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A HISTORY OF EMOTIONS, 1200–1800

EDITED BY

Jonas Liliequist



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3 PREACHERS, SAINTS AND SINNERS: EMOTIONAL REPERTOIRES IN HIGH MEDIIEVAL RELIGIOUS ROLE MODELS

Christina Lutter

O Lord, born of the virgin ... smiling at his mother, through this smile allow me, I beg, to participate in your perpetual happiness ... O Lord, sucking at your mother's breast ... reclining on your mother's lap ... O Lord, hardly able to speak in a babbling voice ... circling the mother as small children do ... kissing your mother's sweet lips ... and embracing the beloved mother's neck ...¹

This stunning fragment of a much longer prayer in a twelfth century prayerbook, probably from the female community at Nonnberg in the bishopric of Salzburg, may rightly, or so it seems, be labelled 'emotional', even if we would perhaps not expect this kind of expression in a monastic context. But what directs our expectations when reading such a text? What indicates that we are dealing with 'emotions' here? And if we are, how can we be sure that the medieval contemporaries' understanding of 'emotions' and their modes of expression are accessible to our modern approaches and comparable to our notions? In this chapter I want to approach these questions via a close reading of monastic source material of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.²

Current debates on 'emotions' in the humanities, cultural studies and sciences alike are characterized by a range of different attempts to enumerate, classify and define what 'emotions' are; so far, though, they seem to defy a systematic definition.³ The situation gets even more complicated if we take into account that the usage of the terms 'emotions', 'feelings' or 'sentiments' is anything but congruent in different modern languages, each having its own distinct linguistic history, and that the same holds true for our source material, as there are a number of attempts at defining and classifying emotions in historical texts.⁴ Both in ancient Latin and in medieval texts one will find various descriptions and definitions of emotions. The first systematic Latin list of 'emotion words' – non-exhaustive enumerations of terms articulating feelings like joy, grievance, anger, hate, envy, etc. – was given by Cicero.⁵ In the Latin Middle Ages similar lists were compiled by the Church Fathers. They adopted the majority of the ancient Latin terms,

yet their meaning changed according to Christian imaginaries and notions of morality. As in ancient texts we also encounter collective terms, such as *affectus* or *affectiones*, *passiones* or *perturbationes* in medieval sources. Far less frequent are attempts at definition, as by Augustine who defines *affectiones nostrae* as *motus animorum* and strives to delineate the origin of emotions in order to explain what they are: 'Among the philosophers there are two views of these motions of the soul [*animi motibus*], which the Greeks call *pathé* but which some of us, like Cicero, call *perturbationes* and which others call *affectiones* or *affectus*, and still others, like [Apuleius], call *passiones*, which is closer to the Greek'.⁶

Whatever emotions might be or have been thought to be, though, cultural historians generally agree that they can never be grasped directly, but only be traced via language and other representations such as pictures or material culture. 'None of these things *are* the emotion; they are symptoms that must be interpreted – both by the person feeling them and by observers', as Barbara Rosenwein puts it.⁷ That becomes most evident in a historical perspective, as our sources get scarcer the farther back they date. To complicate things even further, each audience, present or past, each reading of a text, a picture or any other object produces new representations, i.e. meanings that in turn modify the objects of interest. These ongoing processes of 'meaning-production', the models used to form and shape them, i.e. *how* emotions are conceptualized and come into existence, are themselves part of what 'emotions' are.⁸

Nonetheless, this 'how' is exactly what one can search the source material for. I am interested in the ways people expressed sensations and emotions that were only indirectly accessible to them, let alone to us, and in the kinds of effects they produced. What were the shared expectations directing and regulating perceptions and thus influencing how people experienced a certain event or a specific sensation? How were perceptions constructed along certain patterns providing the framework for sensual experiences and the sensation of emotions?⁹ What kinds of textual and rhetorical, but also figurative and material strategies and techniques were deployed? I am interested in patterns and models of spiritual notions and sensations present in historical texts and pictures, in hints at their emotional expressions in the practices described or depicted therein, as well as in the symbolic knowledge that people could draw on in articulating them in specific social contexts.

In medieval theological texts, starting with the Desert Fathers, emotions are increasingly given a distinct moral quality and corresponding evaluation. At that time their allocation as virtues or vices begins to play an important role, as sometimes also does the demarcation of affects from virtues, with a tendency to identify the former with the notion of sin, as in the concept of the Seven Deadly Sins.¹⁰ These notions were linked to considerations about a morally good life oriented towards redemption, and can be found in catalogues of virtues and

other 'tools' for religious orientation and instruction. They provide indications for what was considered an exemplary life, and how its standards were supposed to be put into practice. An important model that was continuously used and adapted in religious texts and plays all through the Middle Ages was the *Psychomachia*, the battle of virtues against vices, by the Latin poet Prudentius (d. after 405).¹¹ Famous examples of its use and reception in the twelfth century are the *Ordo virtutum* by Hildegard of Bingen, an early form of liturgical drama drawing on the imagery of the *Psychomachia*, and the *Hortus deliciarum*, a spiritual guide for the members of the female community of the Alsatian convent at Hohenburg, composed by their abbess Herrad.¹²

Barbara Rosenwein points out that until the twelfth or thirteenth centuries the Latin Middle Ages did not see attempts, comparable to those of Aristotle or Cicero, to treat emotions systematically, as part of a theory of the soul. Just as important I consider her observation that contemporary analyses of medieval 'emotion words' need to look beyond the canonized classical texts to include the richness of the tradition that informs us about the reception of these notions and the imagery linked to them.¹³ Especially in times of religious reform movements the differentiation of religious ways of life involved a significant increase in the literary and pictorial tradition, mostly found in monasteries as the centres of contemporary production of knowledge. In didactic and edifying literature for the production of 'inward' images for spiritual exercises one finds complex compositions of text and pictures, meant to assist in the appropriation of contents. Since the late twelfth – and especially in the thirteenth – century, illuminated manuscripts and prayerbooks played an important role as visualizing tools for prayer.¹⁴

This chapter focuses on cultural repertoires of emotions represented in examples (*exempla*), as used in saints' lives and miracle stories (*miracula*), in sermons, prayers and 'mirror'-literature (*specula*) from twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic communities. These texts provide fascinating insights into representations of religious beliefs, and their spiritual and social contexts. They address different audiences, but all are embedded in monastic education, pastoral practice and daily liturgical routine. They thus give insight not only into contemporary normative ideals and theological theory, but also into what we might conceive of as everyday lived practice and the adaptation of extant cultural and emotional repertoires as modes and options that simultaneously direct and limit, but also enable people's actions, beliefs and feelings.¹⁵

One of the best known contemporary collections of miracle stories, the *Dialogus miraculorum*, written by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach around 1220, gives a comprehensive insight into how contemporaries conceived of and made use of *exempla*, as the author on several occasions defines the functions of examples. In this didactic conversation between an older monk and a

young novice in the tradition of medieval monastic dialogue, the former on one occasion claims that he wants to instruct the latter 'more by means of examples than by words' (*de hoc magis te instruam exemplis quam verbis*), just as elsewhere the pupil asks to be taught *magis exemplis quam sententiis*.¹⁶

Caesarius himself explains in his prologue to the *Dialogus miraculorum* that his pupils urged him to also conserve in writing the miraculous events he had orally presented to them. First he was hesitant, he says, using the usual topoi of humility and also mentioning his fear of enviers and critics, but then he submitted to the authority of his superiors; he chose the form of the dialogue not least to conceal his authorship behind the conversation and thus be less vulnerable to critics.¹⁷ Aided by the dialogic structure of the text, Caesarius moreover deliberately emotionalizes by means of dramatic narrations.¹⁸

