

BLESSED ARE THOSE WHO WEEP: *GRATIA LACRYMARUM* IN
THIRTEENTH-CENTURY HAGIOGRAPHIES

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Blessed are those who weep: *Gratia lacrymarum* in
thirteenth-century hagiographies

Kimberley-Joy Knight



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the University of St Andrews

8th April 2014

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Abstract

Hagiographies and canonisation processes from the thirteenth century are frequently saturated with descriptions of tears. The tears of holy men and women were both the means to, and apex of, spiritual perfection. Using hagiographical sources from the new Mendicant Orders emerging in Italy, France and the Low Countries, but drawing on other important examples when appropriate, this thesis demonstrates the complexity and importance of tears in thirteenth-century religious life. It makes significant contributions to understanding the construction of sainthood and the history of emotions during this critical period. Case studies of the beguine Marie d'Oignies (d.1213), and the founder of the preaching friars Dominic of Caleruega (d.1221), developed in chapters one and two allow for the meaning of tears to be explored fully and contextualised within the broader themes of devotional piety, gender, medicine and physiology, and the cult of saints. The hypotheses raised in these case studies are tested in chapter three using an extensive sample of *vitae* to demonstrate the importance of tears. In order to navigate the sea of tears, the study offers a bipartite conceptual framework that takes into account both a charismatic experience of tears (often known as *gratia lacrymarum*) and a progressive, transformative journey through tears. Building on Piroska Nagy's seminal work *Le Don des Larmes*, this thesis presents a comprehensive analysis of tears in thirteenth-century hagiographies. It argues that they were not devalued in light of other forms of bodily piety nor did they become mere virtues in light of their proliferation; on the contrary, tears were highly valued and saturated religious life, traversing boundaries of what was to be imitated and admired.

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Standardisation of Names

Names of saints and other individuals appear in the form most familiar to English speaking scholars of the Middle Ages. The English preposition 'of' is generally used (but not exclusively) in preference to Latin and other vernacular forms: Caesarius of Heisterbach rather than Caesarius von Heisterbach or Caesarius Heisterbaciensis. Some saints, hagiographers and authors are referred to in the language associated with their place of origin or area of activity, such as Marie d'Oignies and Jacques de Vitry, where this is the most commonly used form. The existence of hagiographical material is taken to mean that the individual was considered as a saint regardless of official papal verification.

The names of Arabic philosophers are cited in the forms most commonly used in the Latin West and known to most scholars of the medieval period. Joannitius is used over 'Abū Zayd Hunayn ibn 'Ishāq al-'Ibādī for example.

Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (Antwerp, 1643-1770; Brussels, 1780-86, 1845-83 and 1894; Tongerlo, 1794; Paris, 1875-87).
ACSD-B	‘Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici (Bologna)’, ed. Angelus Walz, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), pp. 123-72.
ACSD-T	‘Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici (Toulouse)’, ed. Angelus Walz, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), pp. 176-87.
AFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> (Rome, 1931-).
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1954-).
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis</i> (Turnhout, 1966-).
<i>Dialogus</i>	Caesarius of Heisterbach, <i>Dialogus Miraculorum. Dialog Über die Wunder</i> , ed. Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider, 5 volumes (Turnhout, 2009).
DMO	De Modo Orandi = Simon Tugwell, ‘The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic: A Textual Study and Critical Edition’, <i>Medieval Studies</i> , 47 (1985), 81-124.
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique</i> , 45 volumes (1932-1995).
LAB	<i>Leben Und Offenbarungen der Wiener Begine Agnes Blannbekin</i> , ed. and trans. Peter Dinzelbacher and Renate Vogeler (Göppingen, 1994).
LCU	Constantine of Orvieto, ‘Legenda Constantini Urbevvetani’, ed. H. C. Scheeben, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), 263-352.

- Libellus* Jordan of Saxony, ‘Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum’, ed. H. C. Scheeben, MOPH, 16 (1935), 25-88.
- LM Humbert of Romans, ‘Legenda Maior’, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. Simon Tugwell (Rome, 2008), pp. 441-532.
- LP Humbert of Romans, ‘Legenda Prima’, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. Simon Tugwell (Rome, 2008), pp. 423-40.
- LPF Peter of Ferrand, ‘Legenda Petri Ferrandi’, ed. M-H. Laurent, MOPH, 16 (Rome, 1935), 209-60.
- MOPH *Monumenta Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* (Louvain, 1896-1932; Paris, 1933-).
- Office* ‘Office liturgique neumé de la bienheureuse Marie d’Oignies à l’abbaye de Villers au xiii^e siècle’, ed. Daniel Missone, *Revue bénédictine*, 3 (2001), 267-86.
- PL J-P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus: Series latina*, 221 volumes (Paris, 1844-1965).
- VBN *Vita Beatricis: The Life of Beatrice of Nazareth (1200-1268)*, ed. and trans. Roger De Ganck (Kalamazoo, 1991).
- VCM Thomas of Cantimpré, ‘Vita Christinae mirabilis’ [Christina the Astonishing], AASS, 24 July V (Antwerp, 1727), 637-60.
- Vitae Fratrum* Gerard Frachet, *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. B. M. Reichert, MOPH, 1 (1896).

- VILO 'Vita beatae Idae Lovaniensis' [Ida of Louvain], AASS, 13 April II (Antwerp, 1675), 157-89.
- VJC 'Vita Iulinae Corneliensis' [Juliana of Mont-Cornillon], AASS, 5 April I (Antwerp, 1675), 437-77.
- VLA Thomas of Cantimpré, 'Vita S. Lutgardis' [Lutgard of Tongeren/Aywières], AASS, 16 June III (Antwerp, 1701), 231-63.
- VMC Giunta Bevegnati, *Legenda de Vita et Miraculis Beatae Margaritae de Cortona*, ed. Fortunato Iozzelli (Rome, 1997).
- VMO Jacques de Vitry, *Vita Marie de Oegnies*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 252 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 43-164.
- VMO-S Thomas of Cantimpré, *Supplementum* [Vita Marie Oegnies], ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 252 (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 167-201.
- VMY Thomas of Cantimpré, 'Vita Margarete de Ypres', ed. G. Meerseman, AFP, 18 (1948), 106-30.
- VS *Vie Spirituelle* (1919-).
- VS-S *Vie Spirituelle, Supplément* (1947-69).
- VUC Vito da Cortona, 'Vita beatae Humilianae de Cerchis', AASS, 19 May IV (Antwerp, 1685), 386-401.

Introduction

Blessed are those who weep: *Gratia lacrymarum* in thirteenth-century hagiographies

In the fourth beatitude of his Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:21), Jesus assured his followers that: ‘Blessed are those who weep’ (*beati qui nunc fletis*). From this statement, tears became an integral part of Christian spirituality and were associated with redemption, salvation and beatitude. As Christianity became entrenched in Western Europe, the meaning of tears as a medium of exchange between earthly and divine evolved and expanded. By the thirteenth century, hagiographies were awash with tears. The lachrymosity of saints streams across the pages of their *vitae* and flowed through the testimonies of deponents at their canonisation proceedings. Tears were collected in *ampullae* and cherished as droplets of heaven present on earth. Where the medieval period has been characterised by its ‘sea of tears’, the thirteenth century represents the ‘high tide’ or swell of religious lachrymosity.¹

Examining the swell of tears in thirteenth-century hagiographic texts is no straightforward task. Tears were the carriers of spiritual emotions but also had meaning in themselves. Tears could indicate excruciating pain or ecstatic joy; they were imitable and contagious yet also rarefied, finite and sought after. Tears could carry a simple message of holiness yet were also incomprehensible and recondite. It was this

¹ Piroska Nagy describes the medieval period as ‘le mer des larmes’ in *Le Don des Larmes au Moyen Age. Un instrument spirituel en quête d’institution (V-XIII siècle)* (Paris, 2000), p. 16.

multivalence that allowed tears to become soaked into the fabric of thirteenth-century holy life. Despite the proliferation of tears during this critical period, tears remained a highly valued expression of sanctity and were intrinsic to the construction of a saint.

Since this thesis was conceived, there has been a dramatic change in landscape in scholarly output on tears. During 2011 and 2012, two edited volumes on tears in the Middle Ages were published. One edition, entitled *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, represents Anglo-American scholarship while the other, *Lachrymae: Mito e metafora del pianto nel Medioevo*, contains the edited proceeding of an interdisciplinary conference held in Siena in 2006 and includes the scholarship of continental historians.² These collections, which include the work of a large number of medievalists from across a diverse range of fields, indicate the sea-change in interest in tears, in part sparked by the buoyant interest in the history of emotions.³ However, prior to Piroška Nagy's seminal volume *Le Don Des Larmes: Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution* (2000) there had been a lack of serious analysis of religious weeping in the

² *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York, 2012); *Lachrymae. Mito e metafora del pianto nel Medioevo*, ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Alessandria, 2011).

³ See below pp. 18-21. The academic study of the history tears has been mirrored by a popular interest. In 2011, BBC4 produced a documentary entitled 'For crying out loud.' In addition, the Director of the Queen Mary Centre for the History of Emotions at the University of London, Thomas Dixon, presented a BBC3 radio feature on the Cultural History of Weeping with a particular focus on weeping in response to art, writing, music, theatre and film.

Middle Ages.⁴ An intermittent interest in religious weeping had often been secondary to examinations of asceticism, penitence and prayer. Of the material that has been published, up to and including the edited volumes, the research has differed chronologically, geographically and thematically. The diversity of approaches is ultimately a reflection of the many facets of tears. Despite the recent studies, a comprehensive examination of tears in thirteenth-century saints' lives has not been undertaken. The silence of research into tears in the high-late Middle Ages is particularly surprising given the rich source material of the emerging mendicant orders.

*

In the 1930s, the French journal *Vie Spirituelle* published the first serious scholarship on religious weeping. The journal was founded by Marie-Vincent Bernadot of the Dominican Order with the goal of focussing on early Christian sources such as the Desert fathers, great mystics and Holy Scripture.⁵ Consequently, the articles on tears were rooted in the biblical and patristic origins of religious tears and an interest in the affective and spiritual phenomenon. Ambrose Gardeil's article on the beatitude of tears was the first to be published.⁶ Gardeil associated tears with '*le don de science*' [the gift

⁴ Analysis of religious weeping in the modern period was also lacking but includes Marjory E. Lange, *Telling Tears in the English Renaissance* (Leiden, 1996); Tom Lutz's popular history *Crying: the natural and cultural history* (London, 2001) and the diverse edited volume *Holy Tears: weeping in the religious imagination*, ed. Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (Princeton, 2005). Thomas Dixon is also preparing a monograph entitled *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford, 2014 forthcoming) which will cover the fifteenth-twentieth century.

⁵ Father Marie-Vincent Bernadot founded the Éditions du Cerf in 1929 at the request of Pope Pius XI under which *Vie Spirituelle* was later published.

⁶ Ambrose Gardeil, 'La beatitude des larmes', VS, 39 (1934), 129-36.

of understanding] which is theologically one of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit found in Isaiah 11:2-3.⁷ The gifts of *timor*, *pietas*, *scientia*, *fortitudo*, *consilium*, *intellectus* and *sapientia* had been discussed by Greek thinkers such as Justin (fl. 3rd century), Irenaeus (d.c.202) and Origen (d.c.254) and Latin fathers including Ambrose (d.397), Augustine (d.430) and Gregory (d.604).⁸ According to bishop Irenaeus, the Holy Spirit descended upon Jesus on the day of his baptism and should come down to operate in the faithful according to God's will so that they can renew themselves in the newness of Christ.⁹ Gardeil's observation is useful but not wholly accurate for the thirteenth century where tears could be part of several gifts and not just *scientia*.¹⁰ Moreover, although both Latin and Greek fathers wrote about the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, they described them rather than systematising their thinking; a comprehensive theory of Gifts did not emerge for many centuries.¹¹ During the thirteenth century the theology surround the Gifts of the Holy Spirit was beginning to evolve. According to André Rayez, around 1235 there was a change in perspective whereby the distinction between virtues and gifts was not unanimous.¹² For the Franciscans and Dominicans in the scholastic milieu at Paris, gifts

⁷ Gardeil, 'La beatitude des larmes', 129. Isaiah 12: 2-3: et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini spiritus sapientiae et intellectus spiritus consilii et fortitudinis spiritus scientiae et pietatis/ et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini non secundum visionem oculorum iudicabit neque secundum auditum aurium arguet.

⁸ See Gustave Bardy, 'Dons du Saint-Esprit- Chez les Pères', DS (Paris, 1976), vol. 3, cols. 1579-87.

⁹ Irenaeus, 'Adversus haereses,' book 3, trans. F. Sagnard, 17, 1 *Patrologia Graeca*, 7 (Paris, 1952) p. 303, cited in Bardy, 'Dons du Saint-Esprit- Chez les Pères', col. 1581.

¹⁰ See below p. 121.

¹¹ See Bardy, 'Dons du Saint-Esprit, DS (Paris, 1976), vol. 3, col. 1579.

¹² André Rayez, 'Dons du Saint-Esprit', cols. 1589-90.

were superior to virtues.¹³ During this period tears could be both virtuous (pursued by the individual) and the product of grace (given by God), yet, as will be shown, defining them became increasingly complex.

Shortly after Gardeil, Henry Bars produced a short article on the source of tears, showing how the Gift of Tears was considered a form of proof of spiritual union.¹⁴ This was followed by Régamey who produced an article entitled *La componction du cœur*.¹⁵ The notion of the piercing of the heart, known as *compunctio* was widespread in the development of Christianity and was synonymous with the shedding of tears. Thus, in the contemporary journal *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, Joseph de Guibert published a new study of compunction that focussed on medieval sources and in particular the declaration of the Augustinian canon Thomas a Kempis (d.1471): 'I would much prefer to feel compunction than to know a definition of it'.¹⁶ Guibert's study briefly surveyed spiritual commentators from Cassian to the twentieth century, highlighting in particular the contributions of Gregory the Great (d.604) and Isidore of Seville (d.636). Importantly, the former discussed types of tears including *penthos* - spiritual mourning - and tears as a grace. These would form the basis of important studies carried out shortly afterwards.

¹³ Rayez, 'Dons du Saint-Esprit- Le Moyen Âge', col. 1590.

¹⁴ Henry Bars, 'À la source des larmes', VS, 57 (1938), 140-50.

¹⁵ P. Régamey, 'La componction du cœur', VS-S, 45 (1) (1935), 8-21.

¹⁶ Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione Christi, liber 1: Admonitiones ad spiritualem vitam utiles* (Turnhout, 2010), p. 5: Opto magis sentire compunctionem: quam scire eius definitionem. See Joseph de Guibert, 'La Componction du Coeur', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 15 (1934), 225-40.

This group of French scholars raised some useful points for understanding the place of tears within Christian spirituality, but from the outset different approaches were emerging. Lev Gillet, writing in the late 1930s, signalled the future focus of studies when he wrote: ‘it remains true that tears fill a larger place in the traditions of the East than in that of the West.’¹⁷ Until the late 1970s and early 1980s, the East remained the focal point for studies of religious tears. This scholarship focussed primarily on the centuries before the first millennium when the frequent reference to tears in the East was not matched in the West.¹⁸ As André Vauchez noted:

Ce charisme [le don des larmes] est assez rare en Occident après l’époque de Grégoire le Grand, à la différence de l’Orient byzantin où il est fréquemment mentionné dans les textes hagiographiques antérieurs à l’an mil. L’évolution de la sensibilité religieuse le mit à l’honneur dans l’Église latine à partir du XIIe siècle.¹⁹

Gillet’s explanation for the prevalence of tears in Eastern Christianity had been that the ‘East has always been prepared to accord a larger place to the affections, and ... has treated the ‘heart’ as the ‘vessel of the spirit’.²⁰ Gillet focused on the characteristic expressions of weeping in the works of the Church Fathers. In doing so, he categorised six types of tears: The Gift of Tears, The Way of Tears, Praying for Tears, The Baptism of Tears, Tears which illuminate and Weeping without ceasing. Although Gillet defined each category separately, these distinctions cannot be applied easily to descriptions of

¹⁷ Lev Gillet, ‘The Gift of Tears in the Ancient Tradition of the Christian East’, *Sobornost*, 12 (1937), 6.

¹⁸ André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux Derniers Siècles du Moyen Age. D’après les Procès de Canonisation et les Documents Hagiographiques* (Paris, 1981), p. 512.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Gillet, ‘The Gift of Tears in the Ancient Tradition’, 6.

tears from the thirteenth century which often defy categorisation as they traverse the boundaries set out by contemporary or modern authors. Moreover, there are connections between different types of tears, for example the divine grace known as the gift of tears (*gratia lacrymarum*) is often only received after a lachrymose journey to perfection (categorised by Gillet as ‘the Way of Tears’). The Way of Tears, according to Gillet, was open to all, comparable with fasting and poverty and not an isolated phenomenon but a regular process.²¹ The way of tears is linked to ‘weeping without ceasing’ which reflects the monastic goal: to be continually in prayer, reflecting upon one’s sins. Since Gillet’s attempt at classification, many scholars have tried to bring a sense of order to the diverse descriptions of tears, following the ancient and medieval authors who went before them.

Myrrha Lot-Borodine explored the mystery of the Gift of Tears in the Christian East arguing that the gift of tears was more than simply compunction but was a sign of the transformation of the soul.²² This was a sign of the Holy Spirit acting in the soul and thus, the gift was a charisma, appearing as a mystical phenomenon, whereby the soul was transfigured by drinking in unspeakable joy. Borodine’s study is essential background for the analysis of *gratia lacrymarum* in the West but this was not undertaken until Nagy’s seminal volume.

²¹ Gillet, ‘The Gift of Tears in the Ancient Tradition’, 5-10.

²² Myrrha Lot-Borodine, ‘La mystère du don des larmes dans l’Orient Chrétien’, VS, 48 (1936), 65-116.

Irénée Hausherr expanded significantly upon Lot-Borodine's work in his full-length volume devoted to Eastern teachings on spiritual weeping.²³ He illustrated how *penthos* was understood as a spiritual mourning attributed to God. Unending happiness could only be achieved through *penthos*, which began at the moment when the heart was pierced, known as *metanoia*, or compunction in the West. Hausherr was careful to point out that *penthos* was not mourning for a dead Christ who is risen. He demonstrated the place of *penthos* within Eastern spirituality with a myriad of examples beginning with Origen, various orthodox writers and the Church fathers. His extensive research led him through various sources from the fourth to the eleventh centuries including ones derived from Armenia and Syria. Throughout, Hausherr noted a continuity of doctrine: that *penthos* was mourning for lost salvation, whether one's own or that of others, and could not exist without tears. This study, alongside that of Lot-Borodine, laid valuable foundations upon which other scholars have subsequently built.²⁴

Following the lead of these French scholars, Basilius Steidle was the first of a number of Germans to approach religious weeping.²⁵ Although Steidle began by stating that his work was one of an informal series on the 'theology of tears', further works have never come to light, possibly due to the intervening war period and the suspension of

²³ Irénée Hausherr, *Penthos: La Doctrine de la Componction dans l'Orient Chrétien* (Rome, 1944).

²⁴ More recently, Hannah Hunt has analysed *penthos* as a theological concept in the context of late-antique and medieval Eastern Christianity using case studies of Ephrem (d.373), John Klimakos (d.606), Isaac of Nineveh (d.c.700) and Symeon the New Theologian (d.1022). See Hannah Hunt, *Joy-bearing Grief. Tears of Contrition in the Writings of the Early Syrian and Byzantine Fathers* (Leiden, 2004).

²⁵ P. Basilius Steidle, 'Die tränen, ein mystisches Problem im altern Mönchtum', *Benediktinische Monatschrift* (1938), 181-87.

Benediktinische Monatschrift between 1940-1945. In this ‘first’ essay, Steidle illustrated the place of tears in the holy lives of monks for those unfamiliar with monastic literature, but focused little on the medieval period. The author was quick to point out that tears were not a mystical phenomenon peculiar to the early Church, the Eastern Church or even monasticism, but that medieval Christianity vied with antiquity in its praise of tears.²⁶ Steidle was the first scholar to observe that Western medieval Christianity held tears in just as high regard as the East. He also set out a list of occurrences of tears in the Sayings of the Desert fathers to illustrate their complexity and how often monks misunderstood their meaning.²⁷ Tantalisingly, Steidle wrote that that the theological explanation of tears was to be the task of the following essays.²⁸

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During the 1950s and 60s, Heinz Gerd Weinard and Jean-Charles Payen undertook studies that discussed religious weeping.²⁹ Each set their work in the context of penitence and the focus on tears was ancillary to a wider investigation. Weinard’s thesis connected theories of tears with moments of weeping in High German literature. He argued that German literature was completely under the influence of Christian literature

²⁶ ‘Die tränen sind also kein mystisches Phänomen, das der alten Kirche, vielleicht gar der Ostkirche oder dem alten Mönchtum eigentümlich wäre. Das christliche Mittelalter wetteifert mit der christlichen Antike im Lobpreis der tränen’. Steidle, ‘Die tränen’, 181.

²⁷ Steidle, ‘Die tränen’, 181-87.

²⁸ Steidle, ‘Die tränen’, 187.

²⁹ Heinz Gerd Weinand, *Tränen Untersuchungen über das Weinen in der deutschen Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters* (Bonn, 1958); Jean-Charles Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française: des origines à 1230* (Geneva, 1967).

and culture.³⁰ He described the characteristics of spiritual tears in sermons and legend plays as well as using examples from the missionary Trudpert (d. before 650) and the German mystics Henry Suso (d.1366) and Johannes Tauler (d.1361). He defined one category of tears as ‘*Reuetranen*’, which specifically referred to tears of penance and a concern with the restoration of the baptismal state. Although he used previously unexplored Western sources, spiritual tears seem to have been of secondary interest and he failed to set his study within the context of broader western spirituality.

Jean-Charles Payen’s study focussed on the understanding of repentance in French literature after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and the requirement of annual confession and sacrament. He showed that expressions of repentance were often accompanied by the shedding of tears. Tears were understood to be an indicator of divine pardon and Payen stressed that they played the most important role in the remission of sins.³¹ He linked the presence of tears in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the prevalent doctrine of contrition.³² He merged contrition with compunction and, as McEntire has noted, inappropriately suggested that the notion of tearful penitence as a tariff system represented monastic notions of compunction.³³ More recently, Sarah Hamilton has added to Payen’s work by studying of the practice of

³⁰ Weinand, *Tränen Untersuchungen*, p. 28.

³¹ Payen, *Le motif du repentir*, pp. 30-31.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³³ Sandra J. McEntire, *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears* (Lewiston, 1991), pp. 6-7.

penance in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as has a new collection by Abigail Firey, demonstrating the ongoing interest in the study of penance in the Middle Ages.³⁴

The History of the Body

In the late 1970s an awareness of the historical body began to permeate medieval scholarship. The understanding that the body was a semiotic vehicle was influenced by gender history, the study of both ritual and daily life, but perhaps most acutely by social anthropology. Marcel Mauss (d.1950) was one of the first comparative sociologists to demonstrate that the human body was not simply a physical reality but also worked as a symbolic vehicle carrying meaning through constructed bodily techniques.³⁵ Although Mauss did not refer specifically to the act of weeping, his observations are essential to the study of tears. The physical manifestation of devout tears conveyed meaning to those who witnessed or read about them.

Since the late 1970s the study of the body has proved to be fertile ground for many historians. It was first examined in the light of deviance, torture, execution and

³⁴ Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Woodbridge, 2001). *A new history of penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden, 2008). Notable contributions include: R. Emmet McLaughlin, 'Truth, Tradition, and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance', pp. 19-71; Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Topographies of Penance in the Latin West (c.800-1200)', pp. 149-72; Karen Wagner, 'Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem: Penitential Experience in the Central Middle Ages', pp. 201-18 and Joseph Goering, 'The Scholastic Turn (1100-1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools', pp. 219-37.

³⁵ Marcel Mauss, 'Techniques of the Body', trans. Ben Brewster, *Economy and Society*, 2 (1) (1973), 70-88. This lecture was given at a meeting of the Société de Psychologie, May 17th, 1934 and originally published in the *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique* (Paris, 1935), 271-93.

marginality.³⁶ Later, historians such as Jacques Le Goff explored the use of the body in ritual acts of homage or how the body functioned in particular environments.³⁷ Le Goff used an anthropological-structuralist framework that transformed the body from a 'natural or banal given into a historically and discursively constructed entity; a site where identity is produced and experienced'.³⁸ In line with such thinking, Jean-Claude Schmitt explored the body in prayer and the multitude of expressive gestures produced in order to convey meaning and guide prayer.³⁹ However, perhaps the most significant contribution has been made by Caroline Walker Bynum.⁴⁰ Bynum explores the use of the body in pursuit of religious goals where the body was elevated rather than rejected. Her work largely focussed on the female body in religious expression, taking its cues from the gender scholarship of the 1980s. Bynum argues that the body was an important vehicle for women as it conveyed messages about their sanctity. Unlike their male counterparts, religious women did not have alternative modes of expression. Furthermore, she emphasised that women had a heightened awareness of the flesh and

³⁶ See Miri Rubin, 'Medieval Bodies: Why now, and How?', *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History*, ed. Miri Rubin (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 212.

³⁷ See for example Jacques Le Goff, 'Les gestes symboliques dans la vie sociale: les gestes de la vassalité', *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 22 (Spoleto, 1976), pp. 679-779.

³⁸ According to Rubin, 'Medieval Bodies: Why now, and How?', p. 210.

³⁹ Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990).

⁴⁰ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in late medieval Northern Germany and beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007); *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991); *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987); *Jesus as Mother. Studies of spirituality in the high Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982).

different attachment to food.⁴¹ Yet, despite the continuing scholarship on the medieval body, tears continued to be neglected as a form of somatic devotion.⁴²

The History of Emotions

One reason that historians neglected to analyse accounts of weeping is that ‘real’ tears were considered as a spontaneous emotional response. In turn emotions were often viewed as ‘simple, often bodily, sensations and mere feelings, lacking complexity and meaning.’⁴³ In the first chapter of *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, Johan Huizinga described late medieval France and Flanders in terms of heightened emotionalism where tears were the ordinary response to the day-to-day calamities of the medieval world: ‘All this general facility of emotions, of tears and spiritual upheavals, must be borne in mind in order to conceive fully how violent and high-strung was life at that period.’⁴⁴ Despite his vivid descriptions of an emotionally turbulent society, Huizinga did not analyse the emotion of tears but viewed them as a natural response to the violent tenor of life.⁴⁵ Huizinga and Norbert Elias both viewed the expression of emotion in the Middle Ages as unrestrained and irrational, something that would become civilised in

⁴¹ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.

⁴² Other important studies on the body in the Medieval period include B. Bachrach and J. Kroll, *The Mystic Mind: The Psychology of Medieval Mystics and Ascetics* (London, 2005); Daniel Bornstein, ‘The Uses of the Body: The Church and the Cult of Santa Margherita da Cortona’, *Church History*, 62 (2) (1993), 163-77; Elizabeth Alvida Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (Oxford, 1994).

⁴³ Michael Stocker, *Valuing Emotions* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 231.

⁴⁴ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (London, reprint 1987), p. 13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-29.

the modern age.⁴⁶ The study of the history of emotions developed in the 1980s shortly after fields such as gender and family history and, as with the history of the body, took its cues from social and cultural anthropology. The discipline itself grew out of constructionist views of emotion, which recognised that they are a part of human communication and have a function that cannot be dismissed as irrational. Furthermore, the essentialist view recognised that how people perceive and express emotions is conditioned by society. It is now largely accepted that the frequency and intensity of emotional expression varies over time and between cultures.⁴⁷ Consequently, emotional expressions such as tears, anger and laughter have begun to find their place within historical study and continue to arouse academic interest.⁴⁸

The sociologist Jack Katz, for example, has asked ‘What is crying?’, beginning by outlining the shortcomings of research undertaken in the fields of sociology and psychology.⁴⁹ He argued that research has generally neglected the fact that crying is a

⁴⁶ Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: The history of manners, State formation and civilisation*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1994).

⁴⁷ Christian, W. A. junior, ‘Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain’, *Religious Organisation and Religious Experience*, ed. J. Davis (London, 1982), pp. 97-114.

⁴⁸ Notable relevant contributions in this field include *Anger’s Past: the social uses of emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (London, 1998); Piroska Nagy, ‘Les émotions et l’historien: de nouveaux paradigms’, *Revue Critique*, 716-17 (2007), 10-22. An interesting series of papers on the history of emotions was published in *Early Medieval Europe*, 10 (2) (2001) including Stuart Airlie, ‘The history of emotions and emotional history’, 235-41; Catherine Cubitt, ‘The history of the emotions: a debate’, 225-227; Carolyne Larrington, ‘The psychology of emotion and study of emotion in the Medieval period’, 251-56 and Barbara H. Rosenwein, ‘Writing without fear about early medieval emotions’, 229-34.

