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Medieval Manifestations: The Expression of Emotions in Twelfth-Century French Literature

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**Medieval Manifestations: The Expression of Emotions in Twelfth-Century French
Literature**

by

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for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Liberal Arts

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Introduction

The study of emotions in medieval literature prompts many questions. How were emotions expressed in literature? Did feeling angry mean the same thing during the twelfth century as it does today? What caused someone to experience shame? Why are we even interested in the study of emotions? Some of these questions can be answered more easily than others, and some cannot be answered in a satisfactory manner at all. Posing such questions, however, reveals the human interest in emotional stories. Given the emotionally rich texts that have survived the ages, we know that interest in such stories has not been limited to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; medieval writers and audiences were as interested in the provocation of emotions and emotional reactions as we are today. What is it that fascinates us so when reading about or listening to emotionally-charged scenes? Quite simply, we respond to them. They stir up our imaginations, prompting us to wonder how we might feel in a similar situation. They allow us to become involved in hypotheticals, to question motives, and to evaluate reactions. They also provide potential models of behavior, showing how someone chooses to interpret a situation and respond to it. In studying the representation of emotions in medieval literature, we gain access to the emotional life of the people of the Middle Ages. We begin to appreciate not what the literary characters themselves felt but what the medieval authors felt would be well received by their patrons and audiences. It is the authors' concern for and treatment of literary emotion that demonstrates the public's interest in, for example, how and why one grieves. If we are still reading today the emotionally-rich tales of the twelfth century, it is because, in at least one important aspect, the human race has changed little over one thousand years. We are still

interested in situations that provoke emotions and encourage us to consider how one might respond to such a provocation. But we are also still reading the stories of the twelfth century because they are different; they show us how another culture, from another time and in another place, represented their emotions. Some of the situations that prompt characters to manifest a certain emotion seem foreign to us, and we read about them because this foreignness is interesting, allowing us to catch a glimpse of a society that no longer exists.

In this thesis I am particularly interested in the physical manifestations of emotions in twelfth-century literature and what they can tell us about the emotional life of the Middle Ages. I have read and analyzed texts from the three matters of medieval French literature, a set of medieval categories dating back to the thirteenth century which classifies medieval works based on their content or the provenance of their content. From the Matter of Rome, which either recounts stories of Antiquity or develops them based on the characters and setting of the Ancient world, I have chosen *Le Roman de Thèbes*, *Le Roman d'Enéas*, Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie*, Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomédon*, and Gautier d'Arras' *Éracle* and *Ille et Galeron*. From the Matter of France, which tells of the deeds of the kings of France and their associated relatives and barons, I have chosen *La Chanson de Roland*, *Raoul de Cambrai*, *Le Couronnement de Louis*, *Le Charroi de Nîmes*, and *La Prise d'Orange*. Finally, as concerns the Matter of Britain, which narrates stories of a Celtic origin, including but not limited to Arthurian lore, I have chosen Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec and Enide*, *Cliges*, *The Knight of the Cart*, *The Knight with the Lion*, and *The Story of the Grail*; the *Lais de Marie de France*; and four versions of the story of Tristan and Yseut: Bérout's *Le Roman de Tristan*, Thomas' *Le Roman de Tristan*, the *Folie Tristan* d'Oxford, and *La Saga de Tristan et Yseut*, a thirteenth-century translation of Thomas' work. I chose these works

because the variety that this corpus of literature represents allows for the making of generalizations concerning the description of emotional expression in twelfth-century texts.

As the number of scholarly works analyzing the description of emotions in medieval French literature is not a large one, and the number of works dedicated specifically or solely to the physical expression of emotions in literature is even smaller still, I have taken an interdisciplinary approach in an attempt to better understand the significance of these physical expressions of emotion. To that end, my secondary sources come from a variety of fields including scholarly works on specific emotions, non-verbal communication, emotional expression, emotions in literature, medieval literature, the effects of the Ancient world on medieval literature, the history of emotions, the use of gestures in literature, the relationship between the medieval writer and his audience, medieval history, medieval medicine, and empathy.

I began by analyzing the core group of expressions authors used to depict emotional states. This core group of words seemed to represent a predilection towards describing physical expressions of emotions as part and parcel of a character's description. Indeed Glyn S. Burgess commented upon this establishing of a core vocabulary, indicating that "une série de mots-clés puisse être relevée dans chaque période littéraire afin de saisir les préoccupations fondamentales de l'époque."¹ Examining the corpus of primary sources reveals a twelfth-century concern for the physical display of emotions, primarily via crying (undoubtedly the most frequently used), sighing, changing color, blushing or reddening, blanching, trembling, sweating, and fainting. Additionally authors chose to express emotions through moaning, groaning, yawning, and turning black, purple, green, and yellow, although these are used to a lesser extent. These descriptions allowed the medieval audience to access

the emotional state of the character. As Jeff Rider notes, “If I want my public, for example, to understand that my hero is angry, I must represent her anger in such a way that my public recognizes her emotion as such.”² The way that medieval authors did this then was to include descriptions of physical manifestations that are recognizable as emotional signs. If a character became red in the face, this would be a clue that she is ashamed, angry, or possibly even in love. The difficulty lies in the fact that many physical manifestations represent multiple emotions. Without the use of an emotion word, therefore, the physical manifestation may signal only an emotional experience, which the audience is then left to understand by situational clues. Additionally, medieval authors did not endow particular characters with unique emotional expressions; they used the same expressions for all the characters, be they king or queen, lady or knight, Christian or Saracen.

Even if he or she enjoys a medieval romance, a modern reader might find this preponderance of physical manifestations of emotion and lack of more in-depth, psychological analysis odd. Scholars who have focused on medieval vocabulary, such as Burgess and Georges Matoré, have found that this was indeed the practice *de rigueur*. “Comme ont pu le remarquer les lecteurs d’œuvres médiévales, presque toujours, quand il s’agit d’une situation psychologique, la primauté est accordée non à une description abstraite portant sur le phénomène mental, mais sur ses manifestations psychologiques: plutôt que de dire d’un homme qu’il est triste, on dira qu’il pleure.”³ Matoré writes that there are several reasons for this focused vocabulary group: for one, he states that “comme tous les gestes, l’expression des sentiments a, quelle que soit la sincérité de l’émotion ressentie, un aspect de théâtralité: vraie ou fausse, la douleur est ‘jouée’, la ‘représentation’ obéit d’ailleurs à un code de communication rituel dont les spectateurs subissent fortement la contagion.”⁴ The

suggestion that these expressions have been codified, representing a recognized core vocabulary has merit. Clerics chose to use these sets of signs because they knew they would correspond to and reinforce what their listeners had already learned. The signs cued the members of an audience to recognize an emotional situation and to better orient themselves regarding potential conduct. It is precisely because it uses a conventional set of signs that this body of literature upholds models of behavior. Matoré's second reason is quite simply that there was insufficient vocabulary: "Quelle que soit la finesse dont font preuve de nombreux écrivains comme Thomas, Chrétien de Troyes, etc., l'outil sémantique nécessaire à une analyse réalisée en profondeur fait défaut: si l'action elle-même est décrite avec précision, les sentiments qui l'accompagnent ne sont en général traduits, manque de termes adéquats."⁵ Medieval authors writing in the vernacular were forced to convey emotional states in simple terms, knowing that their audiences would be able to understand and visualize a corporeal act. "L'écrivain de langue française, assurément gêné par la pauvreté du vocabulaire abstrait dont il disposait, était contraint, quand il avait à décrire une situation psychologique, d'employer les succédanés que lui offrait le vocabulaire visuel."⁶ What we have then is a specific "emotionology" of the twelfth century, a term launched by Peter and Carol Sterns referring to the "conventions and standards of emotional expression."⁷ We cannot know how medieval people felt if they were sad; but medieval audiences knew what emotions looked like, knew that people grieved in a specific way, and that romantic love often presented as a list of physical symptoms. I have concluded that the majority of the physical manifestations used to provide clues to what a character is feeling can be associated with six emotions: anger, shame, fear, grief, frustrated romantic love, and joy. Stephen White argues that there are seven, including hatred or enmity.⁸ I have chosen not to include hatred as a separate

emotion because it does not appear with physical manifestations as regularly as do the other six; and when it does, it represents an extension of anger. Additionally hatred may be viewed as a long-term emotional state, such as contentedness, whereas the physical manifestations in medieval literature represent an emotional reaction to either seeing or hearing of a change in the status quo. They are an immediate physical change in the body, one that is typically involuntary.

Many scholars have commented upon what the description of emotions in medieval literature does *not* represent and what this might in turn suggest. Many, such as Lisa Perfetti, concur that their presence tells us very little about the emotions themselves and that they are more important in demonstrating the emotional or social etiquette of the time period.⁹ Stephen White elaborates even further: “When writers imputed anger to specific people, they did so, not because they had direct knowledge of their feelings (if there is such a thing), but rather because they considered this emotion to be appropriate to a particular situation.”¹⁰ We can know therefore that the representation of emotions reveals the presence of a medieval social backdrop: “The [representations of emotions] indicate the stereotypes and expectations about proper emotional expression and behavior that would have circumscribed how [individuals] processed their feelings and allow us to imagine how [medieval people] might ‘navigate’ the complicated web of social norms and cultural values that define and give meaning to emotions.”¹¹ The study of how emotions are expressed and physically manifested is thus both more accessible than and as important as the study of emotions alone. It is not just that a certain emotion was considered appropriate to a specific instance, but also that a certain physical manifestation was considered appropriate and must accompany the emotion.

Declaring that a certain emotion and emotional expression were appropriate presupposes that a community would be tightly holding the reins of acceptable social conduct. If we are concerned with when an emotion is provoked and how it is manifested, it is precisely because there are others involved, others who belong to our group and who bear witness to our actions. Perfetti emphasizes that the medieval individual was primarily a part of a community: “The concern is with what the emotions reveal about the individual’s relationship to a community, whether defined in political, religious, or other terms.”¹² As we shall see throughout this thesis, physical manifestations of emotion frequently occur in the presence of others, for all to see, and sometimes specifically because of the presence of others. They inexorably link one person with another. “What is emphasized is not an individual psychological state but rather the relationships that define one’s position relative to other individuals, families, and groups.”¹³ While this is manifestly true in many instances, there is also evidence, as Marc Bloch pointed out, that over the course of the twelfth century a new appreciation for the individual was developing.

Particularly significant is the fact that romancers and lyric poets were no longer merely content to recount men’s deeds; they made a serious, if somewhat awkward, attempt to analyse their feelings. Even in the martial episodes, the clash of armies, a favourite feature of the old epics, yielded place to the joust where only two combatants were engaged. The whole tendency of the new literature was towards the rehabilitation of the individual; it encouraged the growth of a more introspective habit of mind.¹⁴

We will see evidence of this introspection in the form of the frustrated lover’s interior monologue, where she dissects her feelings and questions the prompting of such feelings.

While the members of a medieval audience undoubtedly considered themselves first and foremost members of a community where their actions and emotions signaled their relationships to one another, they also began a studious appreciation of the psychology of the

individual, which Bloch attributed to “the influence of the religious practice of auricular confessions which, after having been long confined to the monastic world, became widespread among laymen during the twelfth century.”¹⁵

Much of my research has been directed at understanding the significance of emotional expressions. While it is tempting to surmise that twelfth-century texts represent life as it was actually lived, this is difficult to prove. Which social reality would they have been representing, that of the author’s twelfth century or the one the author believed to have existed, for example, at the time in which King Arthur lived, some six hundred odd years prior to his own? Perhaps the emotional expressions are not meant to be taken literally; perhaps they are merely literary in nature, included for effect. “It is not easy to be sure whether Chrétien was working out an idea for dramatic purposes, or whether he was recommending a code of living to his hearers.”¹⁶ It is this didactic function of the romances that has received the most attention from scholars in attempting to explain their purpose. “[Chrétien’s] romances put forward a model of behavior to the laity, not a mirror of practiced chivalric ideals. This is entirely in keeping with the duty of the cleric to instruct and correct the laity.”¹⁷ These models included not only actions but also emotions, with the goal of demonstrating how they could be expressed, reacted to, and read. “Any enduring political regime must establish as an essential element a normative order for emotions, an ‘emotional regime.’ The emotionologies represented in medieval literature are class specific, at least to some degree, and their dissemination had an ideological aim, or at least ideological effects.”¹⁸ If we know today that stories can serve as educational models of behavior, then it is not improbable to believe that twelfth-century clerics also understood this concept. Noted

psychologists Keith Oatley and Jennifer Jenkins explain how stories reach us on an emotional level.

The principal way in which we become conscious – at least conscious of ourselves- is in giving ourselves and others accounts in narrative form... Written narrative literature, from ancient times to the present, concentrates on our emotional lives and their problematic – as if story telling and story listening have always been attempts to understand these matters. The activity is satisfying because stories provide possibilities of vicarious actions and pieces of solutions to the problems of how to act and how to be a person in the society that is depicted. Publicly available stories give members of society common exemplars of action and emotion. They help us to reflect on and become part of the cultural tradition in which we live.¹⁹

While the physical manifestations of emotions found within stories cannot be expressed voluntarily, at least for the most part, they are the body's representation of an emotional experience and they thus provide clues as to how one might feel in a specific situation or how one might respond. It is therefore highly probable that the physical manifestations of emotion found in twelfth-century romances had a pedagogical function, just as the romances themselves did.

The significance of the emotionability of the Middle Ages has been much debated by scholars and the matter has not been laid entirely to rest. The following section presents the beliefs attributed to notable scholars of the Middle Ages; these beliefs are illustrated with citations that I have found in the twelfth-century texts that help modern readers understand how such conclusions might have been reached. Past historians, such as Johan Huizinga, have suggested that medieval emotions were volatile, that there existed a “perpetual oscillation between despair and distracted joy, between cruelty and pious tenderness, which characterized life in the Middle Ages”.²⁰ One can find overwhelming evidence of this emotional volatility, in particular in the *chanson de geste Raoul de Cambrai*, where a

knight's emotion swings back and forth between extreme anger and extreme joy, especially when on the battlefield. For example, within five lines, we have "Voyant cela, Guerri s'emplit de rage" and "Voyant cela, Guerri éprouva une joie extrême."²¹ Marc Bloch focused on how medieval people were unable to control their emotions; how they had not yet learned of inhibition. "The laity also shared the emotionalism of a civilization in which moral or social convention did not yet require well-bred people to repress their tears and their raptures."²² While this was undoubtedly the case, Bloch disregarded the hints in the medieval texts that the clerics, at least, were aware of this lack of control and the people's inability to govern their emotional responses. Again in *Raoul* we see a fine example. Because of his grief over the loss of his nephew Raoul, Guerri kills Raoul's killer, Bernier. As a result, Bernier's family leads an attack against Guerri. Guerri asks a family member, Gautier, for help, and while Gautier agrees, his response is telling. "Vous auriez dû vous maîtriser."²³ While the preponderance of examples may show exactly that Guerri's inability to control himself once incited emotionally was typical, there is nonetheless evidence of another point of view, that this excitability needs to be checked. This didactic purpose was missed by Bloch. The sociologist Norbert Elias also commented on the unchecked emotions of medieval people. "Not that people were always going around with fierce looks, drawn brows and martial countenances... On the contrary, a moment ago they were joking, now they mock each other, one word leads to another and suddenly from the midst of laughter they find themselves in the fiercest feud... The drives, the emotions were vented more freely, more directly, more openly than later."²⁴

While the medieval population in general have been thought to act in this manner, women, in particular have been singled out, as Lisa Perfetti indicates: "Thought to be less

endowed with rational faculties that enable one to control the passions, women were considered to be more emotional than men.”²⁵ This is certainly what we find when examining the medieval concept of the human body, but I believe that twelfth-century texts do not always reinforce this stereotype. Indeed there are just as many examples of men overtly displaying their emotions as women. Perhaps because I have focused primarily on the physical manifestations of emotion, the gender field has been leveled; it is evident that in the corpus with which I have worked both female and male characters are prone to emotional outbursts. We do encounter examples, however, where the author specifically mentions the volatility or inconsistency of female emotions, without necessarily showing it, or he presents a women’s emotional character as being both constant and capricious. I have found, therefore, that while twelfth-century authors may include representations of such stereotypes, they also subtly demonstrate their disapproval or disagreement with such views. In *Ille et Galeron*, Ille convinces himself that after losing an eye in battle, Galeron will no longer love him given the capriciousness of women’s feelings. “Comme dit un proverbe bien connu, le cœur de la femme est volage et souvent ses sentiments varient.”²⁶ While Gautier d’Arras chooses to have Ille believe this, he also chooses to have Galeron’s love for him remain constant. Gautier draws the audience’s attention to the adage, which may or may not actually exist, but then, by Galeron’s actions, proves that it is only a stereotype. In Hue de Roteland’s *Ipomédon*, la Fièrè is presented as an exception to the rule of feminine emotionability. She is able to control her emotions and the author comments expressly on this ability: “La Fièrè comprit ce que cela signifiait, sans le montrer, car elle n’était pas sottè; bien que, depuis sa naissance, jamais nouvelle ne l’eût troublée davantage, elle n’en laissa pas paraître le moindre signe.”²⁷ She is affected greatly by the news she receives of Ipomédon’s departure,

but from the beginning is known to be someone who does not reveal what she is feeling, and Hue mentions how this is an anomaly for women: “La Fièvre Demoiselle ne montrait sur son visage aucun signe d’émotion. En cela, son cœur était bien peu féminin.”²⁸ On the one hand, while Hue may seem generous, at least at times, with the character he provides for la Fièvre, this pro-feminine stance is undermined by his misogynistic treatment of women elsewhere in *Ipomédon*. The queen and Ismène bear the brunt of Hue’s negativity towards women, and it is their inconsistent feelings that he reproaches. When speaking of the queen, he writes, “Jamais on ne verra une femme assez sage pour ne pas changer parfois de sentiment; hier elle désirait voir l’un, aujourd’hui elle convoite l’autre davantage, et quand elle regarde Ipomédon, elle oublie tout, le héros vermeil comme le blanc.”²⁹ In another example, Hue is thinking of Ismène’s change of heart when he writes of the volatility of women’s emotions in general. “En effet il a été, il sera et il est toujours courant que plus on est haï d’une femme, plus on sera aimé d’elle par la suite, quand ses dispositions auront changé.”³⁰ This harping on the fickleness of women’s emotions perhaps stays with readers and prompts Perfetti’s comment on the higher degree of emotionability of women in medieval literature. Hue de Rotelande is not the only writer to emphasize the volatile nature of women’s emotions; indeed he was merely one of many. “Après [Chrétien de Troyes] on ne trouve plus d’analyses psychologiques aussi pénétrantes. Les conteurs arthuriens cherchent moins à éclairer le cœur féminin qu’à montrer ironiquement l’inconstance des femmes.”³¹ While we can understand, therefore, Perfetti’s earlier comment concerning the fickleness of women’s emotions, we must also appreciate that medieval authors may have played with this stereotype, deliberately contorting it, negating it, or simultaneously accepting and rejecting it.

While the Middle Ages, a span of approximately one thousand years, may have seen its fair share of emotional volatility and even violence, Elias believed that in the High Middle Ages this started to change. “[He] proposed that over a span of several centuries, beginning in the 11th or 12th and maturing in the 17th or 18th, Europeans increasingly inhibited their impulses, anticipated the long-term consequences of their actions, and took other people’s thoughts and feelings into consideration.”³² To expand upon Elias’ theory, I believe that the pedagogical use of literature was perhaps one of the causes of this change. We can see how in Chrétien de Troyes’ *The Story of the Grail*, he presents the sort of behavior model that might indeed encourage people to consider how their actions would affect others and then how that consideration could and should moderate their actions. A prime example involves Kay, Arthur’s seneschal, an obnoxious, argumentative, and querulous character. It is entirely within his nature to act without thinking, to lash out rashly, and to behave in a manner detrimental to those around him. Yet Chrétien points out that at least once, he is able to contain himself. “These words so upset Kay that he almost exploded out of anger and malice. He could hardly restrain himself from killing the fool in front of all. But he held back from assaulting him lest he incur the king’s displeasure.”³³ What we can imagine to be the norm at the time, a well-placed knight killing a fool or other lowly member of society on the spot without repercussions was being challenged. Kay does not, to be sure, give any thought to the well-being of the fool; rather Chrétien is placing an emphasis on Kay’s considering how someone else will respond to his thoughtless actions and how this consideration deters him. Examples like this across the twelfth century might well prove to be a point of origin for the decline in European violence. It might also coincide with the emphasis on empathy found in literature. “Elias suggested that during the transition to modernity people not only exercised

more self-control but also cultivated their sense of empathy. They did so not as an exercise in moral improvement but to hone their ability to get inside the heads of bureaucrats and merchants and prosper in a society that increasingly depended on networks of exchange rather than farming and plunder.”³⁴ While Elias claims that the desire for the moral improvement of civilization did not motivate the burgeoning sense of empathy, there may actually be something to this notion. Examples abound in twelfth-century literature of people expressing an emotion precisely because they feel empathy for someone else who is overwhelmed by emotion, and this will be addressed in detail in the conclusion.

Modern scholars have moved away from the theories of Huizinga, Bloch, and Elias. Stephen White, who has analyzed extensively the social uses of medieval anger, and others have noted that the presence of emotions in medieval literature points rather to a codified script, a cultural convention to which society implicitly adheres, rather than emotionally excitable people. “Whether or not these sources ever provide accurate information about the emotions actually experienced or expressed by medieval people, they encode well-understood conventions about displaying anger in political settings.”³⁵ If this is true of anger, then it is reasonable to presume that it is also true about an encoded system of emotional displays appropriate for love, fear, shame, joy, and grief in a courtly setting rather than a political one. White confirms the presence of displays of ritualized emotional conduct over the course of the twelfth century. “It is worth noting that during the central Middle Ages, anger and other emotions such as grief were clearly and routinely marked and dramatized in many kinds of texts written both in France and in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England.”³⁶ This demonstration of emotion was meant to provoke a reaction in another, to persuade by means of pathos. “For the man wronged by someone stronger than himself and seeking

revenge, the best way of getting help from a superior was to tell him a story that would move him to pity, identification, and then action: ‘You might humble yourself before him with tears, gestures, even the tearing of garments and prostration on the ground.’”³⁷ There is a pervasive sense that emotional displays were expected of everyone as befitting cultural etiquette. We can see this in Chrétien’s *Cliges*, where Fenice is watching Cliges battle the duke; while no one knows of their secret love, she cannot keep from crying out when he’s potentially hurt.

The blow that brought Cliges down astonished the emperor. Had he been behind the shield himself, he could not have been more dismayed. But Fenice was so bewildered that she could not stop herself, whatever the effect, from crying out loudly as she could, ‘Holy Mary!’ That was all she cried, for her voice immediately failed her and she fell forward in a faint, hands stretched out, and slightly injured her face. The great barons lifted her back up and supported her on her feet until she regained consciousness. No one who regarded her or her appearance knew why she had fainted. Not a single person blamed her; on the contrary, they all praised her, assuming that she would have acted the same way for them had they been in Cliges’ position.³⁸

In this example, Fenice’s emotional display, her telling concern for the battling knight, is complimented by the barons; to them, this is exactly how she should act, regardless of whether or not she is in love with Cliges. This is how a lady should respond to a noble knight’s potential demise, according to the culture’s code of courtly comportment. In Chrétien’s *Erec and Enide*, we find another example of a lady’s behavior following convention, and it, too, concerns her position as spectator of a lover’s combat. “[Enide] was almost mad with grief. Seeing her display her deep sorrow, wringing her hands, tearing her hair, and shedding tears, one could have beheld a loyal lady.”³⁹ Chrétien is holding up Enide as an exemplary model of behavior for ladies as regards their knights’ welfare. If Erec’s life is in danger, the more distress that Enide can show, the more Erec and everyone else present

will know how much she values him. This reinforces the idea expressed earlier that people's emotions were important as inter-personal devices, demonstrating the importance of the individual in relationship to the community.

There is a close relationship between considering the romances as purveyors of etiquette and convention and displaying them as exemplars of ideal behavior within pedagogical confines.

The least didactic of romances is still set in an idealized world, a world in which abstractions – ideals of love, beauty, or conduct – are all important. The ideals expounded, the doctrines of love as religion, or courtly behavior as Christian morality, call for conventional gestures, gestures which subordinate individual peculiarities to the general codes of either religion or love. Romances and saints' lives are both interested in what man ought to be or is capable of being when committed to the ideals of love or faith.⁴⁰

It is from this combined perspective that this thesis has been undertaken. Medieval epics and romances can be viewed as exemplars of behavior that have an educational function, where the clerics strove to expose their audiences to ideal forms of behavior, in an attempt to improve the condition of society. Chapter 1 undertakes the following questions: What is the origin of the expressions detailing physical manifestations of emotion? Where did the use of terms such as blushing and sweating come from? I start with a study of twelfth-century humanism, examining the effects of the Latin classics on medieval writers and then pass to a generalized view of medieval education, mind, and medicine. In this way I show the possibilities of the verbal expressions for emotional display originating in literature, personal experience or observation, and science. Chapter 2 treats the six specific emotions I have focused on and the situations in which they are found in twelfth-century literature. Starting with anger and concluding with joy, each section details the current scholarly research regarding the specific emotion and points to examples in a variety of twelfth-century texts of

the physical manifestations that either confirm or refute the scholarly claims. Chapter 3 analyzes the use of physical manifestations of emotion in the public arena. It focuses on the importance of vision and sight, non-verbal interpersonal communication, and deliberate deceit. It also examines the authors' messages concerning the acceptableness of one displaying one's emotions in full sight of others. Chapter 4 examines the private expression of emotions. It is concerned with how characters manifest their emotions when they are alone and also how they reflect upon the changes they feel taking place within them. It ends with a section on the absence of religiously-inspired and manifested emotion and offers a hypothesis as to this absence. The conclusion is concerned with the emotional appeal of literature. It is here that I consider the intended audience of medieval literature and how its members might have reacted to the use of emotional expressions. I examine in-depth the presence of empathy in a variety of forms in an attempt to answer my ultimate question: can the twelfth century be regarded as a precursor to the Humanitarian Revolution? Noted psychologist Stephen Pinker, in his book *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*, declares that the increased presence of written stories in the eighteenth century helped to develop a sense of sympathy for the sufferings of others; he calls this developing consciousness the Humanitarian Revolution. My theory is that a similar development happened over the course of the twelfth century when clerics began writing in the vernacular; all of a sudden, there was a vast array of written secular stories never before available to the aristocracy. As such, can it be said that the twelfth century experienced its own mini Humanitarian Revolution in the form of its didactic stories and expressed concern for others in literature?

