual and the collective constitute an inseparable binomial. Al-Ḥaǧarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn* starts with a proud-hearted statement:

> One of the blessings the Exalted God bestowed upon me was that He made me a Muslim in the land of the infidels, ever since I was aware of myself, through my blessed parents – may the Exalted God have mercy upon them—and their guidance. God had created in my heart a longing to leave the lands of al-Andalus in order to emigrate to the Exalted God and His messenger and to enter the land of the Muslims.[40]

With his statement, al-Ḥaǧarī places himself on the "right side," the good place to stay being Muslim, and not an infidel, i.e. in *Dār al-islām* although his birthplace was in "the land of the infidel" (*Dār al-kufr*) or in "the land of the war" (*Dār al- ḥārb*), because the land of peace or Islam exists (i.e. *Dār al-islām*). Consciously recognising his place as part of a collective was essential for al-Ḥaǧarī in order to construct his life's purpose and to feel safe as part of something bigger than his own existence.

The following part of his introduction reveals another interesting individual point of view that fits perfectly with al-Ḥaǧarī's feelings and memories of his time in Cairo (the place where al-Ḥaǧarī was writing this text). Al-Ḥaǧarī speaks in his *muqaddima* about why he was involved in the judicial process,

39 Juan Penella, "Literature morisque en espagnol en Tunise," in *Études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, eds. Mikel de Epalza, Ramón Petit (Madrid-Túnez, 1973), pp.187–98; Juan Penella, *Los moriscos españoles emigrados al Norte de África después de la expulsión de 1609* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, 1971), p. 195.

40 Al-Ḥaǧarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn*, trans. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, Qasim al-Samarrai, Gerard Albert Wiegers (Madrid, 2015), p.76 (Arabic text: p. 7–8).

as attorney,[41] about the robbery at sea of a number of French Muslims by Christians. In fifteenth-century Cairo, a debate took place about whether Muslims were permitted to read and quote the Bible and other ancient Christian and Jewish sources.[42] In this context, al-Ḥaǧarī felt that he needed to explain that reading Christian sources was a way to achieve victory over the infidel.

> We arrived in France, where I had many discussions with their learned priests, monks, and judges concerning the various existing religious texts. For this purpose, I had to read the Gospel they possess nowadays and other of their books, in order to find materials to refute them and to nullify their arguments. God made me victorious over them numerous times.[43]

There are so many emotional passages in al-Ḥaǧarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn* that it would be excessive to reproduce them here in whole. The title of his self-journey narrative is expressive enough: *Riḥlat al-Šihāb ilā liqā' al-aḥbāb* [The journey of al-Šihāb[44] towards the Meeting with the Loved Ones], meaning the mandatory migration of the author (as a Muslim) from *Dār al-kufr* to *Dār al-islām* and his reencounter with the Muslim community.

## 5 Conclusions

The *Riḥla* by al-Qalaṣādī is a classic model of "journey in search of knowledge" (*riḥla fī ṭalab al-'ilm*) which, without writing about the intimate, reveals an unexpected spiritual depth. A careful and contextualised reading of al-Qalaṣādī's text reveals that it is much more significant than a simple enumeration of names of teachers and essential texts for the knowledge of the time. It verifies the way the phenomenon of the *riḥla* was a central element of fifteenth-century western Islamic societies. More than a journey, it was a kind of viaticum that led the individual to understand that their self transcended in function of the effort and acceptance of their belonging to a group, a circumstance that gave them the peace of identity and the confidence of belonging

41 Al-Ḥaǧarī was also known by the nickname *al-Afūqāy*, i.e. the "attorney" (from the Spanish "*abogado*").

42 See: Al-Ḥaǧarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn,* p. 77, n. 5.

43 Al-Ḥaǧarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn,* p. 77 (Arabic text: pp. 9–10).

44 Al-Šihāb is the surname ("*laqab*") of Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaǧarī.

to a structure that does not end in itself. If the *Riḥla* by al-Qalaṣādī shows a traditional and stable intellectual universe at the end of the fifteenth century, then the *Riḥla* by al-Ḥaǧarī is a profound lament by someone seeking meaning from his life in his most difficult moment: his years as a migrant after his expulsion from Spain. The first (al-Qalaṣādī) faced his time trusting in the society to which he belonged, in an al-Andalus on the verge of disappearance. The second (al-Ḥaǧarī) sought new reference points in a context in which Islam and the Muslims no longer had the recognition and intellectual position of yesteryear in Spain. Both experiences in such hard times emerge from the texts of these two Andalusians with undoubted emotive power.

CHAPTER 15

# Emotional Pilgrims in Jacques Le Saige's Travel Narrative (*ca.* 1520–1523)

*Alexandra Velissariou*

In 1519, Jacques Le Saige, a silk merchant from Northern Burgundy, travelled from Douai to Rome, then to Our Lady of Loreto and Jerusalem.[1] During a previous pilgrimage, he had traveled to Compostela. Indeed, his narrative mentions that when he returned home to Douai,[2] he was welcomed back by the confraternity of Saint James of Douai to which he belonged.[3] He left home on 19 March 1519 and first went to Valenciennes to meet three other travellers, Jehan and Jacques Vendezie, and Jehan du Bos, who came from Soignies. The actual departure took place on 21 March. When the group arrived in Ancona, Jehan and Jacques Vendezie decided to forgo the trip. Jacques Le Saige and Jehan du Bos travelled together to Venice in order to board one of the two ships carrying the many pilgrims intent on reaching the Holy Land. The ship left port on 21 June. On the way to Jaffa, the pilgrims stopped at Zakynthos, Cyprus and Rhodes. They arrived in Jaffa on 1 August. They then visited Jerusalem and many other pilgrimage sites until the ship's departure on 20 August. After a

1 Françoise Joukovsky, "Un circuit touristique au XVIe siècle: les pèlerinages à Jérusalem," in *Les récits de voyage* (Paris, 1986), p. 38–57.

2 On their way home, pilgrims were welcomed back by their own community via several types of rituals. See: Anne-Sophie Germain-De Franceschi, *D'Encre et de poussière. L'écriture du pèlerinage à l'épreuve de l'intimité du manuscrit* (Paris, 2009), pp. 491–519.

3 "After this, all the brothers of the confraternity of Saint James came, their banner flying, for I had also gone on that journey and was a member" ("*Apres che vinrent tous les confreres de sainct Jacques baniere desploie ad cause que avoie fait aussy le voyaige et que estoie confrere*"). Jacques Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige de Douai à Rome, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, Venise, Jérusalem et autres saints lieux*, eds. Hippolyte-Romain Joseph Duthillœul (Douai, 1851), p. 193 (All translations are my own. This travel account has been translated into a modern French narrative); Yvonne Bellenger, *Jacques Lesage. Voyage en Terre Sainte d'un marchand de Douai en 1519* (Paris, 1989). Yvonne Bellenger has written several papers on this narrative: Yvonne Bellenger, "Le séjour de Jacques Le Saige à Venise en 1519," *Quaderni utinensi* 1/2 (1983), 77–87; Yvonne Bellenger, "Le Saint Voyage de Jacques Le Saige à Jérusalem (1519)," in *Mélanges sur la littérature de la Renaissance : à la mémoire de V.-L. Saulnier* (Geneva, 1984), pp. 39–51; Yvonne Bellenger, "Un pèlerin à Jérusalem en 1519," *Hebrew University Studies in literature and the arts* 12/3 (1984), 23–59. See also: Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Écrire le voyage au XVIe siècle en France* (Paris, 2000), p. 61.

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long and difficult return journey, during which his companion Jehan du Bos passed away, Le Saige arrived home on 24 December.

## 1 The Traveller and His Notebook

Unfortunately, we do not possess much information about Jacques Le Saige. His date of birth is unknown. He worked in Douai in Saint-Pierre street, otherwise known as the street of the Femmes Gisantes, near the hospital of the same name. Thanks to a record kept at the Archives of Douai, we know he was already living there in May 1512.[4] He died on 11 February 1549 and was buried in the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre in Douai. In his narrative, he mentions his wife and daughter several times. On his return from the Holy Land, he wrote a travel narrative, using the notes he had made during his journey. He often mentions his notebook, which he filled in each evening to pass time and to record the important events of the day. On his return to Douai, he most certainly expanded his notes with the intention of publishing his book. By writing a narrative, Le Saige gained recognition from his home community into which he reintegrated himself.[5] As there were no printers in Douai, he entrusted his work to Bonaventure Brassart who was the first printer in Cambrai. The book was printed between 1520 and 1523 and was entirely financed by Le Saige, who probably wanted to give or sell his narrative to future pilgrims he knew.[6] There are two known editions of the text.[7] The oldest version contains 107 folios. In the second one, the author added some elements to his narrative, although

4 Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. VI.

5 Indeed, "the support of the relationship still offers the former pilgrim the opportunity to reconnect with his homeland and his contemporaries and to discover the new component of his being." ("le support de la relation offre encore à l'ancien pèlerin l'occasion de renouer avec sa patrie et ses contemporains et de faire découvrir la nouvelle composante de son être"). Germain-De Franceschi, *D'Encre et de poussière*, p. 512. See also: Paul Zumthor, "The Medieval Travel Narrative," *New Literary History* 25/4 (1994), 812.

6 The small size (in-quarto) of Le Saige's book made it especially easy to carry. A pilgrim could therefore take it on his or her journey. See: Marie-Christine Gomez-Geraud, *Le Crépuscule du grand Voyage. Les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem* (*1458–1612*) (Paris, 1999), p. 219.