⁴⁹ Jack Katz, *How Emotions Work* (London, 1999), pp. 175-228.

way of eliciting responses from self and others. Considering how others respond to lacrimation provides an essential insight into how it was understood. Furthermore, Katz also stresses that crying is a form of expression that presents a special challenge for interpretation. As I will show, medieval authors struggled to describe tears, as do modern writers. Katz explained that ‘what it [crying] ‘says’ may be inherently mysterious’.⁵⁰ Katz’s theory that crying nonetheless articulates what speech cannot is particularly pertinent in the context of religious weeping.

Barbara Rosenwein has also made major contributions to this field, examining what she terms ‘emotional communities’.⁵¹ She stresses that the governing and literate elite constructed norms of behaviour forming ‘groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value, or devalue, the same or related emotions.’⁵² Rosenwein is careful to point out that there was not just a single emotional community for any given society, but overlapping communities that contrasted. In addition, she argues for a succession of ‘emotional styles’, particular to certain groups. She categorises these groups by looking at their lexicons, the emotional words that they used. She quantifies words such as *amor*, *dilectio*, *ira*, *dulcedo*, *caritas*, and *odium*, along with references to expressions such as tears, groans, sighs, thereby elucidating some general trends for different times and places. But she does not consider the genre of her selected texts so her approach is not without critics. Perhaps one of the most

⁵⁰ Ibid., 180.

⁵¹ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 2006).

⁵² Ibid., p. 2.

striking problems in looking at lexicons is that medieval writers often referred back to older texts when composing new ones, making it increasingly difficult to define lexicons in relation to communities. Despite this, Rosenwein demonstrates successfully the richness of the emotional life of the early middle ages, showing how it was intrinsic to religion and politics. In demonstrating this, she laid the groundwork to encourage further studies of emotions, of which religious tears are ultimately a part.

As a consequence of the History of Emotions project (Europe 1100-1800) launched in 2011 and based across several Australian research nodes, tears as an emotional expression have received new attention, in part driven by the director the Centre, Philippa Maddern. Both Maddern and Andrew Lynch have looked at tears in the late medieval English context and it is clear that there is much scope for further investigation in the equivalent European source material.⁵³ Maddern's research highlights some of the major difficulties when analysing medieval descriptions of tears. She notes that diverse meanings are attributed to lachrymose behaviour and suggests that 'medieval authors were unconvinced of any stable or uncontroversial relationship between tears and what they signified.'⁵⁴ She observes that contemporaries were faced by problems of sincerity and classification. As will be shown, these problems are often apparent in the thirteenth-century *vitae*.

⁵³ Philippa Maddern, 'The Meaning of tears, or, reading and writing tears in late-medieval English texts' (unpublished seminar paper); Maddern, 'Where did women weep and why? Gendered meanings of private and public tears in late-Medieval England' (unpublished conference paper); Andrew Lynch, 'Now, fye on youre wepyngel!: Tears in English romance', *Parergon*, 9 (1) (1991), 43-62.

⁵⁴ Philippa Maddern, 'The Meaning of tears, or, reading and writing tears in late-medieval English texts' (unpublished seminar paper).

Recent Studies

Before moving on to Nagy's important work, several other recent studies related to the gift of tears must be noted, including art historical scholarship and studies of tears in secular contexts. In his study of Bernard of Clairvaux published in 1991, Brian McGuire devoted a chapter to monks and tears.⁵⁵ Unlike earlier work on religious weeping, he examines tears shed in the context of human attachment. Although the author recognises the place of spiritual tears, he argues that the eleventh century was a new period of sentimentality, when it became possible for monks to shed tears in personal situations, such as the loss of a loved one. Tears shed in the context of human attachment were largely considered to be sensual and indicative of close bonds to the material world.⁵⁶ McGuire uses an example from Laurence of Durham's twelfth-century *Consolatio de morte amici* to show how tears for the dead were considered irrational and unnecessary.⁵⁷ According to the *Consolatio*, tears should be shed for sins but not for loss of loved ones when the joy of heaven lies before them.⁵⁸ However, McGuire argued for a new era of sentiment after 1050, illustrating that monastic writers such as John of Fécamp (d.1078) and Anselm of Bec (d.1109) were more open about tears of loss.⁵⁹ This weeping was legitimised by direct reference to Jesus' tears at the death of Lazarus.

⁵⁵ Brian P. McGuire, *The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and his Tradition* (Kalamazoo, 1991), pp. 133-51.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.

Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153), the focus of McGuire's volume, defined three categories of tears: those of devotion, those of penance and those of brotherly compassion.⁶⁰ McGuire argued that the third category was new to monastic spiritual writing and can be illustrated through Bernard's heartfelt lament to brother Gerard in his *Sermones super Cantica*.⁶¹ In this tribute Bernard defends his right to weep, clearly understanding that such weeping could be met with disapproval. Bernard guards his right to miss the companionship of a friend, but is careful to note Gerard's gain in heaven.⁶² According to McGuire, the discussion of how human pain needs a means of expression set a precedent in Cistercian spirituality.⁶³ He notes how Aelred of Rievaulx (c.1167) also encouraged monks to share their sense of loss as long as they did not represent despair.⁶⁴ Although such weeping crossed a fine line between carnal and spiritual tears, McGuire shows how such they became a part of monastic spirituality and were adopted by the Augustinian canon Stephen of Tournai (d.1203) and the Dominican friar Thomas of Cantimpré (d.1272).⁶⁵

Sandra McEntire's study of the doctrine of compunction, also published in 1991, discusses the continuity of patristic understandings of tears within an English context.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 140.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 140-41.

⁶² See *ibid.*, p. 143.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 144.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 145.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 146-47.

⁶⁶ McEntire, *The Doctrine of Compunction*.

She provides a historical overview of compunction taking into account what she considers to be the major elements of doctrine at its most developed formulation: namely Augustine and Cassian. The author demonstrates the influence of such patristic texts, noting that several of the most important works were translated into Old English from Latin.⁶⁷ Using examples from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the Anglo-Saxon homilies of Aelfric, McEntire illustrates the importance of tears within prayer and the importance of weeping for sins.⁶⁸ In her examination of the High Middle Ages, she notes how the changing expression of devotional practice affected the doctrine of compunction.⁶⁹ The author explains how devotion to the crucified Christ had a particular bearing on the doctrine of compunction.⁷⁰ Showing how the Franciscans identified with the physical suffering of Christ, McEntire argues that, in meditating on this, compunction was induced and thus it became integrated in devotional practice.⁷¹ She puts forward the idea that in the spirituality of the mystics of the fourteenth century, the traditional doctrine of compunction was intertwined with enthusiastic devotion. Compunction was essential to spiritual progress and the grace of *compunctio cordis* reflected the personalising of Christ's suffering.⁷² Her work ends with an examination of *Piers Plowman* (c.1360-1387) as a test case for her earlier discussion, illustrating

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 100-02.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 110.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 115.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 120.

⁷² Ibid., p. 161.

how Langland stressed the importance of compunction on the way to knowing God.⁷³ McEntire's work shows how by understanding the spiritual importance of compunction, a more powerful reading of the text is possible.

Katherine Jansen has since explored how tears were one of Mary Magdalene's salient attributes and how their efficacy was consistently emphasised in medieval sermons.⁷⁴ Popular enthusiasm for the Magdalene was concomitant with the emergence of the mendicant orders although it can be already found in the earlier eleventh century. During this time, Mary became the exemplar of perfect penance and Jansen explores how Mary was cast as 'a lachrymose exemplar of contrition' by medieval preachers.⁷⁵ This state of contrition was linked to the pain in her heart which tears expressed. Yet Jansen notes how Mary's tears did not just function on this level: 'if we further pursue the tracks of the Magdalene's tears, we find that they are so abundant and so imbued with meaning that there is some difficulty in separating one teardrop from the next ... for medieval preachers, [tears] were a multi-vocal symbol.'⁷⁶ Interestingly, Jansen discusses how tears represented a state of liquification, which she believes symbolised the state of contrition in the soul. This understanding of liquification was juxtaposed with the metaphor of being 'hardhearted' by medieval preachers. Jansen shows, using the example of the Franciscan Gilbert of Torunai (d.1284), that Mary Magdalene was

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 162-81.

⁷⁴ Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene: preaching and popular devotion in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000), p. 207.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 209.

reduced entirely to liquid and tears through the effects of her devotion.⁷⁷ Liquification was juxtaposed with the metaphor of being hardhearted as Jansen shows, using the example of the Dominican preacher Aldobrandino Cavalcanti (d.1279), whose heart, through the *culpa* of sin, was hardened like a stone.⁷⁸ The heart could, however, be overcome by the warm infusion of *caritas* and dissolved into liquid.⁷⁹

Jansen also illustrates how preachers represented Mary as a fountain from which sinners could drink to wash away their sins.⁸⁰ Tears signified baptism and rebirth as they restored the original innocent condition. She also shows how tears were linked to the categorisation of women according to their property of wetness in medieval science, quoting the fourteenth-century Benedictine, Pierre Bersuire, who wrote that ‘woman by her nature is very pliant and wet. And thus because of the abundance of fluids is more readily accustomed to shed tears’.⁸¹ The symbolic link between medieval science and theology connects with much scholarship on the medieval body. Jansen puts forward the notion that the physiology of the female body made women more disposed to a positive penitential state, which contrasts with understandings of the female body as

⁷⁷ Jansen cites MS Angelica 819, f. 286^r: ‘Tota liquefacta et tota in lacrimis per devotionis affectum’. See Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, p. 209, fn. 44.

⁷⁸ The metaphor of being ‘hardhearted’ was frequently used in medieval preaching. Aldobrandino cites Job 41: ‘cor eius indurabitur quasi lapis’. See Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, p. 209.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 209, fn. 47.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁸¹ See reference in Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, p. 210.

tainted by original sin.⁸² As Jansen explains: ‘medieval science in the service of theology ... explains why Mary Magdalene, a woman, rather than Peter or Paul, penitents both, became the exemplar of perfect penance’.⁸³ The figure of the Magdalene and her popular emergence alongside the mendicant orders deserves further exploration. Mendicant preachers used the Magdalene as an *exemplum* and encouraged people to identify with her tears. Jansen’s overview of the many meanings attached to her tears and the link between science and theology are interesting insights that have not been examined further.

It is important to acknowledge that not all academic interest in tears has focussed on the individual. W. A. Christian junior’s study of provoked religious weeping in early modern Spain used examples from fifteenth and sixteenth century Jesuit preaching to show how crowds would collectively weep in response to sermons.⁸⁴ Christian showed that although tears were ‘evidence’ of feelings, weeping was not necessarily a manifestation of emotion.⁸⁵ Weeping was a behaviour that could be learnt for the purposes of a ritual. For Christian, weeping was ‘an economy of sentiment that could influence God’.⁸⁶ Collective weeping worked to achieve a particular goal such as the

⁸² Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, p. 211.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁸⁴ W. A. Christian jr, ‘Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain’, *Religious Organisation and Religious Experience*, ed. J. Davis (London, 1982), pp. 97-114.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

end of a plague, drought or famine.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, despite showing that weeping was part of collective rituals in early modern Spain, Christian was careful to point out that weeping still had to be provoked and was neither spontaneous nor entirely ‘put on’. Emotion was consciously manipulated for religious purposes yet the consequences were effective and real.⁸⁸

Building on Christian’s article, Lyn Blanchfield’s recent thesis on the ritualistic uses of weeping in the sermons of late medieval Florence examined the definitions, uses and perceived functions of weeping as a required form of behaviour.⁸⁹ Although Blanchfield recognised that weeping was defined to function as a means of communicating emotion, she argued that tears could not communicate emotion or devotion accurately or transparently. Building on thirteenth-century understandings that tears were a true sign of devotion, Blanchfield put forward the idea that weeping became a manipulated ritual behaviour during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was performed in order to fulfil religious, civic and social goals. She showed how, in these sermons given in churches or piazzas, swathes of people of all classes would shed tears of repentance. These tears were effectively controlled by the preacher who inspired tears. Blanchfield formed two case studies based on the sermons of Bernardino of Siena (d.1444) and Girolamo Savonarola (d.1498) which provide thorough and highly structured descriptions of Florentine weeping, discussing how and why they wept. In her study,

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 98-99.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 111.

Blanchfield focuses solely on the behaviour of weeping: how it was defined in theory and how it worked in practice. She is explicit that her study is not concerned with perceptions or theories of medieval emotion, as emotion is both ‘hidden’ and deceptive.⁹⁰ Blanchfield asserts that sermons were flexible rituals which responded to and were affected by the conflicts and problems of participants.⁹¹ The meaning of weeping in such sermons was, according to Blanchfield, informed by factors such as the preachers’ definitions and the crowd’s own interpretation of how, why, when and where this behaviour was performed. Bernardino of Siena, Giordano of Pisa and Savonarola emphasised that the goal of weeping was to exhibit public repentance of sin. As Blanchfield pointed out, however, this did not always happen and preachers could not accurately ‘read’ their listeners tears as signs of true repentance. The author notes how enemies of Savonarola’s preaching seized upon the idea that tears could not ‘prove’ anything.⁹² Blanchfield’s thesis ultimately argues that this type of public weeping could not be used as a means of communication and that weeping did not ‘work.’ Yet for such sermons to persist and maintain popularity would suggest that participants gained some kind of benefit.

⁸⁹ Lyn A. Blanchfield, *Tears that tell: The ritualistic uses of weeping by participants of late medieval Florentine sermons* (Unpublished PhD thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2003).

⁹⁰ Blanchfield, *Tears that tell*, pp. 8-9.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

Studies of secular tears

Gerd Althoff has undertaken the most significant analysis of royal weeping in the medieval period.⁹³ His extensive work in the field of ritual history is evident in this study as he understands tears predominantly through a ritual framework. He defines five situations in which kings cried. In each of these instances Althoff argues that the representation of weeping is conventional and therefore it is difficult to connect emotion with tears. According to Althoff, the sources pretend that tears are spontaneous but this is certainly not the case: tears have a set place in public life where crying is part of staged behaviour. He considers that the topoi used were either empty or used as representative of ritual. Although this is an important work in terms of its secular context, Althoff's disregard of the emotional nature of tears leads to a minimal interpretation of his sources.⁹⁴ His work has significant implications for the scholar of religious tears because his rejection of topoi as empty presents a problem when using hagiographic material as such texts frequently apply repeated motifs. However, common topoi were endowed with meaning rather than void of it. Topoi such as a church floor drenched from the tears of a weeping saint were used precisely because of their communicative power. A physically drenched floor was a reality with which the

⁹² Ibid., p. 508.

⁹³ Gerd Althoff, 'Der König weint. Rituelle Tränen in öffentlicher Kommunikation', *Germanistische Symposien*, 17 (1996), 239-52. More recently, Peter Dinzelbacher has responded to this article with a monograph entitled *Warum weint der König? Eine Kritik des mediävistischen Panritualismus* (Badenweiler, 2009).

⁹⁴ Dinzelbacher argues against Althoff's reduction of the emotional experience by showing that tears were more than tools in political negotiations. See *Warum weint der König?* pp. 13, 21-25, 66.

reader could identify; it conveyed the supernatural abundance of tears and reaffirmed their God-given nature. Moreover, as Nagy has shown (discussed below), *some* tears resist ritualisation because they are understood as God-given and therefore not capable of formalisation.⁹⁵

Adding to the idea that tears might be controlled and formalised, Carol Lansing has shown in her examination of grief in the Italian City states that it was proper for men to restrain their emotion whereas it was more acceptable for women to weep and groan.⁹⁶

The root of both religious and secular attempts to restrain tears is control. In the Italian communes, excessive grieving in public, especially by powerful men, potentially disrupted daily order. Esteemed men who wept in public were seen as weak and unable to control their emotions and consequently were described in feminine ways. As Lansing has noted: ‘strong emotion was coded as irrational feminine passion.’⁹⁷ In order to try to control the disruptive capacity of tears, laws were implemented to fine men who openly wept in public. Tears were powerful because it was difficult to control and restrain weeping. The Italian communes felt that public weeping was so disruptive that they tried to prevent it, sending spies to funerals so that people could be fined for expressing grief.⁹⁸ Lansing’s study provides useful context for analysing the responses of churchmen to tears as the desire to restrain them is found in thirteenth-century *vitae*.

⁹⁵ See below p. 37.

⁹⁶ Carol Lansing, *Passion and Order: Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Communes* (New York, 2008), p. 7.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

In addition, Lansing explores medieval Christian ideas on lament and shows how, during the thirteenth century, the individual was encouraged to turn their attention away from mourning for the dead towards an internal reflection of their sins.⁹⁹ Clerics, including mendicant friars, were the driving force behind efforts to curb laments.¹⁰⁰ The desire to channel emotions, and thus tears, has fascinating implications for this study.

Art historical studies of tears

Several art historians have explored depictions of weeping in the Middle Ages, but a comprehensive art historical study of religious weeping has yet to be undertaken.¹⁰¹ In the 1970s Mosche Barasch studied the emergence of gestures of mourning and violent fear in Italian art from the thirteenth century.¹⁰² Noting that gestures are not static and are intertwined with emotional attitudes and cultural trends of a particular time, Barasch showed how the increasing frequency in art of gestures of despair (including weeping) can be linked to a gradual change in meaning. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the representation of traditional religious scenes such as the Lamentation of Christ and Crucifixion became charged with emotional expression.¹⁰³ Gestures of despair such as self-injury that had been confined to sinners were applied to holy men

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 123-52.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁰¹ In addition, James Elkins has considered the lachrymose response to works of art in *Pictures and Tears: A History of people who have cried in front of paintings* (New York, 2001).

¹⁰² Moshe Barasche, *Gestures of despair in Medieval and early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976).

¹⁰³ Barasche, *Gestures of despair*, pp. 57-86.

and women and religious literature became ‘emotionalised’.¹⁰⁴ In descriptions of the Lamentation, the Virgin Mary expressed her grief in movements of the body which were directly reflected in art. Although he focussed more on the gesticulation of grief, such as hand movements rather than weeping, Barasche raised some interesting points regarding the development of emotional expression in art and how this can be seen as contemporary with literary change.¹⁰⁵

More recently, Katja Boertjes has analysed the various *ampullae* associated with Vendôme where *la Sainte Larme*, the sacred tear shed by Christ at the death of Lazarus (John 11:1-36), was venerated.¹⁰⁶ According to apocryphal versions of the Gospel, this tear was given to Mary Magdalene in a phial, which was later kept at Vendôme. As primary relics of Christ were rare, several French churches also claimed that they possessed the tear but Vendôme was the most frequently visited by pilgrims.¹⁰⁷ Boertjes explains how the holy tear was associated with the cure of maladies of the eye and how popular processions to commemorate the raising of Lazarus encouraged

¹⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 36-38.

¹⁰⁵ Lansing has also examined gestures of lamentation and sorrow see *Passion and Order*, pp. 137-48. In addition, Federica Veratelli has built on Barasche’s study, see ‘Piangere in immagini. Una traccia per atlante iconografico del pianto nel Medioevo europeo’, *Lachrymae. Mito e metafora del pianto nel Medioevo*, ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Alessandria, 2011), pp. 431-69.

¹⁰⁶ Katja Boertjes, ‘Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme: Souvenirs from a pilgrimage to the Holy Tear of Christ’, *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles Texts*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Boston, 2005), pp. 443-72.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 443-44.

pilgrims to visit the small reliquary.¹⁰⁸ She also shows how from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries pewter *ampullae* were the most popular souvenir item from Vendôme. Such *ampullae* signified an arduous pilgrimage but also were treated as amulets. They contained tangible material connected to the holy site and were considered to be more valuable than badges.¹⁰⁹ Boertjes thus shows, using the illustrations on various *ampullae*, that priests submerged the reliquary in blessed water so that samples could be taken home in small pouch-shaped containers or phials in the shape of a tear.¹¹⁰ As the author notes, this led to pseudo-collection of the tear. If the *Sainte Larme* was as popular a pilgrim site as Boertjes suggests, then hundreds of such tear-*ampullae* must have been worn during the thirteenth century. The tear itself was endowed with a favourable meaning different to those explored above; it could operate as an amulet or as a healing ointment.¹¹¹ The collection of tear relics is attested in several thirteenth-century saints' *lives* and Boertjes' material study of the *Sainte Larme ampullae* provides important context for understanding this particular relic cult.

Recent edited volumes on tears

A recent collection of studies addresses the place of tears in Jewish, Christian and Islamic culture exploring visual, literary, and theological discourses on crying. Among these, Christopher Swift follows Christian's work on collective weeping by examining

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 446-47.

¹⁰⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 467.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 451-54.

¹¹¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 453-54.

penitential processions in late medieval Spain.¹¹² The behaviour of the participants included flagellation which had the power to release tears.¹¹³ Swift notes how the Spanish devotional experience was profoundly influenced by the preaching of the friars and in particular the Franciscans, who popularised rituals of public penance, especially self-mortification rites during Holy Week.¹¹⁴ By examining the interplay of bodily piety and theatricality, he argues that ‘practitioners of somatic affect’ were not insincere because they engaged in the theatricality of the processions.¹¹⁵ In a related study, Linda G. Jones demonstrates how medieval Islamic preachers provoked individuals or entire congregations to weep. She notes how medieval Arabic biographical sources ‘depict preachers given to abundant weeping or who provoke weeping in their audiences as the possessors of a rare charismatic gift.’¹¹⁶ This exceptional sign of grace is mirrored in Christian texts and, as will be shown, is prevalent in thirteenth-century *vitae*. In a similar vein, Rachel S. Mikva examines the transformative power of tears in medieval Jewish Literature.¹¹⁷ Using the biblical precedents of Psalm 56:9-10 and Isaiah 30:19 alongside the Talmud and *Midrash vaYosha*, Mikva shows how weeping would stir

¹¹² Christopher Swift, ‘A Penitent Prepares: Affect, Contrition, and Tears’, *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York, 2012), pp. 79-101.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹¹⁶ Linda G. Jones, “‘He Cried and Made Others Cry’: Crying as a Sign of Pietistic Authenticity or Deception in Medieval Islamic Preaching”, *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York, 2012), pp. 102-35, in particular pp. 115, 117.

¹¹⁷ Rachel S. Mikva, ‘Weeping as Discourse between Heaven and Earth: The Transformative Power of Tears in Medieval Jewish Literature’, *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York, 2012), pp. 156-72.

divine mercy.¹¹⁸ Through an examination of the *Midrash vaYosha*, Mikva demonstrates how Jewish representations of tears do not function mechanistically and begins to demonstrate the broad variety of tearful expression in Jewish texts.¹¹⁹ The multivalence of tears identified shares cultural commonalities with Judaism and the Arabic texts presented by Jones.

In *Lachrymae: Mito e Metafora del pianto nel Medioevo*, Francesco Casaretto assembles a diverse collection of essays presented at a conference in 2006. This includes Valentina Petrachi's essay on the tears of the Dominican tertiary Benvenuta Bojanni (d.1292) the only study to have focused specifically on lacrimation in a mendicant saint's *life*.¹²⁰ By analysing portions of the *vita*, Petrachi shows how tears were connected to both the body and the soul and that they were the manifestation of interior purification.¹²¹ When the soul is profoundly repentant for its sins, this is made visible by tears.¹²² Petrachi also demonstrates the importance of tears as part of blood piety, citing the episode where Benvenuta sheds tears of blood.¹²³ She suggests that this episode connects the holy woman with Mary as she suffers on earth. The link between

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 157-68.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 157.

¹²⁰ Valentina Petrachi, 'Le lacrime di Benvenuta Bojanni', *Lachrymae. Mito e metafora del pianto nel Medioevo*, ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Alessandria, 2011), pp. 355-68.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 358-59.

¹²² Ibid., p. 359.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 362.

pain, tears and atonement is emphasised by Petrachi and she views tears primarily as a daily (*quotidiano*) aspect of piety rather than as a grace.¹²⁴

Piroska Nagy's Study of Tears

Far the most significant contribution to the study of tears in the middle ages is that of Piroska Nagy which traverses nine centuries of Western understandings of spiritual tears.¹²⁵ Using a chronological approach, she traces the history of the grace charting the course of its success. She examines how the usages and meanings of tears evolved in the West, using a vast source base that stretches from the Gospel to hagiographies, scientific treatises, normative monastic texts and liturgical sources. Nagy illustrates how the gift of tears was endowed with favourable religious meaning from the beginnings of Christianity, discussing key concepts such as the interior purification of the soul and the hope of salvation achieved by weeping. Nagy argues strongly that tears resist ritualisation because of their divine nature. As tears were God-given they could not be learned or formalised.

Nagy's study was partly a response to André Vauchez who had, as we have seen, suggested that the Gift of Tears was rare in the time between Gregory the Great and the emergence of the Cistercians. Nagy modifies this chronological schema by showing that from the sixth century there was a slow but undeniable diffusion of the Gift of Tears.¹²⁶ She acknowledges the success of the Gift of Tears after the end of twelfth century when

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 366.

¹²⁵ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 35, 153-67.

it was included in canonisation trials but focuses on the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the true apogee of the Gift of Tears.

Nagy begins by arguing that the grace of tears was not a constant figure as all tears are subject to a change in meaning.¹²⁷ A central tenet of Nagy's monograph is the distinction between tears as a charisma and tears as a *habitus*.¹²⁸ Although Nagy acknowledges that providing a definition of tears is 'introuvable' she divides tears into two categories in order to guide her reader through the texts.¹²⁹ The first category, a capacity, practice or habit of tears, is referred to as a *habitus*. She applies this term not in the sociological sense used by Bourdieu but in the way that Thomas Aquinas understood it: as a disposition or practice.¹³⁰ The second category is much narrower and relates to tears that are 'charismatic' and are brought forth by meditation on the incarnation of Christ.¹³¹ These tears cause a spiritual joy and possess a beatifying capacity. Nagy observes that the gift or charisma of tears generally follows the *habitus* but that texts rarely allow for a distinction between the two.¹³² Nagy's bipartite definition provides some coherence to the sea of tears with which we are faced. However, the term *habitus* does not cover precisely all the types of tears that are found

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 15-16. See Thomas Aquinas, *The Collected Works of St Thomas Aquinas* (Charlottesville, 1993), *Summa Theologica*, first part of the second part, question 49: 'De habitus in generali quoad eorum substantiam'; article 2: 'dispositiones vel habitus'; article 3: 'habitus vel habitualis dispositio'.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 22-24.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

in thirteenth-century *vitae*. For example, tears of miraculous intercession or tears that are transmitted from a saint to their followers do not fit within the idea of a disposition or practice.¹³³

After categorising tears, Nagy uses five steps to chart their emergence. However, over half of the volume is devoted to the examination of the Desert and Church fathers and emergence of the Gift of Tears as a form of devotion in antiquity. The first step focuses on the genesis of tears as a figure and a practice by examining the earliest Christian discourse. Nagy notes how the exhortations to weep do not immediately engender the gift of tears.¹³⁴ Using the example of Evagrius Ponticus (c.345-399) from early ascetic literature, she shows how tears were understood to purify both the body and soul. Tears shed out of compunction purified the soul whereas the purging of liquid meant that less was available to be turned into sperm and therefore used in sexual activity.¹³⁵ There was an ambiguity in the *Apothegmata Patrum* between God-given tears that were understood as a charisma and tears that were promoted as part of ascetic life.¹³⁶ John Climacus (c.525-606) introduced the idea that God-given tears were a taste of beatitude and therefore joyful, but this view was not universally supported.¹³⁷ Augustine did not believe in the mystical possibilities of tears or their place on the route to ascetic

¹³³ See chapter 3 for examples.

¹³⁴ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, pp. 41-106.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-69, 71-74.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-94.

¹³⁷ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, pp. 95-104. For a similar study see John Chryssavgis, 'A spirituality of Imperfection: The Way of Tears on Saint John Climacus', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 37 (4) (2002), 359-71.

perfection.¹³⁸ Nagy uses Gregory the Great (c.540-604) to illustrate how tears became highly valued in Christian life.¹³⁹ Gregory saw tears as so essential to the Christian life that he made tears almost a *habitus* for priests and monks.¹⁴⁰

Nagy's most important contribution for this thesis is when she turns her attention to eleventh and twelfth centuries. She argues that the gift of tears reached its zenith in the eleventh-century eremitical movement in Italy. These hermits were influenced by Greek ascetic thought which had been making inroads into the West.¹⁴¹ Nagy shows that the gift of tears had never had such attention in the West until the eleventh century.¹⁴² Both the *Confessions* of Jean de Fécamp (d.1079) and the life of Saint Romuald by Peter Damien (d.1072), for example, inserted the gift of tears in a programme of perfection. Tears were baptismal, sacrificial and penitential and became central to monastic life. From the complex web of theological sources which frequently contradict each other, Nagy produces a coherent explanation of the understandings and prescriptions of theologians during this period. Based largely on the work of Peter Damien, Nagy shows how tears were understood to be central to the mystery of Christianity, but part of an eremitical life and could not work alongside the responsibilities of pastoral care.