Caesarius draws his *exempla* from the communicative practice of the Cistercian order, within which forms of oral and written tradition related to each other in complex ways. Two thirds of about 750 *exempla* organized in twelve *distinctiones* are from oral sources for which he mostly gives date, place and witnesses. Most of them were told by fellow monks and abbots whom he met at the regular meetings of the Cistercian general chapter and in the course of visitations; others were told by nuns, clerics and laypeople of both genders. Caesarius explicitly stresses that many stories happened in the world beyond the walls of the monastery.¹⁹ While Cistercian pastoral care programmatically focused little on lay people, and we may thus assume that the main audiences addressed by Caesarius were to be found among the members of the order, still the boundaries between pastoral care inside and outside the monastery became less distinct from the thirteenth century onwards. Many thematic motives figuring both in Caesarius's *Dialogus miraculorum* and in his sermons found their way into the contemporary collections of *exempla* which in turn served as resources for pastoral preaching to the laity.²⁰

At any rate, many members had only entered the Cistercian order as adults, and pastoral care for *conversi* represented a connective element between different groups of audiences. Thus, the social and cultural background of these monks and *conversi* is that of the world outside the monastery and of their – often noble – ancestry. Therefore, many examples deal with monks, clerics or *conversi* who behave like knights.²¹ For example, a story is told about several monks and, above all, *conversi* who fell asleep while their abbot was preaching, but they immediately woke up when he started to tell the story of king Artus. Many stories feature members of the order fussing about their outward appearance, their shoes, clothes and horses as symbols of status, and about their corporeal well-being, which might suffer in the monastic environment.²²

Thus, Caesarius explicitly draws not only on Christian doctrine and exegetical explanations, but also on lived experience. In his understanding, *exempla* are

events worth remembering for their exemplary, miraculous and edifying content. By virtue of their relatedness to personal encounters and experiences and specific social environments they are intended to be comprehensible directly and sensually, thus suited to serve as models and illustrations.²³ Therefore Caesarius draws on textual models for this type of instruction, most prominently Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, and combines them with oral narrative traditions.²⁴ Thus he links the written to oral tradition, actualizing biblical assertions, above all from the history of salvation, in relation to his own time and to concrete contexts familiar to his audience. These memorable stories told over and over again in the course of monastic life were thus 'incorporated into the repertoire of instruction, exegesis and theological discourse'.²⁵

Quite the same – though without the dialogical framework of a didactic discussion, without identification of literal and oral sources and theoretical considerations on the nature of miracles – holds true of the various collections of miracle stories proliferating at sites of pilgrimage and monasteries throughout Europe since the second half of the eleventh, and especially in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, not least due to the increasing practice of preaching to the laity.²⁶

Res mira horrendaque are contemporary terms describing wonderful and at the same time horrible events people experienced through the acts of saints, events that were meant to edify, astound and terrify them, as well as serve as *exempla* for them.²⁷ Like other hagiographical texts, but also prayerbooks and sermons drawing on examples, miracle collections thus served as devices for edification and spiritual instruction both for people in monastic communities and, since the thirteenth century, also for a lay audience. Medieval collections of miracles could take different forms: Some compilations are limited to specific saints or local traditions. Other collections contain stories of various temporal and spatial origins and offer a range of interrelated references. Often common narratives are bound together with single stories that refer to local traditions pertaining only to specific communities.²⁸ The latter, mostly added at the end of the compilations, are especially interesting as they, just like the stories of Caesarius, provide us with various hints at specific social and cultural contexts of the respective communities and the people belonging to them, reaching far beyond the well-known patterns of topical models of sin, conversion and redemption. Relating and comparing these stories to each other thus opens perspectives on common spiritual models, emotional repertoires and possible uses of and variations on them.

A collection of Marian miracles from the reform monastery of Admont in Styria (today's Austria) that I now want to consider more closely contains partly adapted *exempla* taken from the writings of various early to high-medieval authors including some of only regional importance.²⁹ Admont was a Benedic-

tine reform monastery consisting of a men's and, from the twelfth century on, a women's convent and highly involved in the debates about the political and spiritual reforms of the time. In these debates – at least that is what the abundant Admontian source material suggests – the monastery's *sanctimoniales* had no lesser part than their fellow monks, which is consistent with the reform ideal of women and men sharing a communal life in the spirit of the *vita apostolica*. This way of life presupposed at least some contact between the two sexes constituting, however, a latent danger for one of the basic elements of monastic life, the virtue of chastity.³⁰ This intrinsic conflict, just like other key issues of the reform, was the subject of heated debates, many of which were reflected in writing. Religious differentiation thus led to a significant rise in literary production and tradition.³¹ Hence many of Admont's manuscripts contain texts and corresponding illuminations dealing with the discussion and the exercise of a spiritual way of life, thereby both pointing at contemporary concepts of piety, and representing their practical implementation.³²

Codex Admont 638, from the second half of the twelfth century, contains a collection found in many monastic libraries of different congregations all over the German-speaking world. It consists of forty-two stories of varied provenance that in the course of copying were, in some locales, completed by further *exempla*.³³ In the Admont manuscript there are four additional stories: The well-known early medieval legend of Theophilus also found in many high-medieval collections, followed by three additional stories apparently exclusive to this manuscript.³⁴

All these stories focus on the miraculous deeds of the Mother of God simultaneously acting as redemptrix, advocate and role model. Most of the texts are rather short and simple in style, yet very concise and seem, like Caesarius's *exempla*, close to what might be considered everyday life. The scenes, though, are set at 'typical' monasteries whose specific locations therefore are rarely identified; the actors are nameless clerics and monks, nuns and abbesses, occasionally also laypersons, men and women, peasants, travellers and pilgrims, sick people and thieves. The cast in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* is likewise heterogeneous, though both in his monastic dialogue and in the main body of Admont's collection the focus is clearly on the males, mostly monks and clerics. However, it should be noted that the three additional *miracula* in the Admontian manuscripts feature almost exclusively women with the exception of one cleric.³⁵ The stories describe the manifold forms of temptation and sin people were imagined to be exposed to, both within the monastery and outside its walls, as well as remorse and salvation with the help of the Holy virgin. These stories thus offer a view of the 'downside' of what edifying texts and sermons, saints' lives and catalogues of virtues present as an exemplary way of life. They point to the contradictions and conflicts people encountered in striving for the

imitation of such a lifestyle, and to their attempts to find solutions for, or ways to cope with them. Moreover, it is particularly these conflicts and ambiguities that provide interesting material in which to look for emotional repertoires and interrogate them for the options of their uses and possible modifications.

'Once upon a time there was a certain nun in a particular convent ... who was loved by everyone, more than any other sister', begins one of the stories. 'For more than all the others she was zealous in fasting, keeping vigils, and sighing, and in as many of the other virtues as possible, pleasing the Lord and His Mother'. Thus she lived in obedience until the devil, feeling despised by such great virtue, decided to ensnare her and led her to 'disdain the commandments of the Lord and lose the virginity that she had preserved in spirit and body'.³⁶

How this happened the story does not tell. Neither does it give any information about the further life of the now fallen nun, but only continues after her death:

Soon the recently deceased, bitterly lamenting and regretting her crime (*perhorruit* ... *penituit*), appears in front of the abbess of the monastery, who is not afraid, but immediately questions her about the punishments for her sins. Indeed, the deceased explains that she was suffering and 'severely burning' for relinquishing her life as 'a virgin pure and promised to the Lord'.³⁷

Yet the Virgin Mary, she reports, had appeared to her, and thus the following dialogue evolved:

Bursting into tears she laments her suffering and implores Mary to deliver her from these pains, not without pointing out her love and devotion during her lifetime.³⁸ Now the Mother of God expresses her anger against the nun: As a virgin promised and consecrated to Christ she had deserted him and had gotten involved with the devil: '... Who disdains my son cannot revere me!' Yet, Mary continues, her good deeds are speaking for the sinner, most notably the love and devotion shown towards her. For that reason the nun would not be repudiated, but saved.³⁹

This example – and in the context of this essay I can only provide a methodological outline for a more comprehensive textual analysis – simultaneously shows models, functions and practices of emotions in such texts: as in contemporary scholarly treatises, emotions here are closely intertwined with moral concepts. In the beginning, the exemplary ascetic practice of the anonymous nun is emphasized as the very embodiment of virtue. Let us have a look at the words employed here: The nun pleases (*placens*) the Mother of God and her son, is loved by everyone (*amabatur*), for she fasts, keeps vigils and sighs like no other. Grouped around the 'emotion words' *placere* and *amare* we find words originating in ascetic practice (*ieiuniis studebat vigiliis*), that in turn feature emotional articulations – sighing, and subsequently bursting into tears and lamenting.⁴⁰ The opposite of the virtue enacted is vice, impersonated by the devil. He represents

envy (*qui semper est invidus*), feels repulsed (*repulsus*) and taunted (*despectus*) by the virtuous nun till he succeeds in inducing her to forsake her chastity.

As mentioned before, the story does not give us any details about this. Nevertheless the irreversibility of her deed is staged in a most dramatic fashion by the sudden change of scene from the exemplary life of the nun to her suffering after death. Additional modes of this enactment are the dialogic form, especially between the Virgin Mary and the sinner, and the metaphors chosen, particularly the image of the loving attachment to the heavenly bridegroom, whom the sinner deserts and thus wounds. By doing so she drives the Mother of God, i.e. the bridegroom, to utmost rage (*maximam iracundiam*).

The wound the sinner inflicted on Christ is contrasted with the sinner's love and reverence towards Mary both during her lifetime and after her death. Even more than in the beginning of the story, the frequency, regularity and intensity of her devotion are emphasized and related to her tears and laments:

Weepingly the sinner calls out to the Mother of God (*exclamavi flens*), whom she reminds of her love and imploration (*amavi et imploravi*), and finally the Virgin Mary promises to the bitterly weeping woman (*mibi amare flenti*) salvation because of the love she daily used to practice (*quia me cottidie salutabas, dulcissime serviebas, honorabas, extollebas et amabas, ... salvaberis*).

Contrition and humility, as requirements for salvation, are both among the most important virtues and the central motives of Christian thought and affective practice. In his consideration of the subject, Caesarius of Heisterbach explicitly links 'inner' and 'outer' sensations, thus giving an idea of his conceptual understanding of the working of emotions: The inner contrition (*contritio*) is located in the bitterness of the heart; its outer effects are visible from the body's affliction. He gives a number of examples that relate the movements of the heart (*motus cordis*) with specific corporeal signs (*signa*).⁴¹ This is also made clear by their dramatic enactment in the Admontian *miracula*: The vocabulary of perception and sensation is most striking, especially adverbs and adjectives, the latter often set in superlatives, and the verbs that in accordance with the mentioned concepts of ancient and medieval authors express '(e)motions' in the sense of physical movements as well as of *motus animi*. Moreover the crying, lamenting and prostrating oneself represented here, coupled with the devotion to the Mother of God practised every day, is exemplary for the ritual sequence of prayer, penance and atonement. The story thus also seems to establish a link to regular liturgical practice, which corresponds to the fact that *exempla* from collections like this would principally be used both in monastic liturgy and as material for sermons, as we explicitly know in the case of Caesarius of Heisterbach and the relationship between the *exempla* used in his *Dialogus miraculorum* and his sermons.⁴²



Figure 3.1: *Speculum virginum*, 'The Fruit of the Orders': Zwettl Abbey (O.C.), Chapter Library, MS 180, fol. 76r.

Regarding style, both narrative and performative strategies are deployed, especially through forms of dialogical representation, in this case between the Mother of

God and the sinner and between the latter and the abbess of the monastery. These enactments illustrate the significance of imagining figures mediating between the divine and the human, between the sacred and the secular. In this, saints, but also the devil and demons, play an extremely important role as translators. Likewise, the explicitly emotional behaviour of an exceedingly angry Mother of God (*me quoque ad maximam iracundiam commovisti*) also serves this performative and thus ‘translating’ function.⁴³ Just like *specula* – instructive devices that present an exemplary life meeting the religious norms – these narratives thus function as tools for an exemplary, yet comprehensive learning by sensually and not least, emotionally ‘in-corporating’ their contents. This kind of knowledge was understood to serve a deeper spiritual understanding, thereby being a tool for redemption.

This is the case with, for example, the *Speculum virginum*, where the Virgin Mary is called the mirror of holy virginity (*speculum sanctae virginitatis*) – just as this didactic manuscript itself is imagined as a mirror of and for the virgins.⁴⁴ The manuscript was composed in the first half of the twelfth century by an anonymous author from the Middle Rhine, supposedly as a pastoral manual. As the *Dialogus miraculorum* its form is a dialogue, this time between the (fictitious) pupil Theodora and her (also fictitious) teacher Peregrinus, and it depicts traditional Christian concepts of order dating back to patrology (cf. Figure 3.1). According to these, the divine world order was envisaged as organized along *ordines*. In addition to the functional tripartition into monks, clerics and laymen dating back to Augustine, the basic social ordinal scheme was that of the moral *ordines*: virgins, widows and married ones. This moral economy applied to both sexes. It rested upon the principle of chastity as the criterion by which everyone would be judged and classified in this, but particularly in the next, world. Accordingly, male and female ‘virgins’ took the highest rank within this ‘order of chastity.’⁴⁵ The virgins by this moral order simultaneously were ‘brides of Christ’. The well-known Latin *Speculum virginum* links the moral-emotional figures of virtues and vices to this imagery.

Similarly, the *St Trudperters Hohelied*, representing one of the first known exegeses of the Song of Songs in the German vernacular, was designed to be an affective ‘mirror’ for the brides of Christ. It was probably composed some decades later, perhaps in Admont or at least in the same geographical region, and designed to be a way to teach the loving understanding of God (*ein lêre der minnelichen gotes erkennisse*).⁴⁶ While traditionally the brides’ most important virtues were thought to be humility and chastity, the idea of ‘brides of Christ’ itself points to further aspects of affective identification: Due to their *ordo* and their virginal way of life they were considered to be pledged to the divine bridegroom. This was a highly emotionalized model taken up most prominently in the theological discussions of the Song of Songs flourishing at this very time, but apparently also in more ‘popular’ texts as represented by the Admont miracle, when Mary as the bridegroom’s mother bitterly laments the breach of the pledge by the fallen bride.⁴⁷