7 I have consulted the following copies of Jacques Le Saige's narrative: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8-H-1219 (first edition); Lille, Médiathèque Jean Lévy, Rés. 10455 (second edition). A few other copies of the text are in the following libraries: London, British Library, G.6727 (first edition); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. O2 F 33 (first edition); Arsenal, 4-H-1057 bis (second edition); BnF, Rothschild 3089 (first edition). See: *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (<www.ustc.ac.uk>), 34818–34819.

the book itself, which contains more abbreviations than the first edition and a more compact layout, is shorter (78 folios).[8]

The first thing one notices when reading his narrative is the vivacious nature of the text. Even though his journey took place in 1519, Jacques Le Saige remains, to quote Yvonne Bellenger, "a man from Middle Ages."[9] He is not a scholar, but a wealthy merchant who discovers the world with interest and curiosity. During his travels, he is successively filled with wonder and saddened by what he sees. His deep humanity filters through his somewhat strong reactions when his group of pilgrims was attacked in the Holy Land. Moreover, Le Saige gave great importance to material things, such as food and drink. This is why, at the end of his narrative, he describes himself in a short poem as a "clever at opening bottles and flasks."[10]

In his narrative, Le Saige often voices his emotions when confronted with different situations. With apparent freedom, he expresses the impressions and sensations provoked by his adventures. The book itself portrays its author as someone who appears to the reader as generous and sincere but also very prudent and human. This is one of the characteristics of the text which is quite different from other, more famous, travel narratives, for instance the account written in the fifteenth century by Jean Miélot for Bertrandon de La Broquière,[11] another Burgundian pilgrim and spy travelling for Duke Philip the Good. The latter's narrative does contain some remarks about the human relations he established during his journey, and consequently, some information about his feelings. However, it is principally focused on information which could be useful to Burgundy, for example the fortifications of the towns he visited. Likewise, the narrative of Jean de Tournai,[12] another Burgundian merchant who made a

8 For more information on these editions, see: Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. v-xv.

9 "*Un homme du Moyen Âge.*" Bellenger, "Un pèlerin à Jérusalem en 1519," p. 24.

10 "*Grant crocheteur de boutelles et de flacquon.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 196. In a paper I gave at the Dunkirk conference of 2017 ("*Écrire le voyage au temps des ducs de Bourgogne*"), I studied the importance of food and drink in the Greek parts of Le Saige's journey. The published version of this paper is: Alexandra Velissariou, "Un pèlerin dans les îles grecques en 1519: le *Voyage* de Jacques Le Saige, marchand de Douai," in *Écrire le voyage au temps des ducs de Bourgogne*, eds. Jean Devaux, Matthieu Marchal, and Alexandra Velissariou (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 83–94.

11 Bertrandon de La Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de La Broquière, premier écuyer tranchant et conseiller de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1892). For a modern French translation of this text, see: Bertrandon de La Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Orient. Espion en Turquie*, trans. Hélène Basso, ed. Jacques Paviot, (Toulouse, 2010).

12 Jean de Tournai, *Le récit des voyages et pèlerinages de Jean de Tournai, 1488–1489*, eds. Béatrice Dansette, Marie-Adélaïde Nielen (Paris, 2017). The following modern French translation also exists: Jean de Tournai, *Le Voyage de Jean de Tournai: de Valenciennes à*

pilgrimage to the Holy Land, is certainly more personal than La Broquière's text, but it lacks the emotional flavour of Le Saige's exceptional narrative. The latter is therefore an interesting case study of emotions in late-medieval travel literature.

Even if, upon his return, Jacques Le Saige rewrote his narrative in order to have it published, it is nevertheless still full of its emotional freedom. It is as if the strength of the emotions he felt during his travels remained the same after the text was reshaped. Moreover, the rewriting of the narrative could also have rekindled these emotions, as if the act of memory had enabled the writer to relive them. This suggestion is formulated by Félix Fabri,[13] a fifteenth-century German pilgrim, in the prologue of the narrative of his first pilgrimage, where he addresses his fellow monks:

> I have effectively lived what often happens to particularly emotional people: when they have to say or put forward something clearly, on a subject which moves them, very quickly their feelings exceed their reason and, via incessant digressions, hinder or confuse their speech. In this case, the emotion is better appreciated, is accepted with more grace, is more generously rewarded, and if by accident a passage seems disorderly or exposed with less elegance, this is due to emotion rather than the pursuit of a literary effect: I pray that this may also be true for myself, I who have been moved, regarding your charitable selves or the subject of my narrative![14]

Even though this speech was ultimately destined to arouse the readers' benevolence, Fabri clearly underlined the emotional dimension of writing a travel account. The study of emotions in travel narratives also encourages reflexions on impressions felt by the reader. Indeed, we can distinguish individual emotions, specific to the writer, from emotions which represent the 'community

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*Rome, Jérusalem et Compostelle* (*1488–1489*), trans. Fanny Blanchet-Broekaert, Denise Péricard-Méa (Cahors, 2012).

13 See the following monography: Kathryn Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher. The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri* (*1437/8–1502*) (Oxford, 2014). See also: Hilda F. M. Prescott, *Jerusalem Journey. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1954).

14 "*Qua in re affectus magis pensatur, gracius acceptatur, liberalius remuneratur, et si quid forte inordinate actum fuerit, aut minus ornate propositum, affectui, non effectui ascribitur, quod et mihi, utpote summe affectionato, tam ad uestras charitates quam ad materiam traditam, oro fieri.*" *Les Errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte*, eds. Jean Meyers, Michel Tarayre, 6 vols. (Paris, 2013–2017), 1:74.

of readers' addressed by the writer and to which he belongs.[15] These emotions, which are related to "emotional communities,"[16] immediately draw in the reader, enabling them to participate emotionally in the narrated events. To quote Nicole Chareyron, "the range of feelings, however cursory it may be, introduces a physiological or sentimental dimension which, by extension, can induce the reader to cooperate emotionally in the adventure of others."[17] Moreover, the presence of emotions in texts is part of a creative process. Emotions give existence to the narrator's identity. It is effectively "through a set of impressions and sensations born from the sight of scenes that the unique literary figure of the traveler is constructed."[18] The emotional aspects of the travel narrative guarantee its originality and turn each adventure into a unique account. In fact, the same episode can be described in different ways, depending on how each travel writer approaches it. This chapter aims to question the way the emotional content of travel literature enables the author's individual figure to emerge and, in some cases, helps to build a link between the writer and the reader. It analyses the individual and collective emotions which appear in Jacques Le Saige's narrative. The word 'emotion' will be used in its wider meaning, designating feelings, passions and affects.[19]

## 2 The Traveller's Emotions

Contrary to most sixteenth-century travel narratives,[20] the individual dimension of Jacques Le Saige's narrative is undeniable. The book is focused on the writer's self and offers the reader a personal view of the journey. Each event arouses emotions that vary depending on the context. For example, on 5 April, Le Saige and his companions stopped to eat at La Tour du Pin, in Auvergne.

15 Nicole Chareyron, *Éthique et Esthétique du récit de voyage à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2013), p. 264.

16 Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional communities in the early Middle Ages* (New York, 2006).

17 "*La palette des sentiments, pour sommaire qu'elle soit, introduit une dimension physiologique ou sentimentale qui, par ricochet, peut induire le lecteur à coopérer de façon émotive à l'aventure d'autruit.*" Chareyron, *Éthique et Esthétique du récit de voyage*, p. 264.

18 "*À travers un faisceau d'impressions et de sensations nées de la vue de scènes que la figure littéraire unique du voyageur se construit.*" Chareyron, *Éthique et Esthétique du récit de voyage*, p. 265.

19 Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, pp. 4–5.

20 Usually, "a sixteenth-century pilgrim does not display his personal emotions and feelings" ("*un pèlerin du XVIe siècle n'affiche pas ses émotions et ses sentiments personnels*"). Germain-De Franceschi, *D'Encre et de poussière*, p. 124. Le Saige appears to be an exception.

Prior to the meal, they decided to visit the town and witnessed an unusual sight. An executioner, having just met the criminal he was going to hang, "got down on his knees and begged his mercy, and the poor man accepted. The hangman kissed him,"[21] before saying to him, "my brother, be patient, for God has prepared you a beautiful feast with the holy angels of paradise."[22] The writer admits he and his companions were extremely surprised and moved by this unusual speech. Later in the evening, Jacques Le Saige went to the kitchen to ask if their meal was ready. He then describes what happened next:

> When I entered the kitchen, to see if our dinner was ready, I found the hostess bathing in a tub surrounded by tapestries; there were plenty of flowers around her. I was very surprised. Indeed, she was totally bare and wore no clothes above her stomach. In front of her was a small table, on which she was preparing dishes for her guests. We were informed that after a woman's confinement, each day she bathes in the nude and her neighbours often come to see her to celebrate. I was extremely embarrassed and quickly left the kitchen and went to eat my dinner. I told my companions who said they had seen her an hour earlier. [23]

In this example, the traveller's emotions are caused by local traditions which were unknown to him. His reaction is an individual emotional state, although it can be related to a collective one, as his companions also faced the same situations. Although Le Saige did not describe the other pilgrims' reaction, we may suppose it was similar. By narrating this episode of his journey, Le Saige turned into a storyteller and underlined the event's originality. Since his published narrative was aimed at a limited readership (probably his close relations), his goal was most certainly to surprise and amuse his readers via strange or funny stories. The surprise and embarrassment he expresses in these lines is

21 "*Se mit à genoulx et luy pria merchy, et aussy fit le povre homme et le baisa ledit bourreau.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 7.