Nagy's examination is the most comprehensive study of tears in the West to date, but the gift of tears in the thirteenth century is only briefly examined and she is more

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 115-23.

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp. 124-33, 144-51.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, pp. 233-48.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 204.

disparaging of their value.¹⁴³ More frequent and abundant than the tears that accompanied prayer or penitence in earlier centuries, Nagy argues that they become a *sign* of a constant emotive exaltation and are a *habitus*.¹⁴⁴ Through its omnipresence, the gift of tears loses some of its worth.¹⁴⁵ Nagy suggests that tears were not proof of spiritual accomplishment but its means.¹⁴⁶ She suggests that this change was a consequence of Francis Assisi's stigmata which led to 'higher bids' for corporeal signs of habitation by the divine.¹⁴⁷ The new criterion of authenticity is physical conformity with Christ and as such, the gift of tears as a charisma becomes out of date.¹⁴⁸ For Nagy, the gift of tears is treated as a mark of spiritual virtue and nothing more.¹⁴⁹ Paradoxically, Nagy suggests that the reputation of sanctity requires more and more tears in light of these changes.¹⁵⁰ However, as will be shown, this multiplication in no way devalues tears in the eyes of hagiographers, nor of the deponents who provided testimonies in canonisation proceedings. Nagy connects this loss of value to the diffusion, laicisation and feminisation of tears.¹⁵¹ However, even though tears were no

¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 388-89.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 406.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 406-07.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 406.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 409.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 407.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 389.

longer reserved for the male spiritual elite, this did not mean that they were no longer valued.

Since publishing her first major study, *Le Don des Larmes*, Nagy has become a prolific writer on tears and the history of emotions, contributing to, and expanding, her main thesis.¹⁵² She has defended the study of tears, insisting that ‘*Les larmes aussi ont une histoire*’.¹⁵³ She ensured the place of *Larmes* in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Moyen Age Chrétien*.¹⁵⁴ Although several of Nagy’s articles support her main thesis and do not require further examination here, two studies are of note as they move away from some of her earlier contentions.

Despite the fact that Nagy recognised crying as a bodily function and claimed that her volume was a contribution to the history of the body, her original study failed to

¹⁵² Piroška Nagy, ‘Il dono medievale delle lacrime: una metafora della realtà’, *Lachrymae. Mito e metafora del pianto nel Medioevo*, ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Alessandria, 2011), pp. 1-14; ‘Au-delà du verbe. L’efficacité de la prière individuelle au Moyen Age entre âme et corps’, *La prière en latin, de l’Antiquité au XVI^e siècle. Formes, évolutions, significations*, ed. Jean-François Cottier (Nice, 2007), pp. 441-71; ‘Les émotions et l’historien: de nouveaux paradigmes’, *Revue Critique*, 716-17 (2007), 10-22; ‘Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West’, *Social Analysis*, 48 (2004), 119-37; ‘Les traces invisibles. La matérialité des larmes religieuses au Moyen Age’, *Emotions and Material Culture. International Round Table Discussion*, Krems an der Donau Oktober 7 und 8, 2002, ed. G. Jaritz (Vienna 2003), pp. 151-64; ‘Individualité et larmes monastiques: une expérience de soi ou de Dieu?’, *Das Eigene und das Ganze. Zum Individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum. Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*, ed. G. Melville and M. Schürer (Munich, 2003), pp. 107-30; ‘Les larmes aussi ont une histoire’, *L’Histoire*, 218 (1998); ‘Larmes (don des)’, *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Moyen Age Chrétien*, ed. André Vauchez (Paris, 1997); ‘Du bon usage de la souffrance’, *Médiévales*, 27 (autumn) (1994), 5-14; ‘Les Larmes du Christ dans l’exégèse medievale’, *Médiévales*, 27 (autumn) (1994), 37-49; ‘Le don des larmes. Un usage des pleurs dans le christianisme medievale’, *Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse*, 47 (spring) (1993), 153-69.

¹⁵³ Piroška Nagy, ‘Les larmes aussi ont une histoire’, *L’Histoire*, 218 (1998).

examine thoroughly the physical manifestation and expression of the gift of tears. She essentially rejected any corporal study of the Gift, seeing it as purely internal and spiritual. She has since revisited the physical manifestation of tears acknowledging that attention needs to be given to the materiality and the corporality of tears in her examination of source material from the antique period and the late middle ages in particular.¹⁵⁵

In examining the ancient Greco-Latin world, Nagy illustrates how tears were understood to be part of a global economy of bodily fluids. In this understanding, the quantity of water held in the body directly influenced the quantity of sperm produced, so an excess of water in the body would cause nocturnal visions, fantasies and others fruits of lechery.¹⁵⁶ Nagy then showed how Evagrius Ponticus (d.c.399) translated this traditional conception of man into the language of monasticism in the fight against demons.¹⁵⁷ According to Evagrius, demons flourished in this excess water as it provided them with a place to excite lechery. Tears could help to get rid of this vital liquid, so weeping hot tears was a way of avoiding the production of sperm. Nagy argues that for monks, tears were a way of regulating the activity of the body and turning towards their spiritual goal.¹⁵⁸ The love expressed through the shedding of vital liquid could be used

¹⁵⁴ Piroška Nagy, 'Larmes (don des)', *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Moyen Age Chrétien*, ed. André Vauchez (Paris, 1997), p. 871.

¹⁵⁵ Nagy, 'Les traces invisibles', pp. 151-64.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

to address God. Although Evagrius was condemned for heresy, Nagy argues that his influence determined the development of Christianity as his teachings were incorporated into the base of Eastern monasticism.¹⁵⁹ Evagrius' influence may be traced in the writings of Cassian, in the Rule of Saint Benedict and into high medieval literature.¹⁶⁰ Thus, as she observes, it was well known in the medieval period that tears had a capacity not only to erase but also to prevent sins.¹⁶¹

In Nagy's examination of the medieval period up to the twelfth century, she illustrates how Augustinian thought, which distinguished the mind, the body and the flesh, came to prevail in theological discourse.¹⁶² Her analysis draws upon that of Peter Brown, who showed how the sinful body was thought to be in opposition to the mind.¹⁶³ According to Nagy, tears of the high Middle Ages can be categorised into two types: interior and corporal tears. In the first category, tears take place on the spiritual path as a mode of interior purification, as discussed by Gregory the Great and later by John of Fécamp.¹⁶⁴ Corporal tears, such as those found in the *vita* of Benedict of Aniane (d.821), occurred in miraculous contexts, and, according to Nagy, belong in the eastern hagiographic tradition inherited from St Martin. Such efficacious bodily gestures served above all to

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 155-56.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁶¹ This brief exploration of the economy of bodily fluids is closely related to Jansen's discussion (above) of scientific and theological understanding of the body and weeping.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁶³ Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *The Body and Society: men, women and sexual renunciation in early Christianity* (New York, 1988), pp. 387-427.

¹⁶⁴ Nagy, 'Les traces invisibles', p. 157.

convince, and convert. Nagy argues that although corporal tears may be identified, it was not the physical quality which was important, but the interior act of salvation.¹⁶⁵ It was this purely spiritual action which gave a *raison d'être* to these tears in the eyes of high-medieval clerics.¹⁶⁶

Nagy noted a perceptible change in the nature of tears from the twelfth century, showing how tears became visible 'everywhere'.¹⁶⁷ Using the examples of Etienne of Obazine (d.1159), Marie d'Oignes (d.1213) and St Francis (d.1226), Nagy recognises attentiveness to the corporal and material details of tears in hagiographic texts. In line with Bynum's work (discussed above), Nagy notes that concern with the body increased, and that it was designated as a vehicle to salvation rather than an obstacle to its accomplishment. In contrast, she explains that at this time theological discussion surrounding the efficacy of tears dried up. Scholastic authors and theologians no longer occupied themselves with inventing or re-writing theories of the spiritual production of corporal tears. She concludes that by the end of the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth century, theologians saw tears as *signs* and models of behaviour.¹⁶⁸ Nagy argues that as the medieval period ended, corporal manifestations of religious tears lost all significance as they did not seem to contribute to realising beatitude on earth. She concludes that interior and corporal tears, although supposedly shed for the same reasons, must be considered separately. The interior process of spiritual transformation

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 158.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 158-59.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 161.

should be considered as an *intimate ritual*, between the individual and God.¹⁶⁹ Although Nagy recognises the physical manifestation of weeping and the ability of the body to carry meaning, her analysis implicitly suggests that the interior and *intimate ritual* was more important and that tears were devalued once they became corporal and widespread.

In her earlier work she had argued that tears resist ritualisation, but she now identified a new type of ritual process which she refers to as an ‘intimate ritual.’¹⁷⁰ This new type of ritual was set in terms of an individual spiritual process that could be internally formalised. Medieval texts describe patterns of weeping as well as processes that lead individuals to tears. Nagy argued that an ‘intimate ritual’ was not socially formalised because the process was individual and internal. To support this, she applied the definition used by Victor Turner, that ritual is an act which must be seen in terms of a transformation of the social status or the inner state of participants.¹⁷¹ Nagy describes the spiritual transformation as a liminal process that was not socially formalised yet could have social consequences.¹⁷² Thus, the individual was remade in this ‘intimate ritual’ and the result of this was presented to others. Nagy’s anthropological notion is an interesting one but the interior processes described in medieval sources might as easily be seen as behavioural patterns applied by medieval authors in order to describe

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 163-64.

¹⁷⁰ Piroška Nagy, ‘Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West’, *Social Analysis*, 48 (2004), 119-37, see 120.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 120. See Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (New York, 1991).

¹⁷² Nagy, ‘Religious Weeping as Ritual’, 128.

emotions that were essentially mysterious. If the gift of tears was a divine operation in the heart, then it does not follow that these inner emotions could be ritualised in any way. Nagy's first argument that the gift of tears defied ritualisation is perhaps the most convincing. Nagy herself notes that tears were 'a mystery that remained unexplained for all medieval spiritual seekers.'¹⁷³ Medieval authors were aware of the intimate and hidden nature of tears, which is possibly why they tried to formulate processes in their work. In order to convey the wonder of spiritual tears they had to give some order to diverse experiences, such as the bitter stinging of the heart in compunction or the inexplicable joy known through tears.

Despite recent publications, Nagy's seminal work remains the most substantial contribution so far to our understanding of the evolution of tears from antiquity to the eleventh century. However, it also provides a platform for further investigation into the thirteenth century. During this critical period it is possible to see the pronounced occurrence of tears in hagiographical texts suggesting Nagy's belief that the eleventh century was the apogee of the gift of tears needs to be re-examined.

Defining Tears

According to Adnès, the gift of tears first appeared in St. Athanasius of Alexandria's fourth-century *De Virginitate*.¹⁷⁴ But the meaning attached to this grace did not remain constant. The sheer effusion of tears described across religious texts from the thirteenth

¹⁷³ Ibid., 123.

¹⁷⁴ Athanasius of Alexandria, 'De Virginitate', *Patrologia Graeca*, 28, (1857), col. 272 cited in P. Adnès, 'Larmes', DS (Paris, 1976), vol. 10, col. 292.

century makes defining them extremely complex.¹⁷⁵ Authors, both medieval and modern, often fail to distinguish between an abundance of tears shed for pious reasons on many occasions and a singular gift or grace of tears bestowed by God. Although some hagiographers subscribed to the idea of a singular manifestation of grace, known as *gratia lacrymarum*, many did not.¹⁷⁶ This was not because they chose not to, but because there was no defined, theological definition of *gratia lacrymarum*.¹⁷⁷ Divine graces were ineffable and could not be defined completely by theological discussion.¹⁷⁸ The appearance of *gratia lacrymarum* in a text depended on the hagiographer's understanding of the grace. It is likely that the theological training or experiences of the hagiographer conditioned the way that they wrote about tears, though this is very hard to prove especially as many *vitae* were composed by anonymous hagiographers. Some authors viewed *gratia lacrymarum* as one of the highest degrees of perfection as the soul reached union with God and had a foretaste of the beatific vision.¹⁷⁹ The tears were an important physical sign of divine will operating within a holy person. Other authors, however, understood *gratia lacrymarum* as the capacity or gift of shedding tears for different reasons and on different occasions. This grace might be seen as the journey of tears that began with tears of conversion (or second baptism) and was followed by tears of compunction and devotion and often peaked with mystical or ecstatic tears. Often as

¹⁷⁵ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁶ VMO, pp. 49 and 61. See below, pp. 98-99.

¹⁷⁷ See Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 385.

¹⁷⁸ Bernard McGinn's master class on 'Communicating the Incommunicable' at Bristol University, 26th February 2010.

¹⁷⁹ For example, Jacques de Vitry. See below, pp. 98-99.

part of this journey those around the holy person could be drawn into their lachrymosity, either by asking them to intercede with tears or by being caught up in the contagion of their tears.

It is helpful to understand tears as part of a journey to perfection as well as its apex. This bipartite conceptual framework is a nuanced reading of Nagy's 'charisma' and *habitus* as it takes into account tears that are not a disposition or practice. Moreover, it recognises that these types of tears were mutually inclusive: the transformative and progressive journey through tears was often not complete without the gift of tears and the grace was rarely achieved without undertaking the lachrymose journey.

Context for the understanding of tears

In order to provide a contextualised reading of thirteenth-century hagiographical dossiers, it is necessary to start by outlining three critical areas: the importance of somatic piety and the corporalisation of tears; the role of the Magdalene in thirteenth-century religious life; and the connectedness of medical understandings about the body and concerns about tears.

Somatic Devotion

Beguine and mendicant spirituality was profoundly physical. Ascetic behaviours such as fasting, flagellation, and sleep deprivation were corporal forms of devotion that thirteenth-century holy men and women embraced. Tears were intimately connected with the rise in somatic piety. Nagy observes this corporalisation and notes how tears

united the body and soul.¹⁸⁰ However, Nagy's discussion did not situate tears fully within the ascent of corporal devotion. Tears were a physical manifestation of piety and also accompanied other forms of somatic piety. As outlined above, food and fasting were at the heart of religious practice and symbolic of interaction with God, yet Bynum does not account for the tears that are frequently found in such descriptions.¹⁸¹ Fasting with tears was more than a trope in thirteenth-century *vitae*. Although Bynum examines how the Eucharist was often a food substitute for medieval holy women, she does not demonstrate how tears operated in this way. She makes passing reference to women's boding exude liquid to nourish, noting in particular this theme in Thomas of Cantimpré's writings.¹⁸² Yet, in these instances, the liquids exuded fit within the traditional modes of sanctity for religious women: their oils heal those in ill-health and their milk nourishes as mother's milk would a child. The place of religious women exuding sweet bodily effluvia should not be downplayed but their importance is more closely tied to works such as charitable food distribution and caring for the sick. In contrast, tears were an intimate experience of nourishment and those who experienced them were refreshed. Furthermore, tears, like food, had a taste and conveyed a sensory element for the reader of the hagiography.¹⁸³ Just as food was seen as the embodiment of God's wisdom, divinely given tears could be endowed with heavenly knowledge.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, p. 392.

¹⁸¹ See Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, especially pp. 113-49.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

¹⁸³ See below pp. 235-36.

¹⁸⁴ For food as God's wisdom see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 49.

Recipients of such tears were refreshed and restored by receiving such knowledge in a manner that reflects the nourishment given by food.¹⁸⁵

The ascent of bodily piety in the thirteenth century was also connected to changes in penitential practices. By the high Middle Ages exterior aspects of penitence were globally favoured.¹⁸⁶ Physical acts of remorse were often accompanied by tears, which verified the internal regret of sins and the transformation of the penitent. The outer body was capable of expressing inner spiritual truths.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, in the high Middle Ages notions of the Eucharist changed in a fundamental way in that there was an increased emphasis on suffering.¹⁸⁸ Although the act of receiving the body of Christ was conveyed in Luke 22:19 as remembrance, thirteenth-century holy men and women received the body of Christ believing in the doctrine of transubstantiation: they ate, and became one with, the body and suffering of Christ.¹⁸⁹ In eating Christ's crucified body it was possible to join in his suffering and express this through tears. The goal of imitating Christ (*imitatio Christi*) was intensely literal as holy men and women desired to fuse with the physical body of Christ.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ See below pp. 114-16, 254.

¹⁸⁶ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 268.

¹⁸⁷ For a study of penance, affect and pain see Swift, 'A Penitent Prepares', pp. 84-87.

¹⁸⁸ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 251.

¹⁸⁹ Luke 22:19: et accepto pane gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis dicens hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis datur hoc facite in meam commemorationem.

¹⁹⁰ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 119.

The Magdalene and Tears

During the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the Cult of Mary Magdalene - the symbolic figure of tears and penance - steadily increased in popularity.¹⁹¹ This composite saint was the product of separate biblical scenes: she is the sinner described in Luke 7:37, the sister of Lazarus (John 11:2), as well as the woman who anoints with nard and washes Jesus' feet with tears (Luke 7:38). Despite the differences in the stories, the scenes are constructed according to a common structure whereby the woman goes against gospel norms because she is attached to the world. She then seeks repentance and her behaviour becomes a model of imitation.¹⁹² From these episodes, it is the Magdalene's lachrymose behaviour that becomes intertwined with her character. In both texts and iconography, the Magdalene is inseparable from her tears.¹⁹³ In her examination of the composite saint, Nagy shows how the circulation of liquids is one of the keys to the success of the character.¹⁹⁴ Her unction and tears make the abstract elements of mercy, love and grace palpable and visible.¹⁹⁵ The Magdalene is a figure of transformation, fluidity, circulation and exchange.¹⁹⁶ Given these themes, it is easy to see why she became a model for the emergent third orders of penitents during the thirteenth century.

¹⁹¹ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, pp. 257-58.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-62.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

She is a figure of mobility- of transition from sinner to sinless.¹⁹⁷ Magdalenian themes and motifs, especially related to penance, traversed the *vitae* of some thirteenth-century saints.¹⁹⁸ However, caution must be exercised as it is easy to overstate the role of the Magdalene in their descriptions of tears. Certainly, the Magdalene played a critical role in the promotion of tears in public penance but descriptions of tears in hagiographies were not always influenced by her. As will be shown, identification with the Magdalene is often limited to the hagiographies of the third orders.¹⁹⁹

Medical understandings of tears

Medical conceptions of tears are a key context for understanding some descriptions of tears in thirteenth-century *vitae*. During the thirteenth century there was a resurgence in the study of medical theory. Translations of the ancient Greek masters such as Hippocrates (d.c 375BC) and Galen (d.after 210) began to spread throughout Europe, and Paris and Salerno rose to prominence as academic centres of medical learning. During this ‘renaissance’, the universities began to instruct physicians who had first undertaken training in the liberal arts. The *Articella* and the *Ars Medicinae* formed the basis of medical training and were composed of an assortment of writings by Hippocrates and Galen. Although medical teaching blossomed in the universities, a level of medical understanding became a ‘common currency’ across a broad spectrum

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 266.

¹⁹⁸ Michel Lauwers, ‘Noli me tangere: Marie Madeleine, Marie d’Oignies et les pénitentes du XIIIe siècle’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome Moyen Âge*, 104 (1) (1992), 252.

¹⁹⁹ See below pp. 91-95, 232-35, 261-62.

of society.²⁰⁰ The basic principles regarding the composition of the body of four humours: choler (yellow bile), phlegm or mucus, black bile and blood were well known. Ensuring a balance of these humours was essential to good health and an ever-increasing number of strategies and remedies to assist in this were developed as the later middle ages progressed. However, medical texts reveal little about lachrymal production and secretion. This is particularly curious as the study of optics experienced a remarkable surge in popularity during the second half of the thirteenth century, occasioned by the translation of advanced treatises from Greek and Arabic into Latin including included Alhazen's *Perspectiva*, the 'Optics' of Ptolemy and a number of works by Avicenna.²⁰¹ Furthermore, in encyclopaedias such as William of Conches' *Philosophia* and *Dragmaticon* and Alexander Neckham's *De Naturis Rerum* there is not a single mention of tears despite the detailed anatomical descriptions of man.²⁰²

The limited discussion of tears leaves the question of why authors gave them little or no attention. It was not just a special grace of tears that these authors were ignoring, but any tears. Nagy briefly considers medical treatises on tears and their production. As she noted, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, views on tears 'multiply beyond the traditional exegetic approach and include doctrinal and sacramental theology, natural

²⁰⁰ Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in later Medieval England* (Stroud, 1995), p. 32.

²⁰¹ See Larry M. Eldredge, 'The anatomy of the eye in the thirteenth century: the transmission of theory and the extent of practical knowledge', *Micrologus: Natura, scienze e società medievali*, 5 (1997), 145-60.

²⁰² Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 373.

philosophy, medicine and grammar.’²⁰³ Yet, she argues, despite these specialist discourses, authors remained ‘generalist’ because of the academic curriculum which encouraged competency in many topics rather than specialisation. Furthermore, she argues that ‘the scholastic discourse ignores [the Gift of Tears]’ and never clearly associate tears with grace.²⁰⁴ To add to this, Nagy explains that scholars did not elaborate any scientific basis for the Gift of Tears.²⁰⁵ Nagy’s conclusion bears some weight. Scholars did not try to explain the Gift of Tears as it was God-given and could not be physiologically elucidated. Divine graces went beyond human comprehension and could not be explained. However, although Nagy’s argument focused on the lack of scientific discourse pertaining to the Gift of Tears, there is some evidence to suggest that there was some link between religious weeping and physiological knowledge in the thirteenth century and that this may be glimpsed from the way that hagiographers express their concerns about weeping. By examining the parts of the body that relate to lachrymal production, certain theories may be put forward as to why tears might have been perceived as dangerous to physical health by thirteenth-century hagiographers.

The prolific, third-century Greek scientist, Galen was one of the earliest commentators to write comprehensively about the lachrymal gland, noting that *puncta lacriminalia* - fine perforations in the corner of the eyelids - were provided for the proper evacuation of residues. These perforations preserve the natural balance of the eye. When fluids are in

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 364.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 372: ‘Au contraire, on constate que le discours scolastique ignore ce charisme.’

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

excess, he wrote, they are evacuated but when liquid is deficient it can cause excessive dryness making it difficult for the eyes to move. If an undue amount of moisture is shed it can make the eyes soft and weak. Galen, therefore, concluded that a condition halfway between dryness and excessive evacuation was the best natural action.²⁰⁶ Galen's conclusions about the eye and the lacrimal gland are reflective of the broader understanding that the qualities of the body should be balanced. The *res naturalis* of the body was based upon the delicate balance of hot, cold, moist and dry and the imbalance of bodily properties could lead to sickness.²⁰⁷

Thus, Galenic medicine was the basis for the understanding of the circulation of bodily fluids where there was a network of communication between the heart, the brain and the

²⁰⁶ Galen, *On the usefulness of the parts of the body*, trans. Margaret Tallmudge, 2 volumes (New York, 1968), vol. 2, book 10, p. 490: But [for proper evacuation of the residues] Nature has made a sufficient provision in these fleshy bodies and besides these in the exceedingly fine perforations [*puncta lacriminalia*] found slightly lateral to the large corners of the eyelids; for they penetrate to the nose and by turns both deliver and retain thin moisture. It is of no inconsiderable advantage to deliver it on the one hand when it is in excess, and on the other to retain it when it is deficient, in order to preserve the natural balance calculated to make the eyelids move easily. Excessive dryness, of course, tends to make it difficult for them to bend and move, because they are hard; an undue amount of moisture, however, tends to make them soft and weak; and only a condition halfway between the two is best for all their natural actions. To give ease and lightness of movement, two glands [the lacrimal glands] were also formed in each eye, one in the lower and the other in the upper part and these pour forth moisture into the eyes from perceptible openings, just as the glands at the root of the tongue draw off saliva into the mouth. It is likewise for no other reason that Nature has prepared the fat that surrounds the eyes, as its hardness makes evident; for thanks to this hardness it does not easily dissolve, but always moistens them because it is oily.

²⁰⁷ Gregor Maurach, 'Johannicius. Isagoge ad Techne Galieni', *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62 (2) (1978), p. 161: According to as the prolific translator Joannitius, 'In humano corpore, unaquaque res naturalis si propriam servaverit naturam, sanitas custoditur, si vero propriam naturam dimiserit, aut facit aegritudinem aut neutrum.' (If each of the natural things in the human body preserves its proper nature, health is preserved. If any should lose its true nature, this makes either for sickness or a neutral state.)

eyes.²⁰⁸ In order for a person to be in good health, the fluids that connected the heart, eyes and brain had to be delicately balanced. The evacuation of tears was part of maintaining the fragile *res naturalis*.

In c.1240, Gilbert the Englishman compiled his *Compendium medicinae*. The third book of the *Compendium* focuses on the eye and in this, Gilbert displays knowledge of both the anatomy of the eye and of illnesses that could affect it. Gilbert writes that ‘plenty of humours in the head’ [in other words, an excess] causes feebleness of the veins in the eye. The author recommends the purgation of excessive liquids, especially the blood in the veins that cleanse the eyes and head. To this, Gilbert adds the vague advice that if weeping comes from feebleness of the brain, then the brain should be comforted.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 371.

²⁰⁹ Gilbert the Englishman, *Healing and Society in Medieval England. A Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus*, ed. Faye Marie Getz (London, 1991), p. 57: Weping of y3en comeþ oþirwhiles of enchesons wiþouteforþ, as of smokis, or pf wydes, or duste, or of a stroke. Oþthirwhiles it comeþ of withyn, as of ioye, or of sorow, or of angir, or of plente of humours in þe/ heed, as of feblenes of þe veynes þat ben in þe y3e. If plente of humours ben þe cause, a purgacion is good for him. And if he haue grete plente of blode, let him blede in þe veines þat clenseþ þe y3en and þe heed, as þe hede veyne in þe arme, or þe veyne þat is bitwene þe þombe and þe nexte fyngir, or in þe veyne of þe elbow... And if weping comeþ of feebleness of þe brayn, þen comfort þe brayn.

Several Salernitan questions echo this thinking and suggest that the cause of tears is the accumulation of humours in the skull or an intercutaneous collection of humours.²¹⁰

The failure to evacuate fluids when they lay in excess could lead to extreme headaches, as Bartholomaeus of Salerno noted in his *Practice of Therapeutics*: '[Headaches originate] from some defect in the head, it is from matter in which one of the four humours is in excess. This happens when the condition of the body exhibits excess in relation to its habitual condition.'²¹¹ Thus, the failure to shed tears or the excessive evacuation of tears could lead to an imbalance in the humours. Fluids were essential components of the body and both Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great argued that if

²¹⁰ *The prose Salernitan questions, edited from a Bodleian manuscript (Auct. F.3.10)*, ed. Brian Lawn (London, 1979), pp. 170-71: 'Quidam passus est fluxus lacrimarum a mane usque ad tertiam. Responsio. Causa potest esse extrinseca, fumus, pulvis, et cetera. Cause intrinsece possunt esse humores intercutanei, vel superfluitas humorum infra cranium, vel ipsa rarefactio substantie oculorum, cuius rarefactionis consequens est fluxus oculorum. Possunt etiam esse in causa superfluitatis trium humorum, scilicet sanguinis, colere, et flegmatis. Melancholia enim non facit fluxum lacrimarum quia grossus humor est et potius facit lippitudinem. Sanguis igitur est in causa quia ab hora nona noctis usque ad tertiam dominator diei. Fiat ergo flebotomia de vena cephalica.' (Someone has suffered [from] a flow of tears from early morning to the third hour [of the morning]. Answer. The cause can be external, smoke, dust etc. The internal causes can be intercutaneous humours, or an excess of humours inside the skull, or rarefaction of the constitution of the eyes and the consequence of this rarefaction is a flow of the eyes. An excess of three humours- blood, bile and phlegm- can also be responsible. Black bile (i.e. *melancholia*), however, does not cause an excess of tears because it is a coarse humour and is more likely to cause inflammation. Blood, therefore, is responsible because from the ninth hour of the night until the third [hour] it is Lord of the day (*dominator diei*). Therefore, let blood-letting take place from a vein in the head.)

²¹¹ Bartholomaeus of Salerno, 'The Practice of Therapeutics Rationalized: The Practice of Medicine' cited in Faith Wallis, *Medieval Medicine: a reader* (Toronto, 2010), p. 179.

fluids continuously flowed, without the body being ‘fed’ again, it would begin to decompose.²¹²

In addition, scholars developed theories on the birth of tears from emotions. Albert the Great (d.1280) believed that if sadness tightens the heart and the brain, joy dilates them and can make way for tears to flow.²¹³ Likewise, in his *Speculum Naturale*, Vincent of Beauvais explained corporal secretions and noted that tears could proceed from grief, anger, indignation, pity, compassion, joy or love:

Lacrymarum, ut ait Isidorus, quidam a laceratione mentis dictam putant, quia scilicet ex dolore mentis solet procedere, ipsamque quodammodo doloris affectu laceratam ostendere. Sed hoc dumtaxat in homine rationali mente praedicto, veruntamen ceterorum etiam animalium nonnulla ex affectu consimili reperiunter fleuisse. Est autem lachrima stilla vel gutta liquida, lucida vel salsa, ex oculis profluens, aliquando quidem ex ira et indignatione, aliquando ex cordis vel corporis angustia vel dolore, aliquando ex pietate vel compassione, aliquando vero ex desiderio, vel gaudio vel amore procedens. Isidorus in li[ber] etymologiarum.²¹⁴

Similarly, Adelard of Bath, a twelfth-century English scholar who was responsible for much medical translation, wrote in a dialogue with his nephew that tears could be

²¹² Cited in Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 371.