Chapter 1

Origins

Whence came the idea to describe emotional states using physical manifestations? For they do not represent an isolated incident, here and there, which could easily stem from an author's own peculiar writing style. Medieval texts of the twelfth century are awash with descriptions of characters blushing, sighing, trembling, paling, sweating, etc. Physical manifestations were, figuratively, in the very air clerics breathed. Their origin must therefore have a strong connection to the time period itself and to the authors who were plying their trade at the time. The phenomenon which spawned our *topos* was primarily the rediscovery of Antiquity's literary classics, a humanist re-awakening, as "Classical studies reached their zenith in the twelfth century."⁴¹ Even though the poems of Antiquity were written by pagans about pagans, the people of the Middle Ages found a way around this so that reading them was permissible. "The poets were Christianized with great vigour. Virgil was honoured with elaborate allegorical interpretations."⁴² Indeed, Virgil's *The Aeneid* was "the leading text book in the Middle Ages" as the poet was considered "an authority in all areas of human knowledge".⁴³ Raised on Classical texts, authors could not help but be influenced by what they had read and were still reading. And in scouring Virgil, Ovid, and Statius, it is clear that the twelfth-century writers imitated and improved upon the descriptions of the physical manifestations of emotions found in their poems.

Perhaps the most striking emotional displays in the twelfth-century texts come from love-sick individuals whose countenances betray their inner emotional turmoil, and their precursors may be found in Antiquity's literature of love. "Antiquity had analyzed [love],

too, and had shown its effects, especially its physical symptoms.”⁴⁴ In Ovid’s *The Amores* and *The Art of Love*, we find mention of love’s physical symptoms. When Ovid questions his own state of being, not knowing yet that he is in love, and finds that he is not well, he dwells on the effects on his physical body: “What’s wrong with me nowadays, how explain why my mattress feels so hard, and the bedclothes will never stay in place? Why am I kept awake all night by insomnia, thrashing around til every weary bone in my body aches?”⁴⁵ The author of *Le Roman d’Enéas*, inspired by Ovid’s inability to sleep because of love-sickness, uses the same tell-tale sign for his heroine Lavine: “Elle alla se coucher en vain, car toute la nuit il lui fallut veiller, s’agiter et tressaillir, se découvrir et se recouvrir.”⁴⁶ Ovid also offers advice on how to look if one is in love and how to recognize someone in love: “If my complexion is healthy, that means I’ve gone off you; if pale, then I’m dying of love for someone else.”⁴⁷ “But let every lover be pale; here’s the proper complexion for lovers...be an object of pity, so that passers-by will say at once, ‘He’s in love.’”⁴⁸ The pale lover, like the following example from Marie de France’s lai “Eliduc”, is ubiquitous in twelfth-century French literature: “Love dispatched its messenger who summoned her to love him. It made her go pale.”⁴⁹ Another symptom of love found in Ovid, one that does not include a visible physical manifestation unless it is unstated, is a certain burning up or fever; it is unseen but felt by the victim. “Feeling hot? Would a cooling breeze be welcome? There, let me fan you a little. Or is the heat all in my own too-fevered head?”⁵⁰ We can imagine that one who is fevered or hot would be red in the face or potentially sweating, and both of these manifestations make their way into the twelfth-century texts, but there are also examples quite simply of someone in love who feels on fire. This is the case with Tristan’s mother, Blensinbil, when she falls in love with his father, Kanelangres: ““Cette cruelle souffrance m’êtreint étrangement: je n’ai

aucune douleur aux membres, mais ce feu me brûle.”⁵¹ It is not just the physical symptoms that medieval writers copied from Ovid; they also borrowed, in a way, his style of writing about love as if he were conversing with himself. This interior monologue makes its way into multiple twelfth-century texts, not the least of which is *Le Roman d’Enéas*.

Or, le monologue amoureux, dans les romans français des XIIe et XIIIe siècles, est de style; et déjà dans Eneas il y en a un très grand nombre d’exemples. Il est douteux que ce soit là l’effet d’une simple coïncidence; et il n’est pas possible d’oublier qu’au XIIe siècle Ovide a été considéré comme un habile maître de rhétorique: on a étudié avec prédilection les subtilités de son art, et les productions d’école de la même époque portent la marque de l’imitation constante qu’on en faisait.⁵²

We will look in more detail at the frustrated lover’s interior monologue in the ensuing chapters; for the moment it is only important that we point out its use in medieval texts and its origins with Ovid as the final example of Antiquity’s literature of love’s influence over the twelfth-century writers and their work.

Medieval authors were inspired by more than just love in the works of Antiquity; works by Statius, Virgil, and Ovid delved into the emotions of fear, grief, anger, shame, and joy and represented the physical manifestation of these emotions. The sheer volume of manuscripts devoted to the works of Classical authors testifies to their popularity during the Middle Ages. “Twelfth-century monastic libraries list 61 *Thebaid*s, compared with 80 *Aeneids*, and 34 *Metamorphoses*.”⁵³ In Statius’ *The Thebaid*, there are innumerable mentions of emotional displays; this is just a brief sampling of the physical manifestations displayed (all page numbers refer to Charles Stanley Ross’ translation). In fear, people turn pale (67), they tremble (299), and they sweat (237). When in the throes of grief, people cry (23), tremble (233), moan (103), and sigh (115). When boiling with rage, people sigh and cry (38-39), tremble (281), turn pale (123), turn red in the face (57), and smile (350). The only

display of shame involves blushing (20). When joyful, people cry (139) and laugh (111). Given the many examples found in Statius and his popularity during the Middle Ages, it is reasonable to assume that medieval writers found inspiration for their own description of physical manifestations of emotions in his and other Classical authors' works.⁵⁴

We have already discussed how Ovid's *Amores* and *Art of Love* greatly influenced the twelfth century in terms of examining the physical symptoms of love and how they might appear. But his most influential work, as concerns this study, must be his *Metamorphoses*, for it is in this collection of mythological poems that we find countless examples of emotional displays, many more so than in his love poems. Taylor wrote of *Metamorphoses* that it was "very popular, and from the twelfth century on, paraphrases or refashionings were made of [the many narrative poems therein]".⁵⁵ Not only did medieval writers borrow the story lines, as was done for example with the anonymous *Pirame et Tisbé*, but they also imitated the physical manifestations of emotion found within *Metamorphoses*. Ovid incorporated descriptions of the physical manifestations of all six emotions that I have focused on, including frustrated love, which Statius did not. In comparison to the love poems, the fifteen books of *Metamorphoses* are full of examples of emotional displays; and this work must be considered as one of the points of origin for the descriptions of the physical manifestations of emotion found in medieval texts. The following represents a brief sampling of the emotions and their corresponding physical displays (all page numbers refer to David Raeburn's translation). When in love, it is customary to sigh (135), blush (251), and cry and turn pale (366). If fearful, one turns pale (136), trembles (142), cries (22-23), and moans (102). When wracked with grief, a person cries (137), sighs (53), and groans (78). If angry, one reddens (43), loses one's color (77), and cries (152). As with Statius, the only physical manifestation

Ovid associates with shame is blushing (362). Finally, joy presents as laughing (82), reddening (69), smiling (303), and crying (563). Again, medieval authors made use of these physical manifestations in their own writings, but they also focused on fainting and sweating, which are not present in *Metamorphoses*. Additionally, medieval writers chose to expand their references to color, incorporating how a face can turn purple, black, green, and yellow.

Poetic endeavors were not the only aspect of medieval life influenced by Antiquity. Both scientific and medical learning were also steeped in the reading and analysis of ancient texts. Indeed, what medieval people knew about science they gleaned from the literary Latin masters. When describing John of Salisbury, a twelfth-century cleric in Norman England, Taylor writes, “It is evident from his writings that his knowledge (except in logic) had no special or scientific source, but was derived from a promiscuous reading of Latin literature.”⁵⁶ The study of medicine was no different in that it, too, partook of the medieval philosophy that held that Classical authors had already formulated and written about the necessary forms of knowledge. “Medieval anatomical and physical ideas were...inherited from ancient medicine. It is not appropriate to look for radical conceptual changes or large increments of new knowledge in the work of the *medici* who...perceived their task in regard to anatomy and physiology as one of understanding, interpreting, and passing on an existing tradition of learning.”⁵⁷

Given the evidence presented above, we see the strong influence of Antiquity on science, medical knowledge and practice, and especially literature. We see the abundant descriptions of physical manifestations of emotions in medieval texts that the authors must have copied from Virgil, Statius, and Ovid. Now that we have reached this conclusion, however, we must confront another question: what does the chronological order of the

twelfth-century texts tell us about how medieval authors may have been influenced by the works of their contemporaries? We begin by examining the earlier texts and find that the three *romans d'antiquité*, *Le Roman de Thèbes*, *Le Roman d'Enéas*, and *Le Roman de Troie* date, respectively, from ca 1150, ca 1160, and 1165.⁵⁸ While some of the *chansons de geste* were written before the mid-century mark, such as *La Chanson de Roland*, they also span the later years of the twelfth century and even the thirteenth. The remaining texts of the corpus that I studied were written after 1165, and they were primarily romances. The *romans d'antiquité* may be viewed, therefore, as a bridge, as Jean Frappier has stated: "Entre la chanson de geste et le roman breton, les romans dits antiques ou d'Antiquité forment une transition."⁵⁹ If they served as a bridge, might the medieval authors writing after 1165 have been influenced by this new genre of literature? Raymond Cormier, at least, believes we can "affirm with some certainty that the *Eneas* preceded Chrétien, that he had access to it, and that the romance genre clearly enjoyed its deep influence."⁶⁰ *Le Roman d'Enéas* is important as a starting point because in it we see for the first time two aspects common to medieval romances: the interior monologue, inspired by Ovid,⁶¹ and a stringing together of physical manifestations, one after the other, to describe the symptoms of love. Lavine experiences fifteen different symptoms upon seeing Enéas and falling in love: "Elle commence à transpirer, à avoir froid et à trembler, souvent elle se pâme et tressaille, sanglote, frémit, le cœur lui manque, elle s'agite, soupire, et baille: Amour l'a bien cochée sur sa taille. Elle crie, pleure, gémit et hurle."⁶² It was Edmond Faral who pointed out the incongruous appearance of several of these manifestations: "D'où vient cette conception des effets physiques de l'amour? Que l'amoureux soupire, soit la proie des soucis et de l'insomnie, c'est ordinaire;

mais il n'est pas caractéristique de l'amour qu'on bâille, qu'on tremble, qu'on transpire ou qu'on vocifère."⁶³

We can see then that while medieval writers may have copied the description of physical manifestations of emotion from the poems of Antiquity, they also included modifications, exaggerations, and other nuances entirely of their own making. As Aimé Petit wrote, "Dès le XII siècle, l'imitation des Anciens n'étant pas un esclavage, l'auteur d'un roman antique n'utilise pas sa source, sa matière dans un esprit de fidélité servile...il conçoit son exploitation avec une réelle liberté."⁶⁴ We should consider Benoît de Sainte-Maure and the anonymous authors of *Enéas* and *Thèbes* therefore as literary pioneers whose works would influence the medieval authors of the second half of the twelfth century. But the crowning glory must be given to the author of *Enéas* whose contribution to the literature of love started a trend that would stay in vogue for the rest of the century.⁶⁵ His lengthy tale, devoted largely to love interests absent from Virgil's *Aeneid*, shows the nascent predilection for an exploration of one's feelings. "Le *Roman d'Enéas* compte aussi 10 000 vers octosyllabiques, dont tout un tiers raconte les amours d'Enée et de Didon (1 400 vers) et d'Enée et Lavine (1 200 vers). La plus grande partie de ces vers est occupée par la description et l'analyse de sentiments d'amour."⁶⁶ Given the enumeration of physical manifestations describing emotional states in *Enéas* and its popularity, it is not unreasonable to suppose that contemporary authors, reading this work, would consciously or unconsciously borrow this technique and employ it when describing people gripped in the throes of an emotion other than love. Thus *Enéas* is the second most influential work after Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for the description of emotional displays over the course of the twelfth century.

While we can conclude that a primary point of origin for these descriptions is literary, we must not turn a blind eye to the possibility that other sources influenced the description of the physical manifestations of emotions in twelfth-century texts. In looking for evidence that the educational curriculum of the time might have included scientific works treating the human body and its bodily functions, I found little that would support such a scientific origin. The curriculum was firmly based in the *trivium*.

Il est presque certain que les auteurs des romans antiques et courtois avaient reçu leur instruction dans le cadre du trivium – grammaire, rhétorique et logique; bien que cette dernière dominât sur le plan philosophique, l’influence de la grammaire, et de la rhétorique était omniprésente dans la littérature; la grammaire, qui signifiait ‘l’art d’interpréter les œuvres poétiques’, fournissait une méthode et des habitudes, que devaient adopter naturellement les auteurs de romans.⁶⁷

Perhaps one aspect of education that was not directly inspired by the Classics and might have influenced contemporary writers was the emphasis on literary portraits. In Alice Colby’s *The Portrait in Twelfth-Century French Literature: An Example of the Stylistic Originality of Chrétien de Troyes*, she writes that the “technique of composing such portraits was taught in the schools of the period.”⁶⁸ Given this aspect of the medieval curriculum, we might suppose then that the description of physical manifestations of emotions was important because it was part and parcel of the portrait technique. In her book, Colby describes in detail the elaborate descriptions of both male and female personages, the order of elements described, when attention was paid to particular accoutrements, etc. Here is an example of the type of portrait she is referring to, found in Chrétien’s *Erec and Enide*:

The lady came outside at his call, as did his daughter, who was attired in a white shift of fine material, with wide pleats. She wore this under a long-sleeved white linen smock, which was so old that it was worn through at the elbows; she wore no other clothing. The outside attire was meager, but the person within was attractive. The maiden was most beautiful. In creating her, Nature had expended all her effort... I tell you honestly, the shining golden hair of the blonde Iseult was nothing in comparison

with this maiden's hair. Her forehead and face were whiter and brighter than the lily-in-bloom. In a most wondrous fashion, Nature had given her complexion a fresh rosy hue that illuminated her face. So brilliantly glowing were her eyes that they seemed a pair of stars.⁶⁹

As is quite clear, there are no physical manifestations of emotions in this description of Enide. Instead, many of the portraits found in the twelfth-century texts are emotionless, as if the person portrayed were made of stone, frozen in time, without access to thoughts or feelings. Medieval literary portraits did not concentrate on reactions or turbulent moments; they were meant to provide a forum for the description of the physical beauty, including both the appearance and clothing, of the nobility. Indeed, these portraits tell us more about what was considered beautiful at the time than how people looked when expressing an emotion. Thus while the portrait technique was taught in schools, the portraits themselves did not include descriptions of emotional displays, and we must conclude that the school curriculum was not important as a basis for the description of the physical manifestations of emotion.

We need also to consider the mind of medieval men and women, where their energies were focused and what thoughts prevailed at the time. Was there an emotional awakening that found itself immortalized in literature? In certain respects, the twelfth century differed little from previous centuries. The people of Western Europe from the eighth to the thirteenth century "passed through a homogenous growth...knowledge was to be drawn from the storehouse of the past."⁷⁰ We have mentioned the medieval proclivity for borrowing from the Classics, but we must understand that it was more than a deliberate, conscious borrowing. It was a whole mind frame. "The medieval mind...of a mid-twelfth-century cleric saw no sharp line of distinction between Antiquity and his own present. A strange but interesting psychological symbiosis conjoins most often the two periods."⁷¹ As such, "much humanist

writing stayed at the level of stylistic imitation.”⁷² Indeed, authorial independence simply was not a part of the scene. Howard Bloch writes that “the medieval poet set a humbler task: to renew the inherited materials – the *topoi*, rhetorical figures, proverbs, or oral formulae – at his disposal. The notions of personal authorship, authenticity, and originality remained foreign to the literary temper of the post-feudal age.”⁷³ But medieval poets did add a personal touch; there was some originality to their work. As Faral noted, “La description est un procédé d’amplification; et amplifier a été pour les auteurs du moyen âge la grande affaire,”⁷⁴ and we can suppose that the descriptions of emotions and their physical manifestations was one aspect of their amplification. While many components of their descriptions were certainly borrowed from the Classics, medieval authors nonetheless added some new manifestations and aggrandized the existing ones, creating a language of emotional expression that was to become their own particular contribution to literature. Not only did they contribute stylistic expressions but also a renewed interest in the study of emotions. As Cormier said, the twelfth century represented “the phenomenal rediscovery, in the psychological arena, of love; for never before, in Western European history, were human feelings so frequently rarefied, analyzed, split, discussed, defined, codified, examined and commented on as in the twelfth century, the Atomic Age of emotion.”⁷⁵

When we think of medieval literary lovers, inevitably we call to mind Lancelot and Guinevere. In Chrétien’s *The Knight of the Cart*, we find an excellent example of this emphasis placed on the rediscovery of love. When Lancelot discovers that he is holding the queen’s comb, containing several strands of her hair, in his hand, he becomes a man undone:

He did not have the strength to do anything but bend forward, where he was forced to lean against the pommel of the saddle. This sight amazed and terrified the young lady, who expected him to fall. Do not reproach her for her fear, for she thought that he had

fainted, and indeed he had come close to fainting. His heart was so pained that he lost his color and his voice for some time... Willing to let her have the comb, he first pulled out the strands of hair so carefully that not one was damaged. Then he gave her the comb. The eye of man will never behold anything accorded such honor as the strands when he began to adore them. To his eyes, his mouth, his forehead, his cheeks, he touched them a hundred thousand times.⁷⁶

Indeed Chrétien devotes many lines to a description of Lancelot's reaction to being in the presence of even this small, insignificant part of the queen: how he almost faints and then pales but also how he begins to worship the strands of hair. This example is interesting not only because it exemplifies the concentrated focus on the emotion and psychology of love in literature, but it also hints at the idea that a secular love can be like a love for God. This is discordant with the medieval notion of love that the church espoused, according to Henry Osborn Taylor, which was decidedly not secular. "The typical mediaeval emotion, which was religious, cast itself around the Gospel of Christ."⁷⁷ This was the love relationship that the medieval population was taught to revere. "All Christians, whether men or women, were taught to experience and emulate Christ's suffering and to cultivate a knowledge of God through intense feelings of love and joy."⁷⁸ This may have been the teaching that the church attempted to impress upon its members, but twelfth-century clerical authors took a more secular route, depicting another version of a holy love, the one that existed between a knight and his lady. Chrétien writes of the love that exists between Lancelot and Guinevere using words that once were the exclusive purview of the church, such as the word "adore". Additionally we can picture many a pilgrim touching a holy relic, as Lancelot does Guinevere's hair. So while the two realms, literary, secular love and the theological notion of love for God, were separate, we can nonetheless, from time to time, find ways in which the

religious concept of love blended into fiction, indicating a potential relationship between the literary manifestations of emotion and those drawn from spiritual worship.

One last avenue to be explored in an attempt to understand the twelfth century and where literature's physical manifestations of emotion originated is none other than medieval scientific and medical knowledge. Given that these emotional displays appear as if the author is making observations on how the human body reacts to emotional situations, one would be remiss in not examining the major tenets of medieval medicine and the role observation played in medieval life. To begin, medieval medicine was based upon humoral theory, which was first developed by Hippocrates and then later adopted and adapted by the Roman Galen.⁷⁹ Humoral theory proposed that the body contained four fluids known as humors, which included "blood, phlegm, bile (also termed cholera, or red or yellow bile), and black bile (or melancholy)."⁸⁰ When these humors were balanced within the body, a person was healthy, but when there was an excess or deficiency of one or more humors, the imbalance resulted in illness or disease.⁸¹ Humoral balance was individualized for each person, and this unique balance of fluids was the source of one's own personal temperament.⁸² Temperament referred to an aspect of humoral theory known as *complexio*, meaning the "role played by the balance of the elementary qualities of hot, wet, cold, and dry in the body."⁸³ The treatment of illness or even the prevention of ill health relied upon the proper balance of humors within the body. "For example, plants and foods classified as hot by nature would be used to counteract diseases characterized as cold, while blood would be let to relieve a body considered to be overloaded with harmful fluids."⁸⁴ The proper balancing of the body also relied upon what was called non-naturals, "a mixture of physiological, psychological, and environmental conditions held to affect health".⁸⁵ These included air, exercise, rest,

excretion, food and drink, and emotions. Emotions, also known as accidents of the soul or passions, “were seen as coming from outside forces; they were not viewed as fixed, predetermined, or beyond control.”⁸⁶

The ratio of these qualities fluctuated in respect to both age and gender. “Heat and moisture in youth gave way to coldness and dryness in old age. It differed according to sex; most authors considered women as a group to be colder and moister in complexion than men as a group.” It was this grouping that the medieval community used to elucidate both female and male behavioral tendencies. “The inferior heat in women was used to explain the many female ‘imperfections’, including why they were more emotionally volatile, whereas men, who were hot and dry, were able to remain more stable.”⁸⁷ However, as we have already seen, there are literary illustrations of men’s emotional volatility as well as women’s; again, this shows that medieval literature cannot be considered an accurate description of its world. In Constance Classen’s book on touch, she, too, addresses the issue of gender and temperament, although she focuses on the location of heat in each sex. “Internal heat had the power to strengthen whichever part of the body it most affected. In the case of men, the forceful heat that rose to their heads was imagined to endow them with superior intellectual faculties... What heat there was in female bodies was thought to remain concentrated around the waist. This was presumed to give women a powerful appetite and, as Isidore of Seville put it, ‘lusty, fiery thighs.’”⁸⁸ Interestingly, as Classen indicates, the two sexes were associated with different senses: men were associated with hearing and seeing while women were associated with touch, taste, and smell.⁸⁹ This notion, however, is not necessarily supported by the twelfth-century texts, for in them we find examples of female characters who remark upon seeing differences in appearance and discover secrets that others wished to

remain hidden. They were often the ones using vision as a means of gaining greater knowledge.

Humoral theory and *complexio* therefore governed the medieval understanding of the human body and how it regulated health and manifested disease. But how did medical students and physicians come by their knowledge of the human body? For the most part, during the twelfth century, it did not come from dissection, which had been absent since the days of high Greek civilization and would not reappear in Europe until the late thirteenth century.⁹⁰ They relied therefore on manuals, but these were woefully inadequate. “Even in the fullest authoritative texts available, actual descriptions of individual organs in a good many cases were brief, not very detailed, and interwoven with non-descriptive material.”⁹¹ While the medical texts available were not ideal, they did nonetheless provide some information to medical students and physicians, and thus medieval healers learned by reading.

This minimal explanation of the medieval understanding of emotions as concerns the physical body does not, of course, offer any real help in understanding their portrayal in literature. Nor can we say either that observation played an important role in medieval medical diagnosis.

Disease descriptions frequently echo earlier texts; in many instances one cannot be sure whether physician-authors actually encountered either the disease they listed and described in more or less detail in their handbooks on the practical aspects of medicine or even the symptoms they attributed to the individuals...Even when personal observations were made, textual tradition was likely to govern the understanding and interpretation of what was seen.⁹²

Indeed, observation and empirical evidence were strongly discounted as being “anecdotal and prone to misinterpretation by practitioners.”⁹³ While medical practice, including diagnosis,

did not rely for the most part upon the use of observation, we should ask ourselves if it would be reasonable to assume that clerics of the twelfth century went about their day without noticing any of the behavioral reactions of those around them. It seems evident that authors would indeed rely on their own powers of observation to cull the reactions necessary for their portrayal of literary emotions. Given that the physiological responses of the human body have not changed over the past one thousand years, people in the twelfth century must have blushed or blanched just as we do today. And if people did blush or blanch, then others must have noticed. Clerics simply used what they saw every day in their interactions with others. The one medical observation concerning the physical manifestation of emotion that does appear concerns romantic love. As Siraisi notes, “Physicians included passionate love (*amor heros*) among the physical diseases and enumerated the languishing lover’s physical symptoms.”⁹⁴ If the symptoms were noted, then someone must have first observed them. It is not clear whether this person would be the physician himself or rather a family member who then reported the symptoms to the physician. This lends weight, however, to the possibility that the physical symptoms of love were not only noted in literature but possibly also in medical texts as well as in everyday life. It is possible then that medieval authors were inspired by what they read in medical books; but this seems a relatively unimportant source for the descriptions of physical manifestations of emotion, and at least one scholar, Edmond Faral, refutes it adamantly: “Pour expliquer cette idée que l’amour est une maladie, il est inutile de recourir, comme on l’a proposé, à l’hypothèse que l’auteur aurait puisé dans des traits médicaux.”⁹⁵ Given the lack of evidence, we must come to the conclusion that medieval authors were not inspired by what they read about the human body, its physiological processes, nor its emotions in the medical manuals of the time.