22 "*Mon frère prenès en pacience, car Dieu ta apareilliés un beau bancquet avec les saints angeles du paradis.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 7.

23 "*Et ainssi que entray en le cuisine, pour scavoir se nostre disner estoit prest, trouvay l'hostesse que se baignoit dedens une cuve baignoire engourdinée; et y avoit tout plain de houpeaus autour d'elle. Je fus tout esbahis. Car on le veoit nue sans nul affuloir jusqu'au ventre, et avoit devant elle une petite table, ou elle sortissoit les plats pour ses hostes. Il nous fut dit que durant la gésine d'une femme on les veoit tous les jours baignant nue, et les voisins viennent souvent faire le bancquet de près leditte gizante. Jen fus tout honteux, et vuiday soubit de ladite cuisine, et m'en allay disner. Je le comptay a mes compaighnons il l'avoient veu une heure devant.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, pp. 7–8.

an efficient way to express his individuality and therefore to personalise his book. This episode shows the proximity which may sometimes exist between travel narratives and the aesthetic of the short story. Indeed, in the latter centuries of the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the Renaissance, the aim of the novella was to amuse readers through the narration of comic and original tales. Le Saige's natural narrative talent resembles that of a storyteller. This is not surprising if we take into consideration that his goal was probably to relate his adventures to people of his social and family circle.[24] In Le Saige's account, the traveller often gives way to the narrator.[25] The author is therefore a double-figure, a traveller and a narrator. In this sense, he is sharing his comments with the readers, and, by recounting this episode, the author creates a community for his readers to engage with.

On 11 April, Le Saige and his companions stopped at Rivoli, not far from Turin. They spent the night in a hostelry named the White Cross. The writer describes their meal: "We could see the fields while we were at table, which was very pleasant. One can see the vineyards above the wheat and the number of almond trees is amazing. It is a pleasant and rich country."[26] The pleasure generated by the beautiful landscape then creates a feeling of melancholy: "Because of the happiness I felt, I thought many times about my wife and we all drank to her health. Indeed, our host welcomed us with plenty of wine. He said he had at least ten different types of wine."[27]

This part of the narrative is interesting because of the way it describes two opposite emotions: happiness, aroused by the breath-taking landscape, and sadness, due to the writer being unable to share this moment of pleasure with the person he loves. In this case, something repeated in other parts of the narrative, emotions are aroused by drinking wine, therefore by bodily and affective relaxation. The mention of "ten sorts of wine" leads us to imagine that the writer's melancholy is linked to an excessive consumption of these.

During his travels, Jacques Le Saige was also often disappointed and frustrated by events. This was true in Ancona, on his way to the Holy Land. On 15 May, just before boarding the boat which was supposed to take him and

24 For more information on the aesthetic of the medieval short story, see: Nelly Labère, *Défricher le jeune plant. Étude du genre de la nouvelle au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2006).

25 See: Chareyron, *Éthique et Esthétique du récit de voyage*, pp. 233–36.

26 "*Nous veismes les champs estant assis à table, dont faisoit bien plaisant; car on voit les vignobles dessus les bleds par rengue et s'y a tant damandiés que c'est merveille. C'est ung plaisant païs et riche.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 12.

27 "*Pour le plaisanche que javoiet je en souhaiday maintesfois me femme et busmes tous à elle; car nostre hoste nous fit bon recoeul* (*accueil*) *de bien boire. Et nous dict qu'il avoit bien de dix sorte de vin.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, pp. 12–13.

his companions to Venice, the writer learnt that the town of Ancona owned one of Saint Anne's feet. He remarks: "I was quite disappointed I had not seen it, in order to see which one it was, as we have one in Douai."[28] Indeed, in this period, according to Duthillœul, Saint Anne's right foot was conserved in Douai, in the church of Saint-Amé, which no longer exists.[29] Jacques Le Saige expresses the disappointment and sadness he felt at not having the time to see this relic, which was important to him because of its connexion with his home town of Douai. He would also have liked to have seen which foot it was, probably because he did not know exactly which one was kept in Douai. The affective dimension of his remarks are evident. More than once in his narrative, the writer refers to Douai, which plays the role of a material and emotional landmark.[30] The use of the pronoun "we" underlines his sense of belonging to a community, specifically an emotional community,[31] attached to the relic in question.

The individual emotions described by Jacques Le Saige can sometimes relate to extreme situations. This is the case in the part of the narrative related to visits to pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. These visits were under the authority of the Turks, whose role was to guide the travellers, while often displaying abusive power. On 4 August, the group had just left Ramla, which lies on the road leading from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The pilgrims, who were riding on donkeys, had to cross a mountain. Because of the many stones, riding was quite difficult. When a pilgrim from Toulouse tried to let his guide pass in front of him, one of the Turks hit him on the neck with a stone. The pilgrim was furious and threatened to tell the main guide, thus infuriating the Turk, who, "…hearing this, got off his donkey and went towards the pilgrim and hit him so many times on the back with a stick that he fell down along with his donkey."[32] Moved and full of compassion, Jacques Le Saige dared not interfere to defend the pilgrim, as he feared for his own safety: "I would gladly have helped him to take revenge; but

28 "*Je fus bien courouchiés que ne l'avoie point veu pour veoir lequel cestoit, car nous avons dedens Douay ung.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 39.

29 Hippolyte-Romain-Joseph Duthillœul, *Histoire ecclésiastique et monastique de Douai depuis l'établissement du christianisme* (Douai, 1861), p. 18.

30 To quote Anne Sophie Germain-De Franceschi, "the traveler never forgets his origin's homeland and becomes attached to everything that reminds him of it." ("*le voyageur n'oublie jamais sa patrie d'origine et s'attache à tout ce qui la lui rappelle*"). Germain-De Franceschi, *D'Encre et de poussière*, p. 491.

31 See: Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, p. 2.

32 "*… oyant celuy deschendit dung asne quil avoit et vint audit pellerin, et luy donna tant de cops de baston sur le dos quil le fit tomber et son asne aussy.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 103.

it would have been at the cost of my own life, and of other people's, so he had to be patient."[33] It is clear that the writer was indignant and frustrated at not being able to take action. These negative emotions are quite common in this part of the narrative, where the pilgrims, despite the joy they felt on visiting the Holy Land, faced many difficult situations.

## 3 Collective Emotions in Travel

Even though Le Saige's travel narrative is mainly centred on the author's self, and, consequently, on his individual impressions, it must be remembered that the traveller was part of a group of pilgrims. To quote Anne-Sophie Germain-De Franceschi, "the moment of the pilgrimage is proposed as a sharing, the entry into an eminently communal form of life."[34] In several parts of the narrative, the pilgrims feel as a whole. Indeed, emotions can sometimes be contagious. This is the case in some strange situations which generate laughter.[35] When they stopped on the island of Zakynthos, on 4 July, the writer and nine other pilgrims stayed for the night in a house belonging to a Greek woman. Jacques Le Saige describes with humour the event which took place during the night. The travellers were allowed to sleep in a sort of stable, where they were locked in for the night by their hostess. While they were settling down for the night, the pilgrims soon noticed an unbearable stench, strong enough to make them believe they would "die due to the dreadful smell."[36] The smell came from two jars of manure that were hidden under the bed. Le Saige explains that the manure was used to fertilise vineyards. The pilgrims called for help until their hostess came to remove the jars. As they were quite heavy and difficult to carry, she ended up spilling some of the contents on the travellers themselves. In order to hide the smell, she then burnt some rosemary and myrtle, which filled the room with smoke and made the situation even worse. Jacques Le Saige tells us about the pilgrims' surprising reaction: "We did not sleep at all, but we

33 "*Je leusse volontiers ayde a se vengier; mais ce eusse este sur ma vie, et encoire daultre, se luy convinct avoir patienche.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 103.

34 "*Le moment du pèlerinage se propose comme un partage, l'entrée dans une forme de vie éminemment communautaire.*" Germain-De Franceschi, *D'Encre et de poussière*, p. 367.

35 In their study of emotions, Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy underline the importance of laughter in storytelling, more precisely, in the *exempla* told by preachers whose comic tales enabled them to manipulate the audience. Jacques Le Saige's narrative often contains short tales, destined to amuse the reader. Damien Boquet, Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge. Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2015), p. 341.

36 "*Crever de punaizie.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 76.

laughed many times because of the jars in question."[37] They therefore ended up having a very short night, due to the contagious laughter they shared. The strangeness of the situation generated collective amusement, thus creating a form of complicity between the pilgrims. This episode was an adventure and, therefore, a tale to tell. The travellers' laughter is contagious and can even affect the reader, with whom the author maintains "a privileged emotional bond."[38]

In Jacques Le Saige's narrative, the group of pilgrims is sometimes divided into two. In this case, we can distinguish two simultaneous collective emotions. For instance, on July 20, while the pilgrims were on board their ship, the wind started to pick up. The travellers, who until then had despaired of the ship's slow pace, were filled with hope and joy. However, when a group of Polish pilgrims started to express their happiness too noisily, the other travellers' reaction was quite the opposite:

> All day we had a good wind. Because of that, the Poles seemed to be out of their mind; I believe it was due to joy. For they shouted so loud they could be heard from a league away and after supper they drank everything except a large barrel of wine, as large as one man could carry or lift. Then they threw the barrel into the sea. We knew not what to think, as we were afraid the Turks would hear them and attack us; but thanks to God we did not encounter anyone or anything apart from the sky and water.[39]

From the author's point of view, which expresses the feelings of the main group, the merry celebrations by the Poles are exaggerated and, above all, dangerous, as they risked warning the Turks of their presence. Moreover, his reaction shows incomprehension towards their throwing the barrel of wine in the sea. Whereas the Polish pilgrims show their happiness, the main group's emotions, which are a reaction to this joy, are split between surprise and fear. In this example, the narrative highlights the presence of two emotional communities in one group of travellers. Indeed, to quote Barbara H. Rosenwein, this passage shows two different "groups in which people adhere to the same

37 "*Toutesfois ne dormimes guerre mais rismes bien maintesfois ad cause desdits pots.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 76.