²¹³ See Albert the Great, ‘Problemata determinata’, *Opera Omnia*, 17 (1), ed. J. M Weisheipl (Cologne, 1975), pp. 45-64.

²¹⁴ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale*, 4 volumes (Graz, 1964), vol. 1, chapter 49, col. 1637. (Some people, as Isidore says, think of tears as from the said tearing of the mind, because it [the tear] is accustomed to proceed from grief of the mind, and shows itself, in a certain measure, to appear from the laceration of grief. But while this [is seen] in a man with a rational mind, nevertheless, some other animals are found to cry in a similar way from affection. For a tear is either a viscous or liquid drop, or clear and salty, flowing out of the eyes, sometimes proceeding from anger and indignation, sometimes from a constriction of grief of the heart or body, sometimes from piety (*pietas*) or compassion, sometimes indeed from desire, or from joy or love. [Thus says] Isidore in his book of Etymologies.)

produced because joy caused by the build up of heat in the brain and thus the expulsion of tears.²¹⁵

The best insights into why tears might be seen as harmful in saints *vitae* can be found in three disparate texts: Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* and a medical text written by the fourteenth-century scholar, John of Mirfield (d.1407). In the fifth century before Christ, Hippocrates wrote that when the eyes shed tears because of infirmity it is good, but when they are shed without cause, it is bad.²¹⁶ Likewise, John of Mirfield cautioned people that spontaneous weeping indicated that the hour of death was near.²¹⁷ Thus, tears that were involuntary signalled harm and possible death, and therefore may have sparked the concern of those around a saint. God-given tears were characterised by their involuntary nature, clashing with the medical understanding of good health.²¹⁸ Treatment for chronic lacrimation is suggested in the Paneth Codex (Yale Medical Library) which was completed in Bologna c.1300-1326. This volume contains 42 medical tracts by both classical and contemporary authorities, including

²¹⁵ See Adelard of Bath, *Conversations with his Nephew. On the Same and the different, Questions on Natural Science and On Birds*, ed. and trans. Charles Burnett (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 156-56.

²¹⁶ Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, ed. and trans. Thomas Coar (London, 1822), p. 233: 'Quibus in infirmitatibus oculi ex proposito (i.e. ob causam) lachrymantur, bonum. Quibus verò sine causa, malum.'

²¹⁷ *Johannes de Mirfield of St Bartholemew's, Smithfield: his life and works*, ed. Percival Horton-Smith Hartley and Harold Richard Aldridge (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 58-59: 'De hiis signis mortalibus habentur versus: Hiis signis moriens certis dinoscitur eger... Sponte sua plorans mortis pronunciat horam.' See also p. 56 for involuntary tears.

²¹⁸ For involuntary tears in VMO see pp. 61-63, 112, 142-43.

Hippocrates, Galen and the Persian physician Rhazes (d.925).²¹⁹ One of the tracts written by Spanish surgeon Albucasis (d.1013), which is devoted largely to the subject of surgery, discusses a treatment for chronic lacrimation and includes an illustration of the surgical tool used in the procedure.²²⁰ A similar discussion is found in *De Proprietatibus rerum* composed by the Franciscan scholar Bartholomew the Englishman (c.1235).²²¹ When considered together, these medical treatise show that there was a distinct anxiety attached to tears and this, as we shall see, was often played out in thirteenth-century *vitae*.

This thesis will navigate the sea of tears in thirteenth-century hagiography in order to provide the first comprehensive, contextualised analysis of them as part of religious life. Case studies of the beguine Marie d'Oignies (d.1213), and the founder of the preaching friars Dominic of Caleruega (d.1221), will allow the meaning of tears to be explored fully and contextualised within the broader themes of devotional piety, gender,

²¹⁹ For the Paneth Codex see [http://digital.library.ucla.edu/immi/librarian?PROJECTID=YALMED28&PROJECTTITLE=Yale Medical Library. Manuscript. 28](http://digital.library.ucla.edu/immi/librarian?PROJECTID=YALMED28&PROJECTTITLE=Yale%20Medical%20Library.Manuscript.28) [Paneth codex]. (Last accessed 02/12/2013)

²²⁰ For chronic lacrimation see <http://digital.library.ucla.edu/immi/librarian?ITEMID=YM28F253V&SIZE=Medium> (Last accessed 02/12/2013)

For a translation from Arabic of Albucasis' treatment for chronic lacrimation see *Albucasis on surgery and instruments: a definitive edition of the Arabic text*, ed. M. S. Spink and G. L. Lewis (London, 1973), pp. 184-85.

²²¹ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *On the properties of things: John Trevisa's translation [from the Latin] of Bartholomaeus Anglicus 'De proprietatibus rerum': a critical text*, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1975) vol. 1, book 7, pp. 362-63.

medicine and physiology, and the cult of saints. The case study of Marie d'Oignies comprises systematic analysis of each episode of tears in her *vita* and the supplementary hagiographical texts. This chapter will develop several thematic strands demonstrating the multivalent nature of tears in hagiographies. Although Nagy acknowledged the multiplication and diversification of tears, her conclusions as to their declining value did not stem from a comprehensive analysis.²²² Tears allowed for individual messages to be communicated as well as forming part of a wider lachrymose narrative. For example, the *vita* allows for a protracted discussion of how tears operated as a form of non-verbal communication that permitted religious women to convey important messages about their sanctity. The analysis will also provide insights into tears as part of somatic devotion, the connection between medical and religious thought, and the importance of the material teardrop. It will be shown how tears acted as important tools of legitimacy and worked against incredulity.²²³

The case study of Dominic of Caleruega in chapter two will reveal the importance of tears for male saints, demonstrating that tears were not simply feminised or laicised. It will also elucidate how tears were an important part of early Dominican spirituality and an essential marker of sainthood. The reconfigurations of the hagiographical dossier relating to Dominic show differing emphases on tears and this chapter will examine the divergence in light of the changing notion of sainthood which placed increasing

²²² Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 388.

²²³ See Heather Webb, "'Lacrime cordiali': Catherine of Siena and the Value of Tears", *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, ed. George Ferzoco, Beverly Kienzle and Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, 2011), pp. 99-112.

importance on charismatic gifts and the supernatural quality of sanctity. Moreover, the early Dominican sources also demonstrate the complexity of defining tears.

The final chapter will bring to life the hydraulic religiosity of the thirteenth century by testing the hypotheses presented in the case studies of Marie d'Oignes and Dominic of Caleruega. Developing these arguments will provide a more comprehensive picture of how tears were soaked into the fabric of thirteenth-century holy life. Drawing upon the *vitae* of both sexes will demonstrate how tears were quintessential features of *both* male and female devotion and that tears were part of the language of piety for both sexes. It will be show how tears were often present in each of the spiritual 'life stages' of a saint and were markers of progression and transformation. Tears were at the same time part of the journey to perfection and its apex. This chapter will stress the multivalence of tears: they were a tool of legitimacy for those who lacked institutional recognition, operated as a form of language for women who could not preach, and were seamlessly interwoven into the somatism of thirteenth-century devotional piety. As a counterpoint, this chapter will then examine the few instances when saints are not recorded as having shed tears and will account for the absence. Rather than being devalued, as Nagy suggests, the thirteenth century should be reconsidered as the high tide of lachrymal religiosity where their superabundance is testament to their value and importance.

Note on translation

Modern translations of thirteenth-century *vitae* often provide inaccurate renderings of descriptions of tears. For example, Barbara Newman and Margot H. King's editions of the saints' lives written by Thomas of Cantimpré (d.c.1265/70) consistently translate *flere* as tears and *lacrimae* as weeping. Moreover, in John of Cantimpre's *life* they use the expression 'gift of tears' but the Latin version does not use either *gratia* or *donum lacrymarum*. The translations in this study are my own unless otherwise stated.

Chapter 1

Marie d'Oignies (c.1177-1213)

The lachrymose holy woman Marie d'Oignies is known by scholars as the 'first beguine.'¹ Her *vita*, penned c.1215 by her confessor Jacques de Vitry (d.1240), survives as a testament to the importance of tearful devotional practices: it is saturated by both her tears and those of others. Marie's *life* and the experiences of her primary hagiographer, Jacques de Vitry, provide an unparalleled viewpoint from which to examine tears in thirteenth-century hagiographies.

This case study will comprise a systematic analysis of each episode of tears in the *vita*. The examination will move through each chapter of the text and draw upon ancillary hagiographical material such as Thomas of Cantimpré's *Supplementum* to the *vita*, the Liturgical Office written in celebration of Marie and *exempla* from her life contained in other works such as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*. It will be shown how tears mark spiritual progression, as they accompany important moments of the saint's life. Moreover, it will also become evident that, in contrast to Nagy's assertion, tears were not devalued nor subsumed by the appearance of other forms of bodily piety.

Concurrently, this chapter will develop several thematic strands which will demonstrate the multifaceted nature of tears in hagiographies. Tears allowed for individual messages

¹ *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* (BHL), 5516. No other documents referring to the beguines pre-date her *vita*. See Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere,' 211; Michel Lauwers, 'Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique. A propos de la 'Vie Mariae Oigniacensis' de Jacques de Vitry (vers 1215)', *Journal des savants* (1989), 62, 64 and Marie Grossel, 'La Vie de Marie d'Oignies par Jacques de Vitry: première biographie féminine?' *Bien dire et Bien Apprendre: Revue de Médiévistique*, 20 (2002), 89-100.

to be communicated as well as forming part of a wider narrative. The chapter will reveal how tears were an important facet of the penitential lifestyle and yet were not often directly associated with the Magdalene. In addition, the *vita* allows for a protracted discussion of how tears operated as a form of non-verbal communication that allowed religious women to convey important messages about their sanctity. The analysis will also provide insights into tears as part of somatic devotion and will consider the importance of the material teardrop including a discussion of the use of tears as relics. Moreover, it will be shown how tears acted as important tools of legitimacy and worked against doubt.

To understand fully the significance accorded to tears it is critical not to examine them in isolation nor separate them from vital informing dialogues. Unlike Nagy's study, which was too broad chronologically to allow in-depth contextual analysis, the close examination of Marie's tears will be situated in the climate of thirteenth-century religious life.² Where appropriate, this case study will draw upon other discourses of female sanctity, heresy and medicine.

² For Nagy see above pp. 37-47.

Marie was born into a prosperous family from Nivelles around 1177 and married at the age of fourteen.³ Undoubtedly influenced by the spiritual milieu of her hometown, where the Merovingian princess Gertrude (d.659) was venerated, Marie successfully persuaded her husband John to live a life of chastity.⁴ The couple spent the early years of their married life, from around 1191, working at a leprosarium in Willibruck (Willebroek) near Brussels. In tending to the sick, whilst following a personal programme of asceticism and visiting nearby places of pilgrimage, Marie's spiritual life and fame developed before her move to Oignies. By 1207, the holy reputation Marie had gained at the leprosarium afforded her such fame that she felt it necessary to leave. She received permission from her husband and a priest to go to the fledgling priory of St Nicholas at Oignies.⁵ Marie resided here as a *conversa* following the prescriptions of the Augustinian rule. Her cell adjoined the conventual church, and through a small window she listened to the words of local preachers such as John of Liro and John of

³ Marie d'Oignies has been the subject of much excellent scholarly discussion, see Ernest McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture with a special emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (Amsterdam, 1954); Michael E. Goodich, 'The Contours of Female Piety in Later Medieval Hagiography', *Church History*, 50 (1) (1981), 20-32; Lauwers, 'Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique', 61-103; *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and their Impact*, ed. J. Dor, L. Johnson and J. Wogan-Browne (Turnhout, 1999), especially pp. 1-33, pp. 129-58 and pp. 195-214; Walter Simons, *Cities of ladies: Beguine communities in the medieval low countries, 1200-1565* (Philadelphia, 2001); *Mary of Oignies. Mother of Salvation*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout, 2006); *Medieval holy women in the Christian tradition c. 1100-c. 1500*, ed. Alastair Minnis and Rosalynn Voaden (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 23-26, 60-64, 85-88, 480, especially 631-39.

⁴ Gertrude was the daughter of Pepin I and abbess of the Benedictine monastery in Nivelles. The *vita* of Gertrude of Nivelles is edited in AASS, 17 March II (Antwerp, 1668), 594-600.

⁵ For a history of the establishment of the priory at Oignies-sur-Sambre see McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, pp. 8-19.

Nivelles.⁶ It is from here that Marie combined living outside of the cloister and observing a spiritual life.

Marie lived during the emergence of mendicant spirituality which was shaped outside of the traditional confines of the monastery yet her life was also closely intertwined with the Cistercians. Her case lends itself to comparisons not only with other beguines but with Cistercian nuns, lay brothers, mendicant nuns and the tertiary orders developing in Italy. Furthermore, the trajectory of the beguine lifestyle offers a distinctly female parallel to the male spiritual movements developing with the Dominicans and Franciscans. Before embarking on the case study, however, the sources, an outline of their contents in relation to tears and the manuscript tradition must be briefly examined.

Jacques de Vitry's *vita Mariae*

The apostolic fervour found in Oignies and the surrounding areas not only drew in Marie but also students from Paris, including Jacques de Vitry who went on to write her *vita*. Jacques was born between 1160 and 1170, probably in Vitry-en-Perthois in the Reims region and, after studying, he became a canon regular, preacher, bishop and then

⁶ VMO, p. 71: 'in cella sua, iuxta ecclesiam apud Oegnies.' See also VMO-S, pp. 183-84 for details of her cell adjoining the church.

cardinal.⁷ Jacques seems to have been a student in Paris by 1187 and earned the title Master by 1193.⁸ Around 1208 Jacques was drawn to the diocese of Liège where he met the woman who was to have a great bearing upon his life.⁹

Jacques de Vitry's training in Paris provides an insight into the theoretical discourses that shaped his writing and is essential for understanding the emphasis that he placed on tears. Jacques was part of the last generation of Peter the Chanter's 'circle' yet, despite the wealth of theologians and preachers with whom Jacques came into contact, the only

⁷ Despite his active career in the Church and a corpus of works including several letters, numerous sermons and the *Historia Occidentalis* (written 1218-1221), little autobiographical information remains about the author. More detailed accounts of Jacques de Vitry's life can be found in the introduction to *Historia Occidentalis*, ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch (Friburg, 1972), pp. 3-15; Brenda M. Bolton, 'Faithful to Whom?: Jacques de Vitry and the French Bishops', *Revue Mabillon*, 9 (70) (1998), 53-72 and McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, pp. 20-39. For printed edition of Jacques' works see *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70-1240) évêque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960). His sermons were compiled in four manuals for preachers and excerpts are printed in *Analecta novissima: Spicilegiis Solesmensis altera continuato*, ed. Jean Baptiste Pitra, 2 volumes (Paris, 1888), vol. 2, pp. 189-93, 443-61. See also J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen sermones des Mittelalters*, 11 volumes (Münster, 1971), vol. 3, pp. 179-221. Some *exempla* were edited by Thomas Frederick Crane in *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (London, 1890). See also *Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry*, ed. Josephy Greven (Munich, 1914).

⁸ See John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: the social views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 volumes (Princeton, 1970), vol. 1, p. 38.

⁹ It is unclear whether Jacques knew of Marie before he arrived in Oignies. See VMO-S, pp. 168-69 and 'Historia foundationis venerabilis ecclesiae beati Nicolai Oigniacensis ac ancillae Christi Mariae Oigniacensis', in *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium; amplissima collectio*, ed. Edmond Martène, 9 volumes (Paris, 1724-1733), vol. 6, col. 329.

contemporary Master he borrowed openly from was Peter (d.1197).¹⁰ Jacques was also enthralled by the popular preacher Fulk of Neuilly (d.1201), who was from the Chanter's circle, but none of Fulk's sermons survive and so his impact cannot be assessed.¹¹ Other contemporary influences seem to have included the archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton (d.1228); Walter of London (fl. thirteenth century); the Cardinal priest, Robert of Courson (d.1219); the archbishop of Reims, Alberic of Laon (d.1218); and the preachers John of Liro and John of Nivelles.¹² When writing the *life* of Marie d'Oignies, it seems that Jacques took most inspiration from the Cistercians, his own Augustinian spirituality and that of Hugh of St Victor (d.1141). Jacques' writings are coloured in the tones of these writers and, as will be shown, they had an effect on the way that he wrote about tears.

Jacques records that he was encouraged to write Marie's *life* by bishop Fulk of Toulouse (d.1231) who had seen the holiness of the women in the area and wished that a *vita* be written to help counter the threat of heretics operating Southern France.¹³ In this commission Jacques was able to present Marie and the lives of the *mulieres sanctae* as a counterpoint to heresy and use the text as a springboard to gaining their acceptance.

¹⁰ Jacques wrote of Peter: 'erat tunc temporis magister Petrus, venerabilis cantor parisiensis, vir potens in opere et in sermone ... Cepit enim facere et docere, velut "lucerna ardens et lucens."' (There was at that time that Peter, venerable chanter of Paris, a great man in deeds and words... He began to do and teach like 'a burning and shining lamp'.) See Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, pp. 88-89 and pp. 280-81.

¹¹ See Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, pp. 87-97. See also Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, vol. 1, p. 37.

¹² See Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, pp. 289-90. See also McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, p. 47.

¹³ See VMO, pp. 52-53.

Jacques was instrumental in securing approval for the early beguines. The author aimed to ensure their endurance by attaining the acceptance of ecclesiastical authorities and it is highly plausible that the *life* was a key document in his dossier. By 1216 Jacques had been to the curia and was able to announce that he had secured permission for the *mulieres sanctae* to continue to exist not only in Liège but in France and Germany as well.¹⁴ This was a simple oral approbation and official recognition did not follow until 1233 when Gregory IX issued the Bull *Gloriam virginalem* which officially took ‘*virgines continentes*’ under the Pope’s protection.¹⁵ Although the beguines had prominent supporters including the Franciscan chronicler Thomas of Eccleston (fl. 1230-40), the theologian Robert of Sorbon (d.1274), Thomas of Cantimpré (d.c.1265/70) and John of Liro, Jacques’ role in championing the beguines and Marie’s spirituality was unparalleled.¹⁶ His zeal for exalting Marie’s personal sanctity is a

¹⁴ See *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p. 74: ‘Obtinui preterea ab ipso, et litteras cum executoribus et protectoribus impetravi, ut licet mulieribus religiosis, non solum in episcopatu Leodiensis, sed tam in regno quam in imperio, in eadem domo simul manere.’ (In addition, I obtained [this] from [the Pope], and I procured letters with the executors and guardians, so that it is lawful for religious women, not only in the diocese of Liège, but in the kingdom as well as in the empire, to remain in the same house together.)

¹⁵ Note that the Bull does not use the term ‘Beguines’ to refer to these women: ‘Virgines continentes perpetuam Deo voventibus castitatem per Theutonium constitutas sub beati Petri et sua protectione suscipit.’ *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Lucien Auvray, 4 volumes (Paris, 1896), vol. 1, p. 762, no. 1361.

¹⁶ See Thomas of Eccleston, ‘Liber de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam,’ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. F. Liebermann, SS. 28 (Hannover, 1888), p. 568: ‘Beguine sunt perfectissime et sanctissime religionis quia vivent propriis laboribus et non onerant exactionibus mundum’. (The beguines are most the perfect and most holy of nuns because they live by their own hard work and they do not burden the world with demands). In the *Vita Lutgardis*, Thomas of Cantimpré refers to John de Liro’s attempt to cross the Alps in order to gain the support of the Curia for the *mulieres sanctae*, see VLA, 245.

reflection of their intimate relationship. The *vita* is filled with eye-witness episodes that convey his personal experiences of Marie and the beguines in this area. The author was deeply aware of new spiritual trends and the problems they could face. As Hinnebusch has noted, ‘his writings reflect an informed understanding of the spiritual current and of the life of the monastic world of his time.’¹⁷ Thus, Jacques has been seen as a bridge between the development of beguine spirituality in Liège and mendicant fervour flourishing in Italy.¹⁸

In an important article on the beguines in hagiographies, Michel Lauwers presents material that demonstrates that the *vitae* of the holy women of Liège leaned heavily on established forms of monasticism, especially Cistercian.¹⁹ The Cistercians had a strong presence in Liège and in his *Historia Occidentalis* Jacques wrote of the foundation of several Cistercian convents in the diocese around 1220.²⁰ Sweetman objects to Lauwers' conclusions pointing out that his source base was weighted heavily towards religious women who spent most of their lives as Cistercian nuns.²¹ However, what is important

¹⁷ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, p. 11.

¹⁸ McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, p. 20.

¹⁹ Lauwers, ‘Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique’, 72-74, 78-81 and Lauwers, ‘Noli me tangere’, 212.

²⁰ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, pp. 116-18, especially p. 117, and pp. 262-68, especially p. 263. See also McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, pp. 107-08.

²¹ In his article Sweetman refers to women who were not connected to the Cistercians including Margaret of Ypres (d. 1237) and Christina Mirabilis (d. 1224). Robert Sweetman, ‘Thomas of Cantimpré, *Mulieres Religiosae*, and Purgatorial Piety: Hagiographical *Vitae* and the Beguine “Voice”’, *A Distinct Voice. Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.*, ed. Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, 1997), p. 607. Lauwers, ‘Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique’, 66-67.

is that beguines were encouraged to fit within institutional patterns of monasticism in order to ensure their security. Jacques carefully selected anecdotes about Marie that illustrate how she was forged from the mould of a pristine observance.²² As a child, she traced the footprints of passing Cistercian monks by delicately placing her feet in the marks that they left behind, prefiguring the holy life she would later adopt.²³ Jacques also relates how Marie had a vision in which St Bernard appeared to her and wrapped his wings around her.²⁴ Although Marie was living an uncloistered religious life, this episode suggests that she had been taken under the protection of the Cistercian Order. As Lauwers rightly suggests, these *vitae* were constructed with care by their male authors who had a deep-rooted interest in the permanence of the *mulieres religiose*.²⁵

Marie's bond to the Cistercian Order is underscored by the manuscript tradition as her *vita* it is often found alongside Cistercian texts.²⁶ The possession of manuscripts containing Marie's *vita* is also illuminating; while almost all were owned by

²² See Lauwers, 'Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique', 72-73.

²³ VMO, pp. 56-57.

²⁴ VMO, p. 142.

²⁵ Lauwers, 'Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique', 80.

²⁶ The manuscript tradition is discussed in more detail below. For the *vita* in Cistercian volumes see for example, Namur, Musée Provincial des Arts anciens du Namurois, Fonds de la Ville MS 49 (c.1438) which contains one of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons and the *Consuetudines cisterciensium super exordium cisterciensis cenobi* alongside the *life* of Marie.

monasteries, eleven can be traced to Cistercian monasteries in the thirteenth century.²⁷ In addition, a Liturgical Office was composed to venerate Marie in the Cistercian monastery at Villers.²⁸ The Villers manuscript that contained the Office for Marie also included an Office for Arnulf of Villers (d.1228), a lay brother of the Cistercian order.²⁹ In his *Quinque Prudentes Virgines* of 1630, the Cistercian monk and scholar Chrysostomus Henriquez listed Marie as ‘*S. Maria Oegnies soror seu oblate ordinis Cisterciensis in Belgio*’, incorporating her *vita* alongside those of her Cistercian contemporaries.³⁰ Brenda Bolton has demonstrated that ‘very close spiritual currents ... ran between Cistercians and beguines in Lotharingia and especially in the diocese of Liège’.³¹ Although the beguines were certainly not a female offshoot of the Order, a ‘frequent and intimate’ relationship endured despite attempts to curb the *curia monialium*.³² This close relationship can be traced across the hagiographical texts pertaining to the beguines and Cistercians during the thirteenth century. While the

²⁷ In comparison, five can be connected to the Benedictines. See Suzan Folkerts, ‘The Manuscript Transmission of the *Vita Mariae Oigniacensis* in the Later Middle Ages’, *Mary of Oignies. Mother of Salvation*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout, 2006), p. 227.

²⁸ See below pp. 86-88.

²⁹ Folkerts, ‘The Manuscript Transmission’, p. 228.

³⁰ *Quinque Prudentes Virgines*, ed. P. F. Chrysostome Henriquez (Antwerp, 1630), p. 474.

³¹ Brenda M. Bolton, ‘*Vitae Matrum: A further aspect of the Frauenfrage*’, *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), p. 260. Bolton also showed that there was an ‘almost equally close relationship’ between the beguines and the Dominicans in this area. See also J. B. Freed, ‘Urban development and the *curia monialium*’, *Viator*, 3 (1972), 311-27.

³² McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, p. 170.

bonds between the beguines and Cistercians have been examined by several scholars, their connection is also important for the analysis of tears.³³ It will be argued that tears not only connected the beguines to an important element of Cistercian spirituality but were a way in which their life was legitimised.

Jacques de Vitry's *vita* of Marie is an important text for assessing tears in thirteenth-century hagiographies. He used the *vita* to 'define and to propagate a new form of secular sainthood'.³⁴ Marie's *life* could be viewed as a 'prototype' for beguine spirituality as she is constructed as a 'living saint', a living *exemplum* for others to admire and imitate. Marie's lachrymosity was an integral part in her construction as an *exemplum* because, as will be shown, tears traversed the boundaries of what could be imitated and what was to be admired. Furthermore, although Jacques' *life* of Marie marked a new and alternative way of life for women it was orthodox, as were the tears that filled its pages. This *vita* had a determining effect on the subsequent formation of beguine *vitae* and would influence feminine spirituality for centuries.³⁵ Consequently, the emphasis placed on lachrymation is important in the diffusion and flourishing of tears.

³³ See Ernest McDonnell on 'Beguine Parochial Organisation Under Cistercian Auspices', *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture with a special emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (Amsterdam, 1954), pp. 170-86. Carol Neel, 'Women religious and extraregulars: Premonstratensian nuns and the Beguines', *Les Religieuses dans le cloître et dans le monde des origines à nos jours, Actes du Deuxième Colloque International du C.E.R.C.O.M., Poitiers, 29 septembre - 2 octobre 1988*, ed. Nicole Bouter (Saint-Etienne, 1994), pp. 549-58.

³⁴ See Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker's introduction to *Mary of Oignies. Mother of Salvation*, ed., Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout, 2006), p. 4.

³⁵ Sweetman, Thomas of Cantimpré, *Mulieres Religiosae*, and Purgatorial Piety', p. 606. See also Lauwers, 'Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique', 62-63.

Manuscript Sources

Marie's *vita* was widely circulated during the thirteenth century in the Oignies area and beyond. The copying of the *life* allows one to trace an interest in her tears through into several vernacular languages. Folkerts' manuscript study found 39 versions of the *vita* in complete forms, adaptations or fragments. In his recent printed edition of the life, R. B. C. Huygens identified one further thirteenth-century manuscript (Leuven, Keizerberg).³⁶ From the wealth of manuscripts Folkerts concluded that Marie's *life* was the most popular of any pertaining to a *mulier religiosa* of the Low Countries. The *vitae* of Elizabeth of Spalbeek (d. after 1278), Margaret of Ypres (d.1237), and Juliana of Mont-Cornillon (d.1258) cannot attest to such popularity if surviving manuscript numbers are taken as the indication.³⁷ Nineteen of the 39 manuscripts in Folkerts' study are dated by the author to the thirteenth or fourteenth century and a further 17 to the fifteenth century.³⁸ Thirty-three of these were copied in, or belonged to, monasteries in the Southern and Northern Lowlands, Northern France, the German Rhine, central Germany and England.³⁹ In the fifteenth century, vernacular versions of the *life* can be

³⁶ 'Einleitung' to VMO, p. 13.

³⁷ The *life* of Elizabeth of Spalbeek is known in 11 medieval manuscripts, the *life* of Margaret of Ypres in 3 and Juliana of Mont-Cornillon in 5. See Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 226.

³⁸ See *Ibid.*, pp. 234-39.

³⁹ See Folkerts' diffusion tables in Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 226.

traced across mainland Europe, Scandinavia and England.⁴⁰ Around 1300, four passages from the *vita* were translated into Old Norse.⁴¹ The popularity of Marie's *vita* for female readership in the later medieval period is evident.⁴² Most notably, Marie's *life* is mentioned in the Book of Margery Kempe (written late 1430) in an instance where Margery is rebuked for weeping excessively.⁴³ Thus, Marie's *vita* became a touchstone for devotional practice, as will be illustrated in further detail below.⁴⁴ However, it is important to stress that Marie was equally a role model for men. As Folkerts has aptly pointed out, in studying Marie's *vita* men and women would be instructed in theological themes such as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁵

Half of the 39 manuscripts from Folkerts' study contain a mixture of hagiographical and theological texts.⁴⁶ Marie's *vita* was compiled into volumes alongside the works of great theological writers including Augustine of Hippo, Gregory the Great, William of

⁴⁰ See Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 230-31. In the fifteenth century, a Swedish translator copied around a third of the text. See Gryte A. van der Toorn-Piebenga, 'De Vita Mariae Oigniacensis in Scandinavië', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 65 (1991), 13-22.