To conclude this chapter dedicated to the search for potential origins of the descriptions of physical manifestations of emotions in medieval French texts, we must declare the rediscovery of classical texts as one of the sources of inspiration. Medieval authors, having been raised and educated on a diet of Classical Latin poets, unconsciously or consciously, continued in the medieval tradition of borrowing from the past. Not only story lines but also an emphasis on a specific vocabulary, drawn primarily from Ovid, made their way into the *romans d'antiquité*, the romances, and even the *chansons de geste*. Medieval authors imitated the phrasings, but they also elaborated upon them, making the emotional content, and the displays which announced such emotions, an even more integral aspect of their stories. They brought emotions to the forefront in a way the Latin poems did not. This description of the physical manifestations of emotions was neither taught in schools nor present in the medical and scientific texts of the twelfth century. But we cannot discount the power of personal experience and observation. It seems logical to assume that twelfth-century authors would have been more likely to describe specific manifestations of emotion in their own writing if they had read about them in Latin texts and seen such expressions personally, rather than if they had only read about them. The one reinforced the other. Clerics observed the manifestations of emotions themselves and then, because the Latin greats had observed similar reactions and included them in their writings, the medieval authors did the same. If the Latin texts had included descriptions of emotional expressions that were foreign to the medieval population, medieval clerics might not have copied them so readily; they imitated them with abandon precisely because they were intimately familiar with such emotional expressions. Thus the conclusion must be that the point of origin for the inclusion

of descriptions of physical manifestations of emotion in twelfth-century texts was not only classical literature but personal experience as well.

Chapter 2

Emotional Situations in Literature

This broad chapter is dedicated to the exploration of emotional situations in twelfth-century French literature. Because we cannot know how an emotion felt to someone in the twelfth century, we must study the representations of that emotion in stories. In doing so, we can come to understand the events, actions, and situations that typically provoke a certain emotion in the characters. This literary portrayal may show us, not necessarily how members of medieval society actually responded to emotionally-charged situations but rather how they might consider responding if faced with a similar experience themselves. Each of the six emotions that I have designated for this study will be examined separately, taking into consideration such factors as differences and similarities existing between the experience of the emotion by the two genders and, most significantly, the situations in which the emotion is found.

-Anger-

Much of what has been written about medieval anger concerns actual anger and in particular the actual anger of kings. In his article entitled “*Ira Regis: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger*,” Gerd Althoff writes, “The king was summoned to self-discipline, which fundamentally meant ‘to put aside anger...not to elevate the spirit with prosperity, to bear every adversity patiently’”.⁹⁶ If this is what a king was called to do in actuality, is it reflected in the literature? Did the *chansons de geste*, the *romans d’antiquité*, and the romances portray kings putting aside anger? Many literary examples show us a king who

cannot rein in his anger. These stories therefore showed examples of how a ruler should not behave or react; they represented models of behavior to be avoided. One such example may be found in *Le Roman de Thèbes*, when the king Etéocle is so angry with his baron Daire that he wants him killed. The other barons intercede; they understand that he is angry and do not believe he should make any decisions while in such a rage. “Demandons un délai jusqu’à demain, pour ne pas rendre notre jugement; le roi, pendant ce temps, s’apaisera et son courroux se refroidira...car pour l’instant je ne vois pas d’occasion favorable, tant que la colère est dans tout son feu.”⁹⁷ This is clearly a representation of a literary king who becomes so overwhelmed by his anger that he risks acting in an unfavorable manner. And while he does not seem concerned, his barons are. “Créon lui dit: ‘Acceptez, sire; ne vous laissez pas emporter par votre colère’”.⁹⁸ But the king is stubborn and vengeful; listening to his baron trying to convince him of the necessity of leniency, the king becomes even angrier and lashes out at his advisor. “Le roi le prit par le cou et lui dit en souriant; ‘Laissez-moi tranquille; car je ne renoncerai pas, fût-ce au prix de ma vie, à commettre cette folie. Vous voulez que je lui accorde un délai, et après vous me demanderez de lui pardonner: vous me donnez là un conseil enfantin, laissez-moi assouvir ma vengeance.’”⁹⁹ Three items require our attention here. First, the king’s physical manifestation of anger is a smile. It is obviously not a joyful smile but rather a wolfish smile full of teeth or the smile of a crazed, maniacal leader who has been whipped up into an uncontrollable frenzy. It is a manifestation of uncontrollable anger. Second, his anger is so great that even his baron receives its full force when Etéocle grabs Créon by the throat. His anger towards Daire gets redirected towards even those on his side, when they attempt to intervene. Third, the king readily and openly admits that he wants to satisfy his desire for vengeance. He does not try to hide it, and he will

not be persuaded to desist by his barons' reasonableness. This example serves to illustrate the vengeful king who cannot control his emotion and who cannot be swayed by sage advice from his barons. He is not interested in self-discipline, only bloodshed. This can therefore be considered a negative illustration of a ruler, one that clerics presented as a behavioral model to avoid.

But this is not the only kind of portrayal of kingly anger we see in twelfth-century literature. Indeed literary portrayals did occasionally show a king who was kind and gentle. These are the adjectives that historical documents used to praise both Charlemagne and his son Louis.¹⁰⁰ We find an example in Gautier d'Arras' *Éracle* when the emperor discovers that his wife has taken a lover while he was away. He, too, manifests his anger physically and the two guilty lovers fear for their lives. "Le seigneur pousse des gémissements furieux, et les deux autres redoutent qu'on ne les livre au bourreau: ils ont peur d'avoir à payer leur crime, et de périr l'une sur le bûcher l'autre au bout d'une corde."¹⁰¹ We find the presence of an advisor in this example as well, and Éracle undertakes to convince the emperor to show mercy, at least to his wife, given that her adultery was a direct effect of his having locked her up in his absence. Unlike Etéocle, however, the emperor listens and acts upon his advisor's advice: "J'étais résolu d'envoyer ce jeune home accroître le nombre des martyrs; j'y renonce. Je vais le donner pour mari à la dame."¹⁰² Even though the emperor is angry at his wife's betrayal, he agrees to divorce her quietly through the church so that she may marry her lover legitimately. It is not an admission of defeat but rather of his own guilt; he accepts full responsibility for that which he himself caused. This literary example lines up well with the historical documents that Althoff studied. "The rejection of the angry king in favor of the patient, mild, and ever forgiving sovereign, conspicuous in every source investigated,

directly reflects a growing ecclesiastical influence on the ruler.”¹⁰³ Given that the writers were ecclesiastics, or at the very least ecclesiastically trained, they held up as models characters that embodied Christian virtues, and therefore gently influenced the behavior of the people of their time period.

Christian kings and emperors are not the only literary characters to become angry, however, for we can also note examples of knights, queens, barons, Saracen kings, noblewomen, young maidens, and even animals who find themselves enraged at some point in a tale. The characters who grow angry are, however, overwhelmingly male; as Kristi Gourlay notes: “Female anger was rarely discussed explicitly in medieval texts.”¹⁰⁴ She explains that when female anger was noted, there was usually a very specific cause. “This anger... appears to have occurred mainly in response to perceived wrongs or insults, particularly insults that called the woman’s sexual honor into question. Such insults were especially damaging to women because their honor, and their family’s honor, rested almost entirely on their unblemished sexual reputations.”¹⁰⁵ And we do see this in the twelfth-century texts. In Marie de France’s *Lanval*, the queen makes advances towards Lanval who rejects her amorous declarations and even goes so far as to compare her unfavorably to his beloved. “Thereupon the queen left and went in tears to her chamber, very distressed and angry that he had humiliated her in this way.”¹⁰⁶ While her anger is based in the humiliation that she feels upon his dismissal of her, she might also be angry because her sexual honor would be called into question if it were revealed that she had propositioned one of her husband’s knights. There are also examples where women become angry for the same reasons as men, as we will see in a moment, but these are not nearly as plentiful. It should

nonetheless be noted that authors, even male authors, did occasionally give voice to female anger for reasons other than sexual honor.

Both male and female characters are portrayed as angry when they have been tricked and when they do not get what they want. This might seem entirely reasonable to modern readers, both situations justifying a certain sense of anger regardless of one's gender, and yet it might come as a surprise to scholars such as Gourlay who have honed in exclusively on anger resulting from defamation of a woman's character. Chrétien provides us with examples of both sexes who physically manifest their anger when they discover that they have been tricked or duped. In *The Knight with the Lion*, Laudine, who forced her husband Yvain to depart because of his betrayal, finds that her servant has brought about their reunion through trickery. When the servant says to her, "Lady, forgive him your anger, for he has no other lady but you. This is Sir Yvain, your husband,"¹⁰⁷ Laudine's body informs those present of her true feelings. "These words made the lady tremble. 'God save me!' she exclaimed. 'You have now trapped me neatly.'¹⁰⁸ A similar situation presents itself in *The Knight of the Cart* when Arthur manifests visibly his anger at being tricked by Kay. The seneschal threatens to leave the king's court and promises only to stay if Arthur grants him a request. Once Arthur agrees, he discovers that the request requires him to entrust the queen to Kay's care while Kay then foolishly endeavors to chase after the provocative knight Meleagant, and Arthur cannot hide his resentment. "The demand caused his anger and unhappiness to be visible on his face."¹⁰⁹ Both of these examples from Chrétien show anger as an emotional reaction that is acceptable because no other course of action is possible; given the trickery, neither Laudine nor Arthur can go back on their word and undo what they have just wrought.

The foiling of plans and outcomes going against one's wishes also provoke anger, annoyance, and resentment in both sexes. In *Ipomédon*, La Fièvre is trying desperately to prevent a marriage that will unite her with someone she does not love. Anfion, one of the barons of the region, is trying just as ardently to commit her to a union that will provide the area with a strong, male leader. When Anfion continues to press La Fièvre verbally into choosing a husband, she erupts in anger. "Avec des regards hostiles, toute rouge de colère, La Fièvre se dresse et lui dit avec fougue: 'Anfion, vous ne serez jamais celui que je pourrais consentir à prendre pour mari, vous n'en êtes pas digne, inutile de me presser ainsi: je crois ce ne sera jamais votre lot!'"¹¹⁰ This is an interesting example because La Fièvre isn't yet trapped into something, like Laudine or Arthur, and her anger at those trying to force something upon her could be considered as helpful to her cause. In her biting comments to Anfion, La Fièvre has managed to turn the situation around, presenting his insistence that she get married as a declaration of his true feelings, rather than a strategic move. With her snub, she may have diffused the tension of the moment, pointing out that Anfion's doggedness does not represent the group of barons' desire for an immediate union but rather his own unrequited sentiments. This round, at least, goes to La Fièvre. She manifests her anger physically in public and bests her opponent as well. This is therefore another positive model of anger where being angry proves to be quite useful to the character.

On the other hand, anger at not getting what one desires sometimes ends in an admission of defeat, as is the case with the dwarf Frocin in Béroul's *Le Roman de Tristan*. Frocin hates Tristan, and at the moment, Marc is none too pleased with his nephew either, which bodes well for Frocin. But one night, the dwarf uses his knowledge of the celestial bodies to divine a change in their decidedly cold relationship. "Dans les étoiles, il perçoit les

signes d'une réconciliation. Il rougit et enfle de colère."¹¹¹ Nowhere else in my corpus of twelfth-century texts does a character become red *and* swell in anger, and perhaps it is only fitting that Bérout attributes such a disfiguring representation of anger to a marginal member of society. Today we might say that someone is puffed up with pride, self satisfaction, or even anger, so the terminology is not unknown when it comes to descriptions of emotions. When I picture this description of Frocin, I imagine a puffed up toad or bloated limb. I think Bérout specifically chose to render the image as offensive as possible because the character was a dwarf. Given that the majority of the characters in this body of literature were members of the aristocratic class and were not generally portrayed in such a hideous light, it is understandable that *enfler* would be used rarely, if at all, as a physical manifestation of emotion.

Despite the presence of female anger in certain arenas, it comes as no surprise that given the medieval penchant for writing stories that included war, individual combat, and tournaments, the majority of the portrayals of anger in literature represent male anger and specifically, male anger on some sort of battlefield. This kind of anger is closely connected to shame because a man frequently felt anger at being shamed or dishonored. As Stephen White writes, "One way of making a man angry was to force him to take notice of the shameful injuries that he or his friends had suffered."¹¹² As we see in the literature, such shameful injuries were often the result of having been defeated or harmed in a certain battle or tournament. At the end of *Raoul de Cambrai*, when Julien is unknowingly battling his father in a fight between Saracens and Christians, his anger surges the moment he's been wounded. "Quand Julien sentit l'épée atteindre sa chair, il recula et le coup passa à côté de lui; il trembla et frémit de colère, et tout son sang lui monta au visage."¹¹³ Injury frequently causes

this portrayal of male anger. Julien becomes angry because his opponent has dared to best him in this individual combat and because his injury, construed as a weakness, shames him. It can be considered a representation of positive anger because it results in an action which allows the character to redeem himself in combat. In *Ipomédon*, the title character finds himself in a similar state of anger because his opponent Créon has managed to injure him. “Sous le choc, Ipomédon frémit de colère, rougit, s’échauffe, s’enflamme, brûle de fureur, de honte, de ressentiment.”¹¹⁴ The only course of action in such a situation, the only way to redeem oneself, is to fight back. Ipomédon’s momentary portrayal of stunned anger quickly turns to action. “Il ne veut pas perdre de temps, il lui tarde de se venger.”¹¹⁵

Anger also arises from seeing the destruction of one’s own land and people, and knowing that there is only the slimmest hope of victory, as is evident in *Le Roman de Troie*. “[Hector] se rend compte que le carnage et le désastre sont tels que personne ne saurait en faire le récit. Il voit la cité en proie à la panique et il a appris que les Grecs ont repoussé les Troyens derrière les portes. Son visage s’empourpre, son cœur se gonfle dans sa poitrine. Il est en proie à une telle fureur, à une telle colère, que personne n’ose s’approcher de lui.”¹¹⁶ Again it is the audacity of an opponent who dares to harm his people that brings a man to almost boil over in rage. His country’s loss is his shame, and this feeling manifests itself as a dangerous, darkening of the face, representing an uncontrollable fury. As Richard W. Kaeuper wrote, “To read much chivalric literature is to find admired knights regularly feeling rage as they fight; their blood boils; when honour is challenged, they nearly lose their minds.”¹¹⁷ The fact that these are admired knights, as Hector is, reveals the author’s intention to display such anger as an appropriate reaction in the given circumstance; admired knights do the right thing.

-Shame-

The portrayal of male anger is closely linked to the idea of shame, which sometimes provokes an apoplectic response. Indeed Matoré explains this response by writing that “la *honte* est un sentiment insupportable pour soi-même, mais dans lequel on se plaît à plonger un ennemi.”¹¹⁸ Anger and shame are often cited together as causes of specific physical manifestations because they both result from a loss of honor or an insult to one’s honor. Valerie Allen confirms that a loss of honor is a source of shame in romances in her article “Waxing Red: Shame and the Body, Shame and the Soul,” when she explains that “shame arises here from the slight to chivalric...honor.”¹¹⁹ But the source of that honor changed over the course of the twelfth century as *chanson de geste* gave way to romance. As Burgess writes, “Les héros de l’épopée et du roman partagent les mêmes traits jusqu’à un certain point. Pour les deux, l’honneur est la source de l’être et de l’action, le moteur de la conduite, mais l’honneur de Roland, par exemple, est un honneur de race, celui d’Erec et d’Yvain un honneur de classe.”¹²⁰ These are by far the most plentiful types of portrayal of male shame that I have found in the twelfth-century texts.

Perceval, for example, in Chrétien’s *The Story of the Grail*, blushes in shame at the perceived slight to his honor. Given that in this romance, Chrétien provides an explanation of the code of chivalry and what exactly it entails for a knight,¹²¹ we can be certain that in the following exchange, the young maiden is surreptitiously accusing Perceval of having disobeyed one of the tenets of the code:

Then Perceval, who had reached her, said to her: ‘God save you, fair lady.’ When the maiden heard him, she bowed her head and spoke in a subdued voice. ‘Sir, you who greeted me, may your heart have all it desires. And yet it is not right that I say this.’ Perceval blushed with shame. ‘Wait, maiden, why not?’ he asked her. ‘I certainly do not think or believe that I ever before laid eyes on you or did you wrong.’¹²²

Her insult, even though it is softly murmured, implies that Perceval has acted so dishonorably that he does not deserve the warm and friendly greeting that most courteous knights would expect to hear. It is this unspoken accusation of dishonor that prompts his blushing. While he does not at first remember the maiden, he soon discovers that she is none other than the maiden of the pavilion from whom he stole a kiss and a ring; but even this reminder of his youthful follies does not cause him shame. It is only the insult she bestows upon him that causes him to blush.

Honor can also be impugned, resulting in shame, if a character is seen as not behaving appropriately on the battlefield: if he does not demonstrate great skill and valor, if he shows cowardice or weakness, or if he lets his enemies injure or defeat him. If a knight does behave appropriately, he has no cause for concern. This is in fact what the king of France says to Ille in Gautier d'Arras' *Ille et Galeron* when he compares Ille's accomplishments to his father's. "“Mon cher ami, lui dit-il, ton père fut un modèle de vaillance et de bonté, un homme d'une grande distinction tout au long de cette vie terrestre, et il n'aurait pas à rougir de toi.””¹²³ While no one is actually blushing in this scene, the author makes it clear that a knight blushes when he is ashamed. Given that Ille's father was a tremendous knight and that Ille is following in his father's footsteps, his father would not blush when thinking of Ille's accomplishments but rather would be proud of his son.

The inability to prove oneself as a knight and to defend one's honor because of a lack of opportunity can also cause great shame. In *Troie*, Benoît de Saint-Maure portrays Achilles's knights in just such a way when the Greek leader denies them the chance to prove their prowess. "“Ses hommes, ses proches en éprouvaient peine et colère. On les voyait

pleurer de douleur, car ils n'osaient prendre leurs armes. Ils en étaient honteux et accablés.”¹²⁴ In this representation of shame, the knights' feelings are intermingled with anger and grief or sorrow, and they cry in frustration at having to suffer a loss of honor.

As one final example of the portrayal of male shame, we turn to Chrétien's *Cliges*, where we can see a knight blushing in shame, not because of a slight to his honor, as is typically the case, but as a response to public lauding. “Cliges found all their praise more than he desired, and did not know how to reply. Their words pleased him, yet made him feel ashamed. Because the blood went to his face, the men observed his complete embarrassment.”¹²⁵ This representation of shame is significant for two reasons: first, it indicates that humility should be considered a virtue and that one should not take pleasure in excessive praise; and second, it serves to show that people could, should, and did observe others for clues regarding their feelings. Chrétien is stating both that a red face indicates shame and that people can readily detect this manifestation and understand it for what it is. This example suggests that these physical manifestations, in addition to being drawn from literary sources, were also well known to the medieval populace by experience and observation. This detection of shame was further explained by Thomas Aquinas when commenting on the changes the physical body undergoes when confronted with shame and fear.

All the passions are accompanied by some corporeal change. Shame [*verecundia*] and fear [*timor*] - which is concerned with the danger of death - have a general resemblance in that each passion is judged by a change in the color of the body...but they have particular differences, since people who are ashamed blush [*rubescere*], while those who fear death turn pale. The reason for this difference is that the spirit and the humors naturally rush to the place feeling the need. Now, the seat of life is the heart, and so when danger of death is feared, the spirit and the humors speed to the heart. Consequently, the surface of the body being as it were deserted, grows pale. On the other hand, honor [*honor*] and confusion [*confusio*] are numbered among external

things. Therefore, since a man fears the loss of honor by shame [*verecundia*], he blushes as the humors and spirits stream back to the surface.¹²⁶

While Aquinas lived in the thirteenth century, this commentary on shame and what happens inside the body when one feels shame does provide insight as to how, in the twelfth century, clerics might have considered the physiology of emotions.

Even though Aquinas did not specifically mention the shame of women, his explanation works for females as well in that they, too, feared a loss of honor by shame, except that the source of their fear was sexual in nature.¹²⁷ Valerie Allen explains: “Feminine blushes tend to converge on moments of sexual impropriety or of fear of it.”¹²⁸ This is indeed what we find in the literature as well. In Chrétien’s *The Knight of the Cart*, Guinevere’s red cheeks tell of her adulterous liaison with Lancelot. “Then, for the first time, the queen saw the bloodstained sheets on both beds. She was astonished and turned scarlet with shame.”¹²⁹ When Lancelot had entered the queen’s bed, he hadn’t realized that he had cut open his finger, which subsequently bled all over the sheets; in Chrétien’s tale this is a clear sign of amorous relations and thus the queen reddens in shame. A less incriminating example comes in *Ipomédon*, when the queen blushes at the insinuation of a past amorous relationship. Ipomédon, disguised as a *fou*, or mentally unstable person, says to the court, ““Et je vous dis bien que j’aurais pu coucher la reine sous moi, si j’en avais eu envie, car elle m’a aimé grandement.” La reine rougit quelque peu et protesta.”¹³⁰

This, too, is a representation of shame caused by the questioning of a woman’s honor or virtue; but there are other factors that cause a woman to be ashamed, as portrayed in the corpus of texts. One is shyness and simply being looked at by a group of men.¹³¹ We can see this in Chrétien’s *Erec and Enide* when Enide is presented to Arthur’s court on her wedding

day. “When the beautiful maiden from the distant land saw all the knights in order with their eyes fixed on her, she bowed her head. That her embarrassment made her blush was not remarkable.”¹³² In Jean-Marie Fritz’s modern French translation, he does not use the word “embarrassment” but rather focuses on the reddening of her face as a “marque de pudeur”.¹³³ This could be construed as a sign of humility, which would present the same message as the one we found in *Cliges*, that praise must be accepted in moderate amounts. On the other hand, it could be construed as a sign of modesty, in which case Enide’s sexual honor comes into play more so than timidity. In theory she has no cause for concern for she has done nothing that could be considered inappropriate; but I think that that is precisely Chrétien’s warning to the female members of his audience. He indicates that though guiltless, they might still be suspected of impropriety because of the societal code. His message seems to indicate a social convention whereby women could be faulted simply for being visible. Enide finds herself in a situation where she becomes the center of attention, and all the knights, strange men whom she does not know, gaze upon her fixedly. The blushing indicates that she is concerned for her sexual honor and that she is fearful of its being called into question. The association of being seen by unknown men and shame is also present in *Thèbes* when mention is made specifically of unknown males and female modesty. “Quand elles virent les nobles chevaliers qu’elles n’avaient encore jamais vus, leur pudeur s’ alarma – comment s’en étonner? – et leur visage devint tout rouge.”¹³⁴ The author’s aside, that we shouldn’t be surprised at this result, is telling as well, for it indicates that female shame is tied to a woman’s sense of modesty. This remark is made to a listening audience who would have understood the young ladies’ alarm. Like with Enide, the women in *Thèbes* show concern for their sexual honor when viewed by strange or foreign men. Even though they haven’t acted

inappropriately, an unknown man's eyes on them is enough to cause concern and prompt the reddening of their cheeks.

While I readily admit that female characters blush in shame, I cannot agree with Allen's statement that "the blush, shame's sign, befits a woman more than a man." If we consider the cause of shame as portrayed in the *romans d'antiquité* and the romances, it results from a loss of honor for both men and women. Given that a man's shame is so closely tied to his ability to fight and joust, and that the backdrop of so many of these stories is military or adventurous in nature, the opportunities for male shame abound. This shame is often masked, however, when a male character's sense of shame quickly turns to anger, in which case we must ask if his face is red in anger or in shame? And does the distinction even matter if both lead to redemption via action?

-Fear-

Thomas Aquinas wrote that fear was a reaction to the danger of death and that it caused the blood to rush towards the heart, leaving the face pale and bloodless.¹³⁵ Injury or death was indeed the foremost fear portrayed in literature; in fact, in the *romans d'antiquité*, it is the only fear represented. There are innumerable examples of characters afraid for their own lives or the lives of others, and this is not surprising. As Matoré writes, "Dans une société où le danger est fréquent, les réactions d'inquiétudes sont nombreuses."¹³⁶ Indeed given that many of the twelfth-century tales were written against a backdrop of war or tournament fighting, and that death was a regular occurrence, we can understand the almost ever present fear that knights had for their own well-being and that family members had for loved ones going off to fight. The twelfth-century tales show that fear is portrayed, however,

in both a positive and negative light; it is neither always one nor the other. Provided that fear did not prevent one from doing one's duty, for "aucune insulte n'est plus forte que celle de *paoros et couart*,"¹³⁷ then fear derived from actively supporting one's lord or striving to maintain the integrity of a kingdom was almost to be praised. We can see this via Priam's fear in *Troie*, when he becomes convinced that a group of his own will betray him and make a deal with the Greeks. "Le roi Priam ne sait que faire. Les larmes coulent sur son visage. Il est plein de crainte devant l'attitude d'Énée et des autres, et à juste titre, car il se rend bien compte qu'il ne peut plus compter sur leur aide: il connaît leur ruse et leur perfidie."¹³⁸ This can be considered a noble fear for it encompasses Priam's concern for his people and the kingdom of Troy; it is not an ignoble fear betraying a man's concern for his own personal safety. Male fear on the behalf of the community and therefore for the greater good is acceptable. The author indicates that Priam's fear is legitimate with his expression "à juste titre", although in truth, we cannot determine if he is legitimizing Priam's fear or Priam's fear because of what Énée and his co-conspirators are plotting.