38 "*Un lien affectif privilégié.*" Chareyron, *Éthique et Esthétique du récit de voyage*, p. 265.

39 "*Nous eulmes tout ledit jour bon vent; tellement que les Poullenois sambloient estre hors de sens; je croy que cestoit de joie. Car ils huoient quon les eult ouy dune lieue et depuis souper burent tout hors ung gros baril de vin autant quun homme pooit porter ou lever, et puis ruerent ledit baril en la mer. Nous ne saviesmes que penser cremant que aulcuns turcqs les ouyssent, et quils nous venissent faire quelque assaut; mais loes soit Dieu nous ne rencontrasmes rien et ne perchusmes que chiel et eaue.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 91.

norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions."[40] When the main group of pilgrims witnesses the collective emotions of the Polish group, this generates a contradictory emotional reaction. The main group rejects the emotions shown by the other community.[41]

Some situations generated collective emotions which were more negative. On July 2, they pilgrims were agreeably surprised to see fish and dolphins playing alongside their ship: "We saw so many fish that it was marvellous and we could clearly see which ones were porpoises and also dolphins and salmons. They kept jumping out of the water."[42] One of the sailors tried to catch a dolphin with a javelin, clearly for alimentary reasons. However, due to the speed of the boat, the sharp metal end of the javelin broke. The dolphin fell back into the sea and was wounded for no end, as it could not be used to eat. Jacques Le Saige notes: "It ripped its bowels and I saw them. We were quite sorry for this mistake, for the fish died quite quickly."[43] This event evidently created a collective feeling of regret. Although the idea of killing the dolphin was justified—the pilgrims needed fresh food to survive—its useless death was deplored by the group, which, a few minutes earlier, had admired the creature playing in the sea. Contradictory and complex emotions succeed each other in this part of the narrative.

Jacques Le Saige also describes the pilgrims' anger when obliged to submit to other people's wills. While they were in Venice, waiting impatiently for their ship to sail, they had to wait an extra eight days until the ship's departure. On June 17, the writer remarks that the owner:

40 Rosenwein, *Emotional communities*, p. 2.

41 "When the members of social groups go through a common emotional event, intense exchanges are established between them, exchanges which can resuscitate – or on the contrary, engender new groups. Such emotions serve to order and exclude: by creating or reaffirming the identity of a group, emotion also engenders rejection, marginalisation, exclusion or opposition" ("*Quand les membres de groupes sociaux traversent un événement émotionnel commun, des échanges intenses s'instaurent entre eux, échanges qui peuvent réanimer – ou au contraire, engendrer de nouveaux groupes. De telles émotions servent à ordonner et à exclure: en créant ou réaffirmant l'identité d'un groupe, l'émotion engendre également le rejet, la marginalisation, l'exclusion ou l'opposition*"). Boquet, Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge*, p. 306.

42 "*Nous veismes tant de poissons courir que cestoit merveille et veismes bien a plain lesquels estoient pourcheaux nommés marchuyn et aussy les dolfis et saulmons, car ils alloient et salloient sy souvent hors de leaue.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 72.

43 "*Toutesfois il en sacqua de ses boyaux et en vis. Nous fusmes bien mary de la faulte, car aussy bien morut bien tost ledit poisson.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 72.

> had abused us of eight days; he was supposed to leave on 10 June or else he had to pay us 500 ducats; we wanted to complain to the seigneury; but we were told that we would obtain nothing else; it was a custom to give us a false date, three weeks earlier than the effective departure. The goal was to have more poor pilgrims on the ship.[44]

Indeed, the ship's owner kept delaying the departure in order to attract more pilgrims and, therefore, to make the journey more profitable.[45] The owner allowed the pilgrims to board the ship before departure. However, the sailors told them there was nothing to eat. Despite their anger, the pilgrims had to resign themselves: "We had to be patient as we were not in a position of superiority. We ate our own food and went to sleep."[46] In this extract, collective emotions were under control and reveal a sort of collective wisdom, generated by the travellers' strong desire to reach the Holy Land. This journey was the trip of their lives. They were ready to bear anything in order to get there.

## 4 Conclusions

To conclude, in Jacques Le Saige's narrative, emotions are omnipresent, whether it be those of the author, who describes his personal impressions about the journey, or those of the group that he also voices. The travel narrative offers us two sorts of accounts, one individual and one collective. It shows us one or several emotional communities, from which emerges the voice of one man, Jacques Le Saige. At the beginning of the Renaissance, the individual emerges and, consequently, the expression of emotions is intensified. However, one must remember that Le Saige's narrative is a unique case, if we compare it with other narratives from the Late Middle Ages. In his writing, which is characterised by its apparent spontaneity, he offers the reader a personal view of his pilgrimage. The reader discovers his feelings, his opinions and, more generally, his view of the world.

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44 "*nous avoit abusés de huit jours; et sestoit obligies de partir le dixième de juing en paine de chinq cens ducas; et pourtant nous en volliesmes aller nous plaindre a la seignourie ; mais on nous dict que nous nen ariesmes aultre chose, et quils ont accoustumes de ainssy mentir a le fois de trois semaines. C'est pour avoir largement de poures pellerins.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 62.

45 Arguments with the Venetian organizers of the pilgrimage were quite frequent. See: Joukovsky, "Un circuit touristique au XVIe siècle," p. 56.

46 "*Il nous fallu avoir pacience a cause que ne estiesmes point les plus fors et mengeasmes chascun de nos provisions et y couchasmes.*" Le Saige, *Voyage de Jacques Le Saige*, p. 62.

CHAPTER 16

# Emotions and Marriage Negotiations. Irish Marriages in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain

*Andrea Knox*

First wave Irish migrants who established communities in Spain founded initial permanent settlements in the Crown of Aragon, Biscay and Galicia during the 1490s. These early settlements were based upon trading links, and also the desire to establish communities throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Initially, Irish marital practices, very different from those in Spain, prevailed. Over time, however, changes and gradual assimilation came about. The focus of this chapter is upon marriage negotiations because that is where we can see demonstrable evidence of expressions of emotion. Some emotions are expressed in negotiations, letters and contracts. Over time, there was a gradual move from the practice of endogamy to exogamy. Whilst first-generation Irish migrants were more likely to be married to another person of Irish descent, this began to change during the sixteenth century. By the seventeenth, many alliances were being consummated through marriage outside the Irish community with motivations varying from political and financial motives to love recorded in marriage negotiations. Additionally, there is some evidence of an active role within marital alliances of prospective Irish brides and grooms. The expressions of emotion such as "love" ("*enamorarse*") and "happiness" ("*felicidades*") were often restrained and discreet during the late middle ages and the early modern period. Furthermore, they do not correlate with modern expressions of emotion.

## 1 Irish Immigrants in Spain

This early wave of Irish migrants initially established a permanent base in Bilbao, in the province of Biscay. This was a very attractive area for a number of reasons. Pre-existing trade and pilgrimage links were already established, and Bilbao itself was well known to Irish traders, and was very close to the thriving ports of the Bay of Biscay.[1] North-central Spain was reached from many of the

1 See: Amaia Bilbao Acedos, *The Irish Community in the Basque Country, c. 1700–1800* (London, 2003), pp. 1–7.

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southern trading ports of Ireland, including Cork, Galway, Kinsale, Limerick, Sligo, Waterford and Wexford. Trade was based in and around the ports in the north-central and north-western provinces, including Bilbao, Ferrol, La Coruña and Laredo. Spain was one of Ireland's most important trading partners. Bilbao was located on an estuary that flowed into the sea. It was also a long-established port and economic maritime hub dating from the fourteenth century, dealing with internal and European trade. Additionally, it was one of the main pilgrimage links for those arriving from Ireland to traverse the continent. The geographical position of Bilbao, with a direct link between north and central Spain, meant that for trade, the route from there to Ireland or London was often shorter than that from La Coruña, in the north-west, or Santander. By 1602 Bilbao was awarded the title of capital of the province of Biscay, and its draw for Irish merchants was undeniable. Other factors included the fact that it was also a tax haven.[2] For communities of Irish women and men, it was also an ideal site to establish Irish orders and religious houses with their attendant trade and social networks.[3] The pull factors clearly facilitated permanent settlement.

Second and third waves of Irish migration followed. These were distinguishable by a number of push factors creating later groups of economic and religious migrants. The second wave of migration was prompted by the introduction of the Protestant reformation along with the Henrician dissolution of the monasteries in Ireland from 1540 onwards. Henry VIII's actions included the closure of Catholic schools across Ireland, and the resulting vacuum meant that many continental Catholic countries drew educational orders from Ireland. Apart from trade and religious networks, there were also close links with the military and navy which buttressed the assimilation and acceptance of Irish communities in Spain.[4] During this period, Irish settlement expanded to the Catalan Pyrenees, Old Castile, especially Valladolid, Salamanca, Madrid and Zamora.