⁴¹ See *Mariú saga. Legender om jomfru Maria og hendes jertegn*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania [Oslo], 1871), pp. 917-20.

⁴² Folkerts has managed to trace three Dutch vernacular versions to convents of women. For further details see Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 230.

⁴³ See *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry A. Windeatt (Harlow, 2000), p. 311.

⁴⁴ See below pp. 245-46.

⁴⁵ Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 231.

⁴⁶ For example, Liège, Université, Bibliothèque Générale de Philosophie et Lettres MS 260 contains a number of Homilies written by Bede, sermons by Augustine and Lambert le Bègue's *Vita S. Heriberti*. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W71 contains William of St Thierry's *Vita Prima* of St Bernard. See also Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', pp. 231-32.

St Thierry (d.1148), Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153) and Richard of St Victor (d.1173).⁴⁷ Importantly, Marie's *vita* can also be found alongside those of other religious founders of her time such as Dominic of Caleruega and Francis of Assisi (d.1226).⁴⁸ Moreover, Marie often finds her place alongside other lachrymose saints, as in Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, MS 398 (c.1413) which contains the *lives* of Elizabeth of Hungary (d.1231), Angela of Foligno (d.1309), Anthony of Padua (d.1231) and Francis of Assisi, or Liège, Bibliothèque universitaire MS 135 (c.1467) which includes the lives of Ida of Nivelles (d.1231), Odilia of Liège (d.1220) and Elizabeth of Spalbeek.⁴⁹

For many years, the printed edition of the *vita* commonly utilised by scholars was that in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*.⁵⁰ The Bollandists based their version on three manuscripts, one of which, from 1413, was part of their collection.⁵¹ Of the other two manuscripts, one came from the 'Rooklooster' (Red Cloister) library which was at an Augustine priory founded in the late fourteenth century in the municipality of Oudergem near Brussels.⁵² The other manuscript belonged to the humanist scholar

⁴⁷ Liège, Université, Bibliothèque Générale de Philosophie et Lettres MS 260 (thirteenth-century), MS 135 (fifteenth-century); Namur, Musée Provincial des Arts anciens du Namurois, Fonds de la Ville MS 49 (1438-9).

⁴⁸ The *lives* of Francis and Marie are found in Brussels, Bollandistes 398 (c.1413) and Leuven, Keizersberg (thirteenth-century).

⁴⁹ See Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 232. For an analysis of these *lives* see chapter 3.

⁵⁰ Jacques de Vitry, 'Vita B. Mariae Oigniacensis', AASS, 23 June IV (Antwerp, 1707), 636-66.

⁵¹ Brussels, Bollandistes MS 398, fols 1^r-27^v (1413). See Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 223.

⁵² Now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. N. 12707, fols 126^v-146^r.

Aubertus Miraeus (d.1640) who was a canon of Antwerp Cathedral and early curator of the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne.⁵³ The Bollandist's composite text was then collated using a manuscript from Oignies and several other works.⁵⁴ No one manuscript contains the *vita* in the same form as the *Acta* version.⁵⁵ Consequently, many scholars have had a distorted picture of a *life* that does not exist.⁵⁶ Huygens redressed this misrepresentation in his new edition published in 2012. In the introduction to his volume, Huygens notes how exceptionally unreliable (*ungewöhnlich unzuverlässig*) the *Acta* version is as it omits entire sections or presents readings which do not exist in a single manuscript.⁵⁷ Huygens used 16 manuscripts that he identified as from the thirteenth century, alongside 5 others from the fifteenth century that contain both the *vita* and *supplementum*.⁵⁸ He also consulted another 9 manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which were collated and used as part of the extensive critical apparatus.⁵⁹ Not only did Huygens analyse several thousand readings of the *vita*, his recension presents a much more realistic picture of the *life* that circulated during the thirteenth century.

⁵³ See Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 223.

⁵⁴ As Folkerts has noted, it is possible that the thirteenth-century manuscript Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, II, 700 from the convent of the Canons Regular of Oignies was used by the Bollandists in their edition of the *life*. See Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 223, fn. 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁵⁷ 'Einleitung' to VMO, p. 8.

⁵⁸ See Huygens' list, VMO, p. 28.

⁵⁹ 'Einleitung' to VMO, pp. 10-19.

Huygens' extensive manuscript study enabled him to correct Folkert's inherited errors: for example, the Baltimore, Walters manuscript is MS 71 not 385 as stated in all scholarship up to this point. Furthermore, producing the critical edition allowed Huygens to appraise each manuscript in terms of quality and accuracy.⁶⁰ For example, Huygens notes that the thirteenth-century manuscripts Troyes 1434, Paris BN lat. 2695, Laon 278, Paris BN lat. 2795 and fifteenth-century Liège 135 were the work of exceptionally poor scribes and he questions whether they understood the text at all.⁶¹ Despite the poor quality of these texts, the popularity of the work is shown in the drive to reproduce the *vita*. Although Huygens synthesised an impressive number of manuscripts for his edition he did not consult London, British Library MS Harley 4725, a thirteenth-century copy of the *vita*, nor Trier, Stadtbibliothek MS 1168/470 8°, a fifteenth-century version which has been noted for its unusual character.⁶² An examination of Harley MS 4725 showed a more or less consistent presence of tears in line with Huygens' edition.⁶³ However, where relevant, this study will note the

⁶⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² For Trier see Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 224.

For Harley see *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum: With Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters*, 4 volumes (London, 1812), vol. 3, p. 196.

⁶³ Only one episode describing Marie's tears appears to be absent from the Harley manuscript. On fol. 165^v the copyist omits a passage which describes the wetness of Marie's cheeks (*non solum in maxillis eius, sed ne in pavimento ecclesie lutum ex lacrimis relinquerent*). However, it is likely that this was removed as it repeats a similar episode found on 159^v.

For a discussion of this episode see below p. 114.

divergences in the manuscript tradition and cross-reference Huygens' printed edition with Trier 1168.

The Interpolation of Marie's *vita* in other Sources

Marie's *vita* was not only one of the most successful of this period in terms of its circulation but it was interpolated into many other sources. Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, Thomas of Cantimpré's *Bonum universale apibus* and the *Alphabetum narrationum* by Arnold of Liège all contain excerpts.⁶⁴ The interpolation of Marie's *life* into larger and influential volumes suggests the means by, and the extent to which her *vita* circulated during the thirteenth century. The most significant of these was the *Speculum Historiale* written by the Dominican friar Vincent of Beauvais (d.1264). The *Speculum Historiale* was part of the encyclopaedic *Speculum Maius* which was probably commissioned by Hugh of Saint-Cher and finished c.1259. The *Speculum Historiale* was extensively copied and therefore *exempla* from Marie's *Life*

⁶⁴ The *Alphabetum Narrationum*, dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, contains more than ten *exempla* taken from the VMO. See Lauwers, 'Expérience Béguinale et Récit Hagiographique', 83-84. Thomas of Cantimpré reproduced portions of his *Supplementum* in his *Bonum Universale de apibus*. See *Bonum Universale de apibus*, ed., Georgius Colvenerius (Douai, 1627), book 2, chapters 53-4 pp. 486-531, especially pp. 529-31. For the VMO in the *Speculum Maius* see Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 4 volumes (Graz, 1965), vol. 4, book 30, chapters 10-51, pp. 1240-52. See also Monique Paulmier-Foucart, 'Les Religieuses dans une encyclopédie du XIII^e siècle: le speculum historique de Vincent de Beauvais', *Les Religieuses en France au XIII^e siècle: Table ronde organisé par l'Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Nancy II et le C.E.R.C.O.M. (25-26 juin 1983)*, ed. Michel Parisse (Nancy, 1989), 199-213.

proliferated.⁶⁵ Vincent extracted a large portion of Marie's *vita*, forming 41 individual chapters. What is significant for this study is the emphasis placed on Marie's tears. Indeed, it seems that the tears were a dominant reason for the selection of particular anecdotes. Notably, Vincent provides the unique chapter headings '*De quibusdam singularibus personis, quibus data est gratia specialis*', '*De gratia lachrymarum eius*', and '*Qualiter cuidam sacerdoti obtinuit copiam lachrymarum*'.⁶⁶ He consciously reformed Jacques' text to place emphasis on her tears. Of the 41 chapters, 12 relate episodes of Marie's gift of tears, or ability to weep.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Vincent's interest in tears was not limited to the excerpts from Marie's *vita*, he also included sections from the *Letters* to women by Fulgentius of Ruspe (c.467-532), including a chapter entitled '*De commendatione virginitatis ac de ieiunio et lachrymis*'.⁶⁸ In addition, the compiler also devoted a chapter to tears and saliva in the *Speculum Naturale*, and examined fake

⁶⁵ Folkert's manuscript study identified six manuscripts of the *Speculum Historiale* that contain exempla from Marie's *vita*: Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek (Faculteit Godgeleerdheid) Collectie Mechelen, Bibliotheek van het Grootseminarie, 20, fol. 72^v (fifteenth-century); Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1168/470 8^o, fols 221^v-222^v; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatini latini, 866, fols 92^v-100^f (fourteenth-century); Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensi latini, 583 fol. 2v (fifteenth-century); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, IX. 18, fols 298^r-301^v (fourteenth-century); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. N. 12831, fol. 142r (fifteenth-century). Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 240.

⁶⁶ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, vol. 4, pp. 1241-42.

⁶⁷ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, chapters 11, 14, 18-20, 27, 29, 34, 36, 43, 45, 48; pp. 1240-42, 1244-45, 1247, 1249-51.

tears and tears of mourning in the *Speculum Doctrinale*.⁶⁹ Nagy has argued that Vincent's descriptions of tears fall into three categories: natural, moral, and historical and that there was nothing new in his work. For Nagy, Vincent's contents only reflect a diffusion of knowledge and opinions.⁷⁰ However, Nagy did not examine Vincent's selection and re-ordering of sections of Marie's *life*

which emphasise her tears.

Thomas of Cantimpré's *Supplementum*

As we have seen, the study of Marie's sanctity is bolstered by a source base wider than a single *vita*. In 1231 Thomas of Cantimpré wrote a *Supplementum* to Jacques' *life* at the behest of Prior Giles, the founder and prior of the community of canons regular of St Nicholas.⁷¹ Thomas of Cantimpré was born around 1200 in the Leeuw-Sint-Pieter

⁶⁸ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, book 20, chapters 108-10. See Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Lettres Ascétiques et Morales*, ed., and trans. Daniel Bachelet (Paris, 2004), pp. 216-18. Epistle 2: *ad Gallam de viduitate servanda* (chapter 109 in the *SH*); epistle 3: *ad Probam de virginitate et humilitate* (chapter 110 in the *SH*); epistle 4: *ad Probam de oratione et compunctione* (chapter 110 in the *SH*); epistle 7: *ad Venantiam de poenitentia et spei indulgentiae* (chapter 111 in the *SH*). See also Paulmier-Foucart, 'Les Religieuses dans une encyclopédie du XIII^e siècle', pp. 201-02, fn. 8 and 210.

⁶⁹ For tears and saliva see Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Naturale* (Graz, 1964), vol. 1, book 22, chapter 49, p. 1637. For fake tears see Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Doctrinale* (Graz, 1964), vol. 2, book 4, chapters 139-140, pp. 379-80.

⁷⁰ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p 383.

⁷¹ BHL, 5517. The title *Supplementum* was given in the Acta Sanctorum edition of the text. No original title for the text remains. 'Einleitung' to VMO, p. 7.

area to a noble family.⁷² His father, who had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was keen for his son to enter the priesthood and sent him away to study between 1206 and 1217.⁷³ After his education, Thomas joined the monastery at Cantimpré which had been founded by St John of Cantimpré (d.c.1205) whose *vita* he would go on to write.⁷⁴ During his lifetime, Thomas produced a considerable output of writings. Not only did Thomas pen the *Supplementum* to Marie's *vita* but he produced full *vitae* of John of Cantimpré (c.1223-28), Lutgard of Aywières (d.1246), Christina 'the Astonishing' of Sint-Truiden (d.1224) and Margaret of Ypres (d.1237).⁷⁵ To this corpus, Thomas added his encyclopaedic *Liber de natura rerum* and *Bonum universale de apibus*.⁷⁶

Jacques and Thomas' early careers followed similar trajectories. Thomas spent fifteen years with the canons regular at Cantimpré following the observances of the abbey of St

⁷² For studies on Thomas see Barbara Newman, 'Introduction', in *The collected saints' lives: Abbot John of Cantimpré, Christina the Astonishing, Margaret of Ypres and Lutgard of Aywières*, ed. Barbara Newman and trans. Margot H. King and Barbara Newman (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 3-51; Henry Platelle, 'Le Receuil de miracles de Thomas de Cantimpré et le vie religieuse dans les Pays-Bas et le Nord de la France au XIII^e siècle', *Actes du 97e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Section de philologie et histoire jusqu'à 1610, Nantes 1972* (Paris, 1979), 469-98; Simone Roisin, 'La méthode hagiographique de Thomas de Cantimpré' *Miscellanea historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer, Universitatis Catholicae in oppido Lovaniensi iam annos XXV professoris* (Louvain, 1946), pp. 546-57.

⁷³ Thomas was educated in either Cambrai or Liège see Hugh Feiss' 'Introduction', *Mary of Oignies. Mother of Salvation*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout, 2006), p. 132.

⁷⁴ Robert Godding, 'Une oeuvre inédite de Thomas de Cantimpré, la "Vita Ioannis Cantipratensis"', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 76 (1981), 257-316.

⁷⁵ Thomas of Cantimpré, VLA, 231-63; VCM, 630-37; VMY, 106-30.

⁷⁶ Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum Universale de apibus*, ed. Georgius Colvenerius (Douai, 1627) and *Liber de natura rerum*, ed. H. Boese (Berlin, 1973).

Victor at Paris. Where Jacques formed a relationship with Marie, Thomas established a bond with Lutgard of Aywières. Thomas was a great admirer of Jacques and was inspired by his example.⁷⁷ In several passages in the *Supplementum* Thomas addresses Jacques which suggests that he hoped his muse would read the text.⁷⁸ Moreover, Thomas begged with *profusis lacrimis* that Jacques would return to the diocese of Liège.⁷⁹ These textually evoked tears were an expression of Thomas' affection and added weight to his plea.

Despite certain similarities in their careers, Thomas constructs Marie in a different way to Jacques: his *Supplementum* focuses more on Marie as a worker of thaumaturgic miracles and less importance is placed on her tears. However, this text was not a rewriting of the *vita* nor was it intended to supersede Jacques' work. The *Supplementum* added new stories and miracles to the established *vita*. Given this purpose, adding more descriptions of tears might not have been important to Thomas. The author adds layers of information to the original *vita* which benefit our understanding of Marie as miracle worker and protector of relics. Furthermore, the four other saints' lives that Thomas wrote provide excellent comparative material for an examination of tears in this critical period.⁸⁰ Thomas' *Supplementum* appears to have been less widely read than Jacques'

⁷⁷ For Thomas' admiration of Jacques' preaching see VMO-S, p. 201.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 193-201.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 200.

⁸⁰ See below pp. 229-30.

vita as only six manuscripts from the fifteenth century survive.⁸¹ In five of these manuscripts the *Supplementum* has been added directly after Jacques' work which demonstrates further that it was not intended to replace the original.⁸² Once again, Huygens' edition has been used here as it supersedes the version printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*.⁸³

The Liturgical Office of Marie d'Oignies

Alongside Jacques de Vitry's *vita Mariae* and Vincent of Beauvais' interpolation of *exempla*, the importance of tears is demonstrated in the Mass and Divine Office written in celebration of Marie. The Liturgical Office for the remembrance of Marie d'Oignies is found together with an office for Arnulf of Villers on fourteen sheets of vellum that were detached from an early thirteenth-century manuscript from Villers.⁸⁴ The manuscript, which is now lost, contained the *lives* of both Marie and Arnulf.⁸⁵ Goswin

⁸¹ Huygens identifies 5 manuscripts although acknowledges that there could be more. These manuscripts all proceed Jacques' *vita* and are Leuven, Mecheln 20, fols 118^v-133^v, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 8629-39 (3209) fols 51-59^v, Liège, Bibliothèque universitaire, 135C, fols 221-231^v, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. N. 12707, fols 146-149^v (this manuscript is incomplete but does not omit references to tears) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. N. 12831, fols 126-141^v. See 'Einleitung' to VMO-S, p. 29.

Folkerts identifies 6 manuscripts, adding Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. N. 12710, fols 190^r-194^v see Folkerts, 'The Manuscript Transmission', p. 29.

⁸² Only Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. N. 12710, fols. 190^r-194^v (the *Historiologium Brabantinorum* by Johannes Gielemans, a Rooklooster copyist) is not attached to Jacques' *life* and instead is a collection of extracts from the *Supplementum*.

⁸³ VMO-S, pp. 167-201.

⁸⁴ Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS II 1658 (14 leaves). See *Office*, 267-86.

⁸⁵ *Office*, 267, 270.

of Bossut, the cantor at Villers, identifies himself as the author of the *life* of Arnulf, so it is not impossible that he was responsible for writing the hymns of the Office.⁸⁶ The Office comprises a special Mass and eight offices of the liturgy of the hours which were to be celebrated in a Cistercian monastery.⁸⁷ Feiss argues that the rubrics and annotations in the Office suggest that it was written for use in the public liturgy by the Cistercian monks of Villers.⁸⁸ What is interesting is that many sections were taken from the Office for the feast of Mary Magdalene. Indeed, the rubrics indicate that the changeable parts of the Mass were to be taken directly from the Mass for Mary Magdalene.⁸⁹ Feiss finds the author's motive for this puzzling as no attempt is made to connect the namesakes.⁹⁰ Marie was not a repentant sinner in the same way as Mary Magdalene, as Feiss has rightly noted, but a connection may be read on a deeper level and will be explored below.⁹¹ What is important for this study is that Goswin chose to include tears as a part of the Office. The final antiphon of the liturgy is of note as it is

⁸⁶ Missone suggests that the *vitae* and the offices are closely connected and that Goswin could have composed the offices on account of the style of the text, see 'Office', 272-73. It is by no means certain that Goswin wrote the Office and more investigation into Goswin's style seems to be required. See Feiss, 'Introduction', pp. 177-78.

⁸⁷ Feiss, 'Introduction', p. 177.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* Also see below pp. 91-95.

taken from a passage in the *vita* where Marie utters her last words. In these final moments Marie speaks of her tears and how they are dried up by God.⁹²

Tears in Marie's *vita*

Beginning with a prologue and followed by two distinct books, tears play an important role in each section of Marie's *vita*. They are more than a recurring theme: tears are multivalent and convey a plethora of meanings. Jacques devotes a chapter to Marie's lacrimation but tears are also woven throughout the narrative. They define Marie's spirituality and sanctity, they shape the lives and behaviour of the women around her and help to legitimise her novel life. Jacques writes not only about the tears of his subject but of those of the holy women who surrounded her. It is with this broad focus that the *vita* begins. After stating the didactic nature of the life, which has an emphasis on confuting the unbelievers and stirring the devout to imitation, Jacques recalls the commissioning of his work.⁹³ He recollects how Fulk was filled with wonder by women who were mourning (*lugentes*) more for a single venial sin than the men of his land did

⁹² *Office*, 286: 'Extersit Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis filiae suae, et implevit cor eius exultatione, et labia eius modulatione.' (God wiped away all the tears from the eyes of his daughter and filled up her heart with exultation and her lips with a melody.) Cf. Isaiah 25:8, Revelations 7:17 and Revelations 21:4. See below pp. 134-35.

⁹³ VMO, p. 43: 'ad utilitatem sequentium virtutes et opera sanctorum precedentium redegerunt in scriptum, ut infirmorum fidem roborarent, indoctos instruerent, pigros incitarent, devotos ad imitationem provocarent, rebelles et infideles confutarent.' ([The Holy fathers] put down in writing the virtues and the works of the preceding saints for the use of those following them in order to strengthen the faith of the weak, instruct the unlearned, incite the sluggish, stir the devout to imitation and confute the rebellious and the unfaithful).

over a thousand mortal sins.⁹⁴ Thus, the first characterisation of the *mulieres sanctae* in Liège is as a group of penitents. The status of the early beguines was far from clear, however, the only thing that was certain, according to Lauwers, is that they were penitents.⁹⁵ The penitential nature of the beguine lifestyle was central from their emergence and continued to be so throughout the thirteenth century. Nicole Bériou's study of preaching and the beguines in Paris around 1272 demonstrates the importance that was placed upon penitence and tears as part of their lifestyle.⁹⁶

When Jacques presents the core features of their lifestyle and devotion, tears emerge as a distinguishing quality of their holiness:

Vidisti enim, et gavisus es, in ortis liliorum domini multas sanctarum virginum in diversis locis catervas, que spretis pro Christo carnalibus illecebris, contemptis etiam amore regni celestis huius mundi divitiis, in paupertate et humilitate sponso celesti adherentes labore manuum tenuem victum querebant: licet parentes earum multis divitiis habundarent, ipse tamen, obliscentes populum suum et domum patris sui, malebant angustias paupertatis sustinere quam male acquisitis divitiis habundare vel inter pomposos seculares cum periculo remanere. Vidisti, et gavisus es, sanctas et deo servientes matronas quanto zelo iuvenularum pudicitiam

⁹⁴ VMO, pp. 44-45: 'immo, sicut michi dixisti, quasdam mulieres magis pro uno veniali lugentes quam homines in partibus tuis pro mille mortalibus mirareris.' (Indeed, as you yourself said to me, you were [filled with] wonder by certain women who [were] mourning more for a single venial sin than did the men of your region over a thousand mortal sins.)

⁹⁵ Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere', 225.

⁹⁶ Nicole Bériou, 'La prédication au béguinage de Paris pendant l'année liturgique 1272-1273', *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 13 (1978), 105- 229, especially 184-94. For the sermons, see no. 20, pp. 135-36 and no. 30, p. 143.

conservarent et eas in honesto proposito, ut solum celestem sponsum desiderarent, salutaribus monitis instruerent⁹⁷

This penitential lifestyle was somatic: tears, sweat and prayers were offered by the body in order to impel divine forgiveness. In this passage Jacques juxtaposes the earthly and spiritual life by contrasting the enticements of worldly living which had been left behind with the hardships of manual labour and fasting:

ipse etiam vidue in ieiuniis et orationibus, in vigiliis et labore manuum, in lacrimis et obsecrationibus domino servientes, sicut maritis suis prius placere nitebantur in carne, ita, immo amplius sponso celesti placere studebant in spiritu.⁹⁸

Jacques begins to construct a picture of the *mulieres sanctae* along the lines of the accepted norms of piety. The lives of this band of holy women appear to be no different from their cloistered contemporaries. Thus, from the outset of the work, Jacques confirms that tears are one of the legitimate expressions of repentance and humility and are pleasing to the Lord as part of a rejection of the world.

⁹⁷ VMO, pp. 45-46. (For you [Fulk] saw many bands of holy virgins in different places of the lily gardens of the Lord and you rejoiced. Scorning carnal enticements for Christ, as well as despising the riches of this world for the love of the heavenly kingdom, clinging to their heavenly Bridegroom in poverty and humility, they earned sparse nourishment by the work of their hands, although their families abounded in great riches. Nevertheless, forgetting their people and the home of their father, they preferred to endure the hardships of poverty than to abound in ill-gotten riches or to remain [amid] danger among the worldly pomps. You saw holy matrons serving God and you rejoiced, with what zeal did they preserve the chastity of youth, by presenting them with honourable [conduct] they desired only the heavenly Bridegroom [and] instructed them with salutary warnings.)

⁹⁸ VMO, p. 45. (Furthermore, these widows themselves [were] serving with fasting and prayers, in vigils and by the work of their hands [and] with tears and entreaties for the Lord. Just as they had previously strived to please their husbands in the flesh, so they were now more eager to please their heavenly Bridegroom in the spirit.)

At this point, it is necessary to step aside briefly from the analysis of the *vita* in order to outline how Marie's life presents tears in relation to the contemporary importance of the Magdalene. In light of the emergence of penitential orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Nagy has dubbed the beguines 'de nouveaux spécialistes de la pénitence, qui sont aussi des spécialistes des pleurs.'⁹⁹ One might expect, given this initial characterisation, that this group of religious women was influenced by the cult of Mary Magdalene. Liège had a strong identification with the Magdalene as her feast was well established and many churches were dedicated to her.¹⁰⁰ Several leprosaria in Liège, Namur and Huy had chapels dedicated to the Magdalene and one of the altars in the convent in Oignies near to the beguinage was dedicated to her.¹⁰¹ Close by, the abbey of Malmédy kept relics of the Magdalene including pieces of her clothes and strands of her hair.¹⁰² It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that during the thirteenth century, the order of Penitents of St Mary Magdalene settled in Liège.¹⁰³

Despite the omnipresence of the Magdalene in this area, she is never openly offered as a model in the *vita*, although there are elements of Magdalenian mimicry. This minimal influence is perhaps even more puzzling given the large number of vernacular sermons from the Walloon region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that focus on the

⁹⁹ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 395.

¹⁰⁰ See Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere', 214-15.

¹⁰¹ See *Ibid.*, 216 and fn. 31.

¹⁰² See *Ibid.*, 216 fn. 29.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 217.

Magdalene and her prominence in devotional books.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Jacques himself wrote sermons that focussed on the repentant sinner.¹⁰⁵ In his *ad status* sermons, Jacques stressed the importance of the Magdalene as a model when he recounted the story of a woman who did not want to seem like the Magdalene and was consequently punished with the loss of her virginity.¹⁰⁶ In another sermon from the *Sermones de sanctis* collection, Jacques described the Magdalene as a rainbow, a symbol that unites heaven as the rays of the sun meet the moisture of the cloud:

Hanc igitur posuit Dominus uelut arcum in nubibus in signum federis inter ipsum et peccatores, ut ex hoc arcu in cordibus penitentium sagitte contricionis et dilectionis figerentur. Arcus siquidem, qui yris dicitur, ex repercussione solis et nube humida procreatur. Nubes humida Magdalena fuit, quando pedes Domini lacrimis rigauit. Fuit eciam solis radiis percussa, id est gratia Dei respersa. In hoc autem arcu fuit igneus color per dilectionis feruorem, ceruleus siue aqueus per lacrimarum effusionem.¹⁰⁷

The Magdalene is likened to the clouds in the sky and their moistness reflects her tears.

When she is filled with grace by the Lord it strikes her like the rays of the sun and a

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 217-18.

¹⁰⁵ Jacques de Vitry, 'Mulier, quae erat in civitate peccatrix', edited by Lauwers in the appendices of 'Noli me tangere', 260-68. See also Jacques de Vitry, sermon 84 'Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi' and sermon 256 'Cum instauravero ruinosa et terra deserta. Splendidum in panibus benedicient labia multorum' in Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen sermones*, vol. 3, pp. 186, 202.

¹⁰⁶ Jacques de Vitry, 'Ad uirgines et juuenculas: Ego flos campi et lilium', Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen sermones*, vol. 3, sermon 436, p. 220.

rainbow is formed. Thus, Jacques presents the Magdalene as a model for change and lachrymose conversion. As a canon and priest Jacques was a proponent of encouraging others to emulate the repentant lachrymose sinner. In another sermon, written for the feast of the Magdalene, Jacques described the properties of tears in relation to sins:

De proprietatibus lacrimae. Lacrima siquidem salsa est contra peccati putredinem, humida contra uiscositatem, de qua dicitur: *Conglutinatus est in terra uenter noster*, calida contra frigus corporis et congelationem, clara ad sordes diluendas apta. [...] Ex Magdalena siquidem purgato lebete mentis, sumunt predicatorum qui eius recitant lacrimas et labores.¹⁰⁸

In this sermon Jacques demonstrates that tears are one of the Magdalenian symbols. He thus appears to be holding up the Magdalene as the woman in tears *par excellence*, so, this makes her omission from the *vita* even more curious.¹⁰⁹

It is, of course, possible given the Magdalene's omnipresence that there was no need to present a model that was so well associated with the area. The immediate audience from

¹⁰⁷ Jacques de Vitry, 'Mulier, quae erat in civitate peccatrix', edited by Lauwers in the appendices of 'Noli me tangere', 261. (This therefore, the Lord put like a the rainbow in the clouds [as] a sign of the covenant between himself and the sinners, so that the arrows of contrition and love would pierce the hearts of penitents. Accordingly, the rainbow, which is called yris, is produced from the contact (*repercussione*) of the sun and moist cloud. The Magdalene was the moist clouds when she watered the Lord's feet with [her] tears. She was also struck by the rays of the sun, that is [to say] sprinkled with the grace of God. In this arc [of the rainbow], however, the colour was fiery through the intensity of love, sky blue or watery through an outpouring of tears.)