Additionally there are examples of positive fear that demonstrate a knight's awareness of his situation and a desire to change it. In this way, while on the one hand male fear can be associated with shame because one fears a loss of honor, on the other, recognizing the potential for shame encourages a knight to slough off whatever reticence is holding him back, thus allowing the fear to dissipate. In *Ipomédon*, the hero is afraid that his actions at La Fièvre's court have permanently ruined his reputation, for he never once showed his jousting prowess. "Personne ne sait encore qui je suis. En cette cour pas un seul ne sait comme moi jeter ou lancer le javelot, combattre à la lance, et je suis déjà fort à l'épée! L'orgueil qui m'a poussé à tant me dissimuler fait qu'ici on ne me méprise et m'accable de

reproches.”¹³⁹ Ipomédon’s fear at not being recognized for the brave and skilled fighter that he is pushes him to undertake adventure after adventure where he can prove himself; his fear of dishonor leads to action, much the same way that shame and anger do. In *Raoul*, likewise, a protagonist’s fear leads to action and is therefore considered acceptable. Bernier momentarily succumbs to fear when faced with the potential of bodily harm. “Il trembla de peur de la tête aux pieds en voyant s’approcher Raoul plein de rage.”¹⁴⁰ Directly after his manifestation of fear, however, the author reasserts Bernier’s positive characteristics. “Le jeune Bernier était un excellent chevalier, fort et hardi, et un noble guerrier.”¹⁴¹ He does not stagnate in his fear but rather acts on it, immediately enjoining Raoul to discuss the matter. Given these positive examples of fear by leading male characters in the twelfth-century tales, I cannot agree with Scott and Kosso when they summarize by saying that “male protagonists in medieval romances should not, as a rule, show fear.”¹⁴²

The negative examples of male fear for oneself, examples not to be emulated, mostly concern cowardly behavior on the part of weak-willed individuals, foreigners, or pagans; these are the anti-heroes. They demonstrate their fear via crying or trembling in situations where brave knights would turn their fear into anger and action. In *Ille et Galeron*, it is the Christian enemy, the Greeks, who are fearful in battle at the demonstration of Breton prowess. “Les Bretons sont d’excellents chevaliers: chacun d’eux tue au moins un adversaire. Les Grecs se mettent à trembler.”¹⁴³ In *Le couronnement de Louis*, it is the weak king of France, Louis, who is always crying because of his perpetual state of fear. At each turn, when presented with a problem or a challenge, instead of turning to action to redeem his fear, like Ipomédon or Bernier, he sobs like a child. At the beginning of the tale, when Guillaume Fièrbrace, the emperor’s champion, is about to leave for a pilgrimage, Louis breaks down,

confessing his fears. “En pleurant il s’adresse à Guillaume Fièrbrace: ‘Hé! noble comte, au nom de Dieu le pur Esprit, voyez, mon père quitte ce monde; il est vieux et faible, il ne portera plus les armes, et moi je suis jeune et de bien petit âge: si je n’ai pas de secours, tout va se gâter.’”¹⁴⁴ Indeed during one exchange between Louis and his protector upon hearing

that the enemy is at their doorstep, Guillaume condemns the king’s cowardly reaction.

“Entendant ces paroles Guillaume inclina la tête vers le sol et Louis se met à pleurer.

Guillaume le voit et croit perdre le sens! ‘Hé! pauvre roi, lâche et stupide.’”¹⁴⁵ As with the

Greeks, in this example crying in fear is being held up as an inappropriate reaction, one that belongs to the weak, the cowardly, and the wrong. In a final example, this time from *La Prise d’Orange*, we see the last of the fearful groups: the pagans. Guillaume and his two Christian

companions are fighting the Saracens, and even though the three men are greatly

outnumbered, they inspire fear in their opponents. “Ils descendirent les marches de la tour; ils frappent les païens sur leurs heaumes ronds, et leur fracassent poitrines et mentons: il y en a bien dix-sept qui gisent sur le sable, dont le plus sain a le poumon coupé. A ce spectacle, les païens frissonnent de peur.”¹⁴⁶ Unlike our heroes, Priam, Ipomédon, and Bernier, these

fearful men, along with Louis and the Greeks, are not held up as models to be imitated because their fear is for their own safety and it does not lead them to courageous action.

Lastly, male fear for the safety of another person is also quite visible in twelfth-century literature. The purpose of such a fear is to elevate the bravery of the other, who is typically the hero. In *Le Couronnement de Louis*, the pope is afraid for Guillaume as he engages in individual combat with the Saracen Corsolt. “Tous ceux de Rome et le Pape, qui frissonne de crainte, s’écrient unanimement: ‘Saint Pierre, seigneur, secours ton champion.’”¹⁴⁷ The people’s and the pope’s fear encourages readers to think even more

highly of Guillaume, for he, the combatant, does not experience fear, even though he is the one who might pay with his life. If everyone else is incredibly fearful for Guillaume, it proves that the situation is indeed fraught with danger; and yet by not attributing fear to the hero, the author is able to further enhance his courage. A similar situation arises in *Erec and Enide*, when Erec insists on attempting the adventure known in the story as the Joy of the Court, even though all others before him have died. He is not afraid, but the people of the town are understandably afraid for him. “More than seven thousand were lamenting for him, but nothing could dismay him. Without delay he rode on, greeting in a noble manner all the men and women together, and all the men and women greeted him. Several were sweating anxiously, for they feared, more than he, for his disgrace or his death.”¹⁴⁸ This opposition between those who shouldn’t be afraid but are, and the one who should be afraid but isn’t, again says more about the bravery of the hero than anything else. The townspeople’s fear, like the pope’s, serves to augment the hero’s bravery.

Women’s fear, as portrayed in literature, often revolves around uncertainty. If they do not know if a lover reciprocates their feelings, this is a cause for fear. When a husband leaves for war or a tournament, he leaves behind a wife who is uncertain if she will ever see him again. If a husband goes off to war or a tournament and dies, the loss of protection and livelihood also presents women with an uncertain future. Thus women’s fear often stems from anxiety regarding change. As Tracy Adams writes, a woman feels fears because she has “no control over her own fate.”¹⁴⁹ This is evident in the number of examples where a woman fears the death of a male family member, which greatly exceeds the number of examples where a woman fears for her own life. We cannot know, however, when a woman fears for her husband who has gone off to battle if it is because she loves him or if it is because she is

already worrying about what will happen to her if he dies. There is a great show of emotion from the women, but its true cause is not always clear. Let us consider Enide's fear in Chrétien's *Erec and Enide*. She and Erec have left the court and are traveling. Enide is under strict instruction from Erec not to speak to him, and this is when a problem arises, for she sees an unknown knight charging them but Erec does not. Here is Enide's fearful reaction:

When Enide heard the noise and the commotion, she almost fell from her palfrey, senseless and in a faint. The blood stirred in every vein of her body; her face turned pale and white as though she were dead. She was extremely distressed and distraught because she dared not address her lord lest he threaten and accuse her, and order her to keep quiet. She was completely torn in two, not knowing which path to follow, whether to speak or to remain silent. Giving careful consideration to the matter, she found herself ready to speak so often that her tongue moved but the voice could not come forth, her teeth being clenched in fear, keeping her words within. She was thus debating and tormenting herself.¹⁵⁰

What exactly is she afraid of? That the menacing knight will attack her husband unawares and he will die? That she will anger him if she warns him of the approaching enemy? With both fears, the end result is the same. If Erec dies, Enide will be alone; and if she warns him and he becomes angry with her for speaking, he might abandon her, and she will be left alone. A convincing argument may be made for the fact that Enide is primarily fearful of being alone in the world without a protector. She quite plainly admits that this is the case. "If my lord is angered, he will abandon me in this thicket and leave me alone and wretched. Then I shall be even worse off."¹⁵¹ She is clearly worried about her own survival, regardless of whether Erec lives or dies. But Chrétien does not let the matter rest there, for Enide continues with her monologue, indicating that perhaps she is more concerned with her husband's welfare than her own. "Grief and sorrow are to be mine for the rest of my life unless my lord somehow frees himself immediately and escapes from here without fatal injury."¹⁵² With this last statement, Enide confirms that her heart would break if Erec were to

die. Given Chrétien's support for both sides of the argument, it seems he wants us to believe that both are indeed true. He implicitly gives voice to both concerns because with a love like the one shared between Erec and Enide, life is not only about survival but also about sharing it with one's spouse. When one marries for love, as they were beginning to do as the twelfth century progressed, it is only natural that a woman's fear of abandonment would change or grow to include a fear for her husband's well-being.

Scott and Kosso have theorized that the role of fear in medieval literature was to control or manipulate,¹⁵³ but we can also see how fear is not a cause but rather an effect. If we consider Enide's situation from Scott and Kosso's angle, does this mean that Chrétien is attempting to shape women's actions by promoting a fear of disobedience to their husbands? There is the recurring theme of husbandly anger as a result of a wife's disobedience, as seen each time that Enide fails to heed Erec's directive and initiates speech. Does Enide's fear, however, keep her from speaking? As we see time and again, it does not. Enide is torn between her fear of upsetting her husband and her affection for him. In the end, her affection for him is stronger than her fear of reprisal and she deliberately chooses to save him. It is not that fear instructs or controls as Scott and Kosso have suggested; instruction, rather, prompts fear. It is how a woman was raised, the etiquette and conduct that were stressed, the examples that were shown to her, that determine how she acts in the story. In the end, both Erec and Enid follow the models of behavior according to which they have been raised, even if they are not the same model. Erec has been taught to demand respect from his wife in the form of obedience, which is what he asks of Enide; Enide has learned to obey her husband but also to demonstrate her love for him. Thus their actions derive from examples they themselves have witnessed.

Lastly, in addition to uncertainty, female characters fear disgrace, which for twelfth-century literature means that they fear a perceived or an actual sexual impropriety. While we saw that shame was a source of anger for men, it leads to fear in women. Chrétien presents us with a rather complex example of this female fear in *The Story of the Grail*. It is, of course, a question of Blancheflor's visit to Perceval's bed in the middle of the night to ask for his help against the besieging knight Anguiguerron.

Over her shift she threw a short cloak of scarlet silk and decided, boldly and courageously, to place all at risk, though her decision was no trifling matter. She resolved to go to her guest and tell him something of her situation. She then left her bed and went out of her room. She was so frightened that all her limbs trembled and her body perspired. In tears she left her room and came to the bed where he slept.¹⁵⁴

Blancheflor is so terrified that she's sweating, trembling, and crying; but of what is she terrified? There are two possibilities. First, she is afraid that her nightly assignation will ruin her reputation as a virtuous and honorable lady. She is, after all, scantily clad and practically climbing into bed with a stranger; if someone were to see her or if the knight were to force himself upon her, she would be ruined. Second, she is afraid that she will fail to convince Perceval to help her defend her castle and town, which is the reason for her nightly visit in the first place. In this situation we find both the female fear of dishonor or shame due to sexual impropriety and the fear of an uncertain future. Blancheflor is willing to risk her honor in the hope of being able to save her town. Interestingly, her fear seems to be also somewhat masculine in that it revolves around the ability to accomplish a certain task. Indeed her fear can be closely associated with that of Priam for it is a noble fear; she is more concerned with the safety of her town and the people for whom she is responsible than for her own well-being. In this example then, we find a female character portraying a typically male fear in

addition to her own feminine fears. Perhaps Chrétien is demonstrating the appropriateness and acceptability of female fears other than the stereotypical fear of sexual dishonor.

-Grief-

The most frequent manifestation of grief in twelfth-century French literature is tears. To confirm this, albeit only for Chrétien's romances, we can look at Marie-Louise Ollier's *Lexique et Concordance de Chrétien de Troyes: d'après la copie Guiot avec introduction, index et rimaire*. In the five romances cited in this paper, Chrétien uses some form of the verb to cry 94 times.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, he uses the word tears 25 times¹⁵⁶, which combined means that crying is evoked 119 times. Admittedly, these could occasionally be tears of joy, but even if the number were halved, it would still greatly exceed the number of manifestations of trembling, turning pale, sighing, sweating, fainting, and laughing.

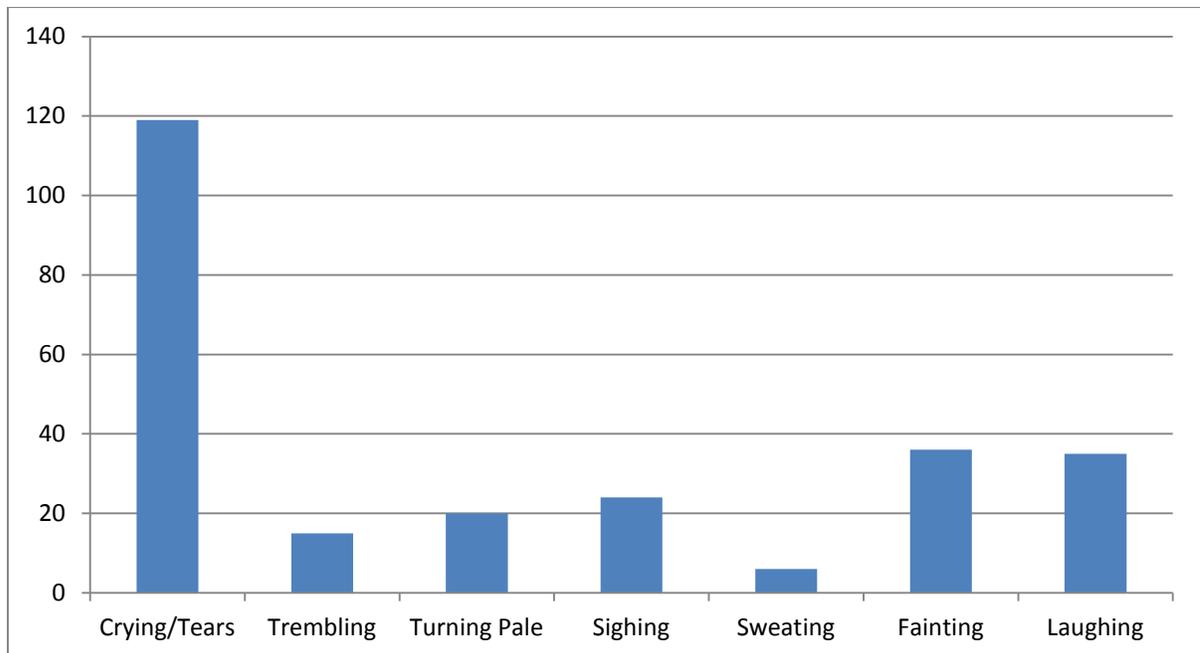


Figure 1. Frequency of physical manifestations in Chrétien de Troyes' romances.

In his book entitled *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears*, Tom Lutz explains why crying is such a popular, albeit unconscious, choice for humans when they are overcome with feeling. “Weeping often occurs at precisely those times when we are least able to fully verbalize complex, ‘overwhelming’ emotions, least able to fully articulate our manifold, mingled feelings. We recognize in crying a surplus of feeling over thinking, and an overwhelming of our powers of articulation by the gestural language of tears.”¹⁵⁷ Other physical manifestations do not, in general, prevent speech from occurring simultaneously, apart from fainting, of course. A person can tremble or blush or sweat and still be able to speak. Consequently fear, shame, or anger do not in general precipitate an emotional reaction that makes speech, or even thinking, impossible; this realm of verbal shut-down belongs primarily to grief and sorrow. Even Enide, whose fear of angering her husband prompted her to keep still, eventually succumbed to speech because an even greater fear, that of potentially losing Erec, necessitated a verbal warning.

Matoré states that there is an extreme amount of crying in the medieval texts, and that while some of it may be considered an exaggeration or ritualized spectacle, it also suggests that medieval people cried a lot.¹⁵⁸ Lutz explains how crying can help people deal with their sense of loss. “Crying allows us to turn away from the cause of our anguish and turn inward, away from the world and toward our own bodily sensations, our own feelings. Our feelings overwhelm the world, or at least our ability to process any new information from the world.”¹⁵⁹ In this way, crying may be viewed as an emotional escape, which is what we find in *Raoul* when Guerri grieves for his kith and kin, slain on the field of battle. “‘Ah, nobles chevaliers de Cambrai, quelle triste sort, quand je suis incapable de vous porter secours!’ Il pleura tendrement sans pouvoir se consoler, et ses larmes lui coulaient jusqu’à la

ceinture.”¹⁶⁰ Guerri, upon discovering that there is nothing he can do, that his family members are beyond his help, turns to crying as a means of dealing with the helplessness he must feel. While the clerics writing during the twelfth century may not have been able to articulate what a person experiences subconsciously, it does not mean that people did not turn inward and begin to cry so that they would not have to focus outwardly on the pain and death; it only means that an author’s best means for portraying their grief was to invoke tears.

Women are most frequently associated with grief, perhaps because their manifestations of it are so incredibly visible, including not only involuntary, corporeal changes but also such physical actions as tearing out one’s hair and clawing at one’s breast. Their grief, especially as portrayed in the medieval Lazarus plays, was harshly criticized as unbecoming a Christian. “With the advent of Christianity, and its emphasis on a stoic acceptance of death as a passage to a higher life with God, women’s laments take on a negative association.”¹⁶¹ Katharine Goodland, in her article “Us for to wepe no man may let’: Resistant Female Grief in the Medieval English Lazarus Plays,” explains how this criticism of female grief fails to take into consideration the pre-Christian tradition of lamenting as a ritual. She states that the tension arises because of an “encounter between two different constructions of death and mourning: the dominant Christian belief that faith in God brings eternal life, and therefore one should not grieve over the dead; and the residual practice of lament for the dead, an oral tradition usually led by women in which ‘eternal life’ – living on in the memory of the community – depends upon repetitive performances of mourning.”¹⁶² Not all medieval contemporaries criticized grieving however; indeed many authors included scenes of great grief or even commented on the importance of grieving and those who could be asked to perform such a service. “In the twelfth century, professional mourners were so

ubiquitous that El Cid, hero of the epic of the same name and mythic hero of the Christian Reconquista of Spain, felt compelled to brag that he needed only his wife, Jimena, to cry for him: ‘When I die, heed my advice: Hire no mourners to weep for me. There is no need of buying tears; those of Jimena will suffice.’”¹⁶³ Of course, this example might have been held up as a negative model, showing that the only grief that should count is a family member’s, and that the professional mourners could and should be dispensed with. However, we cannot dispute the fact that medieval authors presented numerous examples of grief, both male and female. The church may have been inclined to look unfavorably upon grieving, but the literature shows that the secular world did not necessarily share this view, and may even have approved people’s being allowed to express their sorrow.

Women’s sorrow did not derive only from matters of the heart and correspond only to the death of their beloved; sorrow also resulted from issues relating to their social and economic status, which arose when a husband died.¹⁶⁴ In this way, female sorrow is clearly linked to fear, for as we have already seen, female characters worried about their husbands’ dying for both such reasons. Fear anticipates that such an event might occur, whereas sorrow represents the confirmed event. In her book *La veuve en majesté: Deuil et savoir au féminin dans la littérature médiévale*, Yasmina Foehr-Janssens declares that in all likelihood, the real reason for a woman’s grief when her husband died comes from the potential upheaval that results. Given that many aristocratic marriages were made with certain political or economic gains in mind, a widow might find herself torn between her blood relatives and those of her husband once the union ceases to exist.¹⁶⁵ The author of *La Chanson de Roland* even projects this grief onto the wife of the Saracen Marsile, once her husband has been mortally wounded. “La reine Bramimonde pleure sur son sort, s’arrache les cheveux, se traite de

malheureuse.”¹⁶⁶ Admittedly, we do not know if she is lamenting her husband’s death or her uncertain future. In today’s world, where we place a high premium on love, we might consider it to be the former; but in the twelfth century when a woman probably looked for security from marriage more than anything else, we can understand how the latter might very well be true. Likewise in *Le Roman d’Enéas*, we might consider Didon’s grief at Enéas’ departure in a similar light, for here, too, uncertainty about the future could play a role in her grieving. The author mentions Amour, so Didon’s sorrow might truly originate with her unrequited love; on the other hand, however, she worries about her kingdom of Carthage and who will rule it with her, now that Enéas is gone. Her former suitors are no longer an option. “Quand ils voulurent m’ épouser, je les ai dédaignés, et maintenant je les solliciterais à mon tour ? Non, je préfère mourir.”¹⁶⁷ If she is even considering one of her former suitors, then she is obviously thinking of the necessity of a king to rule the kingdom, which would make her grief a result of an uncertain and possibly tumultuous future.

For male characters, grief certainly comes from the loss of family, as we saw with Guerri, especially on the battle field. But men are also privy to the grief that follows a loss of friendship, either because the friend dies or departs. We need think only of the great story of male friendship in the thirteenth century *Lancelot-Grail* cycle; Galehaut is so grief-stricken by the loss of Lancelot that he dies of a broken heart. Morris writes, “Friendship was, indeed, of such concern to them that it spilled [from letters] into other types of literature.”¹⁶⁸ While the friendship of which Morris speaks was primarily between monastic men and was grounded in their common love for Christ,¹⁶⁹ we also find examples of male friendship in our corpus of twelfth-century texts. In particular, we find signs of this friendship at the moment of death or departure. In *Roland*, Roland grieves mightily when Olivier dies. “Roland voit

son ami, mort, étendu le visage contre terre. Avec tendresse il commence à dire l'adieu: 'Seigneur, mon ami, votre hardiesse vous a perdu! Nous avons vécu ensemble pendant tant d'années et tant de jours sans que jamais l'un de nous deux ai fait du tort à l'autre. Maintenant que toi tu es mort, moi je souffre de rester en vie.' À ces mots, le marquis s'évanouit."¹⁷⁰ Roland's last words to his friend are moving, as he evokes their years lived together and their amicable relationship. It is a touching tribute to friendship indeed, made all the more powerful by Roland's fainting at the end. Likewise in *Ipomédon*, we find that sorrow ensues when a man's friendship is called into question by a definitive departure. Ipomédon has befriended La Fièvre's cousin Jason, an aspiring knight, but when he refuses Jason's offer to accompany him, Jason is grief-stricken at the thought that his friend does not wish any longer for his company. "'Votre obstination me montre que vous ne m'aimez guère.' Sur ces mots, il était si bouleversé qu'il faillit tomber de cheval et s'évanouir d'indignation; tout en sueur, le teint sombre, il finit par retrouver la parole: 'Voilà que je ne puis plus trouver un seul ami; bref, je vois qu'il est difficile de connaître un homme et que vous ne m'aimez bien peu, dit-il en laissant couler de misérables larmes."¹⁷¹ Jason is visibly affected by the notion that Ipomédon no longer loves him and that he has lost his friendship; he almost faints, he starts to sweat, and he cannot control his tears. Thus when Morris says that "the twelfth century has been called the century of friendship,"¹⁷² even though he is referring to the friendships depicted in epistolary correspondence between monks, we can also find reflections of this male bonding in both the *chansons de geste* and the romances.

Demonstrations of grief and sorrow can be classified as either anticipatory or confirmed. With anticipatory grief, no harm has yet befallen a loved one, no pain or loss has yet been felt, but the potential for it is there. It is this potential that prompts premature

grieving, which is manifested in a variety of ways, although primarily by tears. Anticipatory grief can appear when one expects injury or death to occur, but it hasn't actually happened yet, as we see in both *Thèbes* and *Troie*. When Œdipe's father hears from an oracle that his son will eventually kill him, he orders the immediate death of the infant boy. His wife, upon hearing this commandment, commences grieving. "La mère pleure, crie, rugit, se tord les mains, arrache ses cheveux, tombe évanouie sur son enfant et laisse éclater une immense douleur."¹⁷³ Likewise when Andromaque receives in a dream the knowledge that Hector will die if he goes to battle against the Greeks, and he refuses to heed her warning, she grieves for what she knows will happen to her husband. "Andromaque pleure et soupire. Sa peine et sa douleur sont si vives que peu s'en faut qu'elle ne perde l'esprit."¹⁷⁴ Anticipatory grief also appears at the moment of parting, representing the loss that people will eventually feel if someone they care about does not return. When Yvain's wife grants him permission to leave and seek tournament adventures, he grieves for the long separation they will endure. "Sir Yvain sighed and wept so heavily that he could scarcely speak. 'Lady, that is a very long time.'"¹⁷⁵ When Enide leaves her parents to wed Erec, this, too, is a scene of sorrow. "Kissing their daughter again and again, her father and her mother could not hold back their tears. At the moment of separation, all three were weeping, the father, the mother, and the maiden. Such is love; such is human nature; such is familial affection."¹⁷⁶ Lastly, we find anticipatory grief in situations of guilt, such as those presented in *Le Fresne* by Marie de France and *Raoul*. In the lai, a woman decides that she must kill one of her twin daughters because, as she had falsely and wickedly pointed out when a neighbor had twins, such births indicate multiple fathers. In this instance she grieves for the daughter who must now die by her mother's own guilty hand. Her maid overhears her, "crying, lamenting grievously and

moaning.”¹⁷⁷ Likewise in the *chanson de geste*, Bernier grieves guiltily when he overhears Raoul asking God for help now that he’s dying because it was Bernier who dealt the fatal blow. “Bernier pensa devenir fou. Les larmes coulaient sous son heaume.”¹⁷⁸

Confirmed grief complements anticipatory grief. In the case of confirmed grief death has already occurred and loved ones react according to this knowledge. In many of these examples, a person’s grief manifests as tears. In Chrétien’s romances, however, confirmed grief does not result in tears but in other emotional displays. Chrétien uses tears primarily for anticipatory grief, but when death actually happens, his characters do not typically weep. This, perhaps, mirrors reality in that true grief, as opposed to anticipated or ritualized grief, may be so shocking at times that people become numb, their bodies unable to call forth the corporeal sensations that would allow them to turn their focus inwards on their physical sensations in an attempt to avoid the external locus of pain. While one may grieve mightily and visibly at the thought of death, the knowledge that death has still not occurred plays a great role, consciously or unconsciously, in a person’s emotional well-being. Confirmation changes everything for Chrétien, although not, in general, for the other twelfth-century authors. When Enide believes Erec to be dead, even though he actually is not, her grief takes the form of self concealment and castigation. “Then once more she fell to the ground in a faint. When she straightened up again, her cries increased in anguish. ‘God what shall I do? Why do I still live?’”¹⁷⁹ Her fainting is an effort to hide from the truth of Erec’s death and her questions, once revived, point to the realization of the enormity of his death. In *Cliges*, Chrétien again uses the idea of hiding from death when a husband dies, but with Soredamor, her concealment is permanent. “So heavy was Soredamor’s grief for him that she was unable to go on living after him. She died of grief at the time of his death.”¹⁸⁰ Foehr-Janssens

explains how such a manifestation of grief is possible: “Mutisme et hébétudes caractérisent ce point de non-retour où la douleur intérieure anéantit toute faculté de réaction et s’assimile à la mort: ‘Plus que toutes les autres passions, la tristesse est nuisible au corps.’”¹⁸¹ If they had witnessed or experienced something like this themselves, writers of the twelfth century could have easily altered the notion of a grieving widow who succumbs to a deep depression that imitates death into a grieving widow who does actually die, the result being almost the same thing.