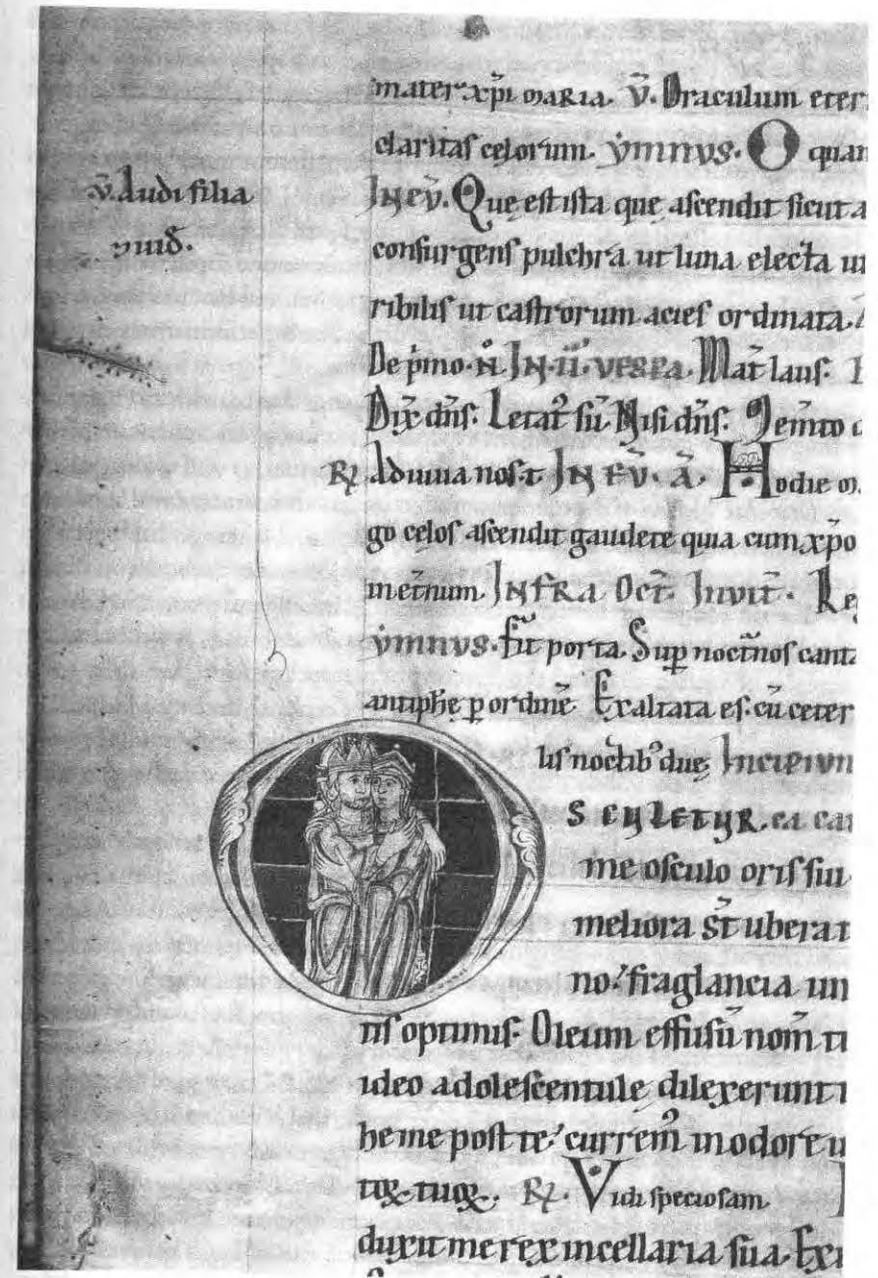


Figure 3.2: *Matutinale*, ‘The Heavenly Bridegroom and His Bride’: Admont Abbey (O.S.B.), Chapter Library, MS 18, fol. 164v.

All these examples draw on emotional vocabulary and corresponding rhetorical techniques and thus suggest a narrative invitation to a spiritual *imitatio* of the bridal relationship between Christ and the believing soul, for which the Virgin Mary at the same time served as a role model. Yet not only narrative, but also performative elements are at work in them. In the Admont miracle the change of scenes brings about an important dramatic moment. In one of the subsequent stories of the collection the manuscript even offers explicit indications of its scenic enactment. Again, with regard to the monastic *lectio* one could well imagine that such texts would be performed with assigned roles, and that in doing so the events represented therein might have been all the better performatively enacted and affectively adopted.⁴⁸

Here we also find a link to early forms of religious drama, such as Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo virtutum*, a dramatic experiment featuring personifications of the human soul, *Anima*, her fellow Souls, and sixteen Virtues, as well as their adversary *Diabolus*.⁴⁹ Many of the elements of affective enactment mentioned above are present here: the dialogic structure and highly allegorical language that especially foregrounds the personifications of the virtues and vices and of the brides of Christ, as well as the imagery of the *militia Christi*, enacted by religious women, laced with numerous emotion words, exclamations and gestural vocabulary, as well as textual strategies of visualization and the directing of perception. Moreover, there are a number of phrases that suggest that the piece was explicitly intended for performance, as does its preservation together with complete music. According to the play's editor it is even likely that Hildegard composed the piece deliberately with 'her twenty available women performers in mind'.⁵⁰

The extent to which such representations would be taken seriously and put into practice and the conflicts this could bring about is shown by the famous epistolary argument between Hildegard of Bingen and Tenxwind of Andernach. They argued whether religious women in Hildegard's monastery should, as brides of Christ, be allowed to appear beautifully dressed and with loose hair, or if this – thus Tenxwind's criticism, she herself being abbess of a reform monastery – contravened the egalitarian reformatory principles of the *vita apostolica* and the *pauperes Christi*.⁵¹

By the same token, in another prayer book, the *Matutinale* of Admont's nuns (1180), the visual representation of the Virgin Mary as bride of Christ plays a particularly important role. Here the relationship between bride and bridegroom is pictured in several ways. For example, consistent with the text, the initial to the lesson on the Song of Songs depicts the embrace between Christ the bridegroom and the Virgin Mary as his bride in an exceedingly sensual way (cf. Figure 3.2). Another striking feature of this miniature is that Mary's dress shows similarities to representations of nuns in other Admontian manuscripts, as other miniatures in this codex show resemblances to contemporary courtly

fashion. The depiction of the Virgin Mary not only as Mother of God but also as queenly maiden, identifiable by dress, jewellery and loose hair, indicates the importance of suitable representations for high-born women.⁵²

Speaking of the role model of the brides of Christ, there are also striking similarities between the terminology of love and friendship in spiritual texts, especially related to the Song of Songs, and those found in metaphors of friendship and courtly love, hinting at fluent transitions between the imageries inside and outside the monastery. Thus emotional communities, to draw on Barbara Rosenwein's concept, are not necessarily congruent with functionally defined communities, just as the social life of people, especially in times of reform, was not confined to one sphere of living.⁵³ We know from letters, but above all from charters that document donations made on the occasion of conversions to many reformed monasteries, that members of the convent entered into the community only after reaching middle age or near the end of their lives, and that sometimes they also considered leaving it, as did the sinner in another narration in Admont's miracle collection.⁵⁴ Children and juveniles were committed to the monastery by their parents or relatives, but others only arrived as adults, some with, others without their children after being widowed. Some disposed of their possessions themselves, others decided in close communion with the other members of their family; for others still, third persons appear to have taken the responsibility.

In a moving letter from a letter collection preserved in Admont, which in its use of emotional vocabulary is comparable to the quoted prayer from Nonnberg, an anonymous woman complains before the Archbishop of Salzburg that she had, apparently on his advice, not only left all her friends and relatives when entering the monastery, but also had given away her newborn child right after giving birth within the monastery. Now, she claims, would he arrange for the child to be raised by her anyway and, one might add, despite the monastic enclosure, lest her anguish might even force her to leave the monastery?⁵⁵ The exemplary nun in the initially presented example from Nonnberg, whom we know as little about as we do about the nameless scribe from Admont, surely had seen mothers and babies, either outside the monastery or even within its enclosure. Although our sources only allow speculations about the concrete circumstances of their individual stories, still the model prayer of the exemplary woman at Nonnberg points to possibilities for a better integration of mundane into monastic experience, apparently not open to the nun at Admont. At any rate, the transformation of apparently worldly approaches into positive spiritual imagery seems to suggest this.