¹⁰⁸ Jacques de Vitry, 'Cum instauravero ruinosa et terra deserta', edited by Lauwers from Cologne, Historisches Archiv, MS GB f° 181, fol. 73^{va} in 'Noli me tangere', 253. (Concerning the properties of tears. Accordingly, a tear is salty as opposed to the putrefaction of sin, about which it is said: 'Our belly cleaveth to the Earth (Ps. 43: 25), [tears are] warm as opposed to the cold and freezing of the body, clear [and] apt for diluting the filthy. Accordingly, the preachers accept and recite her tears and labours because the Magdalene cleansed the cup (*lebes*) of the mind.)

The cup (*lebes*) in this extract is likely to be an allusion to the Magdalene's ointment jar.

Liège and the outlying areas would have been so familiar with devotion to the Magdalene that it may not have been necessary to spell out an obvious comparison. It is also possible that Jacques was actively avoiding overt comparisons. Lauwers acknowledges, however, that her absence in the *life* is problematic.¹¹⁰ Although a close reading of the *vita* reveals a Magdalenian undertone, unlike other thirteenth-century religious women such as Margaret of Cortona (d.1297) there is no overt connection with the composite saint.¹¹¹ In hagiographical texts the Magdalene is often offered as a model of converted sinner and loving contemplative. She is rarely evoked by hagiographers when they describe mystical experiences of others.¹¹² Marie d'Oignies was much more than a repentant sinner and contemplative: she was a mystic, leader and virgin. As Jacques' wrote, Marie was all [divine] things to all (*omnibus omnia facta ut omnes deo lucrifaceret*).¹¹³ Tears were part of each role that Marie assumed: as a repentant sinner and penitent she wept for her own sins and those of others; as the vehicle of divine will she interceded with tears; as a mystic she was inundated with a lachrymose grace and as a leader she encouraged those around her to shed tears. Casting Marie in the role of a new Magdalene may have simply been too restrictive for Jacques.

¹⁰⁹ Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere', 253.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹¹¹ See below, pp. 260-61.

¹¹² See Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere', 235. Conversely, thirteenth-century hagiographers and preachers used mystical language to describe the Magdalene's time in the wilderness, See Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, pp. 125, 127. The Magdalene was associated with the mystical experience of levitation and this is echoed in the *life* of Margaret of Cortona. See Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, pp. 128-29, 282.

¹¹³ VMO, p. 117. Cf. 1 Corinthians 12:6.

Although Humbert of Romans would go on to identify the beguines as imitators of the Magdalene fifty years later, it seems unlikely that Jacques was trying to present Marie solely as a ‘new Magdalene.’¹¹⁴

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When Marie is introduced to the reader in the prologue, Jacques sets her apart immediately from the other *mulieres religiosae*. Rather than being one among these penitent women who weeps for the sins of others, Marie has a special grace (*gratiam*) which enables her to perceive sins in other people:

Aliquis enim a domino, te certissime probante, tantam gratiam accepit, ut peccata hominum, que per veram confessionem tecta non erant, in multis personis perciperet, et dum multis peccata occulta nunciaret, multos ad confessionem invitans causa salutis eorum post deum exitit.¹¹⁵

Through this grace, Marie is able to induce others to confess their sins. Although Jacques does not mention her tears here, the penitential nature of her grace is explicit. Marie is the cause of the salvation of others and, as such, she is separated as a vehicle of divine will and the recipient of many graces. This dominant theme reoccurs throughout the *vita*, and her tears are revealed to be one of these special graces.

¹¹⁴ Humbert of Romans, *De eruditione praedicatorum* (c.1260), in *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier, 2 volumes (Rome, 1956), vol. 2, book 2, chapters 44, 54; Lauwers, ‘Noli me tangere’, 213.

¹¹⁵ VMO, p. 49. (You proved most reliably [that] she [i.e. Marie] received such grace from the Lord that she perceived in many people the sins of men that were not concealed [from her] through true confession and while she used to announce these hidden sins to many, inviting them to confess, she became, after God, the cause of their salvation.)

Note that Huygens inserts <de> before *tecta non erant*, thus changing the meaning of the sentence. It has been omitted here as *tecta* (concealed) rather than *detecta* (uncovering) provides a more accurate reading.

Returning his attention to the band of *mulieres*, Jacques' focus shifts to the physical and spiritual state of these holy women:

Aliquas etiam vidisti mulieres tam speciali et mirabili amoris in deum affectione resolutas, ut pre desiderio languerent nec a lecto per multos annos nisi raro surgere possent, nullam aliam causam infirmitatis habentes nisi illum, cuius desiderio anime earum liquefacte, cum domino suaviter quiescentes, quanto spiritu confortabantur, tanto corpore infirmabantur, clamantes corde, licet illud pre verecundia ore dissimularent [...] Alicuius etiam mirabiliter et sensibiliter, dum anima pre amoris magnitudine liquifieret, gene corporales attenuate resolvebantur, multis etiam ex favo spiritualis dulcedinis in corde, redundabat mellis sapor sensibiliter in ore, dulces lacrimas eliciens et mentem in devotione conservans.¹¹⁶

In contrast to the mourning women presented above who are engaged in manual labour, fasting and prayer, tears are presented here as part of a loving relationship with Christ. Nagy has classified this type of devotion as *pénitence amoureuse* and, once again, connects beguine lachrymosity with that of the Magdalene.¹¹⁷ However, it is more appropriate to understand this description within broader trends of female spirituality at this time as there is no allusion to the Magdalene nor to penitential salvation. During the thirteenth century, piety was defined by its somatism. The spirituality of the beguines and other new religious orders was profoundly physical. Ascetic behaviours such as

¹¹⁶ VMO, p. 49. (You saw other women [who were] made complete by such a special and wondrous affection (*affectione*) of love in God that they languished because of desire and could only rarely rise from their bed[s] for many years. There was no other cause for their sickness except him, for whom their soul[s] were melting with desire. Resting sweetly with the Lord, they were the more consoled by the spirit the more they were weakened by the body. They cried (*clamantes*) in their heart[s], although because of modesty they concealed it in their mouths [...] While the soul of one of [these women, i.e. Marie] melted because of the magnitude of love, her bodily cheeks wondrously and perceptibly melted and diminished. Furthermore, from the honeycomb of spiritual sweetness in [her] heart, the taste of honey overflowed perceptibly in [her] mouth, drawing forth sweet tears and maintaining her mind in devotion.)

¹¹⁷ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, pp. 394-99.

fasting, flagellation, and sleep deprivation were corporal forms of devotion that were embraced. Bodily piety required little theological training or knowledge and was an open pathway to spiritual progression for these women.¹¹⁸ In this passage, the nature of the love of God expressed by these women is bodily and intimate. They rest sweetly (*suaviter quiescentes*) with the Lord but are languishing (*languerent*) in their physical beds in a recurring juxtaposition of spiritual and physical health. This deportment is described as a kind a spiritual sickness whereby the women's bodies and souls melt (*liquefacte*) with desire to be fused with Christ.¹¹⁹ This passage is characteristic of the visionary literature of the later middle ages as it is rich in sensory imagery, a tradition which was in part inherited from the Cistercians.¹²⁰ Religious experiences were often defined in terms of the bodily and spiritual senses whereby the recipient tastes, sees, hears and feels God intimately. The sweetness that these women felt in their hearts leads to the production of sweet tears which prolong the divine experience. These *dulces lacrimas* contrast with the tears of repentance which are often hot and bitter.¹²¹

Jacques chose to present this fluid and bodily description of the holy women's experience of God in the prologue to the text. Goodich has observed how changing trends in medieval hagiography are most clearly expressed in the prologue to a saint's

¹¹⁸ Sarah Salih, 'Margery's Bodies: piety, work and penance', *A Companion to the Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. John H. Arnold and Katherine Lewis (Cambridge, 2004), p. 162.

¹¹⁹ For the intense desire to fuse with the physical body of Christ see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 119.

¹²⁰ For tears in Cistercian spirituality see Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, pp. 279-328, esp. 280-82, 296-98, 301-02.

¹²¹ See for example p. 223 fn. 245 and p. 262.

life.¹²² The prologue afforded the author an opportunity to explain the circumstances surrounding the work's composition, outline the main themes and situate the saint within the broader context of sacred history.¹²³ It was especially important in the thirteenth century, as a result of conflict between the orders, that any novelties that had been introduced into the religious life were legitimised in the prologue.¹²⁴ Although tears were not novel, they counterbalanced behaviour that might be seen as unconventional. Thus, the importance placed on the group of lachrymose women who shed tears as part of their way of life is critical to the formation, development and tone of the text. Jacques used the prologue to begin neutralising any anxiety about their somatic piety and to legitimise any behaviour or practices that might be seen as unorthodox.

After explaining the intimate and sweet experience of God shared by the group of holy women, Jacques explains Marie's grace of tears for the first time in the *vita*:

Quedam autem tantam lacrimarum gratiam perceperat, ut quotiens deus erat in corde per cogitationem, lacrimarum rivulus ab oculis fluebat per devotionem, ita ut lacrimarum vestigia in genis ex consuetudine flendi apparerent, que tamen caput non evacuabant, sed quadam plenitudine mentem refovebant, spiritum suavi unctione dulcorabant, corpus etiam

¹²² Michael E. Goodich, 'A Note on Sainthood in the Hagiographical Prologue', *History and Theory*, 20 (2) (1981), 168.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

mirabiliter recreabant et tanto fluminis impetu totam dei civitatem letificabant.¹²⁵

Jacques states that the grace of tears (*gratia lacrimarum*) is obtained (*perceperat*) through God. It does not come from within and is subtly distinct from tears that are offered up to God in exchange for the salvation of self and others. When God dwells in Marie's heart, abundant tears flow, demonstrating to others that God is working within in the holy vessel. Tears stream from the heart as this was the physical space in which the Holy Spirit could dwell.¹²⁶ Jacques communicates this same theme in a sermon on the Magdalene:

Magdalena igitur, id est turrensis, refugium est et defensio peccatorum apud Deum. Que etiam turris fortitudinis dicitur, quia fortiter in penitentiam perseueravit. Non enim lacrimae eius leues uel momentanee fuerunt, sed ex profundo cordis prodierunt.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ VMO, pp. 49-50. (But one of these (*quaedam*) had obtained/gained the grace of so many tears that as often as God was in her heart through thought, a stream (*rivulus*) of tears flowed from her eyes through devotion, so that the traces of tears appeared on [her] cheeks from habitual weeping. Nevertheless [these tears] did not empty her head but, rather, they refreshed [her] mind with a certain fullness, they sweetened the spirit with a sweet anointing, they wondrously invigorated her body and gladdened the whole city of God with the impetus of a river.)

¹²⁶ See Heather Webb, "'Lacrimae cordiali': Catherine of Siena and the Value of Tears", *A Companion to Catherine of Siena*, ed. George Ferzoco, Beverly Kienzle and Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, 2011), p. 103. For a discussion of the ways in which medieval thought mapped divine (and demonic influence) on the body, see Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2003), especially pp. 207-15.

¹²⁷ Jacques de Vitry, 'Tulit Dominus Deus hominem- Qui dissipat sepem, mordebit eum coluber', cited by Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere', 223, fn. 64. (The Magdalene, therefore, is a tower, she is a refuge and defender of sinners before God. Furthermore, it is said that [she is] a tower of strength because she persisted strongly in penance. Indeed, her tears were neither trivial nor momentary but they came from the depths of [her] heart.) See also Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen sermones*, vol. 3, sermon 356, p. 211.

In this passage, Jacques presents the Magdalene as a tower of strength whose continual tears flow from the depths of her heart. The theology of tears and the heart becomes much more developed in the later middle ages and is especially notable in Catherine of Siena's *Dialogo*. In her work, Catherine explains that 'that every tear comes from the heart, because there is no member in the body that has so much desire to satisfy the heart as the eye.'¹²⁸

In addition to describing her grace of tears, the passage from the prologue recounts how the constant flow of tears leaves visible marks on Marie's cheeks. This effect recalls both the Lamentations of Jeremiah 1:2 (*Beth plorans ploravit in nocte et lacrimae eius in maxillis eius non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius omnes amici eius spreverunt eam et facti sunt ei inimici*) and an episode from the third-century *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* when Abba Arsenius' tears carved a hollow in his chest.¹²⁹ The physical effect of the tears allow her body to become a canvass for conveying messages about her sanctity. Later in the *vita*, Jacques explains how it is possible to read Marie's

¹²⁸ Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo della divina provvidenza ovvero libro della divina dottrina*, ed. Giuliana Cavallini (Rome, 1968), p. 201: 'ogni lagrima procede dal cuore, però che nullo membro è nel corpo che voglia soddisfare al cuore quanto l'occhio.' Leonardo da Vinci (d.1519) also stressed this connection, see Leonardo da Vinci, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. Jean Paul Richter, 2 volumes (New York, 1970), vol. 2, p. 117: 'Le lagrime vengono dal core e no dal ceruello.' (Tears come from the heart and not from the brain.)

¹²⁹ See *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, ed. Benedicta Ward (Kalamazoo, 1984), p. 18: 'it was said of him [Abba Arsenius] that he had a hollow in his chest channelled out by tears which fell from his eyes all his life while he sat at his manual work.'

Lamentations of Jeremiah 1:2: Beth. Weeping, she hath wept in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks: there is none to comfort her among all them that were dear to her: all her friends have despised her, and are become her enemies.

tear-stained face like a book.¹³⁰ Despite the physical effect of leaving traces on her cheeks, Jacques is careful to point out that tears do not leave the head depleted (*non evacuabant*), a point to which he will later return in more detail.¹³¹ Instead, the perfect nature of this God-given grace is conveyed; these tears are the counterpoint to ‘human’ tears as they refreshed her mind, sweetened her spirit and revived her body.

The lachrymosity found in the prologue sets the tone for the rest of the *vita*. The place given to tears in this prelude was carefully considered and Jacques introduces and interweaves this multivalent expression into a number of important dialogues that recur throughout the following two books. Tears are part of the penitential lifestyle of the beguines, they are both given by God as a grace and offered up to Him on the path to salvation, they are an expression of somatic piety that defined thirteenth-century devotional practice and are conveyed as being a legitimate and sincere expression of holiness for a novel band of religious women. Furthermore, the prologue provided an opportunity to reflect upon and define the characteristics of sainthood.¹³² Marie is set apart from the other holy women as she is the recipient of *gratia lacrimarum*. This divine grace was the cornerstone of her saintly character and is recounted in much detail in the following books.

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¹³⁰ VMO, p. 87. See below pp. 119-20.

¹³¹ See below pp. 113-14.

¹³² See Goodich, ‘A Note on Sainthood’, 173.

The first book of Marie's *life* focuses largely on her devotional practices rather than following a precise chronological schema. It is concerned with the saintly 'exterior' and elements that were seen to be experienced. As part of this, Jacques devotes a whole chapter to Marie's tears and compunction. In addition, tears are part of several other chapters in the first book including those that focus on her confession, prayer, and her gestures and physical comportment.

Jacques nonetheless begins his first book by following the traditional pattern of a saint's life and explains Marie's conversion. The conversion narrative was an essential component of a saint's life as it was the point where their spiritual journey began. When Marie convinces her husband to live a life of continence she is presented as a leader as she moves from the guardianship of her husband to the protection of the Lord and exchanges earthly protection for spiritual sanctuary. Conversion moments are accompanied frequently by tears and Marie is no different¹³³:

Cum autem non multo tempore cum marito suo, Ioanne nomine, in matrimonio sic vixisset, respexit dominus humilitatem ancille sue exaudivitque lacrimas supplicantis. Nam quam prius habuit ut uxorem, inspiratus est Ioannes ut Mariam haberet commendatam: casto castam commendavit ancillam ut in solatium haberet custodem.¹³⁴

¹³³ See below for example pp. 259-60.

¹³⁴ VMO, pp. 58-59. (When she had not long lived in matrimony with her husband, named John, the Lord looked on the humility of his handmaid and heard the tears of the suppliant. For he who had previously had her as a wife, John, was inspired to have her commended like Mary: chastely he entrusted the chaste handmaiden to the comfort of a guardian (*custodem*) [i.e. God].)

This is also the first instance of tears in the Trier manuscript.

In this passage Marie is cast as a humble suppliant who offers tears to the Lord as part of her conversion. The conversion is set in motion when God hears Marie's tears. Thus, Marie's spiritual life begins (and indeed will end) with tears. The path towards God was flooded with tears and lachrymosity was a measure of spiritual progression. The shedding of tears in supplication functioned as a kind of second baptism whereby the internal waters begin to cleanse the outer body and wash away the stains of a former life. These tears reflected an inner spiritual transformation but had an exterior manifestation. In addition, tears served to authenticate the divine approbation of Marie's decision to become an uncloistered woman dedicated to a life of devotion. This was an important element of legitimising her action against contemporary critics.

Jacques continues Marie's conversion narrative in the chapter devoted to her tears, entitled *De compunctione et lacrimis eius*. Conversion was often an episodic process wherein the convert experienced transformative emotions. After her initial tearful conversion, Marie experiences fear (*timuit*) when she first hears the Lord:

Principium conversionis eius ad te, primicie dilectionis crux tua, passio tua fuit. Audivit auditum tuum et timuit, consideravit opera tua et expavit. Dum enim quadam die, preventa et visitata a te beneficia, que tu in carne humano generi clemens exhibuisti, consideraret, tantam compunctionis gratiam, tantam lacrimarum copiam torculari tue crucis expressam in passione tua adinvenit, quod vestigia eius per ecclesiam lacrimae super pavimentum copiose defluentes ostendebant.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ VMO, p. 61. (Your cross and your Passion were the beginning of her conversion to You [and] the first fruits of love. She heard You [had been] hearing and was afraid; she considered your works and was frightened. Indeed, one day, while [she was] anticipating (*preventa*) and visited by your kindness, she reflected on such a grace of compunction that You presented mercifully in the flesh to the human race [that] such an abundance of tears was pressed out of the wine-press of your cross because of your Passion came to her. Her tears flowed down abundantly on to the church floor (*pavimentum*) so that their traces were revealed.)

As Marie meditates on and identifies with Christ's Passion, tears of compunction are pressed out. These tears muddy the floor, reflecting their superabundance and leaving visible traces of Marie's devotion. In the following passage, Jacques records how this first experience of the Lord rendered the holy woman mute: *Unde longo tempore post hanc eius visitationem nec crucis imaginem intueri nec loqui nec alios loquentes audire poterat de passione Christi, quin ex defectu cordis in extasim laberetur.*¹³⁶ Marie falls into a silent ecstasy as a result of a defect of the heart (*defectu cordis*). Jacques alludes to the idea that rapture could be the result of a physical malfunction, an idea that he returns to later when he discusses Marie's tears.¹³⁷ Elsewhere, Jacques notes the same effect that such mystical union had on women: *quod in illo beato silentio fere per totum diem quiescentes... non erat eis vox neque sensus ad aliqua exteriora.*¹³⁸ Silence dominated the lives of religious women whether enclosed or living partially in the world like Marie and the early beguines.¹³⁹ Aside from carnal desire, loquacity was the vice of which women were often accused. Silence was understood as pleasing to the Lord; it was a virtue against the vice of loquaciousness.¹⁴⁰ Men were also instructed in

¹³⁶ VMO, p. 61. (Wherefore, for a long time after his [visitation] she could neither look at an image of the cross, nor speak, nor hear other people speaking about the passion of Christ, without falling into ecstasy from a defect of the heart.)

¹³⁷ See Dyan Elliot, 'The physiology of rapture and female spirituality', *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis (York, 1997), pp. 141-73.

¹³⁸ VMO, p. 50. (resting through almost the whole day in that holy silence... the voice did not [speak] to them nor [did they] perceive anything external to them.)

¹³⁹ Cf. 1 Cor. 14:34: *mulieres in ecclesiis taceant non enim permittitur eis loqui.*

the virtue of silence, but it was women who were thought to be physiologically more prone to the vice of idle chatter. For example, Peter Abelard (d.1142) wrote that:

Quae quanto in vobis subtilior et ex mollitie corporis vestri flexibilior, tanto mobilior et etiam in verba pronior existit.¹⁴¹

The importance of silence in monastic life had been stressed from its inception. The earliest monks of the desert provided the ascetic model of silence.¹⁴² In withdrawing from the world, monks were able to flee from the *strepitus mundi* (noise of the world) and its distractions. The benefits of pursuing silence had been discussed by Jerome, Augustine, Benedict of Nursia and Gregory the Great among others. In the eleventh century, theologians including John of Fécamp (d.1079), Peter Damien (d.1072) and Anselm of Canterbury (d.1109) all considered the importance of silence in both its practical sense and in the pursuit of knowing God.¹⁴³ Hagiographies from the thirteenth century abound with descriptions of how silence was prized. Marie d'Oignies' love of silence is noted by her confessor on several occasions, for example:

¹⁴⁰ See Ps. 30:19: muta fiant labia dolosa quae loquuntur adversus iustum iniquitatem in superbia et in abusione; Ps. 45: 11: Vacate et videte quoniam ego sum Deus.

¹⁴¹ Peter Abelard, *Institutio seu regula sanctimonialium* (Turnhout, 2011), epistle 8, p. 245. (For the more subtle (*subtilior*) [the tongue] is in you, and the more flexible from your softness of your body, the more mobile and prone to words it is.)

¹⁴² See for example *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, ed. Benedicta Ward, pp. 8, 13, 22-23, 31-32, 57-58, 81, 90, 172-73, 178, 188, 190, 193, 218, 220, 242.

In tantum autem turbam et strepitum fugiebat, quietem et silentium diligebat, quod aliquo tempore a festo Sancte crucis usque ad Pascha domini silentium, fere nullum verbum proferendo, tenuit: cuiusmodi silentium adeo dominus acceptavit, quod Spiritu sancto revelante propter hoc super omnia absque purgatorio ad celum evolaret a domino obtinuit. Ex quo patet quantum sit loquacitatis vicium, cum domino tam gratum sit silentium, siquidem *vir linguosus non dirigitur in terra viventium*.¹⁴⁴

The importance of silence for holy men and women, however, stretched beyond its role in quelling the voice of idle chatter; it represented part of the pathway on a journey to union with God and, alongside tears, was a marker of spiritual progression. In the episode above, Marie literally flees the noisy crowd around her, symbolic of the early monks fleeing to the solitude of the desert.¹⁴⁵ Jacques conveys how silence was prized, noting that Marie had secured a direct route to heaven through this virtue. This heavenly experience could also be achieved on earth through the medium of silence. *Competens silentium* (fitting silence) was a prerequisite for contemplation. This silence was both interior and exterior. Silence allowed the world to be shut out externally but internally it

¹⁴³ Notable studies on monastic silence include Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London, 2013), especially pp. 105-26; J. Souilhé, 'Le silence mystique', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 4 (1923), 128-40; J. Leclercq, *Otia monastica: Etudes sur le vocabulaire de contemplation au moyen âge* (Rome, 1963), pp. 64-76, 86-114; P. Antin, 'Solitude et silence chez S. Jérôme', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 40 (1964), 265-75; Ambrose G. Wathen, *Silence: the meaning of Silence in the Rule of St Benedict* (Washington, 1973).

¹⁴⁴ VMO, p. 86. (She loved quiet and silence so much that she fled the noisy crowd so that some time after the Feast of the Holy Cross until around the Passion of the Lord she kept almost silent uttering not a word; the Holy Spirit revealed that the Lord accepted such silence and, on account of this, she obtained from the Lord that she would fly to the Lord, up to heaven, without [going] to purgatory. From this, it is clear how much vice there is in loquaciousness and how pleasing silence is for the Lord, *for a man full of tongue shall not be established in the land of the living* (Psalm 139:12.)

¹⁴⁵ For another instance of Marie fleeing the *strepitus mundi* see VMO, pp. 98-99.

ensured rest and peace so that the Lord could enter. Jacques' description of Marie fleeing from the world in order to achieve silence is also reminiscent of Augustine's vision at Ostia, where he withdraws from the crowd and the noise of his own words.¹⁴⁶ In these examples it is human language and noise that must be left behind to allow for the mind to ascend and join with God and to touch the eternal wisdom.

Out of the particular stillness of the female religious life came the audible counterbalance of tears. Marie's tears were often evoked as violent eruptions accompanied by loud groans and sighs. Such descriptions were framed within the context of silence; it was a necessary pre-condition for achieving a state of union with God and could also follow a divine visitation. Thus, before or after experiencing the grace of tears, the recipient was often plunged into a mute-like state, insensible to anything around them. Marie's *vita* illustrates this juxtaposition between tears and voicelessness. After being visited by Christ, Marie is recorded as being unable to speak and entirely cut off from her surroundings, as we have seen. However, the tears begin to overflow again when she considers his divine majesty.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ See Augustine, *Confessiones*, ed. Martin Skutella and Lucas Verheijen, CCSL, 27 (Turhhout, 1981), book 9, chapter 10, p. 148.

¹⁴⁷ VMO, p. 61: unde, ut dolorem aliquando temperaret, et fluvium lacrimarum cohiberet, relicta humanitate, ad Christi divinitatem et maiestatem animum attollebat, ut in eius impassibilitate reperiret consolationem. (Therefore, she sometimes tempered her sorrow and she would [try to] hold back the river of her tears and, disregarding (*relicta*) Christ's humanity, would raise her mind to his divinity and majesty so that she might discover consolation in his impassibility.)

Silence was more than a *topos* used to frame tears dramatically. As Gehl had noted, ‘silence... is pre-eminently a language beyond language.’¹⁴⁸ God was beyond language and the silence experienced before and after Marie's tears was a reflection of his ineffability. In a similar manner, some valued tears above the spoken word for their communicative power. In Marie's *vita*, her tears are never accompanied by words. Indeed, as seen above, her inability to speak during and after divine visitation is emphasised by her confessor. In this period, what was not said, be it through tears or the presence of silence was often seen as more powerful than the spoken word. In this way, religious women were not restricted by their earthly silence but opened up to a ‘language beyond language.’ Tears too, were a type of non-verbal communication that went beyond language. Tears and silence had rhetoric of their own and were in themselves a way of communicating and teaching spiritual truths. For religious women, tears bridged the silence of their religious lives and the language of male preaching, offering a cathartic outlet through which they might ‘speak’.

Jacques records how Marie, in order to maintain a modest countenance, tried to moderate her lachrymose behaviour, but this was not always successful:

Sed unde fluminis impetum restringere conabatur, inde mirabiliter impetus maior lacrimarum oriebatur. Nam cum attenderet quantus fuit qui tam abiecta pro nobis sustinuit, rursus dolor renovabatur novisque lacrimis anima eius dulci compunctione innovabatur.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Paul F. Gehl, ‘*Competens Silentium: Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West*’, *Viator*, 18 (1987), 126.

¹⁴⁹ VMO, p. 61. (But when she tried to restrain the force of the river, then a more powerful assault of tears wondrously sprang forth. For when she would pay attention to how much he, who was so downcast, sustained for us, her pain was restored again and with new tears her soul was renewed by sweet compunction.)

Recipients of God-given tears often were unable to control their efficacy. When Marie tried to hold back the assault of tears, an even greater torrent sprang forth. As she focussed on what Christ had endured, tears of compunction revived her soul. This powerlessness is underscored in the following passage:

Quadam autem die ante parasceven, cum iam imminente Christi passione maiori lacrimarum imbre cum suspiriis et singultibus se domino mactare inchoasset, quidam de sacerdotibus ecclesie ut oraret cum silentio et lacrimas cohiberet quasi blande increpando hortabatur. Illa vero, sicut verecunda semper erat et omnibus columbina simplicitate obedire satagebat, impossibilitatis sue conscia egressa clam ab ecclesia in loco secreto et ab omnibus remoto se abscondit, impetravitque a domino cum lacrimis ut predicto sacerdoti ostenderet quod non est in homine lacrimarum impetum retinere, quando flante spiritu vehementi fluunt aque.¹⁵⁰

The priest encouraged Marie to pray in silence, a fitting state, rather than with tears and sighs. Undoubtedly, the priest perceived her lacrimation to be disruptive and was wary of behaviour that drew so much attention to a woman. Members of the Church hierarchy often became deeply suspicious of forms of devotion that did not fit custom.¹⁵¹ This incident illustrates how tears were not always associated with divine grace; some saw them as a loss of self-control and sought to restrict and even prevent

¹⁵⁰ VMO, pp. 61-62. (One day before Good Friday, with the passion of Christ approaching, she had begun to sacrifice (*mactare*) herself to the Lord with an even greater shower of tears and with sighs and sobbing. One of the priests of the church persuasively urged her to pray in silence and hold back [her] tears by rebuking her. In truth, just as she was always modest and, in dove-like simplicity, tried to obey in all things, conscious of the impossibility [of this], she secretly went away from the church [and] hid herself in a secret place, removed from everyone. She obtained from the Lord with tears that he would reveal to the aforementioned priest that it is not within a man to hold back the impetus of tears when the waters flow with the vehement breathing spirit).