With other authors, however, tears do indeed result from confirmed sorrow, and in particular when the cause of sorrow is death. In *Thèbes*, king Etéocle manifests his grief at the death of one of his knights during war. “Le roi laisse éclater son chagrin, sans feinte, pleurant sur Parthénopée avec une violence incroyable.”¹⁸² In *Troie*, when Troilus dies, there is communal grieving among his fellow knights which results in several different physical manifestations, only one of which is tears. “Dès que les Troyens l’apprirent, tous frémirent et s’immobilisèrent, criant, pleurant et se lamentant. Nombreux furent ceux qui s’évanouirent sur le champ de bataille.”¹⁸³ Remembering a death also affects the characters of twelfth-century literature, to the point where they relive their original sorrow. In *Yonec*, when the lady reveals the truth to her son about his father, how he had been a bird transformed into a knight that the lady’s husband killed, this remembering of her grief brings about a remarkable physical manifestation. “She told him the truth, fell into a faint on the tomb, and while unconscious, died.”¹⁸⁴ For years this woman lived quietly with her grief, pushing it down until she thought she had conquered it, only to find that when she is forced to remember, the sorrow is more than she can bear. With this tale, Marie de France shows that it can be appropriate for women to grieve for an extended period of time and that the memory

of their grief can affect them just as strongly as it did originally. Likewise in *Raoul*, Raoul's mother mourns her son anew when she thinks of him. "Dame Aalais se mit à pleurer en songeant à son fils tant chéri."¹⁸⁵ But women are not the only characters to remember past sorrows and to show how they carry their pain with them into the future. Bernier also manifests his grief at the loss of his mentor Raoul, even though Raoul died at Bernier's hand; Bernier still grieved for his friend and lord when he died. And passing the place where it happened, years later, triggers the same sense of loss for Bernier. "En traversant les prés d'Origny, à l'endroit où Raoul trouva la mort, le comte Bernier soupira profondément."¹⁸⁶ In the twelfth-century literature, grief is indeed a very powerful emotion, one to which people would have undoubtedly felt connected and one that writers did not hesitate to express in their tales.

-Frustrated Love-

Frustrated love, or *eros*, differs from the love that causes one to grieve, which exists between friends and family members, because it exists only between lovers. I have called it frustrated love because in the twelfth-century literature, it inevitably presents, via the physical manifestations, as a source of frustration and worry; this is generally not a rose-colored glasses kind of love but one that causes great emotional upheaval and distress for the characters.¹⁸⁷ Indeed Adams has stated her belief that "courtly literature was interested in analyzing the effects of love upon the lover."¹⁸⁸ The effects of love are well explored in the romances, not only in the literary scholarship but also by the characters themselves. Cormier comments on how in *Enéas*, Lavine recognizes the fact that she is in love "by experiencing its symptoms, alone...and by analyzing her feelings in an interiorized, introspective or

individualizing fashion.”¹⁸⁹ We see this from the moment that she first sets eyes upon Enéas and how she then begins to question these new feelings, for she has not yet even put together the fact that her seeing Enéas has prompted this reaction in her.

La demoiselle était toute seule, elle alla fermer la porte de sa chambre et revint se poster à la fenêtre où elle avait reçu le coup mortel. De là, elle regarde vers le bas, elle commence à transpirer, à avoir froid et à trembler, souvent elle se pâme et tressaille, sanglote, frémit, le cœur lui manque, elle s’agite, soupire et baille: Amour l’a bien cochée sur sa taille. Elle crie, pleure, gémit et hurle; elle ignore qui lui fait cela et qui bouleverse son cœur; une fois capable de parler, elle se lamente: ‘Malheureuse, dit-elle, qu’ai-je? Qui m’a surprise? Qu’est-ce? Tout à l’heure j’étais en parfaite santé, à présent je suis toute faible et sans forces. Je sens dans mon corps une ardeur (mais je ne sais pour qui elle m’enflamme) qui bouleverse mon cœur.’¹⁹⁰

In examples like this one, the character talks herself through the effects she is feeling and comes eventually to the conclusion that she is in love, sometimes with the help of a knowing confidante. We can understand how this sort of passage would have a didactic purpose, teaching young people how to talk about their emotions and therefore better understand them, so as not to be overwhelmed by a seemingly incoherent swirl of feelings and corporeal reactions.

Until now, we have used the term *effects* to denote the reactions that a character in love experiences, but another possible term is *symptoms*, for while they represent the reaction to a feeling, they are also portrayed as if they are the symptoms of a physical ailment. Indeed frustrated love is often first mistaken for an illness, as happens in Gautier’s *Éracle*. When Paridès falls in love with the emperor’s wife, his symptoms are such that everyone becomes greatly concerned for his health. “Paridès est livide, sans couleur. Avant trois jours, il sera si malade qu’on se résigne déjà à une issue fatale.”¹⁹¹ The authors of the twelfth century found this notion of love as a sickness in the works of Ovid.¹⁹² But as was previously mentioned, medieval authors did not simply copy themes, style, and vocabulary from the Classical

writers of Antiquity; they also added their own innovations. The example of Lavine from *Enéas* is a perfect illustration because while Ovid may have furnished many of the physical symptoms used to describe her state, the unknown twelfth-century author most certainly added yawning and sweating. The author may even have had a specific Ovidian work in mind when Lavine speaks of love, for she says “il me semble être métamorphosée, avoir pâli et perdu mes couleurs.”¹⁹³ In old French the verb *muer* is used, which translates as *to transform* or *to change*. The author’s choice of verb might well stem from his consideration of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, in which the characters all undergo great transformations, often because of their frustrated love for another. This listing of physical symptoms associated with frustrated love in *Enéas*, one of the earlier works of the twelfth century, may have provided the impetus writers needed to use such emotional expressions themselves, and not just for love but for all emotions. Ménard suggests that each subsequent author would choose to use the expressions that were appropriate for his tale or style and leave the rest; he explains that Chrétien, for example, does not tend to use the whole repertoire of symptoms but in general only lists one or two.¹⁹⁴ Enumerating physical symptoms was thus one way in which twelfth-century authors portrayed frustrated love. Their listening audiences, familiar with the symptoms, were able to recognize the emotional state of the characters often before the characters came to the realization themselves that they were in love. Authors used such scenes as teachable moments, instructing novices who were just beginning to understand that love manifests in a certain way and reminding those well initiated of the signs that they could recognize in one who was falling in love. For the latter, we can imagine that recognizing the effects for what they represented and realizing before the literary characters what was happening to them was quite pleasurable.

A less frequently utilized indication of frustrated love may be found in some of Chrétien's romances. With both Lancelot and Yvain, frustrated love is presented as a loss of control over mental faculties, rather than by physical symptoms such as turning pale and trembling. Lancelot, under the queen's spell, loses his ability to process thoughts and ideas, even to recognize basic situational facts. "He did not know if he was alive or dead, did not remember his own name, did not know whether he was armed or not, did not know where he was going or whence he was coming...He thought so much about her alone that heard, saw, understood nothing."¹⁹⁵ Whereas the love of Paridès and Lavine takes control of their bodies, Lancelot's takes control of his mind. He can no longer think of anything or anyone but the queen. Yvain experiences a similar loss of mental control. "For he found himself bereft of speech and sense."¹⁹⁶ Like Lancelot, Yvain finds himself unable to gain mastery of his own faculties, but his frustrated love feelings are tied up in separation and how he must be parted from his wife. With his romances, Chrétien is showing his audiences that the signs of frustrated love can be many and that there is not one way, and one way only, to manifest one's romantic feelings. Young men and women may find that they simply cannot concentrate, and Chrétien is indicating that this is appropriate and acceptable. Finally, in her *lai Equitan*, Marie de France espouses a similar representation of frustrated love as a loss of mental faculties. She writes, "Such is the nature of love that no one under its sway can retain command over reason."¹⁹⁷ Certain writers then provided twelfth-century listeners with another model of frustrated love and how one could recognize it; over all authors provided listeners with ways of understanding their own behavior or the behavior of others close to them, showing through their language and by specifically talking about emotions that frustrated love presents in a variety of way.

One aspect of frustrated love to be found repeatedly in this corpus of texts is the interior monologue. It represents a conversation that characters have with themselves about their emotional, and sometimes physical, state. Ménard has called this stylistic device “une marque de complexité de la vie psychologique.”¹⁹⁸ Indeed such a conversation allows the characters to question, analyze, change perspectives, and play a sort of devil’s advocate, all in an attempt to better understand themselves. As Michel Zink claims, it is “une rhétorique nouvelle, fondée sur le dialogue comme explication des déchirements intérieurs.”¹⁹⁹ Given its repeated use, we can reasonably assume that this technique was well received by the twelfth-century audiences. Its presence points to the audience’s appreciation of feelings and trying to reason out an understanding of one’s emotional state and actions. Again, Lavine’s discourse on her feelings for Enéas presents a wonderful example of the interior monologue. She actually speaks as two different people, proposing both the questions and answers herself.

-Folle Lavine, qu’as-tu dit?
 -Amour me torture pour lui.
 -Evite-le donc, fuis-le!
 -Je ne puis en trouver la force dans mon cœur.
 -Tu étais pourtant hier farouche.
 -À présent Amour m’a toute domptée.
 -Tu t’en as bien mal préservée.
 -J’en faisais bien peu de cas ce matin, à présent il me met au supplice; je ne vivrai pas longtemps ainsi.
 -Pourquoi t’arrêtas-tu ici?
 -Pour regarder le Troyen.
 -Tu aurais bien pu t’en abstenir.²⁰⁰

As is evident in this interior monologue, the character provides advice for how to deal with problematic love but also explains how following such advice is impossible. The monologue allows her to wade through her options, examining and then discarding those that she finds unsuitable. The interior monologue is not always presented as a conversation between two

parties, however, as is true for Lavine. For Paridès, it is written as a questioning of why he should feel differently after a recent soirée. He understands that something is happening to him, but when he first begins his interior monologue, all he can do is wonder. ““Infortuné que je suis, dit-il, quelle inspiration funeste m’a conduit à cette solennité! Ce n’était pas la première fois que je m’y rendais, ce n’était pas la première fois que j’y dansais, que j’y faisais mes sauts, et jamais mon cœur n’en a été éprouvé comme il l’a été cette fois-ci!””²⁰¹

His wonder then turns to self-observation, and he talks to the one responsible for the changes he is enduring, Love. ““Et c’est ce pauvre infortuné, cet homme rangé que tu as rendu blême et jaune, en l’espace de trois jours! Amour, jamais tu ne fus si pernicieux, et jamais le teint que tu donnes ne fut d’un si beau jaune.””²⁰² Paridès clearly places the responsibility for his current state at Love’s feet, and at first it seems as if he is condemning Love’s actions, calling them harmful and noxious. If we focus on Paridès’ physical manifestation of frustrated love, however, we can come to a different conclusion. He claims that Love has turned him the color yellow, which is unusual, as it is used nowhere else in my corpus of twelfth-century texts as a manifestation of any emotion, let alone frustrated love. If we remember that love was often compared to an illness, then we might consider his coloring to be akin to a pale, sickly yellow. But this view, too, we would have to modify because Paridès continues and describes his color as a beautiful yellow. Perhaps Gautier was inspired by the sun or even gold, and that is why he chose yellow to represent the beauty one finds on the faces of those in love. Regardless of why he chose yellow, what we can now see is not a condemnation of Love but rather a praising of the greatness which has been bestowed on Paridès. Never had Love bestowed a more beautiful yellow on a lover. Paridès is therefore

the recipient of one of the greatest loves of all time, and he came to this understanding through the use of the interior monologue.

Characters come to feel frustrated or romantic love because of three distinct situations. We have already discussed the one that appears most frequently: when a character first gazes upon the other, as represented by both Lavine and Paridès. The second situation occurs when a character is unsure of reciprocal sentiment and can even be combined with fear, as is true of Diomède's love in *Troie*. When yearning for Briséida, he experiences a range of physical symptoms similar to those Lavine does when thinking of Enéas, yet he also recognizes the potential for unrequited love.

L'amour le tourment tant qu'il passe sans arrêt du chaud au froid. Il ne peut dormir ni fermer les yeux. Ni nuit ni jour il n'a le moindre répit; tantôt il pense, il soupire, tantôt il est joyeux, tantôt il est triste; tantôt il se met en fureur, tantôt il retrouve son entrain. Amour le traite avec si peu de ménagements que sans cesse il change de couleur et se retrouve couvert de sueur sans ressentir pourtant la moindre chaleur... Le jeune homme ne connaît plus ni joie ni répit, et sa peur est grande, car il n'est pas sûr d'obtenir jamais l'amour de Briséida.²⁰³

Diomède's fear in the face of frustrated love can be considered a warning to medieval audiences of the potential repercussions and eventualities of such feelings; they should proceed with caution.

The third situation I have found in these texts concerns a love that has already been established and enjoyed but which is threatened with extinction by a forced separation or parting; it is therefore frustrated love tinged with sadness. The first literary couple that springs to mind is, of course, Tristan and Yseut. When Marc intervenes, banishing Tristan from the house proper, both lovers manifest signs of frustration and heartache. "Du fait qu'ils étaient ainsi séparés l'un de l'autre, ils devenaient tous deux pâles à cause du chagrin et de la tristesse, car ils avaient perdu leur bonheur."²⁰⁴ Here, too, we can see their unhappiness in

love as a warning to medieval listeners of the tale: forbidden love will end badly. Andreas Capellanus' *The Art of Courtly Love* reinforces this notion of separation suffering. "When love cannot have its solaces, it increases beyond all measures and drives the lovers to lamenting their terrible torments, because 'we strive for what is forbidden and always want what is denied us.'"²⁰⁵ If one persists in loving someone who is an inappropriate choice for whatever reason, then one's lot in life is to suffer great pains, for even if such lovers manage to find moments of togetherness, as do Tristan and Yseut, they will inevitably be forced to separate. While many a modern reader will think of love as something beautiful, the medieval tales present a version of love that is overwhelming, incomprehensible, and potentially painful. Twelfth-century clerics may have known that young maidens and knights would strive for love, wanting to know for themselves the same irresistible pull towards another that humans have experienced for ages; but they also foresaw the pitfalls and therefore tried to provoke an understanding of the potential dangers via their romances.

-Joy-

The last of the six emotions I have chosen to study in the twelfth-century texts is joy. At first I was reluctant to tackle this sentiment, as a cursory reading provided little evidence of joy being manifested physically in a manner similar to the other five emotions. Characters were joyful or full of joy, but rarely did their bodies express this feeling of delight. Most people today would say that joy manifests itself through a smile and a laugh; and these do occasionally appear in the twelfth-century texts,²⁰⁶ albeit much less frequently than the other physical manifestations. The absence of such manifestations in medieval texts would suggest that there is simply less joy in medieval texts than other emotions, which begs the question

why? We could say that the serious nature of certain texts, like *Raoul de Cambrai*, simply do not lend themselves to the lightheartedness that joy denotes. Especially in the *chansons de geste* and the *romans d'antiquité*, there are many battle scenes, and while battle is no laughing matter, the author of *Raoul* declares outright that when one is preparing to fight, the seriousness of the situation casts aside all lighter matters. “Gautier entra dans une abbaye sans révéler à personne ses intentions. Pour se préparer au combat, il se prosterna devant Dieu et ne manqua ni messe ni vêpres ni matines. Il répudia les folies de sa jeunesse et ne joua ni ne rit plus avec qui que ce fût.”²⁰⁷ This passage seems to indicate that in literature, joy is the purview of children; when young men become knights, the seriousness of their work brooks no room for frivolity. As for the romances, where love is a central issue, the mood is less joyfully upbeat and more endearingly sorrowful. Matoré confirms this notion when he states that “en amour la *dolor (passim)* est plus fréquente que la joie.”²⁰⁸ There is less joy, therefore, in the romances because it is not the joyful side of love that is portrayed in the texts but rather the difficult side. Rider says that “[stories] are far more likely – everywhere and always – to concentrate on the ‘problematics’ of emotional experience, to portray fraught and critical moments rather than tranquil, happy ones.”²⁰⁹ As has been noted, this is generally what we see with the twelfth-century texts. In the end, however, I decided to include the emotion of joy precisely because of the exceptions to the general rule.

Whilst searching for literary joy, I have found two texts to be extremely noteworthy. Both *Ipomédon* and *Le Charroi de Nîmes* provide the sort of humor and comedy that lead to manifestations of mirth and a lightheartedness of tone, which would undoubtedly elicit a different reaction from the listening audience than other twelfth-century texts. In thinking of *Ipomédon*, A.J. Holden writes, “Il s’agit, sans aucun doute, d’une composition comique, et

ceci non pas de façon intermittente, comme c'est le cas pour un grand nombre de romans contemporains, mais constante."²¹⁰ The source of this romance's humor is undoubtedly the lighthearted interactions between characters who would normally show a more serious side befitting kings, queens, and other high nobility. They are able to laugh at themselves in situations that would, in other texts, result in anger or shame. Towards the end of the third day of the tournament, Ipomédon forces the king to flee frightfully from combat and the queen gently pokes fun at her husband via a veiled comment which is understood by all. She says, "J'en prends mon seigneur pour garant, continue-t-elle avec un sourire, car j'ai entendu dire qu'il l'avait vu tard le soir, quand celui-ci quittait le tournoi."²¹¹ Hers is a subtle reference to the king's cowardly departure at the end of the tournament and it prompts a similarly veiled comment from the king himself. "Je m'en suis ressenti toute la nuit", lui répond le roi, qui s'amuse de l'allusion."²¹² It is almost unthinkable for a king to make light of his being dishonored at a tournament; in almost every other twelfth-century text in my corpus, any other king in a similar situation would feel his blood begin to boil if an enemy combatant managed to defeat him, even temporarily, and anger would drive him, raging mad, into a battle frenzy. In *Ipomédon*, however, not only can the king enjoy his loss with grace, but others are even permitted to make jokes at his expense, as the queen does. Holden explains that Hue de Roteland essentially parodies that which is normally considered to be of ultra importance in the medieval texts. "Si par parodie on entend l'imitation burlesque, c'est-à-dire l'exploitation d'une convention littéraire, une situation stéréotypée, un cliché Romanesque, dans le but de susciter le rire, en manipulant les registres de manière à remplacer le noble par le trivial, alors il est difficile de nier qu'*Ipomedon* comporte une dose très forte de parodie."²¹³ This same sort of jovial ribbing continues in the story as Ipomédon's

messenger bestows upon the king and other court members the horses that Ipomédon had won during the tournament, including the very ones which they themselves had lost. The messenger says to Jason, “A vous, il envoie un bon destrier, qui était, je crois, à Capaneüs: il le montait hier soir.”²¹⁴ Capaneüs’ response is telling: “Maintenant je n’ai plus de droits sur lui’, rétorque celui-ci en riant.”²¹⁵ The king is also very lax and seems to enjoy nothing more than seeing the court’s own horses redistributed as Ipomédon’s booty. “Le roi était généreux et courtois: il éclata de rire et plaisanta: ‘Ami, il y a une chose dont je suis sûr: il l’a gagné et je l’ai perdu!’”²¹⁶ We can almost hear the king slapping his knee and guffawing at his own self mockery. As a reader, I also found this scene to be quite humorous precisely because, as Holden had explained, Hue turns everything upside down, so that what was once revered and solemn is now a laughable matter.

Another example from this romance concerns a conversation between Ipomédon and his tutor Tholomeu. The former had just brokered a peace deal by accepting to marry Daire’s daughter, which he would actually never do because he is devoted to La Fièrre, and he is discussing this with Tholomeu:

‘Maître, je ne puis m’y résoudre, malgré la grandeur de l’offre. Vous savez de quel amour j’aime la Fièrre depuis longtemps; je ne pourrai jamais renoncer à elle, qui est mon amie entre toutes. Maître, vous me suivez depuis longtemps, vous avez toujours accompli mes volontés; je vous déclare donc que je m’en vais, rester plus longtemps m’est à charge.’ ‘Seigneur,’ lui répond Tholomeu en souriant, ‘tout à vos ordres! Je ne sais en effet à quoi servirait d’attendre, la paix règne sur toute la France.’²¹⁷

This scene’s humor derives from the use of ambiguity and hidden meaning, for while Ipomédon and Tholomeu say one thing, they most certainly mean another. Ipomédon is desperate to leave, not because staying simply no longer interests him, but because he needs to flee his pending nuptials. Tholomeu’s readiness to leave does not come from the peaceful

situation now reigning and their inutility but rather a desire to get his lord away from the clutches of the bride. It is yet another instance where Hue makes light of what would, in other twelfth-century texts, be considered serious matters. In *Ipomédon*, it is just another scene in which the characters joke around and from which the audience brings away a laugh.

The other truly humorous text is the anonymous *chanson de geste Le Charroi de Nîmes*. In it we find the big, robust laugh of Guillaume, champion of Louis, king of France. Ménard finds this physical manifestation to be characteristic of certain medieval heroes. “Ce rire de belle humeur, de vitalité, de force impulsive et irrésistible...C’est sans doute la marque des héros épiques, pleins de vie et d’allant.”²¹⁸ It is precisely the irresistible laugh of Guillaume’s that creates a lightness of tone in this short *chanson de geste*. He laughs at seemingly everything; he is perpetually entertained by what is being said and done around him. For instance, Guillaume bursts out laughing during a conversation with his nephew, Bertrand, concerning the size of the king’s kingdom. “‘Il peut bien vous faire don de cette terre, son royaume ne s’en trouvera guère amputée!’ En entendant ces mots, Guillaume éclate de rire: ‘Neveu, dit Guillaume, béni sois-tu! Car j’avais eu exactement la même idée!’”²¹⁹ It is unclear if Guillaume is amused by his nephew’s exaggeration of the king’s territory, by the fact that he had exactly the same thought, or by both; regardless it is evident that Guillaume takes great delight in the conversation, given his high spirits. In another instance, Bertrand is disguised as a peasant, in raggedy clothing, and Guillaume wants him to drive the ox cart. “‘Faites descendre ces bœufs au fond de ce vallon.’ Bertrand répond: ‘Certainement pas! Je ne sais pas comment manier l’aiguillon pour arriver à les faire bouger.’ A ces mots, Guillaume a éclaté de rire.”²²⁰ Even to this day, it is comical to see a reversal of roles where one must try, unconvincingly, to impersonate another, usually to the delight of a friend; the

sheer ridiculousness can prompt guffaws from the audience. We might imagine that medieval listeners heard these passages gleefully, enjoying the image called to mind of a brave and skillful warrior, disguised as a peasant, trying unsuccessfully to steer a laborer's cart.

While select authors included such humorous passages to provoke and entertain their audience, was there a didactic purpose as well? I offer two potential answers to this question. For one, it is possible that the didactic purpose of the sort of humor found in the last example from *Le Charroi de Nîmes* is the reinforcement of the specific roles that existed for medieval society, for "everyone in society had a clearly defined part to play."²²¹ The mockery of those fictional characters attempting to change roles or take on a new role would hopefully discourage similar actions by actual people. Or medieval authors may have recognized, as we do today, the usefulness of humor when attempting to teach an idea. "Teaching efficiency can be improved by the careful and judicious introduction of psycholinguistic elements... (such as humor, wit, and certain types of digression) aimed at maintaining interest, facilitating acquisition, and increasing later sense of knowledge considered necessary for the learner."²²² In this way then, medieval authors may have used humor as a tool to help facilitate the impartation of physical manifestations as recognizable cues to emotional states.

A last aspect of joy and its physical manifestations that I would like to present concerns what I call mean-spirited joy. We can see such a sentiment in situations where one mocks another, gloats over another, or sarcastically belittles another. This is of course through the lens of modern day political correctness; would medieval aristocratic audiences have laughed, too, or would they have felt compassion for the victim? For example, in *Ille et Galeron*, Ille manages to convince the emperor and his seneschal to hire him as a soldier in

return for food and clothing. When the emperor's army leaves Rome to go to war, Ille, armed with only second rate weapons, must endure the laughter and jeers of the well dressed knights. "Les chevaliers d'importance, du haut de leur grandeur, l'accablent de moqueries, car chaque pièce de son armement suscite la moquerie chez ceux qu'il rencontre. Et l'on se moque, et l'on rit!"²²³ The regular knights delight in a perverse sort of joy to see the pitiful sight that is this unknown, poorly equipped young man. It is a joy that comes from a sense of superiority; they know that Ille does not resemble an honorable and decorated knight, whereas they do. In this instance I believe it quite possible that the medieval audience would have sympathized with Ille; they would have bemoaned his situation and the mockery heaped upon him, for they knew him to be a true and valorous knight. It is not a question, here, of sympathizing with someone who is different but actually someone who is of their same social class.