Textual witnesses from monasteries since late antiquity give evidence that the loss of beloved ones was felt by those entering a community.⁵⁶ Assertions of the spiritual advantages and the will to an exemplary way of life as we find them in *specula, vitae* and sermons contrast fears of being forgotten and the attempts

to contact people outside the monastery, be it by requests for visits or by at least the realization of personal relationships through written correspondence. Legends like that of an 'apostate woman' and her lovers, a cleric in love with a nun from a nearby convent, or else of 'the pregnant abbess', which are all part of Admont's miracle collection, correspond to other references to 'moral deficiencies' – for example, the entry in Admont's annals regarding pregnant nuns at St Georgen on Längsee in Carinthia, written down at the beginning of the twelfth century.⁵⁷ About 100 years later Caesarius of Heisterbach reports comparable difficulties concerning monks and nuns willing to leave their communities, and gives numerous examples of the rising numbers of such *fugitivi*, as well as dedicating a whole book of his dialogue to the diverse forms of temptation and their consequences.⁵⁸

The links between monastic communities and the world outside are further stressed by the fact that the practice of teaching and learning by imitation of exemplary role models and habitual appropriation of certain ways of life was by no means specific to the monastic field. Also in the courtly sphere young people on the one hand learned by personal communication with their teachers and on the other hand by borrowing from famous models present in collective memory and relayed both in writing and by oral tradition.⁵⁹ Either way, the issue is the personal, performative, experience-oriented and affective imparting of knowledge.

Thus when people with feudal or courtly backgrounds entered the monastery in the prime of their lives, to many of them the forms and techniques of teaching and learning were not all that unfamiliar.⁶⁰ For quite similarly to the admonishment of young noblemen to emulate the heroes from courtly epics, the monastic 'theorist' Hugh of St Victor describes monastic learning as *imitatio* on the basis of legends of the saints. The 'progress' from *exempla* through *imitatio* to appropriation is augmented in liturgic practice by the progress from *lectio* through *contemplatio* or *meditatio* to spiritually 'incorporated' experiential knowledge. The obtainment of divine wisdom (*sapientia*) is practice-oriented. It is appropriated by way of *experientia*.⁶¹ In both cultural environments of courtly and monastic learning, not single items of knowledge are learned, but a whole way of life.

To come to a preliminary conclusion, at least two points seem obvious to me: First, contemporary concepts of sensuality and emotions are manifold and characterized by numerous transitions between materiality and spirituality; between body, spirit and soul, physical and spiritual love, this world and the afterlife and the different modes of living in and between these worlds. Pictorial and narrative representations of dialogues between the 'persons' involved, emphasizing the 'reality' of the deceased, of saints and sometimes demons and the devil, as well as prayers like the one I quoted at the outset, mixing religious topoi and personal motives, all illustrate the importance of embodying elusive matters of faith by making them sensually and emotionally reproducible and tangible. Tak-

ing historical contexts and the dynamics of emotional articulations seriously we encounter a whole range of representations of emotions in the past that cannot be reduced to simple patterns. Source material of the kind presented here indeed reveals a complex picture of contemporaries' affective lives that often seems at odds with medieval religious norms or at least full of contradictions. It thus seems important to draw attention specifically to these contradictions, as they help us uncover the heterogenous and often nonlinear processes in which 'emotions' are constructed, as they are by no means self-evident, let alone universal, but complex effects of processes of naturalization.⁶²

Second, a vital characteristic of the reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was that their pursuit of the *beata vita* was transformed into a comprehensive claim to societal renewal. Stefan Weinfurter has recently called this the 'functionalization of the good' in the service of politics which in turn became moralized in the sense of reform.⁶³

To more fully understand the processes at work here, the concepts of 'emotional communities' and 'emotional repertoires' could be important tools, as we have to analyse more thoroughly the intersections of communities of different sorts and their members' motives and intentions within their political and religious contexts of monastic and secular discourses and spaces, if only because the persons involved were mostly members of an elite that moved between them. Within these networks of social relations different modes of identification played a role: Social status (*ordo*), both in the sense of birth, ancestry and social origin and in the sense of belonging to a religious order; political alliances and relations between political, clerical and intellectual elites; and not least the social categories of age and gender.⁶⁴ Thus, looking for similarities in the representations – words, images and performances of emotions – that make up 'emotional repertoires' and provide people with options for their actions, and for their moral/political functions that might have built emotional communities across functional borders is as promising as asking if this was in fact particular to the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The example of the *Dialogus miraculorum* rather suggests that the phenomenon of overlapping social, cultural and emotional communities was ever growing from the beginning of thirteenth century on, especially in relation to popular preaching and to the increasing use of the vernacular in the context of the growth of urban culture.

24. The Persian/Ottoman term for the 'cocked cap' is 'keç-külâb', for which see, for example, A. Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 67–8 and n. 69.
25. Akyüz (ed.), *Fuzûlî Divanı*, p. 46 and (Ottoman Script) p. 16. Tarlan (ed.), *Fuzûlî*, p. 23.
26. The 18,000 worlds created by God are made up of Allah's active and passive manifestations ('akl-i küll, nefis-i küll), nine heavens, four elements, three natural kingdoms (animal, vegetable, mineral) times the 'infinite' number 1,000. For a complete explication of this poem (in Turkish), see A. A. Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1990), pp. 236–8.
27. M. Çavuşoğlu and M. A. Tanyeri (eds), *Zatî Divanı III* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1987), p. 3.
28. The most striking image of this relation between the party and dervish practices is in a miniature for which I was unable to obtain permission, probably added in the nineteenth century to the British Library manuscript of Kâsim-i Envar's, *Divan* (OR 11363, f. 148a).
29. A. N. Tarlan (ed.), *Hayâlî Bey Divanı* (Istanbul: Bühraneddin Erenler Matbaası, 1945), p. 111.
30. For İzzet Molla's poem see Andrews, Black and Kalpaklı, *Ottoman Lyric Poetry*, p. 157 (bio. 263–4).

3 Lutter, 'Preachers, Saints, and Sinners: Emotional Repertoires in High Medieval Religious Role Models'

1. Prayer book, Nonnberg (Clm. 14848, St. Emmeram), ff. 4–6: 'O domine de virgine natus, ... O domine aridens matri, per risum illum concede mihi, obsecro, congaudere tuae perpetuae iocunditati. ... O domine sugens ubera matris ... O domine recumbens in sinu matris ... O domine vix valens loqui lingua balbucente ... O domine cursitans circa matrem more parvulorum, ... O domine deosculans dulcibus labia matris genitricis ... O domine circumcingens colla matris dilecte ...'
2. Preliminary versions of this paper were presented at the international workshop 'Encoding/Decoding of Emotions – Medieval to Early Modern', Vienna, Austria (2005), and at the international conference 'Cultural History of Emotions in Premodernity', Umeå, Sweden (2008). It draws on material and arguments also used in C. Lutter, 'Geschlecht, Gefühl, Körper – Kategorien einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Mediävistik?', *L'Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft*, 18:2 (2007), pp. 9–26, and C. Lutter, "'Wunderbare Geschichten" Frömmigkeitsvorstellungen und -praxis in miracula des 12. Jahrhunderts, in J. Rogge (ed.), *Religiöse Ordnungsvorstellungen und Frömmigkeitspraxis im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter* (Mainz: Didymos 2008), pp. 41–61. I am grateful to Karl Brunner, Albrecht Diem, Max Diesenberger, Stefan Erdei, Andrea Griesebner, Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, Piroška Nagy, Barbara Rosenwein and Horst Wenzel for discussion and comments, as well as for help with the translation.
3. For a thorough discussion of historiography and modern scholarship of 'emotions' see B. H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review*, 6 (2002), pp. 821–45, and B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006). On the medievalist debate in the German-speaking world cf. esp. C. S. Jaeger and I. Kasten (eds), *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter. Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003); and