¹⁵¹ See Beryl Smalley, 'Ecclesiastical Attitudes to Novelty c.1100-c.1250', *Church Society and Politics*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1975), pp. 113-31.

them. Divinely-given tears challenged the priest's authority as they could not be controlled or formalised. Thus, Marie removed herself to an isolated location and petitioned God with tears to show the priest that her action could not be repressed. This passage is important as not only does it demonstrate that tears can be God-given, but it again legitimises them as a form of devotion.

Throughout her *vita*, Marie is characterised as downcast (*abjectus*) and ridiculed (*irridere*) giving an insight into the problems that religious women faced.¹⁵² They were derided for their revelations and accused of being fantasists or insane, as Jacques records:

Ipsi vero spiritum quantum in se extinguunt et prophetias spernunt, qui spirituales quosque quasi insanos vel ydiotas despiciunt et prophetias sive sanctorum revelationes tamquam fantasmata vel somniorum illusiones reputant.¹⁵³

Women were not only mocked and degraded for their devotional practices but often actively restrained.¹⁵⁴ Religious women often found themselves criticised and rebuked for excessive weeping.¹⁵⁵ In order to redress the priest's rebuke, Jacques alludes to a passage from Judith that sanctions the place of tears in otherwise silent prayer: *orans*

¹⁵² VMO, p. 60.

¹⁵³ VMO, p. 54. (Those who look down on any spiritual [men] as insane or idiots and consider the prophecies or the revelations of saints [to be] like phantasms or illusions of dreamers, destroy much of the spirit in themselves and scorn the prophets.)

¹⁵⁴ For confessors encouraging holy women to moderate their lacrimation see below pp. 177, 243-44.

¹⁵⁵ For other examples see below pp. 255-58.

*cum lacrimis et labiorum motu in silentio.*¹⁵⁶ Yet, this situation is resolved when the priest himself is overcome by tears and realises the error of his reproach:

Cum igitur sacerdos ille die eodem missam celebraret, aperuit dominus et non fuit qui clauderet, emisit aquas et subverterunt terram: tanto enim lacrimarum diluvio submersus est spiritus eius, quod fere suffocatus est, quantoque reprimere impetum conabatur, tanto magis lacrimarum imbre non solum ipse, sed et liber et altaris linteamina rigabantur. Quid ageret ille improvidus, ille ancille Christi increpator? Per experientiam cum rubore didicit quod prius per humilitatem et compassionem cognoscere non voluit. Post singultus multos, multa inordinate et cum interruptione pronuntians a naufragio tandem vix evasit, et qui vidit et cognovit testimonium perhibuit. Tunc vero longo tempore post misse completionem ancilla Christi revertens, miro modo acsi presens affuisset quecumque acciderunt sacerdoti impropere retulit: “Nunc”, inquit, “per experientiam didicistis quod non est in homine impetum spiritus Austro flante retinere”.¹⁵⁷

This episode is important for several reasons. Foremost, it underlines that tears can be given by God and that the grace is arbitrary. Divine graces are more powerful than any priest and tears cannot be restrained, modified or muted to suit the wishes of others or

¹⁵⁶ Judith 13:6: stetitque Iudith ante lectum orans cum lacrimis et labiorum motu in silentio.

¹⁵⁷ VMO, pp. 62-63. (Therefore, on the same day when that priest celebrated Mass, the Lord opened and none shut (Is 22:22), he sent forth waters and they overturned the earth (Jb 12:15): for, the soul [of the priest] was submerged with such an inundation of tears that he almost suffocated, and however much he tried to hold back their vigour, the more not just he but also the book and the linen cloths of the altar were wetted by a greater shower of tears. What could he do (*ageret*), he who [had been] thoughtless, he who had rebuked the handmaid of Christ? He learned through experience, with shame, that [what] he had previously not wanted to learn through humility and compassion. After much sobbing and with many faltering and disorderly stammering, finally, he barely escaped from the wreckage. Someone who saw this and who knew the priest bears witness to this. A long time after Mass had ended, the handmaid of Christ returning in a wondrous manner as if she had been present, she met the priest, entering hastily she replied. ‘Now’, she said, ‘You have learned through experience that it is not in a man's [power] to hold back the force of the spirit [when] the south wind is blowing.’)

of the recipient.¹⁵⁸ The message is critical in terms of legitimisation and agency. In an essay on the rhetoric of transgression in the *lives* of Italian women Saints, Elizabeth Petroff argues that for a woman to become a saint she had to transgress in order to become visible.¹⁵⁹ This transgression had to be carefully undertaken; it must be seen to be divinely sanctioned or the woman was in danger of being branded a heretic. When Marie is reproached for her tears she is characterised by Jacques as a meek woman who endeavours to obey the wishes of the priest: '*Illa vero, sicut verecunda semper erat, et omnibus columbina simplicitate obedire satagebat*'.¹⁶⁰ However, when the priest is himself overcome by divine tears, Marie becomes a powerful character who is able to teach him. Thus the episode becomes inverted. This outstanding incident whereby a woman is able to correct a priest appears to have become a touchstone in women's defence of their tears. In the *Book of Margery Kempe* this incident is recounted fully to serve as an example of a woman's inability to silence her tears. When a priest, who has reproached Margery for her weeping, reads about Marie d'Oignies' floods of tears and her rebuke of the priest, he realises his error:

Than he levyd wel that the good woman, which he had beforn lityl affeccyon to, myth not restreyn hir wepyng, hir sobbyng, ne hir crying, which felt meche mor plente of grace than evyr ded he, wythowtyn any comparison. Than he knew wel that God yaf hys grace to whom he wolde.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ For priests celebrating Mass in tears see below pp. 236-37.

¹⁵⁹ Elizabeth Alvida Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (Oxford, 1994), p. 166.

¹⁶⁰ VMO, p. 62.

¹⁶¹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 294.

To balance her agency through tears, Jacques was careful to note Marie's serene decorum.¹⁶² Her tears are juxtaposed against a background of holy serenity and Marie's conduct is that of a perfect female saint.¹⁶³

In addition to potential criticism of the disruptive nature of tears, one can detect a distinct anxiety in Marie's *vita* about the physiological harm that the excess weeping, associated with a grace, could cause:

Cum autem per dies et noctes continue exitus aquarum deducerent oculi eius et lacrimae eius, non solum in maxillis eius, sed ne in pavimento ecclesie lutum ex lacrimis relinquerent, lineo, quo caput tegebat, panno exciperentur, multis talibus utebatur velaminibus, que frequenter permutare oportebat, dum siccum humido succedebat. Dum vero compatientis affectu post longa ieiunia, post multas vigiliis, post tantas lacrimarum inundationes quererem utrum exinanito, ut fieri solet, capite aliquam sentiret lesionem vel dolorem: "Hee", inquit, "lacrimae sunt refectio mea, hee sunt michi panes die ac nocte, que caput non affligunt sed mentem pascunt, nullo dolore torquent, sed animam quadam serenitate exhilarant, non cerebrum evacuant sed animam sacietate replent et suavi quadam unctione mulcent, dum per violentiam non extorquentur sed sponte a domino propinantur."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² See VMO, p. 87.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁶⁴ VMO, p. 63. (Both day and night her eyes would continuously discharge outpourings of waters, her tears [were] not only on her cheeks [as] she would catch [them] with the linen cloth with which she covered her head so that they should not leave the church floor muddy from her tears (*ex lacrymis relinquerent*). She used many such veils [in this manner] for she frequently had to change her wet veil for a dry one. While, touched by compassion, after long fasts, after many vigils, after so many floods of tears, I asked [her] whether by draining (*exinanito*) [her] head she felt any injury or pain as is usually the case. 'These tears', she said, 'are my refreshment, they are my bread, night and day. They do not damage the head but they feed the mind, they [do not] torment [me] with pain but they gladden [my] soul with a kind of serenity, they do not empty the brain but fill the soul to satiety and soothe it with a certain sweet anointing. For they are not wrenched through violence, they are freely given to drink by the Lord.')

In a unique piece of dialogue, Jacques asked Marie what she experienced, seemingly in order to understand whether receiving such tears could cause harm. Although it is possible that this dialogue conveys Jacques' lack of understanding about tears, it is more likely that the hagiographer was using this exchange as a device to allow him to explain them further to the reader. Marie's response, transmitted through the pen of her hagiographer, and in this case also a witness to the tears, is one of the few accounts from the thirteenth century that attempts to explain the experience of receiving this grace. These tears are continuous and not only wet her cheeks but soak her linen veil which prevents the church floor becoming muddied. Jacques thus is careful to spell out to the reader the perceived physiological effects of tears and neatly juxtaposes spiritual and physical health by including a dialogue between him and the saint. The concern that Marie's tears might drain or damage her head are based on the common medical understandings that circulated during this period. As demonstrated above, in order for a person to be in good health, the fluids that connected the heart, eyes and brain had to be delicately balanced.¹⁶⁵ The evacuation of tears was part of maintaining the delicate *res naturalis* of the body. The excessive evacuation of tears could lead to a dangerous imbalance in the humours. Jacques highlights the possibility of an injury to the head when he asks Marie about her tears. The holy woman's response, however, is telling. Her answers as to what the tears do not cause - injury (*laesio*), emptying (*exinanio*) of the head and pain (*dolor*) - suggest the anxieties about shedding copious amounts of tears. In this episode, the concerns about pain, discomfort and illness are juxtaposed with spiritual health. Marie is nourished rather than depleted and in a state of serenity

¹⁶⁵ See above pp. 56-57.

rather than pain. In the same extended passage, moreover, Jacques records how the tears do not cause fatigue but spiritually nourish and invigorate the recipient.¹⁶⁶ This nourishing quality is taken further by the juxtaposition of tears as food, recalling Psalm 41:4: *fuertint mihi lacrimae meae panis die ac nocte.*¹⁶⁷ For Marie, tears become the food through which she sustains herself and, as such, are a food substitute:

Tunc illa, se ipsam amplius domino immolans, diebus quadraginta cum lacrimis et precibus nichil penitus manducans ieiunavit, interpolate tamen ut bis vel ter in ebdomada reficeretur.¹⁶⁸

Ipsa enim, veritate fundata, tanta gravitate solidata erat in domino, adeo veris bonis plena erat, in tantum spiritualibus epulis saginata erat et refecta.¹⁶⁹

In the same way that the Eucharist was described as having restorative powers in religious women, whereby they could survive solely on the bread given to them during Mass, tears replenish, nourish and cultivate as stated in Psalm 79:6: *cibabis nos pane lacrimarum et potum dabis nobis in lacrimis in mensura.*¹⁷⁰ It has been noted above how food was at the heart of religious practice and symbolic of interaction with God.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁶ VMO, pp. 49- 50. For the text see above p. 113.

¹⁶⁷ Psalm 41:4.

¹⁶⁸ VMO, p. 77. (Then she offered herself even more greatly in sacrifice to the Lord and she fasted for forty days with tears and prayers, eating nothing at all, nevertheless, two or three times a week she interrupted this so that she might refresh herself.)

¹⁶⁹ VMO, p. 101. (Indeed, establishing herself in truth, she was so strengthened by the dignity [of] the Lord to such a degree that she was filled with genuine good (*bonis*) and was fattened so greatly and refreshed with spiritual food.)

¹⁷⁰ Psalm 79:6.

¹⁷¹ See above pp. 18-19, 49-51.

Yet food was also seen as the embodiment of God's wisdom.¹⁷² God-given tears were likewise endowed with heavenly knowledge. When tears are likened to bread, replacing food, the recipient of the grace is nourished by heavenly knowledge.

In the next chapter, dedicated to her confession, Jacques writes about Marie's concern for sins and contrition, but there is no direct focus on her tears. Jacques recounts how Marie, if she committed the smallest of sins (*modicum veniale*) would present herself to a priest with such sorrow, timidity and shame, and with such contrition that she was often compelled to shout aloud like a woman in the throes of childbirth.¹⁷³ As with her tears, Marie is unable to stifle her bodily response to her feelings of shame. In this chapter there is a single reference to tears in an episode that alludes to the Magdalene. Marie falls to the feet of a priest who would hear her confession and, shedding tears, she would accuse herself (*sacerdotum pedibus frequenter advoluta quedam cum lacrimis accusando se confitebatur*).¹⁷⁴ In this episode, Marie becomes like the Magdalene even though the nature of her 'sins' is much different. This Magdalanian imagery is carried through to the next passage when Marie kisses the feet of priests (*sacerdotis alicuius manus seu pedes ex intensa devotione osculando*).¹⁷⁵ In this episode the relationship between the penitent and the confessor (the priest) is defined using this imitation.

¹⁷² Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 49. Also see below p. 254.

¹⁷³ VMO, pp. 63-64.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Lauwers has demonstrated how this image of a beguine kneeling at the foot of a priest was depicted frequently in miniatures.¹⁷⁶

In the following chapter, devoted to Marie's prayer, Jacques emphasises her continual oration, genuflection, bodily immolations and recitation of the psalms.¹⁷⁷ The somatic aspects of Marie's piety are combined with elements of reading and reciting. The body responds to the physical exertions but it is also the *means* by which inner states are encouraged.

As part of his discourse on her prayer, Jacques recounts an episode where the devil tempted an unidentified brother who was a friend of Marie. The devil turned himself into an angel in order to give wicked instructions to the brother. The holy woman was able to perceive the evil pretence through a revelation that was given to her by the Holy Spirit and, in an action reminiscent of the Magdalene, watered the feet of the Lord (*pedes domini fletibus rigavit*) with her tearful prayers.¹⁷⁸ Through the divine power of foresight Marie is able to offer up tears in defence of the brother ensuring that he is not ensnared by the devil. Her example prevents the brother from falling into self-exaltation and calls away the devil from his task. This episode is followed by the anecdote of a young Cistercian nun who was attacked by the devil with unclean thoughts.¹⁷⁹ Jacques recounts how the nun feared that she had lost her faith and fell into a deep despair.

¹⁷⁶ See Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere', 227.

¹⁷⁷ VMO, p. 73.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Finally, the young woman succumbed to the devil and, despite the prayers of her fellow sisters, could not be extricated from the jaws of the devil.¹⁸⁰ Jacques hastens to add that the prayers of the sisters were righteous but that the demonic atrocity could only be overcome by Marie and the efficacy of her prayers.¹⁸¹ The young woman was then taken to Marie's cell, where the holy women poured out further prayers. However, this did not free the woman from her entrapment. Thus, Marie offered more intense devotion of fasting with tears in order to save the woman.¹⁸² Fasting and tears were both steps on the pathway towards God, when combined they were an efficacious form of intercession; consequently, they are often found together in the miracle collections of thirteenth-century saints.¹⁸³ However, tears and fasting were not always successful. In an episode recounted later in the *vita*, Jacques explains how one Cistercian monk laboured with tears and prayers yet was not able to recover the first state of innocence.¹⁸⁴ It was only with Marie's tearful intercession that the monk was able to recover from his despair.¹⁸⁵

In the following chapter entitled '*De gestu et compositione vultus et aliorum membrorum eius*', Jacques explains how Marie's external appearance and behaviour are

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 77.

¹⁸² VMO, p. 77. For the text see above p. 115, fn. 168.

¹⁸³ For another example of the connection between tears and fasting see VMO, pp. 112-14.

¹⁸⁴ VMO, pp. 114-15.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

linked to her obedience and subservience.¹⁸⁶ Although Marie struggled to control her tears and smiles in an earlier passage, Jacques stresses that she had astounding moderation and walked slowly and humbly.¹⁸⁷ The author also demonstrates how Marie's appearance was an example for others. He recounts how by looking at the face of the holy woman, people were spiritually refreshed and moved to shed tears:

Adeo autem ex plenitudine cordis eius in facie illius Spiritus sancti gratia resultabat, quod multi ex solo eius aspectu spiritualiter refecti ad devotionem et lacrimas provocabantur, et in vultu eius quasi in libro unctionem Spiritus sancti legentes, virtutem ex ea procedere cognoscebant.¹⁸⁸

The Holy Spirit emanates from Marie's face and her body acts as a canvass for conveying messages of holiness. Jacques suggests that people could read Marie's face like a book.¹⁸⁹ Education was not needed to read this; her tear stained face was the imprint of God.¹⁹⁰ Mystics were imprinted by the experience of God as 'a signet

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. (Thus, the grace of the Holy Spirit was reflected in her face from the fullness of her heart so that many were refreshed spiritually from only her appearance and were stirred to devotion and tears. Reading the unction of the Holy Spirit in her face as if [they were reading] from a book, they knew that power came from her.)

Note that the first part of this passage is scored out in the Trier manuscript, see fol. 214^v.

¹⁸⁹ Later in the *vita* Jacques reiterates how by gazing at Marie's face, others were stirred to devotion. See VMO, p. 90.

¹⁹⁰ For Marie's tear stained face see VMO, pp. 49-50.

imprints wax, the body was imprinted with the presence of God.¹⁹¹ Marie's face was a book filled with biblical precepts and Jacques records how people were able to read 'the unction of the Spirit' in an allusion to 1 John 2.27: 'His unction will teach you concerning all things.'¹⁹² Despite being a reflection of the ineffable, tears were also able to convey a simple message to fervent followers. Such non-verbal messages were accessible to all people and provided simple visual instruction. Gregory the Great stressed the importance of providing uncomplicated messages, a belief that was emphasised by mendicants centuries later.¹⁹³ Marie's face could move the unlettered to tears, illustrating that her lacrimation was not just to be admired but also to be imitated.

¹⁹¹ Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Taste and See, For God is Sweet': Sensory Perception and Memory in Medieval Christian Mystical Experience', *Vox Mystica. Essays for Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. Anne Clarke Bartlett, Thomas Bestul, Janet Goebel and William F. Pollard (Cambridge, 1995), p. 11.

¹⁹² 1 John 2.27: et vos unctionem quam accepistis ab eo manet in vobis et non necesse habetis ut aliquis doceat vos sed sicut unctio eius docet vos de omnibus et verum est et non est mendacium et sicut docuit vos manete in eo.

¹⁹³ Gregory the Great, *Règle Pastorale*, ed. Floribert Rommel and Charles Morel, Sources Chrètiennes 381 (Paris, 1992), book 2, chapter 5, p. 198: 'Hinc Jacob Domino desuper innitente, et uncto deorsum lapide, ascendentes ac descendentes angelos vidit; quia scilicet praedicatores recti non solum sursum sanctum caput Ecclesiae, uidelicet Dominum, contemplando appetunt, sed deorsum quoque ad membra illius miserando descendunt.' (Thus Jacob, as the Lord looked down from above and poured oil on the stone, saw angels ascending and descending the ladder, which signifies that true preachers do not only aspire through contemplation to the holy head of the Church (in other words, to the Lord), but they also descend to the needs of the members through compassion.) Gregory the Great, *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, trans. George E. Demacopoulos (New York, 2007), p. 59. Transmitting simple messages of sanctity was a critical factor in saving the souls of as many individual as possible. For Jacques' discussion of this see *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p. 76.

The second book of the *vita* is much longer than the first. Its didactic purpose is evident as it is compiled in the style of the *Vitae Patrum* as a collection of *exempla* about Marie. The focus shifts from Marie's devotional practices to a concern with 'interior and more subtle things.'¹⁹⁴ The first part of the book is constructed using the theological concept of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit found in Isaiah 11:2 and Galatians 5:22. Jacques systematically moves through each gift (*timor, pietas, scientia, fortitudo, consilium, intellectus* and *sapientia*) using examples from Marie's life. In four of the seven gifts, tears are mentioned. The lacrimation in these episodes might be considered as part of her journey of tears as the term *gratia lacrimarum* is not used by Jacques. In iconography, the gifts are often represented as the seven steps to the throne of Solomon, on which Mary, the Mother of Heaven and Earth, is seated.¹⁹⁵ Marie's journey of tears can be viewed as similar steps where each episode of shedding tears brings her closer to God.

The first gift that encompasses tears is *De spiritu timoris*. In this chapter, Marie's desire to live by mendicancy means that she is unable to hold back the tears of her friends (*vix multis amicorum suorum lacrimis tandem potuit retineri*).¹⁹⁶ Likewise, when Marie was ready to leave her friends, she found that she was unable to bear their pain and weeping.¹⁹⁷ Although Jacques suggests that her absence would be intolerable to her brothers and sisters (*quibus eius absentia intolerabilis videbatur*), he also notes that

¹⁹⁴ VMO, p. 91: *ad interiora et subtiliora transeamus modicum respiremus.*

¹⁹⁵ Mulder-Bakker, 'Introduction', p. 29.

¹⁹⁶ VMO, pp. 96-97.

¹⁹⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 97.

Marie could only do what she was able to do (*Fecit igitur quod potuit*).¹⁹⁸ Marie is cast as a leader in this passage and, although she is limited by the restrictions on her sex, she is not insensible to the tearful pleas of her friends. This is the only passage where tears are shed in the context of human attachment. Whilst such tears could indicate close bonds to the material world, Marie's friends fear the loss of their spiritual aide and their lacrimation can be read as a supplication for her guidance.

In the chapter on the following gift, *De spiritu pietatis*, Jacques recalls how Marie's relative named Ivan of Roavia was divinely inspired and converted to God. The devil appeared to Marie, furious because he had lost one of his special attendants (*unum enim de specialibus ministris meis*).¹⁹⁹ However, Ivan found it difficult to break the ties with his former life and his determination began to waver. He was recalled to where Marie was living and found her in lachrymose devotion:

Cumque ille ad locum, ubi morabatur Christi margarita, extra Nivellam venisset, invenit eam pre tristitia et anxietate cordis quasi languidam et pedes crucifixi, quos amplexata fuerat, fluvio lacrimarum rigantem. Tunc ille ammirans et pre verecundia consternatus animo, dum causam quereret cur lugeret: "Merito", inquit, "lugeo: pro vobis doleo, pro miseria vestra turbata est anima mea, qui cum spiritu ceperitis, carne consummari et consumi miserabiliter proponitis."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ VMO, p. 110.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 111. (When he came to the place just outside Nivelles where the pearl of Christ was staying, he found [her] because of sadness and anxiety of heart, as if weak, and watering with a river of tears the feet of the crucified, which she embraced. Then he was [struck with] wonder through shame, confounding by the soul. When he asked her why she would mourn, 'Deservedly' she said, 'My soul is troubled because of your wretchedness: I mourn and suffer for you since although you began in the spirit, you now propose miserably to be borne and ended in the flesh.')

As Marie weeps at the foot of the cross, Ivan questions her about her weeping and she explains how she takes on his suffering. Witnessing this lachrymose act causes a change in Ivan:

Tunc ille, ad se reversus et tante revelationis miraculo salubriter compunctus; “Ignoscite”, inquit, “michi, pia mater, et orate pro me misero, et ego deo et vobis promitto quod constanter de cetero in servitio illius, qui me per vos revocavit, permanebo.”²⁰¹

Ivan is filled with healing compunction (*salubriter compunctus*) as a result of witnessing Marie in her lachrymose state. Thus, Marie re-converts her relative through her penitential weeping.

In the following episode, Marie’s tears of supplication are more eminent than those of others. A Cistercian monk laboured with tears and prayers yet was not able to recover the first state of innocence.²⁰² Only with Marie’s tearful sighs (*lacrimosis suspiriis*) during the Introit to the Mass was the monk able to recover from his despair and black stones, representing the blackness of his sorrow, fell from his mouth as he recited the words of the Confiteor.²⁰³ In this episode, there is a tacit discussion of imitation and admiration. The Cistercian monk’s tears do not help him to achieve his spiritual goal and his abbot is unable to save the holy man from despair despite pouring out many prayers. The abbot seeks the assistance of Marie and her tearful entreaties are so

²⁰¹ VMO, pp. 111-12. (Then he, returning to himself, feeling healing compunction by the miracle of such a revelation, ‘Forgive me holy mother’ he said, and pray for me [and] the wretched, that I am. I promise you (*vobis*) and God that I will remain unmoved by these other things in the service of Him, who called me through you.’)

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 114-15.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 115.

compelling that they turn the ear of God. Marie's intercession removes the monk's despair and he is finally restored to himself and able to take the salvific body of Christ.

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It has been shown how, for religious women such as Marie, tears were a bridge between the silence of their religious lives and the language of male preaching. Yet one should be cautious in suggesting that tears acted in the same way as verbal preaching. In his chapter on the *spiritu scientie*, Jacques de Vitry is careful to note that Marie did not verbally preach:

Multis autem lacrimosis suspiriis, multis orationibus et ieiuniis a domino instantissime postulando obtinuit, ut meritum et officium predicationis quod in se actualiter exercere non poterat, in aliqua alia persona dominus ei recompensaret et quod sibi dominus pro magno munere unum predicatorem daret.²⁰⁴

When Marie obtains a priest she acknowledges that she cannot wield sacramental powers as these were exclusively male. Marie was 'institutionally dependent' on Jacques because of the restrictions placed on women.²⁰⁵ Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140) had increased these prohibitions: women could not preach, confer baptism or have

²⁰⁴ VMO, pp. 120-21. (With many tearful sighs, many prayers and fasts she obtained from the Lord, by most vehemently demanding, that [he] would recompense her with some other person [for] the service and office of preaching (which she herself was not able to exercise actively) and that the Lord would give her a preacher [i.e. Jacques de Vitry] for herself as a great gift.)

²⁰⁵ Lauwers, 'Noli me tangere', 250.

contact with sacred objects.²⁰⁶ Shortly after Marie's *vita* was produced, Gregory IX confirmed and extended these exclusions, probably because they were being ignored. In his Decretals of 1234 women were prohibited from entering the sanctuary, serving Mass, preaching, and reading the Gospel in public.²⁰⁷ Moreover, St Paul's words '*mulieres autem in ecclesia docere non permitto*' were often repeated in thirteenth-century theological texts.²⁰⁸ Despite being a strong supporter of the *mulieres sanctae*, Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones FERIALES ET COMMUNES*, a collection of 25 sermons based on Genesis, comment on the intellectual inferiority of women which made them unsuitable for preaching.²⁰⁹ This sentiment was echoed later by the Master General of the Dominican Order, Humbert of Romans (d.1277) in his *Treatise on the Formation of Preachers*:

²⁰⁶ *Decretum Gratiani (Kirchenrechtssammlung)*, Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2009), available at <http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/online/angebot> (last accessed 02/01/2014). See Decretum 23, chapter 23: 'Vestimenta altaris et uasa sacrata mulieres tangere prohibeantur'; Distinction I (de consecratione), chapter 41: 'Sacra uasa non nisi a sacratis contrectentur hominibus' and Distinction II (de consecratione), chapter 29: 'Sacerdotes non nisi per se diuina sacramenta ministrent.'

²⁰⁷ For more on the exclusion of women from priesthood see Ida Raming, *The exclusion of women from the priesthood: divine law or sex discrimination? A historical investigation of the juridical and doctrinal foundations of the code of canon law, canon 968*, trans. Norman R. Adams (Metuchen, 1976), especially pp. 70-93. At the Synod of Liège in 1288, these statutes were repeated: 'Nec mulier aliquatenus permittatur ad altare ministrare', *Les statuts synodaux de Jean de Flandre, évêque de Liège*, ed. E. Schoolmeesters (Liège, 1908), p. 147.

²⁰⁸ See for example Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, CCCM, 82, ed. F. Morenzoni (Turnhout, 1988), p. 58.

Circa personam est notandum quod debet esse sexus virilis. 1 *Tim.* 2: Mulierem docere non permitto. Hujus autem ratio est quadruplex. Prima est defectus sensus, de quo non praesumitur in muliere tantum sicut in vero. Secunda est conditio subjectionis quae inflicta est ei: praedicator autem tenet locum excellentum. Tercia est, quia si praedicaret, aspectu suo provocaret ad luxuriam, sicut dicit *Glossa* hic. Quarta in memoriam stultitiae primae mulieris, de qua Bernardus: Semel docuit, et totam mundam subvertit.²¹⁰

Such a notion of inadequacy followed women throughout the medieval period. Although there were fears that lay ‘usurpation’ could potentially threaten the ecclesiastical order, Lauwers suggests that semi-religious women and lay men were often consulted, brought in to give advice and allowed to speak.²¹¹ Lauwers makes the distinction between mutual exhortation in private and public preaching in order to illustrate his point.²¹² Furthermore, holy women including Marie, Ida of Nivelles, Margaret of Ypres and Ida of Louvain (d. 1261) encouraged and helped preachers in

²⁰⁹ See Sermon 12, based on Genesis 1: 26-27, in Carolyn Muessig ‘The *Sermones feriales* of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition’, 2 volumes (PhD dissertation, Université de Montréal, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 221-22 cited in Carolyn Muessig, ‘Prophecy and Song. Teaching and Preaching by Medieval Women’, *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. Beverly Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (London, 1998), p. 146 and fn. 4 p. 154.