Sometimes mean-spirited joy comes from the potential for shaming someone, like we see in Marie de France's lai *Le Fresne*. When a reputable noblewoman gives birth to twins, her neighbor, upon hearing the news, decides to impugn the woman's and her husband's honor.

The knight's wife, who was sitting next to him at table, smiled, for she was deceitful and arrogant, prone to slander and envy. She spoke foolishly and said in front of the whole household: 'So help me God, I am astonished that this worthy man decided to inform my husband of his shame and dishonour, that his wife has had two sons. They have both incurred shame because of it, for we know what is at issue here: it has never occurred that a woman gave birth to two sons at once, nor ever will, unless two men are the cause of it.'²²⁴

Honor is closely tied to several emotions, as we have seen, and it is perhaps the single most important thing to the high nobility; women fear the loss of honor and men react angrily when a loss of honor is implied. The neighbor woman's action is not held up as a model of

behavior to emulate but rather as one to avoid. To toy with the honor of another, and to enjoy doing so, would have been considered especially bad form.²²⁵ Indeed the neighbor woman's comment draws an immediate reaction from her husband. "Her husband stared at her and reproached her severely. 'Lady,' he said, 'no more! You should not speak thus! The truth is that this lady has been of good repute.'"²²⁶ The lesson for the listening audience continues when the same woman later gives birth to twins herself and must contend with the complications of her own earlier pronouncement. As is evident from this example, and what we have seen from *Ille et Galeron*, joy, as portrayed in the literature of the Middle Ages, comes in different forms, just as it does now. While the heartfelt joy of sheer delight, from a family reunion or a momentous occasion such as a wedding, can be found in this corpus of texts, it does not serve our purpose to study it because it is not manifested physically but only demonstrated by actions and emotion words. The portrayal of the physical manifestations of joy in the twelfth century, while certainly rarer than those of the other emotions, is nonetheless present and shows, in specific texts, a medieval appreciation for a more lighthearted version of a well-known genre.

This chapter has explored the presentation of six emotions as they are portrayed and manifested in a specific corpus of twelfth-century texts. The examples discussed do not necessarily represent the actual emotions of medieval people but rather sets of signs that the clerical authors presented to their listeners. These signs reinforced the understanding that people had already gleaned via their own observations but also via other readings they had done. Audiences were thus cued to recognize emotional content by such physical manifestations as trembling and reddening. This recognition in turn allowed them to better orient themselves in regards to emotions, situational conduct, and modes of response. In

short, if twelfth-century French literature can be said to present models of behavior either to emulate or to avoid, then it is precisely because the authors used a set of signs understood by their listeners which designated the emotions involved.

Chapter 3

Out in the Open

Throughout this body of literature a great emphasis is placed on the representation of the public expression of emotions. Much is made, by both authors and characters, of what one deliberately shows to others, how this may be interpreted by others, and whether or not such a showing is appropriate given the context. This chapter delves into the particulars of public expression in an attempt to discover the patterns that readers of the twelfth century would have expected to encounter in the tales to which they were listening and that readers today would come to recognize as part and parcel of the medieval French literature experience.

I like to refer to this openly expressing emotion in front of others as being done in the public arena, which occupies a central place in the *chansons de geste* and romances, not least because it highlights the deliberateness we often find attached to such expressions. The public arena can be the cause of someone's emotion, it can heighten an emotional experience, and it can add a new element to someone's emotional state. What we find first and foremost in these texts is the representation of expressions of emotion specifically for the benefit of the people in the arena; the ultimate objective is to be seen. In Chrétien's *Erec and Enide*, there is a battle scene where Erec battles another knight for the sparrow hawk, and both have in attendance their lady, who is watching and waiting. "Both maidens were in tears. Each knight saw his own maiden weeping, holding up her hands to God, and praying that He grant the honor of combat to the knight who was striving on her behalf... The moment Erec saw his lady praying for him, his strength increased."²²⁷ Here we see that the women's tears serve a

purpose; they do not simply manifest the fear and anticipatory grief that each feels but they also spur on their lovers in combat. It is precisely when Erec looks at Enide and sees her crying and praying for him that he is able to dig down into the storehouse of his power and reinvigorate his battle-weary body. Enide's tears are deliberate in that she is conscious of the fact that she is crying in the public arena, in full view of her knight; she makes no attempt to hide her misery. I do not claim that they are feigned, for this is a sincere demonstration of her feelings, but nonetheless the author is showing his audience how the sight of a lover's tears produces effects.

In *Raoul*, the public arena serves as the location for making amends. After Raoul has burned Bernier's mother alive, he asks for forgiveness and explains that he will atone for the egregious act committed against his former companion. "Je te le propose, par la sainte Vierge, afin que la réparation soit juste et acceptable. D'Origny jusqu'au bourg de Nesle – cela fait quatorze lieues, il convient que je précise – cent chevaliers porteront leurs selles, et moi-même je porterai la tienne sur la tête. Je mènerai Baucent, mon destrier de Castille, et à chaque serviteur et chaque jeune fille que je rencontrerai, je dirai: 'Voici la selle de Bernier!'"²²⁸ We see here that Raoul must make amends publicly to make the situation right; indeed his atonement will be both visual and audible to those he encounters on the road. In a note added to the text, William Kibler explains the historical basis for Raoul's offer, citing the atonement as a "forme très ancienne de réparation publique, appelée *harmiscara*, attestée par le capitulaire de Worms de 829."²²⁹ It is evidently important not only that Raoul do something to make amends for what he has done but that everyone can see what he is doing. He proposes a punishment which will inevitably make his fault known to all but which will also honor Bernier, for it proves that Bernier is a man whom Raoul esteems enough to

commit to such reparation. The public arena is therefore a place where honor can be lost or gained.

This leads me to my second point concerning the public arena; it demonstrates how a change in a character's emotional state may occur precisely because the public has just witnessed an incident. In *Raoul*, there is a dispute between Raoul and Bernier over lands given by the king. Bernier claims the lands were unjustly given to Raoul and because Raoul is still intent upon taking them, Bernier makes a public accusation, forcing a very public reaction from his counterpart. “‘Vous avez été traître et ignoble.’ A ces mots, Raoul transpira de colère et éprouva une grande honte, car toute l’assistance avait entendu ces paroles.”²³⁰ Raoul's anger and shame derive from the fact that he has been insulted in front of a crowd of people; given the shame culture of heroic literature, a hero's reputation is lost precisely when he loses values in the eyes of his peer group.²³¹ As we have seen already, however, the representations of male shame and fear may be mitigated if the knight in question takes quick action. What then is Raoul's response to Bernier's insult? “Il reconnut bien que Bernier était son ennemi, mais puisqu’il ne portait pas d’armes, il se tut et garda le silence.”²³² Raoul cannot immediately take action and seek revenge, which would allay the sense of dishonor he must be battling; not only that, but everyone can see that Raoul is powerless in the moment to avenge Bernier's insult, as this scene occurs in the public arena. Thus the public arena serves as a conduit for bringing shame upon a person.

A final point that I would like to address concerning the public arena is manipulation. Throughout the corpus of texts, we find representations of publicly expressed emotion whose sole purpose is to manipulate the thoughts or actions of another. Interestingly, the texts focus primarily on the capacity of women to deceive and manipulate using corporeal expression.

As Perfetti indicates, “Women were often accused of faking emotion, and their tears were particularly suspect.”²³³ Whether the decision by twelfth-century authors to incorporate female deceit in their stories came about because of personal experience and observation or the literary influence of the Classics is difficult to determine. There is certainly the advice given by Ovid to young ladies in his *Amores* to sway us in the direction of the latter.

“Another trick you must learn is control of the tear-ducts, how to weep buckets at will – And when you’re deceiving someone, don’t let perjury scare you: Venus ensures that her fellow-gods turn a deaf ear to such gambits.”²³⁴ On the other hand, however, the clerics may well have witnessed such scenes themselves. In any case, they frequently decided to incorporate such an element into their tales, sometimes even remarking upon the fact that women’s tears were known to be used to alter a man’s actions. In *Raoul*, Bernier essentially accuses his wife, Béatrice, of using her tears to control his actions, even though they are actually sincere tears of grief. Once they have been reunited, Bernier wants to set off immediately to look for their missing son; Béatrice is understandably upset. “Pitié pour l’amour de Dieu...Ce serait pour moi une angoisse sans fin: si je perds le père après avoir perdu l’enfant, seul un miracle empêcherait mon cœur de se briser de douleur.”²³⁵ Bernier, however, is unmoved by her expression of fear and grief. “Dame...vos larmes ne serviront à rien; quoi qu’il en soit, je ne demeurerai pas ici.”²³⁶ The author has a message here for both his male and female audience members. To the men, he is showing how not all women’s tears are crocodile tears, and they should not assume tears are automatically deceitful; to the women, he is trying to let them know how men respond to tears and what they typically think.

Tears are not the only physical manifestation in the literature used to sway others. There is a particularly interesting scene in the *Folie Tristan* d’Oxford in which we find two

female characters engaged in a battle of private communication and subterfuge with those in the queen's chamber. Tristan, disguised as *un fou*, returns to Marc's castle to see Yseut, but he must convince her servant Brangien first that he is indeed the queen's lover. Once he proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that he is indeed Tristan, Brangien agrees to go and let Yseut know that he is there. The difficulty lies in the fact that Yseut is not alone in her chamber; she is surrounded by people. So Brangien must communicate Tristan's presence to her, in the company of others, without letting any of them know of his arrival. Her method is one of the physical manifestations we have been analyzing: "Brangien arrive près d'Yseut. Elle lui sourit comme elle sait le faire."²³⁷ It is her servant's smile and nothing more that indicates something dramatic to Yseut. We cannot know if Brangien's smile actually reveals Tristan's presence to Yseut or simply something that necessitates the two women's being alone. Whatever Yseut understands from the smile, however, causes an immediate reaction that she then amplifies to her advantage. "Le teint d'Yseut change. Elle blêmit et feint aussitôt un malaise. On eut tôt fait d'évacuer la chambre car la reine était indisposée. Brangien part chercher Tristan et l'emmène directement dans la chambre."²³⁸ In this example then we see how a female is portrayed as manipulating those around her by demonstrating the symptoms of emotional and physical distress. Unlike Béatrice, whose tears are genuine, Yseut manufactures a corporeal response precisely so others will leave her alone. She might well be affected emotionally by Brangien's communiqué, but she intentionally and successfully misdirects her public's attention. Thus the public arena serves as a place where readers of the story enjoy envisioning the drama unfolding when one character manages to manipulate the others present. The readers delight in a sense of superiority, knowing why certain characters act or react the way that they do, even if no one else in the scene does. In

this way we can consider it an authorial tool, as the authors must anticipate the readers' gleeful response and therefore intentionally provoke it.

This next section examines several corporeal aspects of the public expression of emotion focusing on the perception of emotion. Undoubtedly, much use is made of eyes and vision in the literary representation of the expression of emotion, and in particular when that emotion is frustrated love. It was the twelfth-century cleric Andreas Capellanus who wrote, "Love is a certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex."²³⁹ A strong connection indeed exists between gazing upon someone and falling in love, as we saw with Lavine and Enéas, a medieval *coup de foudre*. It is sight that first engages a person in love but also sight that continues to disarm lovers. In *Cliges*, Soredamor embroiders a shirt for Alexander to wear using her own golden hair. When he discovers that the gold thread is actually her hair, he cannot keep from staring at this small piece of his beloved that is with him always. "All night he held the shirt in his arms, and when he gazed on the strand of hair, he thought himself lord of the entire world. Love indeed made a wise man a fool, for the knight rejoiced over a strand of hair."²⁴⁰ This example from Chrétien reminds us of his scene in *The Knight of the Cart* with Lancelot gazing upon the hair pulled from the queen's comb. Both Alexander and Lancelot are metaphorically brought to their knees at the mere sight of their beloved's strand of hair. Ménard, at least, believes Chrétien to be gently mocking his heroes' enthusiasm. Indeed of Lancelot he says, "Le héros de la Charette est mi-émouvant, mi-ridicule lorsqu'il manque de s'évanouir quand il considère avec vénération les cheveux de la reine qui étaient restés accrochés au peigne."²⁴¹ Mockery notwithstanding it would be difficult to deny the importance accorded to vision in the literary representations of love because vision leads to

recognition and knowledge. Alexander cannot tear his eyes away from the strand of hair because he recognizes it as belonging to Soredamor, his beloved; sight therefore serves as a memory trigger, reminding Alexander with whom he has left his heart.

The sight of an object can also bring about a sense of dejectedness in a hero, as he is prompted to revisit notions of the past and old feelings, resulting in pensiveness. In Thomas' *Le Roman de Tristan*, when Tristan notices the ring that Yseut had once given him, he stops and reflects on his previous actions and what he once had with his beloved.

Tristan regarda par terre et vit la bague. Il devint nouvellement pensif. Son penser le plongea dans une telle angoisse qu'il ne savait plus que faire. Son projet le contrariait dans le mesure où il aurait pu suivre son penchant. Il pense profondément et en vient à se repentir de son acte. Il se repent de son action; elle le contrarie. Il se replie en son for intérieur à cause de l'anneau qu'il voit à son doigt; ses pensées le font beaucoup souffrir. Il se souvient de ce qu'il avait convenu avec son amie, lors de leur séparation dans le verger. Il soupire au fond du cœur.²⁴²

The sight of the ring brings back memories of Yseut; it makes Tristan reach deep down inside him where he thinks, questions, and wonders; and finally, the sight of the ring makes him endure pain and suffering. In the end, then, eyes and sight, as they are portrayed in twelfth-century literature, may bring about a euphoric feeling of love or pain. In this way, they are represented as a gateway to emotion, allowing stimuli to enter.

Sight is not only tied to lovers and their compulsion to gaze, however; it plays a part in the portrayal of compassion as well. As we can see, authors also focus on the connection between witnessing someone's emotion or act of bravery and how that sight inspires a compassionate response. Chrétien, in *Erec and Enide*, includes a scene in which Erec comments on how seeing another's grief makes him feel something as well. "To see you weeping makes me most unhappy and upset."²⁴³ In the *chanson de geste Le couronnement de Louis*, we also see evidence of an association between sight and the response it elicits in

viewers. “Qui aurait vu alors le comte s’employer contre tous, frapper des coups puissants avec son épée d’acier, aurait ressenti beaucoup de compassion pour le noble chevalier.”²⁴⁴

The author emphasizes that Guillaume’s fellow knights’ compassionate response comes from their having witnessed his brave display of fighting against a group of fifteen enemy knights. As opposed to the deliberate manipulation of emotions as evidenced by Brangien and Yseut, the compassionate response of those watching Guillaume is spontaneous and devoid of intentionality; it is simply a reaction to visual stimuli without thought for those who may be watching.

Overall, however, expressing emotion publicly using corporeal indicators serves as a form of non-verbal interpersonal communication in this body of literature. Indeed many scholars have commented on the connection between emotion and communication in the Middle Ages. Althoff points to the emphasis on expressive communication. “Communication in medieval public life was decisively determined by demonstrative acts and behaviors... Many of the mannerisms of medieval communication, which may appear to us as overly emotionalized, were bound up with this demonstrative function.”²⁴⁵ Monique Scheer, in espousing the theory of “emotional practices” explains how “composing emotion is facilitated by clear, socially-agreed upon signs.”²⁴⁶ It is indeed this learned, cultural aspect of emotional communication that may separate our modern perception of these situations from the medieval understanding, for as Scheer explains, “[practice theory] offers a way to integrate the material, bodily facets of emotional processes without having to resort to the ahistorical, universalist assumption that the body is conditioned *only* by evolution.”²⁴⁷ Inevitably, the part of the human body that most communicates feelings to another is the face, where one can view blushing, paling, turning other colors, sweating, smiling, and

crying. It comes as no surprise to us, therefore, that when medieval authors specifically comment on non-verbal interpersonal communication, they focus on what a character's face reveals.

Ovid may certainly have inspired the clerics, if they were looking for literary precedent, to portray in their writings the reading of faces as a form of communication. In his *Amores*, he recommends closely watching peoples' faces for signs of emotional unrest. "Give her the note – and make sure she reads it at once. Watch her face and eyes as she does so, expressions can be revealing of things to come."²⁴⁸ We see in this body of literature portrayals of silent communication via physical manifestations that then prompt others to act. In Marie de France's *Guigemar*, the communication prompts a companion to offer words of reassurance: "The lady wanted to turn and run: no wonder she was afraid. Her face became flushed. But the maiden, who was wise and of bolder disposition, comforted and reassured her."²⁴⁹ We see how the companion's behavior is a direct result of the fear she saw written on her lady's face. While literary inspiration may have played a role in such representations, this is another area where personal experience may also have played a part in the writers' portrayal of such communication. Furthermore, these examples may serve as behavior models that writers wish to share with their audiences; in this way, the clerics are prompting the use of observation as a basis for comportment. We can know that a person is afraid because her face is flushed, and therefore an appropriate response is to offer reassurance in an attempt to allay those fears.

We have just seen how faces, as portrayed in twelfth-century literature, are a great means of communication, but this is only one half of the issue. "The success of an emotional performance depends on the skill of the performer as well as that of its recipient(s) to

interpret it.”²⁵⁰ Who were these skillfully interpretive recipients? Here, too, we find that the medieval authors may have looked to Ovid for guidance, as Faral indicates, especially as it pertains to frustrated love: “L’amour a besoin de confidences, et Ovide place ordinairement près de ses héroïnes une nourrice, aux conseils de laquelle elles ont recours.”²⁵¹ This is the model that Chrétien uses in *Cliges*; Fenice turns to her nurse for advice, but the nurse, knowing her charge so well, also notices her physical manifestations when no one else does, even before Fenice’s confession. “Her nurse Thessala, who had raised her from infancy...noticed the languid pallor of the one held in Love’s power, and addressed her privately.”²⁵² Female characters in this body of literature are especially skilled at recognizing love’s effects, even if they are not a nurse or other close companion, as we see in *Éracle*. It is an old woman who recognizes Paridès’ symptoms for what they are, whereas his entire family fears his imminent death.

Elle se précipite à son chevet, elle lui prend le poignet, elle lui tâte attentivement le pouls, sans identifier aucun des signes qui annoncent la mort, ou qui peuvent justifier la moindre inquiétude. C’était une femme aussi observatrice que perspicace. Elle examina le visage du jeune homme et vit qu’il avait perdu presque complètement sa couleur...La vieille a des lumières sur tout. Elle aperçoit clairement que Paridès se tourmente pour une cause imaginaire.²⁵³

I find this example interesting because not only does it portray a woman other than a close companion successfully interpreting a physical manifestation, but it also indicates to the modern reader what diagnostic tools medieval medical practitioners were aware of and possibly using at the time, such as a checking of the pulse.²⁵⁴

Finally, we must acknowledge that the literature also portrays men as noticing and remarking upon a physical manifestation. As is often the case with women, these men are usually close companions or family members, accustomed to spending a lot of together time

and therefore well positioned to observe anything out of the ordinary. That is where the similarity between male and female observers ends however. Men, while they might well observe a change in someone, do not attribute that change to a specific cause; they are instead left wondering, forced to put the question to their companion for an answer. In *Raoul*, when Guerri and Bernier, who have been father-in-law and son-in-law for a while, are riding together, the former remarks upon his younger companion's sighing. "Le comte Bernier soupira profondément. Guerri le Roux en prit bonne note et lui demanda pourquoi il soupirait ainsi."²⁵⁵ Perhaps it is too much to expect that Guerri would understand Bernier's emotional state from something as vague as a sigh, which could represent relief, frustration, frustrated love, or grief, among others. In *Ipomédon*, however, the situation is quite clear; Ipomédon's emotional state is known by the object of his desires, La Fièrè herself, and it is also undoubtedly known by the audience listening to the story, for the symptoms of frustrated love are well marked. And yet his tutor and constant companion, Tholomeu, can only remark upon the changes he sees, without deciphering the cause.

Quand le jour se lève, Ipomédon quitte son lit et se prépare; il est d'une pâleur plombée, car il n'a pas fermé l'œil de la nuit. Tholomeu s'approche et lui dit: 'Par Dieu, seigneur, que s'est-il passé? Vous n'avez pas dormi paisiblement: je vous ai entendu soupirer, vous plaindre, vous agiter beaucoup; quelle mauvaise nuit vous avez eue! Vous avez souvent changé de couleur, on le voit encore à votre visage; vous êtes la proie de quelque mal.'²⁵⁶

I can only hypothesize as to the meaning of the representation of this demarcation of male and female observers of the passions, especially as it concerns frustrated love: the women were more capable of recognizing the signs and interpreting them because the authors associated this sort of intuitive knowledge based on feelings with the female sex; to the male sex they attributed the knowledge of strategy and planning, based in reason and logic, the

competencies one would want in a knight and leader. If this is indeed a medieval notion, and not one simply colored by a twenty-first century lens, then in certain respects, how human beings view the two sexes has changed little in one thousand years, the final result being that women are recognized, then and now, as better interpreters of emotional cues.

The third and final component of this chapter concerns the author's message of the acceptableness of public expression of emotions. Indeed there are many comments to the effect that male characters should not show emotion but others proclaim openly that male characters should not be ashamed to show their feelings, which implies a greater acceptance of such a demonstration. Questions about the appropriateness of a public display of emotion by men most typically concern grief and its physical manifestations, primarily crying. Often there is contradictory evidence within the same romance or *roman d'antiquité*, as is the case with *Erec and Enide* and also *Thèbes*. In Chrétien's romance, we see a great display of grief by both family and friends when Erec leaves his father's kingdom. "The king could not hold back his tears at his son's departure, and for their part the people too were weeping. Knights and ladies did not hide their tears in their deep grief for him. There was not a single person who did not grieve, and many fainted in the courtyard."²⁵⁷ Chrétien's message with this scene seems to be that it is acceptable behavior to manifest one's grief, regardless of one's gender or one's position, as even the king himself weeps, if that grief is anticipatory. Uncertainty about a person's return or future well-being lends emotional weight to the scene. Yet when grief is confirmed in the very same romance, when Erec mourns his father's death, Chrétien speaks to the inappropriateness of a leader showing his feelings and even having them at all. "They related to him the details of his elderly, white-haired father's death and passing. Erec felt much deeper pain than he showed to his people. But sorrow is not proper for a king, nor

does it befit a king to display his grief.”²⁵⁸ There are two great differences separating these examples. In the first example, the grief is anticipatory, and in the second, it is confirmed. Perhaps this in and of itself is enough to condone or condemn a man’s tears. But the second difference concerns the age of the one for whom the people are grieving; this representation indicates that a king may grieve for the potential loss of life for one so young and with so much to live for as his son, whereas a king should not grieve for an elderly parent who has lived a long and prosperous life.

In *Thèbes*, the commentary is also confusing, this time as it concerns specifically knights’ grief. When Polynice returns to the battlefield and finds that his companion in arms, Tydée, has been killed, his expression of grief is quite demonstrative. “S’il laisse éclater son chagrin, il n’en a pas honte; Polynice s’abandonne à un chagrin extraordinaire, essuyant souvent ses yeux de sa manche; les larmes coulent de ses yeux, les soupirs partent de son cœur car son cœur ressent une vive colère. Il soupire et pleure beaucoup, regrettant son ami avec douceur.”²⁵⁹ The description of Polynice’s grief, while not a clear indication of approbation, does seem to suggest that it is appropriate. There is a lack of condemnation and instead, the description presents an image that readers can imagine and sympathize with. We feel sorrow ourselves at Polynice’s great grief, not an inclination to castigate him. There are indeed dozens of representations of men grieving for their comrades in arms throughout this corpus of literature, which would indicate that such grief is indeed acceptable. And yet in *Thèbes* we also find the notion that grief is not an appropriate response for knights at all; rather anger and a desire for vengeance should be a knight’s response. When Floriant’s son sees his father lying dead on the ground, he starts to mourn but is taken to task by his cousin. “Le jeune homme ressentit un chagrin très violent de voir là son père mort; il s’évanouit sur

son destrier, et ses chevaliers le relevèrent. Eustache était l'un de ses cousins, un homme puissant, comte de Turin: 'Seigneur, dit-il, laissez cela; se chagriner, à mon avis, ne sert à rien. Mais hâtez-vous de bien vous venger, de tuer et de massacrer; vengez la mort de votre père.'"²⁶⁰ This representation sends a very clear message to the men in the audience that their grief must spur them to action, or that they should bypass grief altogether and move directly to anger which then leads to action. This is indeed the message you would want your body of knights to take away from the tale to improve their chances in battle, fighting incessantly without stopping to mourn.