- R. Schnell, 'Historische Emotionsforschung. Eine mediävistische Standortbestimmung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 38 (2004), pp. 173–276; for a comparative discussion most recently: D. Boquet and P. Nagy (eds), *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2009) and *Politiques des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Tavernuzze: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011).
4. E.g. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 3–5, and Nagy and Boquet (eds), *Le sujet des émotions*, pp. 15–51, on modern languages. Both in English and in German 'emotions'/'Emotionen' seem to have become the most general terms for referring academically to the related phenomena and their articulations. At the same time in both languages they are also used and understood colloquially, a convergence that allows for a pragmatic use of the term 'emotions' as a first approach to this fuzzy category: I borrow the phrase 'fuzzy category' from B. Rosenwein, 'Emotions and Material Culture: A "Site under Construction"', in G. Jaritz (ed.), *Emotions and Material Culture* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), pp. 165–72, p. 168.
5. See Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, ch. 1, pp. 32–56, on the ancient legacy, esp. Table 2 at p. 40 for Cicero's list, with further literature. Cf. R. Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford: University Press, 2000).
6. The first quote is from Augustine, In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV, tract. 46.8, ed. R. Willems, CCSL 36, Turnhout: Brepols 1954, p. 403, the second one from Augustine, De Civitate Dei 9.4, ed. Bernard Dombart u. Alfons Kalb, CCSL 47, Turnhout: Brepols 1955, p. 251, quoted and translated in Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 48. For a comprehensive study of affectus/affectio see D. Boquet, *L'ordre de l'affect au Moyen Âge. Autour de l'anthropologie affective d'Aelred de Rievaulx* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005).
7. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 27.
8. R. Chartier, *Cultural History between Practices and Representations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); for an interdisciplinary perspective on medieval literature see H. Wenzel, *Spiegelungen. Zur Kultur der Visualität im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2009), esp. pp. 97–8.
9. My notion of the construction of experience follows J. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17:4 (1991), pp. 773–97; similar C. W. Bynum, 'Miracles and Marvels: The Limits of Alterity', in F. J. Felten and N. Jaspert (eds), *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), pp. 799–817, esp. p. 811, in relation to medieval writers and their sense of the cultural construction of experience and personal perspective. Cf. also Lutter, *Geschlecht, Gefühl, Körper*.
10. R. Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993). On ancient and early Christian traditions of evaluation of emotions, their partial identification with vices with respect to sins and the gradual differentiation of these notions, see Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind*, and Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 49–53.
11. Prudentius, Clemens Aurelius, *Psychomachia. Die Psychomachie des Prudentius*, ed. and trans. U. Engelmann (Vienna: Herder 1959).
12. Hildegard of Bingen, *Ordo virtutum*, in *Opera minora*, ed. P. Dronke, CCCM 226 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 481–521; Herrad of Hohenburg, *Hortus deliciarum*, ed. R. Green, M. Evans, C. Bischoff and M. Curschmann, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1979), see also F. J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights. Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

13. For the former argument see most recently her contributions 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context. Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions*, 1 (2010), pp. 1–32, esp. pp. 12–21, and to this volume, for the latter Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, esp. p. 25, and Walter Andrews' contribution to this volume, esp. pp. 21–3. On medieval audiences see e.g. C. Muessig, *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill 2002).
14. From the vast bibliography on these related topics see G. Melville and M. Schürer (eds), *Das Eigene und das Ganze. Zum Individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum* (Münster: LIT, 2002), K. Schreiner (ed.), *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen* (Munich: Fink, 2002), and A. Beach (ed.), *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture. Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).
15. On the cultural construction of emotions in religious communities see also Paola Baseotto's contribution to this volume. For a comparable methodological approach see also Kristine Steenbergh's contribution to this volume. I use the notion of 'emotional repertoires' according to Gadi Algazi's idea of 'cultural repertoires': G. Algazi, 'Kulturkult und die Rekonstruktion von Handlungsrepertoires', *L'Homme. Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft*, 11:1 (2000), pp. 105–19, esp. pp. 111–13. This notion can be related to William Reddy's concept of 'emotives', see e.g. his definition 'emotion talk and emotional gestures' which 'alter the states of the speakers from whom they derive', in W. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: University Press 2001), here at p. 327, discussed in Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 18–25, here at p. 18. Rosenwein stresses the analogy of Reddy's notion of 'emotives' to 'performatives', thus their transformative ability.
16. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum / Dialog über die Wunder*, ed. and trans. N. Nösges and H. Schneider, *Fontes Christiani* 86/1–5, 5 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), quotes: vol. 1, pp. 5, 7, vol. 3, pp. 984, 8, 1, vol. 4, p. 1506.
17. *Dialogus miraculorum*, prologue, vol. 1, quotes at pp. 200 and 202.
18. H. Penz, "'Colligite fragmenta ne pereant': Funktionen von Mirakeln am Beispiel des *Dialogus miraculorum* von Caesarius von Heisterbach (1180–1240)" (MA thesis, Vienna University, 1994), pp. 37–47, quote at p. 56. On the importance of the dialogical genre in the twelfth century see S. Flanagan, 'The Speculum virginum and Traditions of Medieval Dialogue', in C. J. Mews (ed.), *Listen, Daughter. The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 159–79. For more details on this argument see below pp. 58–60.
19. *Dialogus miraculorum*, prologue, vol. 1, pp. 202; cf. B. P. McGuire, 'Friends and Tales in the Cloister. Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 36 (1980), pp. 167–245, and B. P. McGuire, 'The Cistercians and the Rise of the Exemplum in Early Thirteenth Century France. A Reevaluation of Paris BN MS lat. 15912', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 34 (1983), pp. 211–67.
20. On the relations between the *Dialogus monachorum* and Caesarius' sermons cf. A. E. Schönbach, 'Caesarius von Heisterbach I, II und III, Studien zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters, Teil 4, 6 und 7', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 144 (1902), pp. 1–93, 156 (1908), pp. 1–51 and 163 (1909), pp. 1–90, here III, pp. 5–29; cf. also Penz, 'Colligite fragmenta', p. 56f; on Cistercian miracle collections that served as source material for the *Dialogus miraculorum* see B. P. McGuire, 'Written Sources and Cistercian Inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 35 (1979), pp. 227–82; for a comparative approach