Educational links were particularly close. Ireland had no university until the foundation of Trinity College Dublin in 1592, although this was a Protestant development. The lack of a university that Catholics could attend was a push factor, prompting many Irish to migrate to the continent. Irish colleges were established across the Iberian Peninsula from 1590 to 1649. However, convent

2 Bilbao Acedos, *The Irish Community*, p. 7.

3 See: Andrea Knox, *Irish Women on the Move: Migration and Mission in Spain, 1499–1700* (Oxford, 2020); Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Voices from the Spanish Inquisition: Migrants, Converts and Brokers in early modern Iberia* (Hampshire, 2016).

4 See: Eduardo de Mesa Gallego, *The Irish in the Spanish Armies in the Seventeenth-Century* (Suffolk, 2014).

schools were founded prior to this, from 1499 onwards, making female education an earlier foundation.

The third wave of Irish migration followed the period of Oliver Cromwell and the establishment of the English Commonwealth following the execution of Charles I. During the civil war between England and Ireland, English soldiers were paid with Irish land. Plantation policies stripped power from the Catholic population and led to Protestant ascendancy and the removal of Catholics from any kind of office or land ownership. These events were push factors and many of this third-wave were migrants for political and religious motives. In this wave, settlement occurred in Cadiz, Malaga, Seville, Tenerife and the Canary Islands, as well as Lisbon.

## 2 From Endogamous to Exogamous Marriages

The first wave of migration began in the late fifteenth century and led to permanent settlement, and, over time, adaptation to Spanish customs. Little scholarly attention has been paid to fifteenth-century migration with recent studies focusing on migration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and emphasising that migration developed in earnest after the Flight of the Earls in 1607.[5] Although the defeat of the Irish at the battle of Kinsale, and the subsequent encroachment and colonisation, undoubtedly marked a fundamental shift in Irish migration and exile to the continent, there is much evidence that migration existed earlier in the fifteenth century, and that it had a basis in pull as well as push factors. Additionally, although the native political power of the Gaelic nobility was broken and English royal authority was enforced, Ireland remained strategically important for other European powers, especially Spain, and later France. Furthermore, motives for migration to Spain were often calculated on a permanent basis of settlement, not a temporary home. Spanish sources reflect the value placed on Irish women and men, and plentiful archival sources detail financial support from Spain in the forms of pensions and other allowances.[6] This is evidence of not just acceptance, but a level of reciprocity between Irish settlers and the Spanish state.

5 See: Ciaran O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish Emigration and Identity Formation in Early Modern Spain, 1601–1640* (Manchester, 2015).

6 Simancas, Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajos 1757 and 1758 contain "allowances, pensions and grants-in-aid" ("entretenidos, ventajas y ayuda de costas") paid to Irish women and men. Often these terms represented an award for services rendered, for example the Irish who served in the Spanish Armada. Women were sometimes awarded very generous

The earliest Irish groups still retained a social memory of the Irish sept tradition and native Irish Brehon law. In Ireland, septs were made up of a group of people bound by a shared name, not a blood tie, and this meant that identification centred upon a common named ancestor who was admired, as opposed to a biological ancestor. Septs were also united by a common language, and in Ireland a culture and a secular legal system. Brehon law was the customary secular law in Gaelic Ireland and prevailed until colonisation in the sixteenth century. This meant that the first wave of Irish migrants who settled in Spain still adhered initially to views based on Brehon law. Under this law, women held some property rights, were able to inherit, could maintain their own property and land, and were able to divorce without the judgement of the church. Some of this was in marked contrast with Spanish laws, especially the power for women to decide upon divorce. This is why adaptations were made, with Irish traditions and separation being abandoned. Additionally, whilst first-wave Irish women and men tended towards endogamous marriage, this was increasingly replaced by exogamous marriages as assimilation took place.

What were the motivations for these changes? Were marriage negotiations based upon business interests and political alliances, and if so, to what extent? Did families allow children to have a say in the decision-making process over marriage, and was this influenced by emotions? Further questions will address whether the nine different types of marriage permitted under Brehon law facilitated exogamy, or were alien to Spanish society.[7] Within Brehon law, a legal text, the *Cáin Lánamna*, was the source that detailed the nine specific types of marriage in Ireland ranging from the first and primary type, the *lánamnas comthinchuir*, where a wife was of 'joint input', that is, they had financial equality.[8] The second type occurred when a woman brought little or nothing to the marriage, and the third type was when the man contributed little. Other forms of marriage included previous cohabitation with the consent of a woman's kin, another when the couple "eloped" ("*fugarse*"), and other models which included marriage as compensation for rape, and finally the marriage of two insane persons.[9] Only the first three models of Irish marriage had an equivalent

pensions if they had served the Spanish crown in intelligence networks and as spies for Spain against the English. See: Knox, *Irish Women on the Move,* pp. 147–87.

7 For a discussion of the nine different types of marriage see: Peter Berresford Ellis, *Celtic Women: Women in Celtic society and literature* (London, 1995), pp. 122–23.

8 Ellis, *Celtic Women*, pp. 122–23.

9 "*Fugarse*" was cited when a couple escaped together in order to make their marriage a certainty, especially in cases where social pressure may otherwise have prevented them from following their will.

in Spain. In addition, old pre-Christian traditions in Ireland had included polygamy and polyandry, which were not entirely eradicated by Christianity. As late as 1625, Fynes Moryson (1566–1630), chief secretary to Queen Elizabeth I's General Mountjoy, commented that Irish women did not name the father of their child until they were about to die.[10] This lack of legitimacy and primogeniture in Irish culture was often shocking to outsiders. Another tradition which subverted notions of legitimacy was the Irish mother naming her child after an influential and powerful family, such as the O'Neills or the O'Donnells.[11]

The Irish legal text *Bretha Crólige* distinguished between ranks of female partner: a chief wife who was entitled to half her husband's money and goods, and a concubine who could decide her own financial worth.[12] This is distinct from other European traditions, and bears no relation at all to Spanish marital and partnership practices. Significantly, there was no old Irish Gaelic word for dowry (*dote*).[13] Instead, the Irish husband gave a bride price to the bride's father or head of her kin.[14] This was a unique facet of Irish Gaelic tradition, where everyone had their hostage price. Depending upon their status, some Irish women had a hostage price above men of lower strata, placing some Irish women in a position of relative power in terms of marital negotiations. Irish society in pre-colonisation times was stratified and divided, but not along the lines found in European societies, and that certainly bore no relation to marital customs in the Iberian Peninsula. A person's place in Irish Gaelic society depended upon the group or sept they belonged to, and their value within that. Furthermore, the Irish system of stratification was not feudal like that of England and Wales. Irish women appear to have had more rights in marriage than their Welsh sisters.[15] Additionally, it was only in Ireland that divorce was available to both women and men.

Divorce (*imscarad*) in Ireland was allowed in a number of circumstances. The *Cáin Lánamna* was the legal text which cited how the couple's property should be divided after divorce. Women of elite status had more power over their children. Women of lower orders had fewer property rights. Children, both boys and girls, had rights of inheritance. Kenneth Nicholls maintains that wives of Irish lords were entitled to receive money and goods set aside by

10 Graham Kew, ed., *The Irish Sections of Fynes Moryson's Unpublished Itinerary* (Dublin, 1998), p. 37.
11 Kew, *The Irish Sections*, p. 37.
12 Ellis, *Celtic Women*, p. 122.
13 Ellis, *Celtic Women*, p. 122.
14 Ellis, *Celtic Women*, p. 123.
15 Ellis, *Celtic Women*, p. 123.

custom for their own use.[16] Furthermore, a revenue named *Cáin beag*, which was a type of Ladies' rent, was paid to wives. Additionally, a wife could anticipate the return of her money, property and land, and retained these upon widowhood as well as after divorce. This financial situation was much more generous than any existing English custom. Initially, these traditions were exported to Spain, where Irish women often acted for themselves in cases and disputes about inheritance.

Divorce was granted to women on the grounds of a husband's impotence, imbecility, incurable illness or religious vocation. It was also permitted on the grounds of violence, exposure to ridicule and failure to financially maintain her.[17] Ellis has noted that, for those Irish women who did not wish to divorce, there were eleven circumstances in which a married woman could instigate a separation which did not involve financial penalties paid by either partner in the marriage.[18] These rights existed in practice throughout the Middle Ages, from the sixth century through to the sixteenth. This meant that if a lack of emotion or affection developed between a couple, a separation or divorce was possible. At the time of English colonisation of Ireland, and the introduction of an Anglo-centric legal system in 1603, divorce remained part of Irish custom. Crucially, surviving traditions were still fully in place at the moment of the first wave of Irish migration to Spain. Even when divorce was being eradicated by reforming churchmen throughout Europe from the 1530s onwards, it was still initially retained within Irish communities.

Several case studies illustrate the power and confidence Irish women demonstrated in negotiating their own marriages and marriage settlements, and their own separations and divorces. Irish settlement was initially clustered around Bilbao, La Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Ferrol, then later extended to Esterri d'Àneu, Tarragona, and areas in Old Castile and Andalusia and Malaga. Early Irish traders settled permanently in these areas. Additionally, some settled areas were hubs for pilgrimage. An early tax survey of Bilbao in 1490 recorded six Irish families involved in trade, and paying the higher level of tax.[19] These were the Blakes, the Nolans, the Lynchs, the Gallwey family, and the O'Brien and the McSweeney families. Additionally, there were fourteen

16 Kenneth Nicholls, "Irishwomen and Property in the Sixteenth Century," in *Women in Early Modern Ireland,* eds. Margaret MacCurtain, Mary O'Dowd (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 17–31, especially p. 19.