This continued call to arms, without a time for even displaying anger, is evident in the tales. There are remarkably only a small number of representations of physical manifestations of anger in battle scenes: few red faces, few angry sweating knights, few knights trembling with rage. Instead, physical manifestations are replaced by action words and visible examples of fighting and revenge, all the better to inspire similar behavior in the listeners. In *Enéas*, Volcens witnesses the death of his men and turns immediately to thoughts of revenge. "Volcens vit ses hommes mourir: il en ignorait la raison, plein de colère, il se saisit rageusement du jeune homme et lui dit: 'Quel que soit celui qui a tué mes hommes, vengeance en sera prise sur vous; vous allez le payer bien cher, sur vous je veux m'en venger. Je vous le ferai payer, quel que soit le coupable!'"²⁶¹ If the scene does not specifically mention revenge, if death has not yet happened, then the focus is on the immediate commencement or resumption of hostilities, as we see in *The Story of the Grail* when Perceval is battling Anguiguerron. "But they quickly leapt back up again and, as fast as their horses could carry them, without exchanging word of insult, charged at each other more fiercely than two wild boars."²⁶² Or, as is represented in *Raoul*, the result of anger can also be

a focus on the knight's great strength. "[Raoul] le brandit, se précipita sur Bernier et le frappe d'une telle force qu'il lui ouvrit la tête et ensanglanta sa pelisse de fine hermine."²⁶³ All of these action oriented scenes send a message indicating the appropriate response to a knight's grief and anger when at war or in individual combat; it is not tears and lamenting, nor is it even furious sweating but rather swift retribution. Quite simply, it is more practical, on the battlefield, to seek vengeance than to faint in grief.

In this chapter then we have seen the medieval importance placed on the public expression of emotion. The public arena serves as a venue in which people perform, interpret a performance, and communicate, often without words and solely by emotional expression. There are some who are exquisitely skilled in this communicatory craft, either by their deliberate attempt to manipulate or simply thanks to their power of observation. The presence of others is imperative therefore to pull the maximum from an emotional scene. Does this imply that a private expression of emotion in these texts serves no purpose? As we will see in the very next chapter, such is not the case.

Chapter 4

Private Considerations

As White says, “Emotions are often performed publicly instead of being shared among intimates or experienced in isolation.”²⁶⁴ This is undoubtedly the case, as we have just seen. While most emotions are displayed in front of others, there are, nonetheless, circumstances in which characters feel and manifest their feelings privately. This suggests that physical manifestations in literature may be important not only for the characters but also for the listening audience. Such manifestations might very well prove to be a source of fascination and therefore discussion to those listening to the tale. The representation of private emotions in literature is interesting because it perhaps allows readers to view a true display of emotion, without pressure to conform, consciously or unconsciously, to social or cultural conventions. While I am not arguing here that these manifestations are artificial, because they are, for the most part, involuntary physiological reactions, I am suggesting that the representations of characters’ emotional displays might depend on their privacy in the scene. For example, Bérour shows that the dwarf who counsels Marc changes colors flamboyantly when he perceives in the stars that the king and his nephew will be reconciled to his own detriment. “Il rougit et enfle de colère. Il sait que le roi le menace et tentera par tous les moyens de le tuer. Le nain se rembrunit et pâlit. Il s’enfuit aussitôt vers le pays de Galles.”²⁶⁵ The dwarf is all alone in this scene, so his physical manifestations of anger and fear are not seen by any other characters; they are seen only by those reading or listening to the story. The demonstration of emotion serves only as a clue therefore for the audience. Additionally, however, as he is alone, the dwarf reacts to the disturbing news in a way that

truly reflects his emotional state. If Marc were present, for example, then the dwarf might minimize his reaction so as to not draw attention to himself. His thoughts would be centered on how the king would expect him to react or how he should act when in the company of others. Given the fact that the dwarf is alone, we can reasonably assume that the representation of his emotional response to the disturbing news is sincere, not in any way altered for the benefit of others, and that it corresponds to the audience's expectation of how he should manifest his emotion.

We can say, therefore, that a common feature of this body of literature, while less stressed than the public displays of emotion, is the emotional expression of individuals in private settings. Morris has talked about the importance of the individual in twelfth-century society, and while he was not referring to literature specifically, nonetheless we can see how this same focus seeped into the *chansons de geste* and the romances. He explains, “[The discovery of the individual]’s central features may be found in many different circles: a concern with self-discovery; an interest in the relations between people, and in the role of the individual within society; an assessment of people by their inner intentions rather than by their external acts.”²⁶⁶ Indeed all the circles that Morris mentions can be analyzed in the twelfth-century texts through the study of the portrayal of emotions. The physical manifestations of emotion allow readers to better understand the individual characters, their thoughts, their feelings, and their reasons for acting the way that they do. Burgess, too, writes of the importance of the individual. “La tension établie entre la réalité sociale et les aspirations chevaleresques des barons se stabilise dans un idéal – le *Chevalier* ou *l’homme courtois* parfait, sans but politique, dont la seule quête est soi-même, la connaissance de soi, la réalisation de ses propres qualités.”²⁶⁷ Such a quest for self-knowledge need not be limited

to men; female characters also search for an awareness of their own feelings. We can see therefore the twelfth-century fascination with the individual via the literary focus on how individual characters reflect on their emotional and mental state and how they attempt to better understand what exactly they are feeling and why.

The most evident way in which characters reflect on their emotional state is through the interior monologue of the frustrated lover. By including this form of reflection in a romance, medieval authors are essentially teaching their listeners how to better understand their emotional state by using talk therapy many hundreds of years before Freud would. We have already examined Lavine's monologue in *Enéas*; now we turn to Enéas'. He, too, converses with himself as if one voice represented another person or at least another perspective, in an attempt to understand what is happening to him and how he should proceed after receiving Lavine's letter. He complains bitterly but then reproaches himself.

- Cesse, Enéas, tu as tort!
- Comment? Je suis blessé à mort! Comment me taire? Comment empêcher qui est battu d'oser se plaindre? La flèche qui a été décochée m'a cruellement atteint au cœur.
- Tu mens, elle tomba bien loin de toi!
- Elle était porteuse de ma mort et me blessa grièvement.
- Tu ne sais pas ce que tu dis, elle ne t'a pas touché.
- Non, c'est vrai, ni coup ni plaie n'apparaît, mais la lettre qui l'entourait m'a profondément blessé.
- La surface de ta peau est intacte, comment a fait la lettre?
- Elle m'a montré ce que Lavine m'a fait savoir.
- Tu n'as donc reçu d'autre blessure que de la lettre qui t'a fait voir que Lavine veut t'aimer?
- Non.
- Tu ne dois pas t'en plaindre.²⁶⁸

In this conversation we see how Enéas is at first opposed to having been hit by Love's arrow and how he focuses on the seriousness of the injury he has received. As he continues to talk, however, he comes to the realization that he is not actually injured and that what he took as

an injury was simply an invitation to love someone. This example also demonstrates how such interior monologues could even be lightly humorous, when one voice manages to mock and point out the truth to the other voice. Indeed, when speaking of the purpose of the frustrated lover's monologue, Ménard explains that "c'est pour mettre plaisamment en lumière les incertitudes et les contradictions de l'âme humaine."²⁶⁹ In proposing two different views of the same situation himself, Enéas is able to talk through his doubts and concerns to reach an acceptable conclusion. The fact that he is talking to himself is actually of the utmost importance. William Reddy, the noted cultural anthropologist who has worked extensively in this area of research, links emotions and talking about emotions. "He suggests that we think of speaking or writing – or dancing – about emotions as a form of 'translation' and proposes that 'the most important facet of emotional expressions' is that attempt to formulate or 'translate' 'thought material'".²⁷⁰ In this way, the didactic function of the *chansons de geste* and romances continues to be clear; clerical authors of the twelfth century were teaching the public that they did not have to feel overwhelmed by the complexity of an emotion such as love and that they could understand their own emotions by talking about them. In providing a model such as the interior monologue, authors promulgated a concern for the individual and how the individual's well-being can be grounded in knowing and understanding his or her own thoughts and feelings.

We have been examining the private expression of emotions and thus far have been concerned with the scenes where only one character is present. Either a description provides readers with an understanding of the character's thoughts and feelings, as was the case with the dwarf, or an interior monologue allows the character to talk through his emotions, thus enlightening the readers. In neither scenario does the emotional display affect anyone but the

characters themselves. No one is around to bear witness to either the physical manifestations or the emotions they depict. No one, therefore, acts any differently because of the emotional display. But there is another aspect to the private expression of emotion and that is when characters believe they have successfully hidden and kept private their emotions. With frustrated love in particular we find such scenarios. In Chrétien's *Cliges*, when Alexander and Soredamor find themselves in love but unwilling to reveal this truth to anyone, they hide the signs that would betray them. "The two, deeply distressed, were forced to deceive all the people with false appearances, lest anyone recognize them or notice their laments."²⁷¹ The lesson taught here is that at times, it is necessary to consciously and deliberately present an appearance other than a true one to keep one's emotions private. It is obvious from Chrétien's statement that people can and do recognize certain symptoms of frustrated love, and therefore to maintain the integrity of private feelings, one is obligated to intentionally lead others astray. In other instances, however, we see that the attempt to hide may be perceived by one who is especially observant. In Gautier's *Éracle*, the old neighbor woman compliments Paridès on having successfully hidden the cause of his distress. "Vous savez admirablement dissimuler."²⁷² She is the only one to have noticed his symptoms and recognized them for what they actually are, the effects of frustrated love; his family and the other neighbors are convinced that he is ill, not in love. Her compliment, therefore, indicates that Paridès has deliberately altered his appearance or acted so that no one will guess the true cause of his discomfort in an attempt to keep his feelings private. Like with Chrétien's lesson in *Cliges*, Gautier indicates to his readers that it is sometimes necessary, if one wants to keep feelings to oneself, to conceal those signs that others would read so easily; but Gautier

includes an additional lesson, that despite one's best efforts at concealment, there may still be people who can see past the attempted deception.

The other aspect of privacy that we must consider in this chapter is religiously-inspired emotion. While such emotion may be expressed privately or publicly, in the entire corpus of twelfth-century texts that I am studying, there is only one example of religiously-inspired emotion that is manifested physically, and it begins as a private scene. It concerns Perceval in Chrétien's *The Story of the Grail* when he discovers that five years have passed without his remembering to worship God. It is a group of knights and ladies, returning from a visit to a holy hermit, that reveal to Perceval that it is Good Friday. This reminder of what a knight should be doing as his Christian duty on a holy day prompts Perceval to reflect on his irreligious behavior of the past five years. "Then, without further questioning, they commended each other to God. As Perceval started on the path, he felt his very heart sighing because he knew he had sinned against God and was sorry. In tears he made his way through the forest, and when he reached the hermitage, he dismounted and disarmed."²⁷³ With this passage, Chrétien is trying to help the audience understand what sin feels like, not just as an intellectual exercise but as regards emotional content. For Perceval, sinning feels the same as when you hurt someone that you care about; one feels guilty and sad and a natural response would be to cry. While his grief comes not from losing a lover or family member but from having sinned against God, it feels the same and is manifested in the same manner. In this way Chrétien tries to make a person's response to having sinned more accessible by providing the cues that one would recognize. This is the only time when an author chooses to represent a character's emotion that is decidedly religious, as opposed to secular.

We might wonder why, when the authors were clerics and social life of the time was decidedly influenced by the Church, more representations of religiously-inspired emotion do not find their way into the *chansons de geste* and the romances. In answer to this question, I would propose a hypothesis. As we have seen already, there is a marked difference between what the Church held to be the best course of action theologically and what regular people actually did on a daily basis. The Church may have pushed for emotions to be dominated by one's relationship to Christ, but in reality, unless they were a monk, nun, or other religious person, most people probably had greater secular concerns, such as a loved one leaving for a tournament or war, an unrequited love, or potential dishonor. While the *chansons de geste* and romances certainly take place in a setting that proposes interaction between people and the Church, such as when characters go to a chapel and hear matins, traditional religion is not the focal point of this decidedly secular literature; the relationships and interactions between members of the aristocratic community are. In his essay on the use of threats in medieval violence and non-violence, William Ian Miller speaks to the reality of the Middle Ages. "Fear is first the fear of your fellow man, not of gods or devils."²⁷⁴ This point, where one is concerned with the effect on a relationship with another person and not God, is illustrated in *Raoul*, when the possibility of dishonor arises. Long after Bernier has married Béatrice, pagans capture him and he disappears. Guerri wants to remarry his daughter, but she is concerned because they are not certain that her husband is dead. Guerri forces the issue and marries Béatrice to Herchambaut, but she does not want to dishonor herself or her husband by consummating the marriage. When Bernier returns and discovers that his fears are unfounded, that his wife has not slept with Herchambaut, he is greatly relieved. "Lorsqu'il entendit ces propos, Bernier poussa un profond soupir, puis dit tout bas, afin de ne pas être

entendu: ‘Dieu de gloire, je te rends grâce, puisque ma femme ne m’a pas déshonoré.’²⁷⁵ In this exchange, the characters are not worried about dishonoring God but rather themselves or their spouse. They do not fear God’s wrath if Béatrice were to have violated her marriage union which was blessed by God but rather the shame it would bring upon each of them. Bernier and Béatrice would even have had good reason for fearing God’s wrath because as Andreas Capellanus wrote, going against the Church could cause a love to end. “First of all we see that love comes to an end if one of the lovers breaks faith or tries to break faith with the other, or if he is found to go astray from the Catholic religion.”²⁷⁶ This may have therefore been a teachable lesson during the twelfth century, but even when the author of *Raoul* created an opportunity in which to expound upon the consequence of breaking faith, he chose not to, focusing solely on the potential dishonor of a husband and the shame he would feel. Thus, given the secular nature of this body of literature and the concerns of the aristocratic patrons who commissioned the works and the knights and ladies who listened to them, it is not surprising that a religious tone is shunned in favor of one that highlights the emotional content of human interactions.

We have been discussing the lack of religiously-inspired emotion, and I would like to make one additional comment concerning this notable absence. One of the emotions that I have been concentrating on, anger, should more reasonably be included in a discussion of the connection between religion and emotions than the others. As Althoff says, “It must not be overlooked that anger had a firm place in the medieval sin catalogs as one of the deadly sins that arose out of the Original Sin.”²⁷⁷ And yet in our corpus of twelfth-century literature, anger as a sin does not make an appearance, meaning characters are not discouraged from

showing anger for fear they might go to hell. Barton believes there is a sound, theologically-based reason why anger is permitted.

The linkage between notions of divine anger and righteous royal and lordly anger is worth emphasizing. For if God, the ultimate source of authority in the universe, was known to have become righteously angry when his will was flouted, then kings and lords, also representing legitimate authority in the world, should have been able to grow righteously angry with those who flouted their will.²⁷⁸

The other side of this issue, however, is that if a ruler representing legitimate authority indulges in an anger that would not be considered righteous, then repercussions might ensue. It is not so much that these texts represent anger as a sin, but that the refusal to accept reparation for a wrong committed is considered sinful. For example, in *Raoul*, Bernier and his uncles have been pleading for forgiveness from Guerri and Gautier for having killed Raoul, who continuously reject their pleas. An abbot then intercedes, insisting that Bernier and his uncles approach Guerri once more; when Guerri once more refuses, the abbot threatens Guerri with the repercussion of sin. “Seigneur Guerri, vous avez les cheveux gris et ne connaissez pas le jour de votre mort. Si vous refusez de faire la paix, saint Denis m’en soit témoin, votre âme n’ira jamais en paradis!”²⁷⁹ At this point in the *chanson de geste*, Guerri and Gautier do grant forgiveness; we might therefore conclude that the threat of losing one’s salvation was enough to force men to relinquish their anger. The didactic purpose is revealed, demonstrating that excessive anger is sinful and that the behavior to be emulated is actually the granting of mercy. As Barton explains, “The poem reminded the aristocratic audience that temperance, too, was a virtue.”²⁸⁰ Even these examples, however, are rare in the twelfth-century texts. In general, we do not see many instances where religiously-inspired emotion and its physical manifestations appear; nor are we reminded of what a knight or lady should do or not do to uphold Christian values. The love of God is not the focal point of this

literature; rather the focus is on courtly relationships, human interactions, and how people might consider wading through the quagmire of their emotions to arrive at a deeper understanding of their own feelings.

Conclusion

The Emotional Appeal of Literature

We have been examining the physical manifestations of emotion as they are represented in French literature of the twelfth century in an effort to better understand, among other things, the cues provided to medieval readers to signal an emotional situation. Such cues teach and remind the audience how to recognize signs of emotional distress but also how to associate an emotional response with the situation that provoked it. My last objective is to understand the popularity of such a body of literature. Why did such emotionally-charged stories appeal to listeners and also, did they have any lasting effects upon those listeners? My ultimate question, as indicated earlier in this thesis, is whether or not the twelfth century, because of its immense secular literary output, in comparison to previous centuries, can be considered a precursor to the Humanitarian Revolution that was to happen centuries later.

To understand the emotional appeal of this body of literature we must first become better acquainted with the audience who was listening to, enjoying, and demanding more of these stories and also the mode of delivery to which they were accustomed. In his article “The Audience as Co-Creator of the First Chivalric Romances”, R.W. Hanning stipulates “the presence and importance of at least three constituent parts of the audience of romance: clerics, educated women, and cadet members of the aggressive feudal aristocracy.”²⁸¹ The audience was therefore heterogeneous in that it included both genders but also in that it included readers and potential authors as well. While the audience members’ interests may have been varied, Hanning suggests that the “basic characterizing feature of the larger

twelfth-century courtly audience was...its *humanism*...its receptivity to material from classical antiquity, hitherto the preserve of Latin-writing scholars but now translated, adapted, and updated by clerics in vernacular tongues, for the entertainment and edification...of its audience.”²⁸² We have already seen the importance of the great works by Virgil, Ovid, and others, and how medieval authors looked to their tales for inspiration concerning content and style; we can now know that while authors were eager to incorporate elements that they had borrowed from Antiquity, audience members were also keen to receive them.

How might we picture then the transmission of these tales to clerics and aristocratic men and women? As Howard Bloch writes, “Manuscripts produced before the fourteenth century were, almost without exception...intended for oral presentation.”²⁸³ We can imagine therefore a setting in which one person reads aloud to a group. Indeed this is the very image conjured by Chrétien in *The Knight with the Lion*. “Sir Yvain entered the garden with his party following him. He saw a noble man reclining on his side on a silk rug. In front of him a maiden was reading from a romance – I do not know about whom. A lady had come to recline there and hear the romance. She was the maiden’s mother, and the lord was her father.”²⁸⁴ Admittedly this is a small group setting, but at times, we can imagine that the audience would be larger than two and that the reading would take on an air of public entertainment and interpretive dialogue. Bloch makes mention of this theatrical aspect of medieval reading when he refers to “the ‘performed’ text”²⁸⁵ and to “the literary performance”.²⁸⁶ A performance elicits a response from its viewers, and a medieval literary performance was no different. As Classen indicates, “[Medieval readers], furthermore, did

not simply look at their books, but customarily read them aloud, metaphorically chewing over the words and digesting their meaning.²⁸⁷

The audience's response is therefore part of the great human desire to analyze, evaluate, judge, and interpret what we hear and see, especially as it concerns interpersonal relationships. Medieval listeners, whose interpretations and opinions of social issues varied as much as those of modern readers, were left to decipher the author's meaning, as Hanning explains: "The audience had to define its attitudes towards the central characters and their particular crises. The problem here is that characters tend to be both ideal models and lampoons...where does serious pronouncement end and burlesque begin...such a narrative procedure makes of the chivalric romance the first 'puzzle fiction' in our literary heritage."²⁸⁸ How the audience responded to these literary performances and why they liked hearing the tales are therefore inextricably linked; listeners discussed the emotional situations and comportment of the characters, and they enjoyed this discussion and the possibilities that it provoked. Morris points to the lack of uniformity as concerns moral dilemmas, which therefore affected the audience: "The significant thing is that ethical assumptions varied in the society for which he was writing, and that it expected, and enjoyed, the discussion of conflicting codes of conduct."²⁸⁹ It is not just behavior, appropriate and inappropriate, however, that interests the audience; it is also the emotional norms presented in the story that engage listeners. According to Rider, "Readers... always retain some degree of agency, and their ability to respond creatively and individually to the emotionology set forth in a narrative, a response that is often provoked or encouraged by the narrative, is an important part of the reason that narrative is a particularly effective teacher of emotional standards and styles."²⁹⁰ Medieval listeners appreciated the opportunity to reflect upon models of emotional

conduct. Indeed Hanning stipulates that “the same audience could enjoy works that made very different demands on them, such as the *chanson de geste*, which glorifies ideologically-induced violence but includes no emphasis on interiority or motivation, and the chivalric romance, in which these latter questions are central.”²⁹¹ Regardless of the context of the story, therefore, medieval listeners took pleasure in debating the merits of emotional conduct.

Such debates are possible because of the connection made between reading or hearing about another’s emotional experience and our own imaginings. In their book *Empathy and Birth Order*, Stotland, Sherman, and Shaver write that “from the very beginnings of the human race, ordinary people as well as the extraordinary ones, especially poets and philosophers, have known that it is possible for one person to experience an emotion because he perceives that another person is experiencing that emotion.”²⁹² According to Keith Opdahl, “The same part of the brain lights up whether one experiences or imagines, suggesting that imagination and perception are parallel.”²⁹³ When we read or listen to a story, therefore, we are able to empathize with the characters because we can imagine what they are going through, feeling the same emotions that they do; we see this play out in our mind’s eye. It is precisely this elicited empathetic response that prompts Stotland, Sherman, and Shaver to state that “when reading stories, people become emotionally aroused.”²⁹⁴ Physical manifestations of emotion are essential to provoking an empathetic response because they serve as a clue to a character’s emotional state, and Harvard psychology professor Steven Pinker shores up this theory: “*Mind-reading, theory of mind, mentalizing, or empathetic accuracy* is the ability to figure out what someone is thinking or feeling from their expressions, behavior, or circumstances.”²⁹⁵ Given the tremendous amount of attention paid to physical manifestations and emotional situations in French literature of the twelfth

century, it seems reasonable to assume that evidence of *mind-reading* should be present, even if it is not referred to as such. Additionally, as we will see in the next section, knowing what someone is feeling then allows others to feel compassion and manifest it themselves, often mirroring the same expression.

Ménard admits to the presence of compassion in these tales: “Il serait faux de soutenir que nos conteurs se montrent constamment insensibles à la souffrance humaine. Les marques de compassion l’emportent de très loin sur les signes de dérision.”²⁹⁶ But what does compassion look like in these tales? And in what situations do the characters manifest compassion and sympathy? The greatest number of examples includes sympathy for those who suffer sorrow and exhibit signs of their suffering through physical manifestations. These physical manifestations may vary, as we often see crying and fainting, but the empathetic response is primarily one of tears. In *Raoul*, when Aalais mourns the death of her son Raoul, her companions commiserate with her. “Là-dessus elle se pâma – on se précipita pour la relever et mainte noble dame pleura de compassion.”²⁹⁷ The same is true in *La Chanson de Roland* when Charlemagne witnesses Roland’s betrothed, Aude, grieving for her dead fiancé. “La belle Aude n’est plus. Mais le roi pense qu’elle est seulement évanouie. Il en a pitié et se met à pleurer.”²⁹⁸ In both texts, a character witnesses another displaying a sign of emotional distress; here it is fainting. The character knows what fainting represents: such incredible sorrow that one cannot help but attempt to evade the heartbreak. When the character thinks of this incredible sorrow and imagines how it must feel, it results in tears. Lutz explains this sympathetic response in the following manner: “Our empathetic tears...are for ourselves and for others: they are both the stuff of self-absorption and a crying out, a call, an announcement...To the extent that we are feeling pushed beyond the boundaries of our

selves by empathetic emotions, crying helps return us to our sense of self.”²⁹⁹ In this way then, medieval authors are provoking an emotional response from their listeners but also showing them how to manage their own emotional distress when witnessing the sorrow of others. By crying out of compassion, the people observing demonstrate, to the one originally afflicted, their understanding of the emotional situation; but this demonstration also serves as a cathartic release of their own emotion.

Medieval authors are even at times much more explicit and specifically tell or show their listeners how to respond to another’s suffering. Seeing someone’s sorrow should move the observer to pity. We have already mentioned this scene in *Erec and Enide*, but it bears repeating, as the narrator, in describing Enide’s grief, is educating medieval listeners on how to act: “She was almost mad with grief, seeing her display her deep sorrow, wringing her hands, tearing her hair, and shedding tears, one could have beheld a loyal lady. Anyone seeing her who did not feel great pity for her would be a wretch indeed.”³⁰⁰ We have already discussed throughout this paper how these stories of the twelfth century portray models of behavior, and now we see that these models of behavior include examples of empathy for others. At times, the message from the authors is even stronger in that it teaches what a lack of compassion indicates about a person, as we see in *Ille et Galeron*. “Ille voit pleurer la jeune fille, si belle et si bien faite; ne pas s’en émouvoir, ne pas être saisi de pitié serait de sa part faire montre d’une morgue, d’un dédain monstrueux. Les larmes lui viennent aux yeux.”³⁰¹ It is clear that there is a deliberate suggestion here of the undesirability of appearing cold, disdainful, and arrogant, and to avoid this stigma, an observer must therefore respond to the sight of another’s sorrow, as Ille does.

Noticing another's emotional distress does not always revolve around sorrow and grief, however; there are also times, especially in *Ipomédon*, where the distress involves a perception of shame. The observed does not physically manifest shame, but rather the observer assumes this is the emotion the observed is feeling based on the circumstances. In *Ipomédon*, when La Fièvre insults Jason in front of Ismène, the young maiden responds as if she shares Jason's sense of shame at the recent invective: "A ces mots, Ismène rougit, elle ne pensait pas qu'il méritait cette sortie."³⁰² Of course, Ismène's reddening could be a reaction of anger at the unjust criticism, but if that were the case, then in all likelihood she would be mirroring Jason's own feelings of resentment. Given that the criticism comes from La Fièvre, a woman who is nobler than he, Jason is more likely to feel ashamed rather than angry. Indeed what we have in this scene is what Pinker calls *projection*. "The original and most mechanical sense of empathy is *projection* – the ability to put oneself into the position of some other person, animal, or object, and imagine the sensation of being in that situation."³⁰³ Ismène imagines what she would feel like if she had just been disparaged in front of others and the end result is a blush.