- cf. F. C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekat 1969).
21. E.g. *Dialogus miraculorum*, 4, 12, vol. 2, p. 702: *Missus est iuuenis, sanguine nobilis, tanquam qui apud Regem propter cognatos aliquid amplius posset impetrare quam ceteri*, *Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 2, pp. 12, 40, vol. 5, p. 2278: *Ego eundem Abbatem Coloniae vidi, eratque homo valde saecularis, magis se conformans militi quam monacho*.
22. E.g. Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* 4, 36, vol. 2, pp. 760–2 (Artus); *ibid.* 4, 12 and 13, vol. 2, pp. 702–5 (shoes); 4, 14, vol. 2, pp. 704–7 (horse); 4, 48, vol. 2, pp. 786–9 (lice).
23. On definitions and uses of *exempla*: C. Bremond, J. LeGoff et J.-C. Schmitt, *L'Exemplum. Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 40, 2, ed. augm. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).
24. Cf. McGuire, 'Friends and Tales in the Cloister'.
25. On Caesarius and his working method see also Penz, 'Colligite fragmenta', p. 46, and recently U. Kleine, *Gesta, Fama, Scripta. Rheinische Mirakel des Hochmittelalters zwischen Geschichtsdeutung, Erzählung und sozialer Praxis* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007).
26. Recent work on such collections is provided by D. Aigle (ed.), *Miracle et Karîma. Hagiographies médiévales comparées* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); M. Heinzlmann et al. (eds), *Mirakel im Mittelalter. Konzeptionen – Erscheinungsformen – Deutungen* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002); K. Herbers (ed.), *Mirakelberichte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).
27. The quote is from Codex Admontensis (hereafter Cod. Admont.), 638, ff. 83v–85v; *De muliere apostatante*, hier f. 84v. Seminal is B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind. Theory, Record, and Event 1000–1215* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); on medieval categories and definitions of miracles and wonders see C. W. Bynum, 'Wonder', *American Historical Review*, 102:1 (1997), pp. 1–26, and C. W. Bynum, 'Miracles and Marvels'; recently M. E. Goodich, *Lives and Miracles of the Saints* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), and G. Signori, *Wunder. Eine historische Einführung* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2007).
28. A good overview is provided in the introduction to Herbers et al. (eds), *Mirakelberichte*, pp. 1–28.
29. For an overview of Marian miracle collections of the time, see A. Mussafia, 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden I', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 113 (1886), pp. 917–94, here at pp. 921–36. See also the summary by H. Hilg, 'Marienmirakelsammlungen', in K. Ruh (ed.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 6 (1987), pp. 19–42. Seminal on Marian piety is K. Schreiner, 'Marienverehrung, Lesekultur, Schriftlichkeit. Bildungs- und frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Studien zur Auslegung und Darstellung von Mariä Verkündigung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 24 (1990), pp. 314–68; K. Schreiner, *Maria, Jungfrau, Mutter, Herrscherin* (Munich, Vienna: Hanser, 1994), and G. Signori, *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995). On the history of Admont with detailed further references cf. C. Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen, Norm & Praxis, Lesen & Schreiben. Monastische Reformgemeinschaften im 12. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2005), pp. 52–69.
30. On the nuns' participation in contemporary manuscript production in Admont and other monasteries in South Germany see A. Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in 12th-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge: University Press, 2004) and A. Beach (ed.), *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture*. On the spiritual exchange between

- Admont's *sanctimonialis* and their pastors and advisors and the women's respective intellectual competences see Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*.
31. From the enormous bibliography see the following key readings: G. Constable, *The Ref-ormation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996); S. Weinfurter, *Die Macht der Reformidee. Ihre Wirkkraft in Ritualen, Politik und Moral der spätsali-schen Zeit*, in J. Rogge (ed.), *Religiöse Ordnungsvorstellungen und Frömmigkeitspraxis im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter* (Mainz: Didymos 2008), pp. 13–39. On the concepts of *vita apostolica* and *cura monialium* cf. Mews (ed.), *Listen Daughter*, and Beach (ed.), *Manu-scripts and Monastic Culture*.
 32. The most important orientation remains Jakob Wichner's handwritten catalogue from 1887/8. On Admont's illuminated manuscripts most recently S. Seeberg, 'Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Admont Nuns from the Second Half of the Twelfth Century: Reflections on Their Function', in Beach (ed.), *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture*, pp. 99–121. On the exercise of a monastic way of life, see U. Küsters, *Der verschlossene Garten. Volkssprachliche Hobeliedauslegung und monastische Lebensform im 12. Jahrhundert* (Düsseldorf: Droste 1985), and the respective chapter in Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, pp. 119–25.
 33. Mussafia, 'Marienlegenden', pp. 936–7, on the tradition of a collection edited by Bern-hard Pez according to a manuscript from the Cistercian monastery Heiligenkreuz in Lower Austria (thirteenth century); *ibid.*, pp. 937–44, short synopses of the forty-two *miracula* in Admont's collection, followed by a discussion of the variations between the Codex Admont 638 and other known manuscripts, p. 947–8.
 34. Cod. Admont. 638, ff. 69r–82r: *De Theophylo vicediacono*; *ibid.*, ff. 82r–83v: *De moniale stulta*; *ibid.*, ff. 83v–85v: *De muliere apostatante*; *ibid.*, ff. 85v–87v: *De clerico et moni-ale lascivis*. Two of the *miracula* from this manuscript (the miracle discussed here titled *De moniale lubrica*, which still belongs to the collection's 'ordinary repertoire', *ibid.*, ff. 66v–68r, and *De moniale stulta*) are published in Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, pp. 235–7.
 35. For Caesarius of Heisterbach see the introduction to the most recent edition: *Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 1, pp. 9–103, esp. 55–83, and the overview provided by Penz, 'Col-ligite fragmenta', pp. 46–51 and 55–8.
 36. Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, p. 235: Fuit quedam sanctimonialis in quodam conventu feminarum summo domino famulantium, que pre cunctis sororibus amabatur ab omni-bus. Hec namque plus aliis ieiuniis studebat vigiliis ac gemitibus et aliis virtutibus quam plurimis quibus placens altissimo et eius genitrici. Manebat in cenobio tali degens obse-quo, sed, ut vidit diabolus, qui semper est invidus, quod ab ea sic repulsus esset nec non despectus, suasit illi misere, domini precepta spernere, virginitatem, quam in mente et in corpore servabat, perdere.
 37. *Ibid.*: Postquam autem cecidit, ingemuit amare atque scelum perhorruit, quod fecerat, penituit, quia dominum et eius piissimam genitricem offensos habuit. Mox vero ad pedes abbatisse cecidit quam, ut vidit non expavit, sed confestim inquisivit in penis, an adhuc esset an ex illis vel si sua delicta illi essent condonata. Ad hec illa ei narrat, que perpessa esset mala et que ad huc eam digne oporteret sustinere: Sum in penis, inquit, mater, et uror vehementer, et heu mihi misere nec commissa mea adhuc mihi sunt dimissa. Sum enim inter feminas deputata laicas perdidique stolam primam virginalem, quam habe-bam, quando virgo casta ac domino dicata eram.
 38. *Ibid.*: ... Quam ego recognoscens esse clementissimam Mariam exclamavi flens ac dicens: O, Maria, mater Dei, quid faciet hec peccatrix? Heu mihi, quare nata sum, que sic cecidi? Ubi eras gloriosa, quando huc intravi? O domina, si clamantem audisti, cur vocem spre-