17 See: Patrick Leo Henry, ed. and trans., *Dánta Ban: Poems of Irish Women early and modern* (Cork-Dublin, 1991), p. 16.

18 Ellis, *Celtic Women*, p. 127.

19 Bilbao, Archivo de la Diputación de Bizkaia, Corregimiento, legajo 1988.

Irish Dominican sisters who professed at local convents, including the Convent of the Incarnation, from 1499 onwards.[20]

Initially the sons and daughters of these Irish traders married partners of Irish heritage. However, over time, endogamy broke down and was replaced by exogamous marriages. The O'Brien and Mulcarey families illustrate early assimilative practices and the involvement of young Irish women in their choice of marital partner. Both the O'Briens and the Mulcareys were involved in the wool trade between Ireland and Bilbao, the Biscay province and the coast. Ties with Spanish merchants meant that Clara O'Brien and Brigid Mulcarey were involved in marriage arrangements in 1500 and 1501 respectively.[21] They both married sons of Bilbao merchants, precisely from the Magra and Oleaga families. However, these were not simply arranged marriages for mercantile reasons, although those considerations certainly played a part in the betrothal negotiations (*capitulations matrimoniales*), which often lasted several months. Brigid and Clara were the first generation of Irish migrants to be involved in exogamous marriages, and both recorded their love (*enamorarse*) for their respective spouses.[22] The Magra and Oleaga families had established trade links with the southern Irish ports, as well as Dunkirk and Saint-Malo. They then continued to develop the trade in wool and also leather goods.

## 3 The Meaning of Negotiated Marriages

A negotiated marriage did not mean an arranged marriage without the involvement of those entering the union. Parents were aware of the damage that an injudicious marriage might mean for their children's happiness and the family bank balance. For many Irish families, the choice of marriage partner was often someone already close, such as a business partner, or the child of a business partner. A good marriage was important for the future flourishing of the business, or to cement joint business ventures.

The early census records demonstrate that whilst most household heads were men, about one in ten were women.[23] This did not include female

20 Bilbao, Archivo del Monasterio de la Encarnación de Bilbao, Libro de Fundación y de Profesiones, profesas desde el año 1499.

21 Bilbao, Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Bilbao, Libro de matrimonios, 1500–1510.

22 AHDB, Libro de matrimonios, 1500–1510.

23 For a broad discussion of female-headed households see: Jeff Fynn-Paul, *Family, Work and Household in Late-Medieval Iberia: A Social History of Manresa at the time of the Black Death* (New York-London, 2017), pp. 181–217.

religious communities which were numerated separately. Wills and marriage agreements demonstrate the fine detail of negotiations. This included negotiations over business and political alliances, but also the expressions of the couple who were to marry. The record of *per verba de future*, the oral promise to marry, often extended to include the expressions of young Irish women. Often they would use a familiar possessive phrase about their betrothed. They also recorded how long they had known each other. Most show that the couples were of similar age, in their twenties, with no significant difference. One notable exception to this was the case of Maria Nolan who married Manuel Deuso in 1526.[24] Maria was nineteen years of age, and Manuel was forty-three. This is an interesting case because it would appear to illustrate Steven Ozment's theories of northern and Mediterranean marriage patterns, and the huge difference between an older husband and a much younger wife.[25] Demographers and family historians also call this model asymmetrical marriage. Manuel was described as a wealthy merchant.[26] Nevertheless, Maria's dowry (*dote*) was transferred to his family business.[27] This became more common over time as these marriages became agreements between pairs of merchant families. The dowry was often property or money, or a mixture of both. A breakdown of Irish dowries included four main types of assets: a house, furnishings, property and money. It would appear that almost all young Irish brides established their own households, and rarely lived with their husbands' parents. This would indicate an element of independence and a preferred lifestyle, and this was supported in both living wills (*testimoniales*) and dowry negotiations. What is also important is the length of time between betrothal, the promise to marry, expressed in *per verba de futuro*, and the marriage itself, *per verba praesenti*. The time between the promise and the religious ceremony with priest and witnesses, parental consent and record in the parish register making it irrevocable, was often between six months and a year. This was for two purposes; to ensure the satisfactory negotiations covering the transfer of the dowry, money and goods into a family business, but also to ensure that the betrothed Irish woman did not change her mind about the marriage.

Changes of intention did occur, and a number of Irish women did break their promises to marry. In 1556, Bibiana Lynch called off her marriage plans,

24 London, The National Archives, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 246.

25 Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983, 1985).

26 TNA, CSPS, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 246.

27 This demonstrates that, between 1490 and 1526, an Irish woman's money and goods did come to be described as a dowry.

and stated her intention to enter a convent.[28] This may have humiliated her intended, but a marriage without intention by either party was considered by the Catholic Church to undermine the true purpose of Christian marriage. Bibiana appears to have done so without family pressure, and redirected her dowry to the convent.[29] It is clear to see from some changes of intention that Irish women were in control of their own finances. Additionally, there is also evidence of unhappy exogamous experiences. The case of doña Elena Josefa Linza is illustrative of both points. Elena was an Irish-born woman who resided in Seville, and used her dowry to fund a Dominican mission to the Philippines after she was jilted by Captain José López de Carvajal.[30] The record notes "that he broke his promise of marriage."[31] Elena began a lawsuit for breach of promise, thus regaining her dowry, and making his name and actions public. She finally demonstrated her disgust for him and the institution of marriage by donating some of her wealth to the hospital of San Lázaro.[32] A leper hospital for contagious diseases was more deserving of a dowry than a Spanish officer. For some Irish women, family ties did not override a choice about where the money was placed. The negotiations over this marriage had only taken place between Elena and José with no obvious family involvement. What is striking is that this case was more typical of the Irish tradition of choosing and removing a dowry, which she then felt able to dedicate to a leper hospital. What is also notable in Irish communities was the frequency of Irish women initiating separations, lawsuits over breach of promise, clandestine marriages, and even divorce proceedings. The evidence shows that these types of lawsuit were more frequent and prevalent within Ireland, and become rarer after the first generation Irish migration into Spain, where the courts were more reluctant to initiate separations. When emotions had diminished, or when the marriage simply was no longer agreeable, a number of Irish women used the law to force a legal separation. Elena Gallwey filed for separation from her husband after two years, and maintained that her dowry should be returned to her. This petition was successful. Maria Blake separated from her Spanish husband in 1526 and entered the Dominican community in the convent of the Incarnation in Bilbao as a *beata*, or lay sister.[33] However, it was clear that some Spanish husbands did not agree to dowry (*dote*) money being withdrawn or returned to

28 La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, Genealogías, legajo 4, núm.. 6.
29 ARG, Genealogías, legajo 4, núm. 6.
30 Sevilla, Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo 111, fol. 67.
31 "*Que faltó a su promesa de matrimonio*." AGI, Santo Domingo 111, fol. 67.
32 AGI, Santo Domingo 111, fol. 1322.
33 AMEB, Libro de Fundación y de Profesiones, sección beatas.

women, and often disputed this. When women became *beatas*, some convent notarial records included expensive lawsuits over convent dowries or other large financial gifts women brought with them.[34]

## 4 Irish Traditions and Spanish Forms

The first wave of Irish settlers in the 1490s was followed by later groups of migrants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many prompted by English colonisation of Ireland, and the outlawing of the Catholic religion. However, giving up marital and other family traditions, including control over dowries, did not happen quickly. Additionally, the much looser forms of marriage which had long been part of Irish Brehon tradition did not disappear overnight after Irish settlement in Spain. Irish marriage ceremonies which were conducted by Irish priests and held during the evening were suspected of falling into the category of clandestine marriages. Geronima Ley, an Irish widow, married Domingo de Jugo, a Spanish widower, in the evening.[35] Whilst a priest was present, this was nevertheless considered a possible clandestine marriage, as ceremonies conducted in the evenings were sometimes cited when separation was later sought after a marriage broke down. It would appear that some Irish women chose to marry in the evening with the active calculation that if the marriage was not to their liking, they could file for a dissolution of the union later. Geronima and Domingo were an older couple, neither needed parental consent, and their parents were absent, or possibly dead. This meant that another certainty of irrevocable marriage was omitted from the actual ceremony. However, these customs ran counter to the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which attempted to enforce orthodoxy upon religious orders with an emphasis on enclosure, but also a new attempt to formalise marriage and introduce orthodoxy. Papal investigators would periodically make an example of couples involved in particularly scandalous cases. Similarly, the Inquisition, although tasked with religious reform, increasingly became involved in cases of "heresy of the body," where jurisdiction was applied in relation to issues involving adultery, bigamy, fornication, clerical concubinage, prostitution and irregular marriages. The Trent decrees of 1545 coupled with the Inquisition forces often provided the perfect storm of orthodoxy that incomers could easily fall foul of.

34 For a discussion of legal disputes over convent dowries see: Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, "Convents as Litigants: Dowry and Inheritance Disputes in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Social History*, 33/3 (2000), 645–64.

35 La Coruña, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Ilustre Notarial de La Coruña, Protocolos 311.

A mixture of both confusion and a degree of resistance can be observed in Irish non-adherence to orthodox marital and sexual practices, particularly in the early decades of settlement. However, second- and third-wave Irish migrants continued the practice of marrying in the evening.