One last aspect of sympathy for those enduring emotional distress must be discussed as it presents a bit of a conundrum. There is a scene in *Ipomédon* which focuses on the interaction between Ipomédon, disguised as a *fou*, and Kémius, the king's seneschal, where Kémius seemingly belittles the *fou* and Ipomédon becomes angry. Kémius says, "Sire, voilà quelque chose de merveilleux; retenez donc cet homme auprès de vous: il nous rendra tous joyeux quand nous aurions plus de chagrin qu'il ne faut; un bon fou est précieux en société, car souvent il fait rire les gens soucieux!" Ipomédon sent monter la colère et s'il avait osé se découvrir, il lui aurait parlé assez vertement."³⁰⁴ Perhaps Ipomédon becomes angry simply

because he has been insulted, but to the twenty-first century reader's mind, this seems like an example of someone from the aristocracy who is upset at the cavalier attitude the seneschal takes towards a *fou*, an individual who bears the lowest of social rankings. In reality, however, the *fou*, as Jean-Marie Fritz describes him in his book *Le discours du Fou au Moyen Age*, does not even bear mention as a member of society; he is a non-member. "Le fou est un être du dehors, hors de tout espace civilisé ou socialisé."³⁰⁵ Ipomédon therefore seems to empathize with the plight of the *fou*, a man whom the aristocrats like to have around only because his pitiful state can make others laugh, to the point where the disguised young nobleman is on the verge of castigating the seneschal. This is an example of an aristocrat showing compassion for someone not only outside of his own social group but outside of all social groups. While this interpretation has merit, Ménard cautions against the desire to believe that medieval compassion extended this far. "Il ne faut pas exagérer, toutefois, le 'modernisme' de la mentalité médiévale et croire que les fous suscitent constamment la compassion. Tout au contraire, la pitié reste un sentiment exceptionnel."³⁰⁶ If this is not then a true example of compassion for someone outside of one's social group, then another interpretation of this scene is possible. We would do well to remember that *Ipomédon* was written as a parody, verging on the burlesque, in which the cultural norms of the day were subverted. Thus the image of Ipomédon becoming angry on the *fou*'s behalf is not meant to be taken seriously but rather to provoke laughter from the audience, since it was highly unlikely that an aristocrat would do such a thing. A third and final interpretation veers away from sincere empathy and incongruous empathy and towards sheer literary imitation. As Holden points out, there are many similarities between Méléagre's court in *Ipomédon* and Arthur's court. While "le seneschal vantard, médisant, sarcastique" applies to Kémius, it

could easily describe Arthur's seneschal Kay.³⁰⁷ If we recall the scene with Perceval, Kay, King Arthur, and the fool from *The Story of the Grail*, then we can readily attest to the unpleasant demeanor of both seneschals, including their mistreatment of the *fou*. Perhaps Hue wrote of an angry Ipomédon, not because of what Kémius specifically said about the *fou*, but because in general, people became angry with Kay for his mean-spiritedness towards others. In fact, it is Arthur himself who chastises Kay in Chrétien's scene. "Ah, Kay, what harm you did me today! Through your vicious tongue, which has uttered so much nonsense, today you have driven from me the youth who served me so well this very day."³⁰⁸ Hue may have included Ipomédon's desire to chastise Kémius because it was necessary to complete his literary symmetry and not out of any inclination to portray an empathetic response to a non-member of his social group.

So far we have seen how in this body of literature, there are innumerable examples of empathetic responses to negative situations, where a character notices the distress of another and commiserates, often with a physical manifestation. And yet, the authors were not blind to how a similar response could be elicited from positive situations. In this way, they demonstrated to their audiences how to share in joyful moments as well as distressing ones. In Marie de France's *Milun*, the sight of a father and son reunion engages the spectators. "From the joy on their faces and the words they spoke, the onlookers wept for joy and emotion."³⁰⁹ We can imagine that the visual stimulation included radiant smiles and perhaps eyes shining with joyful tears; these then prompted a reciprocal response from those privy to the reunion. Likewise in *Ille et Galeron*, when Ille returns to his native Brittany, his people celebrate; and those who see their celebration respond in turn. "Qui, à la vue de leurs baisers, de leurs étreintes et de leur joie, aurait pu s'empêcher, le cœur gagné par l'émotion, de

pleurer d'attendrissement. Ils versent des larmes et des larmes."³¹⁰ Gautier even demonstrates to his audience how they might feel witnessing such a joyful scene and how tears would be a natural response. We should note how both scenes portraying a positive empathetic response concern a reunion or homecoming; it is not surprising that medieval authors were explaining to their listeners the emotional content of such scenes given the ever-present battles and tournaments from which loved ones might never return. In deciding to include such positive empathetic examples, authors taught that people can be affected not only by manifestations of sorrow but also of joy, and that it is possible to share in another's happiness to the point where one takes on that perspective and subsequently manifests joy oneself.

I would like to make one last point concerning empathetic response as it is seen in this body of literature, and that is that even without a visible clue, such as a physical manifestation, these stories teach people how to imagine another's feelings based simply on what is happening to them, be it good or bad. Pinker says, "The sense of empathy we value the most, though, is a distinct reaction that may be called sympathetic concern, or sympathy for short. Sympathy consists in aligning another entity's well-being with one's own, based on a cognizance of their pleasures and pains."³¹¹ The understanding of their pleasures and pains can readily come from a facial expression or some other physical manifestation that indicates an emotion; they are relatively easy to read, and as we have already discussed, these signs were used so frequently throughout the twelfth century that audiences expected to encounter them. But medieval authors also taught their listening public that they could imagine themselves in another's position, taking on a new perspective, all without ever seeing the person in question; they needed only to visualize in their mind's eye, in other words, imagine, the other's plight. They were showing therefore that we can feel compassion for

someone that we cannot see; granted, the two examples we will shortly examine include compassion for someone that the others know well, even if they are not physically in their presence. But I believe this is a nudge in the direction of being able to empathize with those whom we do not know, in the abstract, as opposed to sympathizing only with the small circle that represents friends and family.

The first example comes from Bérout's *Tristan*. Périnis arrives at Arthur's court to ask for his presence at the ford, which would demonstrate his loyalty to Yseut, explaining how Marc has demanded that she take an oath of fidelity. "Ces paroles leur font verser de grosses larmes. Tout le monde a le visage baigné de pleurs de compatissants."³¹² Yseut is not there; she is not imploring Arthur to come to her aid with tears streaming down her face for all to see and react to. We can assume that most of the court will know or at least know of Yseut; they are thus responding to their perceived notion of her emotional distress. They are imagining themselves in a similar situation, having to do what Yseut must do, and her anguish becomes theirs, resulting in tears. Even if there are court members who do not know Yseut personally, she is one of them; she is a noblewoman, a queen, and empathizing with her plight is entirely possible for the court, and by extension, the medieval audience. The second example comes from Chrétien's *The Story of the Grail*, and it concerns a scene at the beginning of the tale in which plowmen empathize with their mistress.

The youth took his hunting horse and rode over to the plowmen, who were harrowing the plowed fields where the oats had been sown. When they saw their lord, all trembled with fear. And do you know why they did? Because of the armed knights accompanying him. They realized that if the knights had told him of their occupation and their way of life, he would wish to be a knight, and then his mother would be distraught, for she had expected to prevent him from ever seeing a knight or learning of the profession.³¹³

This example is fascinating because it demonstrates a medieval author teaching his audience how to imagine what another might feel before an event has even happened; Chrétien is teaching the intellectual and emotional exercise of projecting into the future. The plowmen imagine what the emotional response of Perceval's mother will be when she receives this distressing news, and it is in response to this forecast that they tremble in fear. It is these examples of empathy prompting the focused interest in sensibilities that encourage us to begin to consider the twelfth century as a precursor to the Humanitarian Revolution.

The Humanitarian Revolution, a term coined by Steven Pinker, indicates that with the growth of literacy and reason, there is a decline in violence and an increase in empathetic feeling.³¹⁴ Pinker puts the beginning of the effects of this transformation at the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century, during which there was a great increase in book production.³¹⁵ In particular, people had a greater access than ever before to a body of literature that was rapidly expanding to include secular works in addition to religious ones.³¹⁶

The growth of writing and literacy strikes me as the best candidate for an exogenous change that helped set off the Humanitarian Revolution. The pokey little world of village and clan, accessible through the five senses and informed by a single content provider, the church, gave way to a phantasmagoria of people, places, cultures, and ideas. And for several reasons, the expansion of people's minds could have added a dose of humanitarianism to their emotions and beliefs.³¹⁷

As I was reading Pinker's book, I could not help but compare what was happening in the early modern era to what had occurred during the twelfth century in France. While there had been oral stories well before vernacular literature, they were well-known tales that tellers could adapt to the group they were entertaining. With the change to the written word, stories became relatively immutable, whereas "the oral narrator [modified] his story in accord with

the real -not imagined- fatigue, enthusiasm, or other reactions of his listeners.”³¹⁸ The use of the vernacular also gave people access to an increased number of written stories, writing having previously been the exclusive domain of the church, as it was done in Latin, a language which few aristocrats could read. Additionally, as opposed to stories detailing the saints’ lives, this new body of literature that developed throughout the course of the twelfth century was decidedly secular; medieval listeners, therefore, had access to new ideas and new perspectives that came from writers whose primary interests were chivalry, love, and interpersonal relationships. Pinker believes that with the literary exposure to new points of view, readers are able to imagine themselves in another’s shoes, so to speak, and therefore empathize with people that they have never met because of their fictional existence.

Stepping into someone else’s vantage point reminds you that the other fellow has a first-person, present-tense ongoing stream of consciousness that is very much like your own but not the same as your own. It’s not a big leap to suppose that the habit of reading other people’s words could put one in the habit of entering other people’s minds, including their pleasures and pains.³¹⁹

Pinker is not alone in finding that increased exposure to new perspectives may prompt readers to be more empathetic. “The historian Lynn Hunt, the philosopher Martha Nussbaum, and the psychologists Raymond Mar and Keith Oatley, among others, have championed the reading of fiction as an empathy expander.”³²⁰ More recently, in the fall of 2013, a study published by Emanuele Castano and David Comer Kidd, entitled “Reading Literary Fiction Improves Theory of Mind,” suggests that “literary fiction enhances a person’s ability to read another person’s emotions – and, by extension, their ability to navigate complex social relationships.”³²¹ Castano and Kidd have distinguished literary fiction from popular fiction and reiterate Bruner’s claim that “[literary fiction] engages readers in a discourse that forces them to fill in gaps and search ‘for meanings among a spectrum of possible meanings.’”³²²

French literature of the twelfth century, in particular the romances, should be categorized as literary and not popular fiction for they, too, encouraged readers to expand their horizons and revisit preconceived notions. In fact, there is much to deconstruct in these stories, and we should remember how Hanning referred to chivalric romances as the first ‘puzzle fiction’:

Our answers to the text’s unanswered questions, our interpretations of its mysteries, make us creators as well as audience. Our attempts to discover the meaning, of a text as riddled with ambiguities as the chivalric romance habitually is, inevitably *endow* the text with meanings drawn from our own experiences of other romances, and indeed of the world outside the fiction.³²³

This sentiment was echoed by Mikhail Bakhtin when he wrote that “the absence of a single authorial perspective prompts readers to enter a vibrant discourse with the author and her characters.”³²⁴ Bakhtin was referring to literary fiction in general, but his statement also applies to medieval literature specifically, therefore reinforcing the claim that the romances and *chansons de geste* of the twelfth century can be categorized as literary, and not popular, fiction.

We now have several factors to consider as concerns medieval French literature, the Humanitarian Revolution, and reading fiction as an exercise in empathy. First, not only do we find within the *chansons de geste* and the romances a clear representation of sympathy and compassion but also explicit instructions to the audience regarding the importance of empathy, how to empathize, and in which situations one might feel empathetic towards another. Second, as Pinker attributes an increase in empathetic feeling to reading fiction, we see how over the course of the twelfth century, readers had more access than ever before to secular, written stories because of the change from Latin to the vernacular. Third, as Kidd and Castano indicate, it must be literary fiction to encourage empathy for it is the interaction between reader and author and the challenge of unraveling an enigma that stimulates readers

to question how they consider others; this is as apt a description for medieval literature of the twelfth century as it is for National Book Award selections. Given this body of evidence, we must consider the French literary output of the twelfth century as a precursor to the Humanitarian Revolution, initiating changes that would really become evident five to six hundred years later.

Pinker proposed the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a point of departure for increased empathetic feeling partly because of the new literature of the day. “The novels brought to life the aspirations and losses of ordinary people.”³²⁵ This literature represented new points of view and perspectives; readers came to inhabit new worlds where characters had different professions and lived in different places than they themselves did, which opened their eyes. The same cannot necessarily be said about the *chansons de geste* and romances. Their protagonists were of the same noble birth as their audiences and thus reinforced the world that they already knew. “The exclusiveness of courtly literature, its presence as a ‘class code of noble and ‘courteous’ people’ which the *vilein* could neither join nor understand, had the global social function of assuring the cohesiveness of the community to which it was addressed.”³²⁶ If medieval literature did not address issues and provide perspectives outside of the confines of its selective, aristocratic group, then how can it be considered to treat the question of ‘the other’? The truth is that these stories did present the point of view of ‘the other’: ‘the other’ was still a member of the audiences’ social class but represented the abstract idea of someone who was similar to them but unknown. It would not have been possible, given the literary and social climate, to write a tale of someone with whom listeners had nothing in common. The medieval authors’ goal was to present stories with which audience members could connect even though they did not know the protagonist;

he or she was not within the known social group, not counted among the handful of people that each person knew intimately. The protagonist was, however, someone like them, and this notion encouraged medieval listeners to extend their compassion not only to those whom they knew and with whom they interacted on a regular basis but also to their fellow aristocrats afar who were completely unknown to them. Medieval empathy, as it is portrayed in the literature of the twelfth century, presented people with an abstract idea of class compassion, and this indicates that there was a need for this sort of teaching. Listeners were not ready for tales of others outside of their social groups; they were still in the process of learning to empathize with the abstract notion of ‘the other’ within their social group.

As we have seen, studying the physical manifestations of emotion in twelfth-century French literature teaches us many things. For one, the expressions used were part of the core vocabulary preferred by the clerical authors of the day for the primary reason that listeners could access them. Without perhaps having the vernacular vocabulary necessary to delve inside a character’s psyche, these expressions allowed authors to express emotional states that their listeners understood; they knew what crying, for example, looked like, felt like, and resulted from. We also know that there were two points of origin for these physical manifestations of emotion, one literary and one steeped in personal observation. Twelfth-century authors, having read and studied the Latin works of Virgil, Statius, and Ovid, continued in the medieval vein of copying and imitating that which came from Antiquity; they borrowed plot lines, character names, stylistic devices, and vocabulary, which included a great many physical manifestations of emotion, especially those found in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. But we cannot say that this was done blindly; authors also chose to use these expressions to denote emotional states because they confirmed what they observed

themselves in interpersonal relationships, regarding how people responded to certain emotional provocations.

Each of the six emotions I have concentrated on sheds light on the emotionology of the closed, aristocratic society for which these stories were intended. By creating emotional experiences for their characters, medieval authors presented models of behavior which listeners could then discuss to determine if they were positive, to be emulated, or negative, to be avoided. Anger, in particular, was presented in its different forms, from the maniacal and blood-thirsty to the mild and forgiving, and from the futile to the fruitful. For many male characters, anger was a direct result of having been dishonored, and therefore shamed, which led to action, allowing them to regain that lost honor. These examples praise knightly retribution and swift vengeance after having been slighted. For female characters, however, shame and fear were intermingled. A great fear was the loss of sexual honor and the shame it would bring upon them and their families. Many of these examples serve to highlight the potential dangers of inappropriate glances from or interaction with the male sex. The other great fear for women was uncertainty about their own futures and what would happen to them if they lost a lover or their means of a supported existence. Grief and its primary physical manifestation, crying, are undoubtedly the most well represented of emotions and emotional expressions in these twelfth-century texts. Characters grieve for lost family members, lovers, friends, and brothers in arms, and women in particular also grieve for the accompanying loss of a stable, and known, situation. Scenes of frustrated love teach listeners how this emotional state may present either as a sickness or as a loss of reason, and that lovers may attempt to understand their conflicted feelings better by talking themselves through what is happening to them; this is the interior monologue present in so many of the

romances. To conclude, joy is less represented in the *chansons de geste* and romances primarily because it interests the audience less than dramatic and problematic emotions; someone's joy cannot be dissected and analyzed in the same way as someone's shame. But joy and humor are well represented in both *Ipomédon*, a parody of the courtly ideals and traditions of the day, and *Le Charroi de Nîmes*, a *chanson de geste* of the guffawing and knee-slapping variety.

We have seen how the medieval representation of emotions in literature affords pride of place to the public arena, demonstrating the importance of seeing and being seen when it comes to emotional provocations and reactions. This public space also allows authors to show their listeners how to notice and read the emotions of others based on the physical manifestations, thus placing a medieval emphasis on interpersonal communication. And while privately expressed emotions are not as prominent as those conveyed publicly, they do provide the author, and subsequently the audience, the opportunity to focus on the importance of the individual. With the interior monologue and its exploration of an individual's feelings and state of being, authors communicate the legitimacy of trying to reason through one's thoughts and emotions.

Finally we have explored the emotional appeal of twelfth-century French literature and looked to define the cause of its unquestionable success. This undoubtedly comes from tapping into listeners' empathetic response, not only by providing instructional examples of compassion, but also by affording audiences the opportunity to engage actively with the story and its challenges. As an example of literary, and not popular, fiction, this corpus of texts improves listeners' empathetic response by opening them up to new perspectives and encouraging them to question what they are learning. With this exposure to an appreciation

for others' sensibilities, we can conclude that the French literary output of the twelfth century, due partly to technological innovations, served as a first step in the Humanitarian Revolution, which would not begin for another several hundred years.

Notes

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⁴ Matoré, *Le vocabulaire*, 108.

⁵ Matoré, *Le vocabulaire*, 109.

⁶ Matoré, *Le vocabulaire*, 131.

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⁸ Stephen White, "The Politics of Anger," in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 134.

⁹ Lisa Perfetti, introduction to *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Lisa Perfetti (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 2.

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- ²⁹ de Rotelande, "Ipomédon," 116.
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⁴⁹ Marie de France, "Eliduc," in *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (London: Penguin, 1999), 115.

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⁶³ Faral, *Recherches*, 134.

- ⁶⁴ Petit, *L'anachronisme*, 229.
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- ⁸³ Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 79.
- ⁸⁴ Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 49.
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- ⁸⁸ Classen, *Deepest Sense*, 73.
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- ⁹⁰ Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 88.
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- ¹¹⁹ Valerie Allen, “Waxing Red: Shame in the Body, Shame in the Soul,” in *The Representation of Women’s Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Lisa Perfetti (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 192.
- ¹²⁰ Burgess, *Contribution*, 15.
- ¹²¹ de Troyes, “The Knight of the Cart,” 360.
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- ¹²³ d’Arras, *Ille et Galeron*, 6.
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- ¹³¹ Ménard, *Le rire et le sourire*, 204.
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- ²⁰⁰ *Enéas*, 501.
- ²⁰¹ d’Arras, *Éracle*, 157.
- ²⁰² d’Arras, *Éracle*, 158.
- ²⁰³ de Sainte-Maure, *Troie*, 329.

- ²⁰⁴ “La Saga de Tristan et Yseut,” 571.
- ²⁰⁵ Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Perry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 34.
- ²⁰⁶ Again Robert Biket’s *Le lai du Cor* provides an example of both smiling and laughing as an expression of joy.
- ²⁰⁷ *Raoul*, 281.
- ²⁰⁸ Matoré, *Le vocabulaire*, 184.
- ²⁰⁹ Rider, “The Inner Life,” 13.
- ²¹⁰ A. J. Holden, introduction to *Ipomedon: Poème de Hue de Rotelande (fin du XIIIe siècle)*, Hue de Rotelande (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1979), 53.
- ²¹¹ de Rotelande, “Ipomédon,” 133.
- ²¹² de Rotelande, “Ipomédon,” 133.
- ²¹³ Holden, introduction to *Ipomedon*, 55.
- ²¹⁴ de Rotelande, “Ipomédon,” 134.
- ²¹⁵ de Rotelande, “Ipomédon,” 134.
- ²¹⁶ de Rotelande, “Ipomédon,” 134.
- ²¹⁷ de Rotelande, “Ipomédon,” 144.
- ²¹⁸ Ménard, *Le rire et le sourire*, 32.
- ²¹⁹ “Le Charroi de Nîmes,” in *Le Cycle de Guillaume d’Orange*, trans. Dominique Boutet (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1996), 173.
- ²²⁰ “Le Charroi de Nîmes,” 191-193.
- ²²¹ Robert Harrison, *Gallic Salt: Eighteen Fabliaux Translated From the Old French* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 14.
- ²²² Yves Gentilhomme, “Humor: a didactic adjuvant,” abstract, *Humor – International Journal of Humor Research* 5, no. 1-2 (1992): 69, accessed January 18, 2014, [10.1515/humr.1992.5.1-2.69](https://doi.org/10.1515/humr.1992.5.1-2.69).
- ²²³ d’Arras, *Ille et Galeron*, 39.
- ²²⁴ de France, “Le Fresne,” 61.
- ²²⁵ This is precisely what Gawain is guilty of in the 13th century *The Death of King Arthur* at the tournament where Lancelot knocks Bors off of his horse. Gawain’s sarcastic comment concerning Bor’s upending does not reflect a truly courteous manner befitting a knight of his reputation and honor. *The Death of King Arthur*, trans. James Cable (London: Penguin, 1971), 35.

- ²²⁶ de France, “Le Fresne,” 61.
- ²²⁷ de Troyes, “Erec and Enide,” 12.
- ²²⁸ *Raoul*, 131.
- ²²⁹ *Raoul*, 131.
- ²³⁰ *Raoul*, 165.
- ²³¹ Karl E. Boehler, “Heroic Destruction: Shame and guilt cultures in medieval heroic poetry” (PhD diss., Marquette University, 2005), 7, accessed January 11, 2014, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304992471?accountid=14963>.
- ²³² *Raoul*, 165.
- ²³³ Perfetti, introduction to *The Representation of Women’s Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 9.
- ²³⁴ Ovid, “Amores,” 99-100.
- ²³⁵ *Raoul*, 475.
- ²³⁶ *Raoul*, 475.
- ²³⁷ “Folie Tristan d’Oxford”, in *Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, trans. Philippe Walter (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1989), 261.
- ²³⁸ “Folie Tristan d’Oxford,” 261.
- ²³⁹ Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, 28.
- ²⁴⁰ de Troyes, “Cliges,” 107.
- ²⁴¹ Ménard, *Le rire et le sourire*, 242.
- ²⁴² Thomas, “Le Roman de Tristan,” in *Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, trans. Philippe Walter (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1989), 359.
- ²⁴³ de Troyes, “Erec and Enide,” 35.
- ²⁴⁴ *Le couronnement de Louis*, 98.
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- ²⁴⁶ Monique Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,” *History and Theory* 51, (May 2012): 214.
- ²⁴⁷ Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice,” 220.
- ²⁴⁸ Ovid, “Amores,” 104.

²⁴⁹ Marie de France, “Guigemar,” in *The Lais of Marie de France*, trans. Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (London: Penguin, 1999), 46-47.

²⁵⁰ Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice,” 214.

²⁵¹ Faral, *Recherches*, 127.

²⁵² de Troyes, “Cliges,” 123.

²⁵³ d’Arras, *Éracle*, 159.

²⁵⁴ York, *Health and Wellness*, 8.

²⁵⁵ *Raoul*, 515.

²⁵⁶ de Rotelande, “Ipomédon,” 61.

²⁵⁷ de Troyes, “Erec and Enide,” 35.

²⁵⁸ de Troyes, “Erec and Enide,” 81.

²⁵⁹ *Thèbes*, 473-475.

²⁶⁰ *Thèbes*, 327-329.

²⁶¹ *Enéas*, 341.

²⁶² de Troyes, “The Story of the Grail,” 367.

²⁶³ *Raoul*, 129.

²⁶⁴ White, “The Politics of Anger,” 139.

²⁶⁵ Bérout, “Le Roman de Tristan,” 39.

²⁶⁶ Morris, *Discovery of the Individual*, 158.

²⁶⁷ Burgess, *Contribution*, 21.

²⁶⁸ *Enéas*, 545-547.

²⁶⁹ Ménard, *Le rire et le sourire*, 200.

²⁷⁰ Rider, “The Inner Life,” 3.

²⁷¹ de Troyes, “Cliges,” 94.

²⁷² d’Arras, *Éracle*, 162.

²⁷³ de Troyes, “The Story of the Grail,” 416.

²⁷⁴ William Ian Miller, "Threat," in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, ed. Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Bilado (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 13.

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²⁷⁶ Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, 156.

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²⁸⁷ Classen, *The Deepest Sense*, 19.

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- ²⁹⁷ *Raoul*, 239.
- ²⁹⁸ *Roland*, 166.
- ²⁹⁹ Lutz, *Crying*, 247.
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- ³⁰¹ d’Arras, *Ille et Galeron*, 88-89.
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