- visti? Nonne vides ignes, qui me urunt infernales, flamme quippe me incendunt, nec omnino me consumunt? O domina Maria, mater Christi, iam succurre festinanter et in his doloribus non sinas diutius me esse, sed exaudi me clementer, quam te amavi et imploravi frequenter. Poteris ne oblivisci, quotiens te salutavi et quod tibi commenda-bam me semper et omnes, quos recipit ecclesia catholica! Heu mihi, nunc apparet quam [!] in vanum laboravi!
39. *Ibid.*: ... Nam peccasti quam plurimum relinquens meum filium, cui virgo desponsata eras atque consecrata te ipsam tradens diabolo et me quoque ad maximam iracundiam commovisti. Nam qui spernit meum natum, exhonorat me nimium. Sed quia me cot-tidie salutabas, dulcissime serviebas, honorabas, extollebas et amabas, me orabas pro te et omnibus christianis fidelibus, sic securo quod non peribis in eternum, sed salvaberis.
 40. On functions of emotions cf. Steenberg in this volume, esp. in her conclusion at p. 133. The example *De moniale stulta* (cf. n. 34, above) also gives comprehensive details on the forms of a young nun's compunction (*compunctio*) that finally leads to her salvation after a lengthy argument between the Virgin Mary and some demons. Cf. P. Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000); cf. also G. Althoff, 'Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung. "Emotionen" in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittele-alters', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 30 (1996), pp. 60–79, though here the focus is more on the symbolic acts of communication in circumstances of political conflicts, yet still remains within the same Christian-motivated discursive frame of reference.
 41. *Dialogus miraculorum*, 2 (*distinctio secunda de contritione*), vol. 1, pp. 342–497, gives several definitions in 2, 1, pp. 342–9, e.g. on the location of contrition, at p. 348: *Interior est in amaritudine cordis; exterior in afflictione corporis*, followed by thirty-five examples.
 42. Hilg, 'Marienmirakelsammlungen', p. 20; on liturgy and spiritual office in relation to the Hirsau *Liber Ordinarius*; Seeberg, Illustrations, on Admont's *Matutinale*; cf. *Benedicti Regula*, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1960, repr. 1977), pp. 8–20. On Caesarius cf. n. 20 above.
 43. For further examples for anger as a positively connotated *passio* see K. Brunner, 'Zorn und andere Missverständnisse', in Jaritz (ed.) *Emotions and Material Culture*, pp. 7–15, here at pp. 9–10; on the range of meanings of anger cf. the essays in B. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: University Press 1998).
 44. *Speculum virginum*, ed. and trans. J. Seyfarth, *Fontes Christiani* 30, 4 vols (Freiburg/Breisgau, Vienna: Herder, 2001); discussed in Mews (ed.), *Listen Daughter* with a focus on gender roles and representations, esp. Flanagan, 'Traditions of Medieval Dialogue', and M. Powell, 'The Speculum virginum and the Audio-Visual Poetics of Women's Reli-gious Instruction', pp. 111–35.
 45. Comprehensive discussion in B. Jussen, *Der Name der Witwe: Erkundungen zur Seman-tik der mittelalterlichen Bußkultur* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).
 46. *Das St. Trudperter Hobelied. Eine Lehre der liebenden Gotteserkenntnis*, ed. and trans. F. Ohly (Frankfurt/Main: Dt. Klassiker Verlag, 1998), with an extensive commentary on the exegetical tradition of the Song of Songs and its historical contexts summarizing dec-ades of study by the editor on these issues. For the quote see *ibid.*, 145.9–10, and 12–13; *An diseme buoche suln die briute des almehtigen gotes ir spiegel haben*; on this topic also K. Brunner, "Quae est ista, quae ascendit per desertum". Aspekte des Selbstverständ-nisses geistlicher Frauen im 12. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 107 (1999), pp. 271–310.

47. Generally A. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995); on the model of the brides of Christ cf. the seminal survey by Küsters, *Der verschlossene Garten*, and more recently Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, pp. 143–66, with further references.
48. Cod. Admont., ff. 82r–83v: *De moniale stulta* features red highlights for the change of speakers. On the monastic *lectio* cf. Küsters, *Der verschlossene Garten*, pp. 24–39; on performative staging of emotions cf. Steenbergh, pp. 121–3.
49. *Ordo virtutum*, ed. Dronke, on religious drama see recently e.g. I. Kasten and E. Fischer-Lichte (eds), *Transformationen des Religiösen. Performativität und Textualität im geistlichen Spiel* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007); N. Largier, 'Scripture, Vision, Performance: Visionary Texts and Medieval Religious Drama', in: K. Starkey and H. Wenzel (eds), *Visual Culture and the German Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
50. *Ordo virtutum*, ed. Dronke, Introduction p. 488; On gender roles in the imagery of the *militia Christi* see Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, pp. 126–31, and Lutter, *Zwischen Hof und Kloster. Kulturelle Gemeinschaften im mittelalterlichen Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 11–14 and 40–8.
51. Quoted and discussed in C. J. Mews, 'Hildegard of Bingen, the *Speculum virginum* and Religious Reform', in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), pp. 237–67.
52. Cod. Admont. 18, the embrace at f. 164v; Mary's representation as queenly maiden at f. 163r. Cf. Seeberg, 'Illustrations', pp. 113–7, and Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, pp. 155–9.
53. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, e.g. p. 2: '... groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions. More than one emotional community may exist – indeed normally does exist – contemporaneously, and these communities may change over time'. She pits this term which allows to conceive of various coexisting overlapping, but also conflicting 'emotional communities' against William Reddy's notion of 'emotional regimes' as dominant emotional norms, discussion in *Emotional Communities*, pp. 16–25, here at p. 23, and also p. 25 for an emphasis on the 'social and relational nature of emotions'.
54. Cod. Admont. 638, ff. 83v–85v: *De muliere apostatante*. On the following argument with further source material from Admont see Lutter, *Geschlecht & Wissen*, part IV, pp. 178–220, and Lutter, *Zwischen Hof und Kloster*, pp. 103–15.
55. The collection is partly edited and discussed by A. Beach, 'Voices from a Distant Land: Fragments of a Twelfth Century Nun's Letter Collection', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), pp. 34–54.
56. J. M. Ferrante, "'Licet longinquis regionibus corpore separati'. Letters as a link in and to the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 76 (2001), pp. 877–95. See also the contributions of Karl Brunner and Eva Cescutti in C. Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume 'Wahrnehmungsräume' Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwischen Hof und Kloster* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2011).
57. Cod. Admont. 638, ff. 83v–85v: *De muliere apostatante*, and ff. 46v–50r: *De abbatisa quaedam impraegnata*, and *Annales Admontenses*, ed. W. Wattenbach, MGH SS 9, 1851 (repr. 1925), pp. 569–79, at p. 578–9. This, of course, is also a frequent topos used in reform literature not specific to the twelfth century.
58. Esp. in his Book IV on temptation, comprising 103 chapters, vol. 2, pp. 666–947. On the relations between the world inside and outside monastic communities and their consequences for the issue of the audiences of the texts discussed see pp. 52–3, above.

59. On the courtly environment Horst Wenzel's work is seminal; see most recently Wenzel, *Spiegelungen*, with comprehensive source material, and also C. Lutter, 'Affektives Lernen im monastischen und höfischen Gebrauch von *exemplā*', in Lutter, *Funktionsräume*, pp. 121–43.
60. With a stress on gender and generation see e.g. A. B. Mulder-Bakker, 'The Metamorphosis of Woman: Transmission of Knowledge and the Problems of Gender', in P. Stafford and A. B. Mulder-Bakker (eds), *Gendering the Middle Ages, Gender & History*, 12:3 (2001), pp. 112–34, esp. p. 118.
61. On Hugh of St Victor's *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*, ed. W. M. Green, *Speculum*, 18:4 (1943), p. 484–93, see the English translation (Appendix A, pp. 339–44) and discussion in M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: University Press, 1990, 2nd ed 2008), here at p. 302–3.
62. On the relation between Christian materiality and spirituality C. W. Bynum's work is seminal, cf. most recently: C. W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality. An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011). For a more comprehensive development of the argument made here see also Lutter, 'Geschlecht, Gefühl, Körper'.
63. Weinfurter, 'Die Macht der Reformidee', pp. 14–22.
64. On this issue cf. Lutter, *Zwischen Hof und Kloster* and *Funktionsräume*.

4 Baseotto, 'Theology and Interiority: Emotion as Evidence of the Working of Grace in Elizabethan and Stuart Conversion Narratives'

1. My use of the terms 'puritan' and 'puritanism' in their broader meanings is discussed below.
2. I use the term 'emotionology' coined by Peter and Carol Stearns to describe the 'attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression', P. N. Stearns with C. Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *AHR*, 90 (1985), pp. 813–36, p. 813.
3. B. H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 2. My notion of 'emotional communities' follows Rosenwein's definition in *Emotional Communities*, p. 2: 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions'.
4. P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 12.
5. In her contribution to the present volume, Lutter remarks that many members of monastic communities had quite a worldly background and thus moved between monastic and secular communities (see p. 63). Commenting on my article in a personal communication, Lutter observed that the 'cultural walls' erected by the puritans seem to have been even stronger than the material walls of medieval monasticism which 'provides an excellent case for the power of spiritual discourse'.
6. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 27. 'The term "puritan" is used to refer to a broader span of opinion, encompassing those advanced protestants who regarded themselves as "the godly", a minority of genuinely true believers in an otherwise lukewarm or corrupt mass', P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), p. 7.
7. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 26.