The Tridentine reforms also placed increasing emphasis on baptism, marriage and extreme unction. However, the lack of formal registration of baptisms and marriages within Irish communities drew attention and criticism. Ciaran O'Scea has noted that Irish baptisms and marriages in Galicia during 1601 and later in 1608, a high point of Irish settlement, continued to be customary, and held in private households rather than in a local church with a priest officiating.[36] Further Irish obfuscation continued in regard to the lack of formal agreement over marital separation.

It was not until 1753 that an act for the better prevention of clandestine marriage was passed. Where coercion was involved, the marriage could be dissolved because it had not taken place with all of the appropriate religious requirements present and consent had not been given. Marital negotiations between older couples where one was Irish were much more flexible when the parents were not in control of *per verba de future* and dowry considerations. Furthermore, re-marriage was also more frequent amongst older Irish women and men. Spanish women were rarely encouraged to re-marry after widowhood, revealing a continued emotional and customary difference in Irish and Spanish marital and separation traditions. Remarriage would also appear to have been more frequent in the merchant community. In Bilbao, Teresa Lynch married don Francisco de Lago after a previous marriage, with both claiming to have elite ancestry.[37] Merchants in particular show evidence of arranging second and subsequent marriages. This was not simply because of high mortality rates at certain times, but because of the mutual benefit of the wider distribution of money within and between merchant families from both the Irish and Spanish communities. Merchant and middle strata marital alliances which were exogamous were increasingly understood to forge all types of alliances for Irish women and men. Exogamous marriages were negotiated with an element of consideration of trading and political alliances, and possible advancement. Trade between the two countries had a long and successful history, and not just between their respective ports. The islands of Spain and Spain's provinces provided a fruitful ground for business links and assimilation,

36 O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale,* pp. 108–09. Although data is scant, O'Scea estimates that only fifty per cent of the Irish in Galicia formally registered baptisms, and he considers the registration of marriages to be negligible.

37 ARG, Genealogias, legajo 2.

whilst a degree of reverse acculturation can also be identified. Throughout the second and third waves of migration, Irish settlement in Santa Cruz de Tenerife increased, and an active community began to thrive. The greatest number of Irish residents were concentrated in the capital, Tenerife, where an early census taken in 1660 enumerated eighty-three Irish men.[38] Typically for the time, women and children were not accurately counted, though most adult Irish women were named. An Irish consul was established in 1666 to represent the interests of the Irish community, and oversee their involvement in trade. The pull factors of Tenerife doubled for the Irish as they experienced religious freedom as Catholics, and were permitted to trade on a competitive basis with little interference. It would appear that the first wave of Irish migration to Tenerife was not based on blood ties. Many of the women and men in the census and named separately do not appear to have been closely related, with some women travelling on their own. This is interesting as it suggests that their marital choices in this instance were also relatively independent. During the first four decades of settlement, Irish women and men did not marry other Irish, but instead almost all chose exogamous marriages by the 1660s.

Gregory Lynch, a relative of Bibiana and Teresa Lynch, settlers in La Coruña, married a local woman from Tenerife in 1660, strengthening ties to both Irish and Spanish merchant families.[39] Katherine Donovan, an independent Irish woman, married a trader from Tenerife in 1662.[40] In the same year, Anne Flavell, a teenage Irish girl, chose to enter a Spanish convent with her dowry.[41] However, most provocative of all are the actions of two other independent Irish women, Apollonia Whitton and Elizabeth Savage, who both became traders in their own right during the 1660s.[42] Apollonia and Elizabeth both invested in the shipyard (*astillero*).[43] There is no record of either of them marrying, giving some indication that unmarried women had a greater ability to invest their dowry or other savings in business ventures. These Irish women were not unique, and many others across the peninsula appear to have made similar choices. The purposeful rejection of marriage for trade and enterprise indicates an awareness of alternatives to marriage, and knowledge of the dangers inherent in pregnancy and childbirth for all women in this period. Nevertheless, it is clear that choices were being made by Irish women on their

38 TNA, CSPS, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 245.
39 TNA, CSPS, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 247.
40 TNA, CSPS, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 247.
41 TNA, CSPS, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 247.
42 TNA, CSPS, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 248.
43 TNA, CSPS, SP 94, vol. 229, fol. 248.

own behalf, including business ventures. This meant that money was sometimes conveyed away from the natal family by women who understood, and took full advantage of, Spanish legal norms that allowed a degree of independent financial decision-making by women. There is also some indication that Irish women were less concerned by lineage than Irish men. Some Irish women were more concerned with making a profit from their dowry, and redacting their own wills.[44] Throughout the late-medieval and early-modern periods, women involved in business were often better placed if they resided near ports, such as those in Galicia, or Seville, Cadiz or Tenerife. Port records also indicate the long established Irish trading links, including the export of Spanish wines to Ireland, along with Spanish imports from Ireland, which included hides, hawks, hounds and horses.[45]

Irish families in Cadiz demonstrated a clear understanding of the importance of a good marriage for the future flourishing of business. Exogamy was good for assimilation, and it was often equally good for business. Irish communities may have been privately concerned that assimilation was altering the emotional ties within their communities, but increasingly formal betrothal negotiations (*capitulaciones matrimoniales*) were used in order to strengthen links with Spanish communities. A high degree of commercial success could be experienced in Cadiz. Irish merchants in Cadiz, both men and women, were granted the right to trade freely and to own property after residing in Spain for ten years. During the late seventeenth century, Cadiz overtook Seville as the headquarters for trade between Spain and its colonies. Seville was not a coastal city, and the river Guadalquivir proved increasingly small for the volume of ships needed for this trade. In 1717 a monopoly of all the American trade was granted to Cadiz. Even before this, many Irish incomers identified Cadiz as a more promising place for business ventures and marital prospects. Exogamy and endogamy were both practised by Irish families in Cadiz, the choice depending upon what was calculated to be most successful in business terms. Within the Irish community, two groups of women appear to have driven forward their own marital and financial choices.

44 About one in ten wills were made by women. This was a significant figure for this period. What is even more interesting is that very few Irish wives had their husbands countersign their wills which, as married women, they should have done. Unmarried women and widows did not have to do this, and only needed two or sometimes more witness signatures.

45 See: Samuel Fannin, "The Irish Community in Eighteenth-Century Cadiz," in *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820*, eds. Thomas O'Connor, Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin, 2003), pp. 135–48.

One group of Irish women entered endogamous marriages and made living wills in order to develop their own assimilative choices. These included Juana de Sayas, who in 1662 left her own money in her will to the convent and church of the Santísima Trinidad, Ana de Valoys, who in 1667 registered her will leaving her independent means to the Trinitarian convent, Ana Madin, who left her money to the church of San Agustín, and Isobel Boiter, who left her fortune in 1671 to Cadiz Cathedral and the church of Santa Cruz, all in Cadiz.[46] Although all of these women had surviving children, they left substantial sums to their chosen churches, convents and missions. There appears to have been no challenge to these women's wills in the surviving correspondence. Two issues emerge here. Firstly, that Irish women chose their own ways to assimilate. Secondly, their natal families did not have the only claim to their wife's or mother's purse.[47] This meant that a spiritual family was also part of Irish women's assimilation. An endogamous tradition did not undermine the level of independent choices made by women married to Irish men. When this is mapped against the experience of a group of Irish women in the same period who entered into exogamous marriages with Spanish merchants, there appears to be little difference in their abilities to make independent financial decisions, or to assimilate.

A group of four Irish women who chose exogamous marriages included Leonor de Grados, who made a living will in 1620 leaving her money to Cadiz Cathedral, Catalina Calderon, whose will of 1654 sponsored the convent of Huertas, Maria de Zuñiga, whose will of 1654 sponsored Santa María de Madre, and Leonor Vela, whose will of 1657 also sponsored Santa María de Madre.[48] Once again, the stated intentions of these Irish women were not interfered with by those women's families. Whether marriage was endogamous or exogamous, Irish women had some authority over marital choice and cultural and religious matronage. Their wills were a contract of control. These documents expressly used the language of law and contract but also cited their choices in terms of inheritance and gifts. The pattern of female wills was in the form of a living will (*testamento*), which specifically ensured who would gain from the gift of money, buildings, land, trading rights or the moveable goods of the

46 Cadiz, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz, Protocolos 1300; 1425; 1563; 2520.

47 A living will was made a few years prior to death, usually when a women had decided upon her chosen project of sponsorship. It was not a testimony made on a woman's deathbed, or even during a final illness. This meant that the stated intentions were very clear. Women also appear to have selected their own notary and witnesses. In Spain, any female over the age of ten could make a will provided there was no mental impairment.

48 AHPC, Protocolos 320; 5150; 5156; 5150.

testator. This did not differ between wealthy women, and those who had fewer funds to disburse.

One final Irish family group who displayed control over their marriages and a very successful degree of assimilation were the daughters of don Ignatio White. He was a minor Irish noble who had settled in Spain in the middle of the seventeenth century, then proceeded to purchase a minor title, affiliated to the order of Santiago, and joined the chamber of commerce in Madrid.[49] Don Ignatio used as many old Irish titles as he possibly could, in effect, having himself re-ennobled. At various times, he was recorded as the Marquess of Albeville and Clancarty.[50] However, it was Ignatio's five daughters who dedicated themselves to assimilation within the royal court, all of them reaching powerful and elevated positions, including as companion to the queen, royal tutor, and adviser to the queen. By 1650, the royal court was based permanently in Madrid, and a number of third-wave Irish settlers chose to move there. All five daughters of Ignatio married well. Strikingly, very few families made up of women had such success of rising in court and operating at the centre of powerful political networks, as well as arranging their own, very lucrative, marriages. Ana Cristina White, the eldest daughter, became a *criada*, a lady-in-waiting to the Infanta Maria.[51] Ana then proceeded to negotiate marriage to an Irish colonel and brigadier in the Alcantara regiment. This endogamous marriage meant that Ana was connected both intimately to the royal court, and to one of the most senior Irish figures in one of the Spanish regiments. Among Ana's letters to her husband, one recorded the queen's comment that Irish women made good companions.[52] This may appear to be rather self-regarding, but, in time each of Ana's four sisters gained a place in court. In addition, Ana's husband, Colonel Joseph O'Callaghan, was at one stage appointed governor of La Coruña, Galicia. This meant that Ana was part of the court circle, and that her husband had overall responsibility for the area of north-west Spain that had long been central to Irish settlement.

Whilst Joseph's sphere of influence was with the army, navy and trade, Ana's sphere of influence was within court, and was focused upon allegiances between women that furthered family interests. Within months of Ana's employment as an official in the royal household, she was instrumental in gaining a paid position for her sister Winifreda, who also became a lady-in-waiting

49 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Ordenes Militares, Santiago 4739.
50 AHN, OM Santiago 4739.
51 AHN, OM Santiago 336.
52 AHN, OM Santiago 336.

to the queen.[53] Although both were considered to be daughters of a noble family, there was clear evidence of nepotism, with Ana having enough influence over the queen to advise on the appointment of all of her four sisters to various roles within the royal household. Whilst nepotism was a common strategy for social advancement, what is striking is the degree to which Irish incomers were able to use it. Winifreda went on to enter an exogamous marriage to a Spaniard rather than a man of Irish ancestry. This would appear to be an example of consolidation of Winifreda's upward social mobility as her husband, Antonio Alvarez, was a Knight of the order of Santiago, governor of Cadiz, and a member of the Spanish Council of State. Interestingly, both Ana and Winifreda appear to have negotiated their own marriages with two very powerful men, and both women expected their positions at court to continue after marriage.[54] They both spent considerable periods of their marriages apart from their husbands, allowing a life of relative independence within marriage. Additionally, they had dowries from their salaried posts within the royal household. These factors, taken together, indicate that there was a significant degree of independence within their marriages, and in their professional lives as courtiers. The crucial dynamic within these two marriages was not whether the husband was from within or outside the Irish community, but more about him possessing multiple layers of power and influence, as well as understanding the importance of his wife's position so close to the queen. Don Antonio Alvarez demonstrated a clear understanding of certain sections of the Irish community, and their formation into an elite group in Spain. The marriage between Winifreda White and Antonio Alvarez was negotiated with a very clear sense that it was crucial for noble Irish families to make political marriages with the most important members of Spanish society rather than those with Irish ancestry. Affection and emotions were expressed within the marriage in terms of a mutual respect for their positions. This type of calculation was not exclusive to Irish communities, but became a clear strategy in their dealings with marriage in their host country. Nor can we assume that it was parental power or coercion in operation given that the White sisters, and many other adult women of means, negotiated their own marriage contracts having already met their respective husbands.

Technically, a lady-in-waiting would have to gain the permission of her queen and not her father for her marriage. Ignatio White's daughters represent a generation fully aware that consorts could no longer be exclusively Irish, but

53 AHN, OM Santiago 336.

54 Malaga, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Málaga, Cortes, legajo 959.

needed first and foremost to be powerful, and that included the Spanish and French nobility, and the most senior officials. Marital alliances were recorded at great length, and after much discussion. The marriage of the third sister, Maria White, was negotiated. Her husband was Simon Connock, an officer in the royal guard at the palace in Madrid, and tutor to the Prince Philip of Bourbon. The Connocks lived in the royal household, yet again displaying the ambition of the Irish who worked so assiduously to assimilate. Records demonstrate that both Maria and Simon were tutors to the children of the royal household.[55]

Education was one of the keys to assimilation at a very high level. The curriculum offered to royal children included the importance of having several languages. Another sister, Theresa, was also cited as a tutor to the royal household. Theresa negotiated a marriage to Guillermo de Lacy, Knight of Santiago, a Lieutenant General and a member of the Spanish supreme council of war.[56] Theresa was recorded as having her own set of apartments and private chapel.[57] This was undoubtedly elite living. The royal household employed the White family for a total of twenty-five years, illustrative of their success at assimilation at, arguably, the highest level. Both Maria and Simon were recorded separately as patrons, gifting books and manuscripts from their own collections to colleges and libraries.[58] What is significant is that these actions demonstrated the workings of reverse acculturation. Multilingual texts, including works in Irish, were donated to the royal household for use by generations of monarchs and their families. This crucial success is evidence of reverse acculturation and shows that assimilation was understood not simply in one direction. Acculturation had a distinctive degree of reciprocity between the Irish elite and the Spanish royal family. The White sisters undoubtedly created a niche for themselves, and controlling their own marital negotiations helped to support that.

Catalina White, another sister, married Antoine Sartine, a French national who held posts in the ministry of war and the navy. Catalina also worked for the queen, and was retained at court for twenty years. She even managed to secure a post for her son, Felipe, once again demonstrating a degree of nepotism and success.[59] What is observable in relation to this particular family is that negotiated marriages with an undoubtable element of power were important. However, being in close proximity to the royal family was even more

55 AHN, OM Santiago 2047.
56 AHN, OM Carlos II, 318.
57 AHPC, Protocolos Cádiz 1593, fol. 180.
58 AHN, OM Santiago 2047.
59 AHN, OM Santiago 2047.

important. Achieving an important marriage also increased influence outside the court circle. The White sisters are an example of a group of new Irish elites who achieved positions of real influence, not least over female members of the royal household. The experience of being a migrant, particularly in Spain, offered some Irish women and men elements of social emancipation and upward mobility. It also facilitated the development of some very powerful and geographically extensive networks of Irish influence. The positions held by the White sisters as ladies-in-waiting meant that they were able to exploit elements of family power and nepotism in creating positions and roles for close family members. Marital alliances certainly helped, but it is clear that they could be exogamous or endogamous, and could involve other powerful European figures. Ana and Winifreda were very young when they entered the royal court, being placed under the queen's care at the ages of nine or ten. This meant that they had many years of training. The earlier this began, the better for assimilation and creating influence, and the possibility of a permanent place in the female entourage at court. Some Irish courtiers could serve successive monarchs. The White sisters demonstrated that they all, individually and as a group, made themselves indispensable. Crucially, they each selected husbands who would suit their purpose, both privately and professionally.

## 5 Conclusion

The question remains over why Irish communities were allowed a degree of independence and considerable leeway in relation to some of their marital traditions. Initial settlement was supported by Spanish authorities who believed that the Irish always upheld Catholicism. Later, during the period of the Henrician reformation, the Irish were understood to have fought a war for Catholicism. Rewards went beyond straightforward remuneration however. Spain's monarchs stated that, "The Irish are our special friends."[60] The evidence that Irish settlers as a group were accepted at the highest level was demonstrated in the naturalisation programme, and the granting of equal citizenship by Philip III in a royal resolution in 1608.[61]

60 "*Los Irlandeses a nuestro amigos especiales.*" AHN, Sección Nobleza, Frias, caja 66.

61 "The Irish in these dominions shall keep and maintain the privileges which they have, by which they are made native Spaniards, and that the formalities of the oath, to which other nations have been forced to submit, shall not be exacted from the Irish due to their settling in Spain. They are accounted Spaniards, and enjoy the same rights." ("*Los irlandeses en estas tierras conservan e mantendrán los privilegios que corresponden, según los cuales*

In conclusion, what did all this mean in terms of emotion and marriage in the increasingly exogamous Irish-Spanish marital tradition? Clearly the aim of marrying into Spanish families increased from the late fifteenth century onwards. This was partly because of a broader choice of marriage partners, but also because this strategy obtained more financial security for many, but particularly those in merchant communities, and bolstered political alliances with the most powerful families, and, in some instances, even the royal court. The emerging middle strata appear to have made the most robust efforts to select exogamous marriages. However, assimilation was not at the expense of many Irish marital traditions which were central to Irish society from the sixth century until the sixteenth. Whilst polyandry, not admitting a child's father's name until a woman was on her deathbed, and the nine distinct types of marriage which were pivotal to Irish society in Ireland, declined swiftly in Spain, more flexible marriage traditions continued to operate in Irish negotiations. Irish women, men and youths had some choice in marital negotiations. More importantly, some Irish women and men controlled when and where marriages took place, ensuring that they married without parental control, and often in the evenings in order to give themselves the possibility of separation if the marriage failed to live up to their expectations.

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*se les considera como a los españoles aquí nacidos; e las pruebas e juramentos que cabe exigir a los como españoles, e tendrán los mismos derechos*"). AGS, Estado, legajo 840.

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The life experiences of men and women take on meaning through the emotionality they entail: the intensity of these experiences build certain memories which link the individuals within a society. As such, this volume argues that examining the management of emotions in late-medieval society will allow us to better understand it. By discussing theoretical frameworks for the historical study of emotions and presenting a range of case studies from the Middle Ages, the authors of this book illustrate how the management of emotions reflects and sheds light on the code of values and behaviour that guided this society.

brill.com/lme – ISSN 1872-7875

ISBN: 978-90-04-71386-4

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