²¹⁰ Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier, 2 vols. (Rome, 1956), vol. 2, p. 406. (In connection with the preacher’s person, we should notice that he must be of male sex. “I do not permit a woman to teach.” 1 Tim. 2: There are four reasons [for this]. First, is an understanding, of which, in the case of women, should not be assumed in truth. Second is the state of subjugation which has been inflicted on her; however, the preacher possesses a place of excellence. The third is if she were to preach, her appearance would provoke lascivious thoughts (*ad luxuriam*), as the Gloss on this text says. Fourth, in remembrance of the foolishness of the first woman, of whom Bernard [said]: “She taught once and destroyed the whole world”.)

²¹¹ Lauwers, ‘Noli me tangere’, 245.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 246.

their office.²¹³ Some women did preach, for example Hildegard of Bingen (d.1179), but her ability to do so was understood as a gift of prophecy as Carolyn Muessig has shown.²¹⁴ As with tears, a woman's ability to convey messages about sanctity and edify was connected with divine inspiration. Muessig has illustrated how two religious women, Marie d'Oignies and Christina 'the Astonishing', used the medium of song to comment on biblical and theological issues.²¹⁵

However, it is worth asking whether it is possible to preach without words.²¹⁶ And can tears be seen as a mode of preaching? Preaching might be defined as a public verbal instruction in faith, informed by the study of the bible, perfected by the art of rhetoric and successful when it edifies and encourages spiritual process. Based on such a definition, tears could not be seen as a form of preaching because they did not come from learning or rational thought and they did not require training or oratorical skill to impart a message. Furthermore, when Marie wept, she did not have a public audience. Yet, tears could develop the faith of others by example as they conveyed strong messages to those who witnessed, heard or read about them. In Marie's *vita*, Jacques

²¹³ A. Forni, 'Kerygma e adattamento. Aspetti della predicazione cattolica nei secoli XII-XIV', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 89 (1980-1981), pp. 298-316.

²¹⁴ Muessig, 'Prophecy and Song', p. 147.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-52. For Marie and song see VMO, p. 150-53. For Christina and song see VCM, 657.

²¹⁶ This question is raised by Walter Simons in 'Reading a saint's body: rapture and bodily movement in the *vitae* of thirteenth-century beguines', *Framing Medieval bodies*, ed. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester, 1994), pp. 10-23.

noted that the preacher is simply an instrument through which the Lord speaks.²¹⁷ Indeed it was not only through tears that Marie communicated the word of the Lord, her confessor notes that Marie was able to belch sweetly divine knowledge.²¹⁸ Marie used her entire body as a canvass to communicate messages and she would sing divine scriptures.²¹⁹

In the following chapter, Jacques turns his attention to the spirit of knowledge (*De spiritu scientie*). Knowledge is necessary to live a virtuous life but also in perceiving dangers to the faith. In a comment on the heretical threats present in the diocese, Jacques records how Marie flees from a demon:

gemens et miseris compatiens relicto demone ad ecclesiam confugit et magno tempore post, dum pastorem illum pessimum ad memoriam reducebat, abstinere se a lacrimis non valebat.²²⁰

In this episode the tears are an expression of horror at the memory and a counterpoint to heretical beliefs.²²¹ Part of the purpose of the *vita* was to refute heretical beliefs by offering a model that could be imitated and admired, so Jacques is able to use tears to legitimise orthodoxy and to repudiate heresy.

²¹⁷ VMO, p. 121: Quo dato, licet per eum Dominus, tamquam per instrumentum verba predicationis emitteret.

²¹⁸ See VMO, p. 100.

²¹⁹ Muessig, 'Prophecy and Song', pp. 146-58.

²²⁰ VMO, p. 122. (groaning and having compassion for the wretched, she fled to the church leaving the demon [behind] and for a long time afterwards she [could not] restrain herself from tears whenever she was reminded of the memory of that most wicked shepherd.)

²²¹ Tears are not a characteristic of thirteenth-century heretical devotion. I am grateful to Professor John Arnold for this information.

In this chapter Jacques reiterates how Marie was endowed with the sevenfold gifts of the spirit (*septiformis Spiritus dono*).²²² Wisdom was a rare gift imparted only to the greatest of the faithful and those who were permitted to taste heavenly salvation.²²³ The other gifts beautify and adorn Marie yet the gift of wisdom is described in terms of food. It tastes sweet (*sapientie sapore gustavit*) and fills her soul with marrow and fatness (*adipe et pinguedine repletur anima eius*).²²⁴ This spiritual sweetness is also described as tasting of honey and milk (*mel et lac*) and consuming it causes her to feel inebriated (*ebrius*).²²⁵ The taste of God and his wisdom made her thirst for more, and when she felt He might leave, she begged with tears (*cum lacrimis obsecrabat*) that he might show himself more clearly to her.²²⁶

As the chapter on the gift of wisdom reaches its conclusion, Jacques returns to the relationship between Marie and a priest and, once again, the holy woman is questioned about her tears:

Cum autem in magna ipsa veneratione haberet et speciali amore diligeret sanctum Ioannem evangelistam, accidit quod sacerdoti cuidam cum multis lacrimis et gemitibus veniale modicum confiteretur. Cumque sacerdos ille quereret cur ita lacrimis efflueret: “Nequeo”, inquit, “lacrimas reprimere.” Videbat enim aquilam quamdam supra pectus suum, que quasi in fonte in eius pectore tingebat rostrum et magnis clamoribus aera replebat, et

²²² VMO, p. 138.

²²³ Mulder-Bakker, ‘Introduction’, p. 28.

²²⁴ VMO, p. 138.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 139.

intellexit in spiritu quod lacrimas eius et gemitum beatus Ioannes ad dominum deferebat.²²⁷

After confessing her sins to a priest with tears and groans, Marie is questioned about why she flowed with tears and, echoing an earlier passage, she responds that she is unable to restrain them. The eagle, which is a symbol of John the Baptist, baptism, and the resurrection, wets its beak in the tears that run down Marie's breast. The eagle then delivers her tears and groans to the Lord. In the following passage, as Jacques' discussion of the seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit comes to a close, the priest is able to experience such tears:

Aliquando vidit quemdam sacerdotem cum lacrimis devote celebrantem, visumque est ei quod columba quedam super humerum sacerdotis descenderet et quod fons clarissimus de eius humero scaturiret.²²⁸

In contrast to the eagle, when the priest celebrates the Mass, a dove descends on his shoulder, reflecting Jesus' baptism at the hands of John the Baptist. When Jesus emerged from the water, the Spirit of God descended upon him the form of a dove showing that the heavens had been opened to him (Matthew 3:16).²²⁹ During the Mass

²²⁷ VMO, pp. 142-43. (By the great veneration she had for saint John the Evangelist, she loved him with a special love. [Once] she confessed a little venial [sin] to a certain priest with many tears and groans. And when [the priest] asked why she flowed with tears, she said: "I cannot hold back [my] tears." She saw a certain eagle on her breast which wet its beak on her breast as if at a fountain and the air was filled with great cries. She understood in the spirit that blessed John delivered her tears and groans to the Lord.)

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 143. (One time she saw a certain priest devoutly celebrating [mass] with tears and it seemed to her that a dove descended on the shoulder of the priest and that a very clear fountain gushed from his shoulder.)

²²⁹ Matthew 3:16: baptizatus autem confestim ascendit de aqua et ecce aperti sunt ei caeli et vidit Spiritum Dei descendentem sicut columbam venientem super se.

the priest in this episode is baptised by his tears and he is born again after learning from Marie and her graces.

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As Jacques neared completion of the *vita*, he ended his discussion of the seven Gifts and narrated the final days of Marie's life. In preparation for her death, Jacques records how he requested personal items from the holy woman. The *life* is threaded through with the concern for relics. Marie not only appointed herself protector of the relics of saints in Oignies during the night but had the ability to perceive whether relics were genuine.²³⁰ The intimate relationship between Marie and Jacques is exemplified by the exchange of relics. The best-known relic connecting Jacques and Marie was the finger of the holy woman, which came into his possession shortly after her death.²³¹ Furthermore, after a long absence from Oignies during his active career, Jacques continued his connection with the town and his 'precious pearl of Christ' by gifting relics, silks and church ornaments.²³² As Bolton has noted, 'in all these gifts, it was always the intention and purpose [of Jacques de Vitry] that Mary should be

²³⁰ VMO, p. 143: 'Quando autem alique reliquie ad ecclesiam nostram deferebantur, ipsa in spiritu reliquiarum presentiebat adventum et tota nocte cum sanctis reliquiis exultabat Christumque gaudentem et alias reliquias quasi cum exultatione et veneratione novas reliquias suscipientes videbat; utrum autem essent vere reliquie eius spiritus mirabiliter percipiebat.' (However, when other relics were transferred to our church, she felt the arrival of these relics in her spirit (i.e. before they arrived) and she exulted with the holy relics for the whole night and she saw that Christ was rejoicing and that the other relics [were] receiving the new relics with exultation and veneration; thus, her spirit marvellously perceived whether (or not) they were real relics.)

²³¹ *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p. 550: 'in quo matris mee Marie de Oegnies digitum reposueram.'

²³² See *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p. 615 and Brenda M. Bolton, 'Mary of Oignies: A Friend to the Saints', *Mary of Oignies. Mother of Salvation*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 206-7.

remembered.²³³ After Marie's death, Jacques set about establishing a cult around her relics. In 1227 he consecrated Marie's bones and placed the relics in a shrine; indulgence was granted to people who came to venerate them.²³⁴ As Mulder-Bakker has noted, such liturgical elevation was tantamount to local canonisation, yet, no enduring cult can be attached to her relics.²³⁵ One instance of the exchange of relics between Jacques and Marie that has not been examined by scholars relates to her tear-soaked handkerchief. Jacques provides an insight into the collection and gifting of tears as relics prior to a saint's death:

ipsa quesivit a me quando reverti proponerem. Cumque longo tempore me morum facturum responderem: "Ego", inquit illa, cum adhuc ante Quadragesimam nullam penitus haberet infirmitatem, "vobis ex testamento relinquo quedam que volo ut habeatis post mortem meam": iam enim obitum suum, sicut dictum est, longe ante previderat, dixitque michi dissolutionem sui corporis imminere. Et quia quando reverteretur nesciebat, testamentum suum facere destinavit, relinquens michi corrigiam qua cincta erat et sudarium lineum quo lacrimas extergebat et quedam alia modica, auro tamen et argento michi cariora.²³⁶

This extract is telling. In Marie's haste, she searches for something that will be treasured above all to give to her confessor. The tear-soaked linen handkerchief which

²³³ See *Ibid.*, p. 207.

²³⁴ See Bolton, '*Vitae Matrum*', p. 271.

²³⁵ Mulder-Bakker, 'Introduction', p. 10.

²³⁶ VMO, p. 149. ([Marie] asked me when I proposed to return (from preaching against the heretics). When I replied, as I am accustomed to do, that I would have to be there a long time, she said: "I" she said ([who], thus far, had no inner weakness until before Quadragesima [Sunday]) "I am leaving [my] testament to you (*vobis*) because I want you to have it after my death." She told me that the dissolution of her body was imminent for, as has been said, her death had already been foreseen a long time before. Since she did not know when I would return, she decided to make her will, leaving for me a [piece of] lace [with] which she was girt and a linen handkerchief with which she wiped away [her] tears and other small things dearer to me than gold or silver.)

is given to Jacques with some other personal effects is described as more valuable than gold and silver.

The collection of saintly effluvia was extremely important in the thirteenth century.²³⁷ Given Jacques' continued interest in her tears, it was fitting that Marie bequeathed this particular relic. This linen was of special significance as it had been drenched in her holy tears and the gift of this item shows that the tears themselves were valued by both the holy woman and her confessor. The collection of the tear relic before death not only acknowledges the holy person before they were officially declared a saint, but demonstrates that their tears were an important marker of their holy life and were imbued with saintly power. The tears that were absorbed into the handkerchief were 'living' relics and could not be collected after death. Furthermore, unlike other liquid relics such as bathwater they were produced by the body of the holy person. Associative body relics or body-product relics²³⁸ of a saint were revered and ecclesiastical institutions often needed to protect them against theft.²³⁹ Tear relics were perhaps considered more efficacious and valuable as they were collected from the would-be-saint whilst still alive. Tears could only be collected from the living, unlike hair or fingernails which could be collected post mortem. The tear was a living part of the saint and, like blood, it maintained its integrity and kept a part of the saint alive. The tear

²³⁷ See below pp. 265-70.

²³⁸ I refer here to tears as 'body-product' relics in order to make them distinct from 'body-part' relics such as bones. Body-product relics include tears, blood and lactated milk.

²³⁹ See Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990).

relic was also particularly unique as, unlike other relics, it could be connected directly with both the saint and with God. The grace of tears was given by God and thus the tears that fell from the saints' eyes were droplets sent from heaven.

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As the *vita* draws to a close, and Marie approaches death and the end of her spiritual journey on earth, tears remain part of her progression. In a striking metaphor, God wipes the tears from Marie's eyes, symbolising the end of her lacrimation on earth:

Iam tempus promissum prope erat, quod multis lacrimis prevenerat, multis suspiriis et gemitibus postulaverat. Et ecce factus est repente sonus et vox turturis audita est in ecclesia nostra, vox exultationis et confessionis quasi sonus epulantis et iubilantis, tamquam sonus excelsi dei, extersit deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis filie sue et implevit cor eius exultatione et labia eius modulatione.²⁴⁰

Echoing Revelations 21:4, Marie will experience no sorrow or tears in heaven as this is where the wet eyes of saints are dried.²⁴¹ The final drying of Marie's eyes after being drenched in tears for so many years is symbolic. In the instance that her tears are taken away, her heart is filled with exultation. The third beatitude from Luke '*beati qui nunc fletis quia ridebitis*' is fulfilled and Marie is rewarded for her lacrimation. As she becomes ready to ascend to heaven, she has reached her goal and will take her place as

²⁴⁰ VMO, pp. 150-51. (Already, the promised time was near which she had anticipated with many tears [and] she had asked for [it] with many sighs and groans. And, behold, a sound was made suddenly and the voice of the turtle-dove was heard in our church, the voice of exultation and confession, like the sound of feasting and jubilation, as if it were the sound coming from the most high of God. God wiped away all the tears from the eyes of his daughter and filled up her heart with exultation and her lips with a melody (*modulatione*).)

²⁴¹ Revelations 21:4: et absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum et mors ultra non erit neque luctus neque clamor neque dolor erit ultra quae prima abierunt.

the bride of Christ. This episode almost certainly influenced the author who composed the Office in memory of the saint. In the final line of the alternative first nocturne, Marie's tears are wiped away by God: '*Extersit Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis filiae suae, et implevit cor eius exultatione, et labia eius modulatione.*'²⁴² It is of note that an additional set of antiphons were produced for the first nocturne that not only focus on Marie's sevenfold gifts from the Holy Spirit but conclude with her tears as the end of her spiritual journey.²⁴³

From her conversion moment to her death, tears flow through Marie's *life*. They are a reflection of her spiritual progression, legitimise her and others' way of life, and are intertwined with dominant spiritual trends. Tears permeate the *vita* but their place is not arbitrary. As Marie progresses through her spiritual life stages, important events are accompanied by tears. As such, it is possible to identify a journey through tears which incorporates the gift of tears. Between the neat bookending with tears whereby Jacques describes her tearful conversion and her lachrymose death, Marie's advancement towards God can be seen through her lachrimation. Although a precise chronological schema is subsumed under a thematic format, tears accompany her confession, prayer, gestures and physical comportment in book one and are present in four of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the second book. Tears are not devalued in the *vita*, nor are they subsumed by other forms of bodily piety. Indeed, in the case of fasting, tears make

²⁴² *Office*, 286. Cf. Isaiah 25:8, Revelations 7:17 and Revelations 21:4.

²⁴³ Feiss, 'Introduction', p. 183.

the practice more efficacious. Lacrimation defines Marie's spirituality and sanctity but also shapes the lives and behaviour of the women around her as tears traverse the boundary of what was to be imitated and what was to be admired. Tears are a pervasive element in Marie's *life*: they became a touchstone in other *vitae* and were re-written into her vernacular lives, the *Speculum Historiale* and her Liturgical Office.²⁴⁴ As one of the first beguines, Marie's life needed to be lived, and transmitted, along accepted norms of sanctity. Marie is questioned three times about why she sheds tears and three times she defends her devotion: neutralising medical anxieties, overcoming scepticism, and legitimising and clarifying her penitential act. Jacques promulgates beguine spirituality using the multivalency of tears to ensure their acceptance.

²⁴⁴ For Marie d'Oignies in the *life* of Margaret of Ypres (d.1237), see below pp. 245-46.

Chapter 2

Dominic of Caleruega (c.1170-1221)

Dominic of Caleruega, founder of the Dominicans, may not seem at first glance a remarkably lachrymose saint. The sources that inform us of his life and devotional practices vary in their treatment of his tears. In some Dominic's tears barely wet the pages whereas in others, his tearful devotions stream from one passage to the next. Dominic's affective piety and divine gifts have not been subject to the same scrutiny and scholarly examination as that of his contemporary, Francis of Assisi (d.1226). By comparison, Dominic has been characterised as a demure, decorous saint who eschewed emotional displays of his sanctity. Using the breadth of thirteenth-century hagiographical sources relating to Dominic, this chapter will elucidate how tears were both an essential marker of the founder's sanctity and an important part of early Dominican spirituality. This case study will systematically analyse the non-linear development of the presentation of tears in each of the thirteenth-century hagiographical sources pertaining to Dominic's life. As the reconfigurations of the *legendae* and supplementary hagiographic texts pertaining to Dominic differ in their emphasis on tears, this study will examine this divergence in light of the changing notion of sainthood which placed increasing importance on charismatic gifts and the supernatural nature of sanctity. Paying particular attention to the Canonisation Proceedings (1233), the *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* written by Gerard Frachet (d.1271) and *De Modo Orandi* (c.1280) as sources for Dominic's lachrymal devotion, it will argue for the importance of tears in male devotion. When the main corpus of hagiographies is taken together, even if the emphasis placed upon tears is variable, it demonstrates that although the portrait of Dominic may be seen as less overtly affective in comparison to

other saints of the day, there are intimate glimpses of the saint and his lachrymal devotion. In addition, this case study will show that although tears were an attribute of Dominic's sanctity, there was an indistinct boundary between what was to be imitated and what was to be admired. Although Dominic is recorded as having a *specialem gratiam* of weeping, he was able to transmit his tears, causing others to weep, and he actively encouraged his followers to shed tears. Once again, it will become clear that tears were both part of the journey to spiritual perfection and its apex.

Born in Caleruega, Castile, Dominic was educated in Palencia before joining the canons regular and becoming sub-prior. His early career was diverse and enlivening: he preached against heresy, travelled across Europe and founded a priory before becoming the reluctant founder of the Order that would eventually take his name.¹ The body of *vita* sources that inform us of Dominic's life and sanctity have been noted by some scholars for a lack of intimacy whereby the saint himself is kept at arm's length. Some historians have suggested that Dominic is presented as a human rather than charismatic figure.² Ralph Francis Bennett even went as far as to call Dominic the most

¹ For a comprehensive study of the life and times of Dominic and his Order see Marie-Humbert Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, trans. Kathleen Pond (Darton, 1964). For a schematic breakdown of the life of Dominic see Simon Tugwell, 'Schéma Chronologique del la Vie de Saint Dominique', *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 1-24.

² An early summary of this approach can be found in C. N. L. Brooke, 'St Dominic and his First Biographer', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 17 (1967), 23-40, especially 24. For Dominic as a human figure see Maura O' Carroll, 'The Cult and Liturgy of St Dominic', *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 572-73.

‘unresponsive historical figure’ without ‘any attributes of a living being.’³ In a recent study of Dominic’s spirituality, Francesco Santi noted how it is difficult to trace the personal profile and spirituality of the saint, let alone that of the wider Order.⁴ These appraisals provide some clue as to why scholarship has failed to examine Dominic’s affective piety and lachrymosity.

Aquinas's writings, which were not formally introduced to the Order until the early fourteenth century, have overshadowed the study of early Dominican affective devotion and the place of tears.⁵ Robert Gaston has noted how the early Dominicans have been characterised as preaching theologians whose devotional practices have been subsumed under the theology of contemplation of Thomas Aquinas.⁶ The only scholar to have considered tears as a part of early Dominican devotion was Marie-Humbert Vicaire, author of several seminal works on the saint.⁷ In an important chapter, Vicaire described

³ Ralph Francis Bennett, *The early Dominicans: studies in thirteenth-century Dominican history* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 3.

⁴ Francesco Santi, ‘La spiritualità di Domenico’, *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell’Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), p. 361.

⁵ Robert W. Gaston, ‘Affective Devotion and the Early Dominicans: The Case of Fra Angelico’, *Rituals, images, and words: varieties of cultural expression in late medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. F.W. Kent and C. Zika (Turnhout, 2005), p. 90.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁷ Marie-Humbert Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs* (Paris, 1977); *Saint Dominique: la vie apostolique* (Paris, 1965); *Saint Dominic and his Times*, trans. Kathleen Pond (Darton, 1964).

the place of tears in Dominican spirituality using book four of Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum*⁸

He noted that:

dans le milieu lettré des Frères Prêcheurs, dont la contemplation est alimentée par une vie intellectuelle construite et raisonneuse, le rôle de la componction des larmes est particulièrement significatif.⁹

Vicaire argued that compunction with tears was the summit of prayer and that these tears were charismatic.¹⁰ However, the tears in the passages that Vicaire cited are much more complex and should not be always categorised under the term compunction. Vicaire's discussion failed to tease out the differences and meanings behind the types of tears despite the diversity of the passages. For example, Vicaire explained how tears are present in scenes of repentance, are manifested during prayer, and are something sought after by the brothers.¹¹ The goal of imitating the lachrymose founder is evident in book four and Vicaire described how the brothers could not rest at night until they had 'irrigated themselves with tears'.¹² Additionally, Vicaire described how by visiting altars dedicated to particular saints, rivers of tears were elicited.¹³ Likewise, prayers to the Virgin were accompanied by 'weeping' 'an abundance', 'an irruption' and a

⁸ Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, pp. 410-30. *Vitae Fratrum*, 148-52, especially 169-94.

⁹ Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, p. 426.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

¹² *Vitae Fratrum*, 148: quod non poterat in nocte quiescere, nisi prius se lacrimis irrigasset. Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, p. 426.

¹³ *Vitae Fratrum*, p. 149; Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, p. 427.

‘fountain’ of tears.¹⁴ In several episodes in the *Vitae Fratrum* the brothers share their experience of tears. In one passage a friar is to due to leave the country, which causes one of the novices to become distressed and shed floods of tears.¹⁵ The friar is moved by these tears and falls from his horse unable to stop his tears.¹⁶ Vicaire suggested that in this episode it is the emotions (rather than the tears) that are contagious.¹⁷ In another chapter, recounting the General Chapter of 1230, Master Jordan asks for volunteers to go to the Holy Land. All of the brothers who were present offered themselves with weeping and tears (*cum fletu et lacrimis*).¹⁸ Much later, in 1253, the Chapter and selection for the Holy Land occurs in Paris, and on this occasion everybody present begins to weep: some because they were chosen, others because they were not, and the rest shed tears because of the departure of their dearly beloved brothers.¹⁹ Finally, Vicaire showed how tears are present in conversion narratives.²⁰ In one passage, a young Cathar discovers that he has been deceived about his faith and locks himself in a room where he pours out floods of tears.²¹ Shortly afterwards, the former Cathar boy

¹⁴ *Vitae Fratrum*, pp. 149 (*flumina lachrymarum*), 172; 175 (*lacrimarum imbre perfusus*); 176 (*compuncionis et lacrimarum in eum irruit*); 193 (*inundacione lacrimarum... tanti fletus*); 230. See Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, p. 427.

¹⁵ *Vitae Fratrum*, p. 193.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, p. 427.

¹⁸ *Vitae Fratrum*, pp. 150-51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁰ Also see *Vitae Fratrum*, p. 193.

²¹ *Vitae Fratrum*, pp. 171-73.

joins the Order of Preachers.²² Vicaire's selected passages demonstrate how tears occur during fundamental decisions of life and salvation but also in response to diverse events. A verse of a psalm or office, a song on the street or a dream can cause the sudden eruption of tears which signal a change in the heart.²³ The importance of tears in early Dominican spirituality is stated incontrovertibly in Vicaire's chapter; however, his article simply narrates the descriptions of tears in the fourth book of the *Vitae Fratrum* and goes little further. He did not examine the founder's tears nor their importance in his *fama sanctitatis*. In contrast, this analysis will focus on the section of the *Vitae Fratrum* that is devoted solely to Dominic.

Piroska Nagy did not examine tears in the spirituality of the early Dominicans. In *Le don des Larmes*, Nagy provides a short examination of the *Speculum Maius* when considering the place of tears in medieval physiology and an examination of the theological debates surrounding tears voiced by Albert the Great (d.1280), Thomas Aquinas and Robert Kilwardby (d.1279).²⁴ In her brief summation on the devaluation of tears in the thirteenth century, Nagy only noted that the Dominicans had a less affective and charismatic piety than Francis of Assisi.²⁵ Nagy, thereby, seems to align herself with the tradition of scholarship which has simply set aside the Dominicans in favour of

²² Ibid., p. 173.

²³ Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, p. 427.

²⁴ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, pp. 363-85.

²⁵ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 391.

their Franciscan counterparts.²⁶ Thus, apart from Gaston and Vicaire's contributions, a comprehensive examination of the devotional piety and tears of the early Dominicans has been neglected by scholars. Undeniably, Franciscan piety shaped many developments in religious expression during the thirteenth century, yet a case study on Dominic will help to demonstrate that affective piety (and tears as part of this) was not solely a Franciscan trait but commonplace among other orders, even those such as the Dominicans who have been deemed less charismatic. Despite the lachrymosity of the early Dominicans, the only other Dominican to have been noted by scholars for her tearful devotions is the renowned holy woman Catherine of Siena (d.1380) whose case arguably reflects more of an interest in female affective piety rather than in Dominican spirituality.²⁷

The hagiographical corpus relating to Dominic's life was produced steadily throughout the thirteenth century, beginning with a bipartite canonisation process. These proceedings, undertaken at Bologna and Toulouse in 1233, are perhaps the most important sources for the life and piety of the saint. They provide unparalleled eyewitness accounts of Dominic's life and give the clearest indication of the criteria that needed to be satisfied for sainthood. The significance placed upon tears in these accounts is striking but it cannot be traced throughout the main *vita* reconfigurations of

²⁶ For an excellent summary of this see Gaston, 'Affective Devotion and the Early Dominicans', pp. 87-117.

²⁷ Webb, "'Lacrime cordiali'", pp. 99-112. To a lesser extent, Benvenuta Bojanni (1255-1295) has been noted for her tearful devotion, see Valentina Petrachi, 'Le lacrime di Benvenuta Bojanni', *Lachrymae. Mito e metafora del pianto bel Medioevo*, ed. Francesco Mosetti Casaretto (Alessandria, 2011), pp. 355-68.

1239, 1246-47 and 1260. The unknown location of the manuscript record of the canonisation proceedings in the mid-thirteenth century may account for some of this silence. The process was followed by the *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum* written by Jordan of Saxony (d.1237), which was drafted mostly before Dominic's translation in 1233 and canonisation in 1234 but completed afterwards.²⁸ This was followed by a *Legenda* produced by Peter Ferrand (d.c.1254-1258), which borrowed heavily from Jordan's work and was prepared for use on Dominic's feast day and for reading at table (before 1239). Dominic's *legenda* was again renewed and augmented between 1246-47 by Constantine of Orvieto (d. after 1257) who added miracle stories in order to enhance the connection of the founder-saint with his order. As John Van Engen has noted, Constantine's version yielded a sharp focus on the saint and his powers.²⁹ The fifth Master General of the Dominican Order, Humbert of Romans (d.1277), turned his hand to the task of other revisions in the forms of the *Legenda prima* and *Legenda maior*; the latter was declared the official version at the General Chapter of 1260.³⁰ Aligned heavily with Peter, but drawing from the others, Dominic was crystallised as a saint-founder in Humbert's writings. The mandate of Humbert's second edition of Dominic's *life*, however, did not prevent further derivations and it is from these and

²⁸ There is some disagreement as to the dating of Jordan's *Libellus*. Tugwell differs from Canetti and Brooke. See below pp. 170-71.

²⁹ John Van Engen, 'Dominic and the Brothers: Vitae as Life-forming *exempla* in the Order of Preachers', *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans. Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, IN, 1998), p. 12.

³⁰ *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. B. M. Reichert, 9 volumes (Rome, 1898), vol. 1, p. 105: 'Mandat magister quod fratres utantur legenda beati Dominici que inserta est in lectionario et alie deinceps non scribantur.'

other sources about the saint, that the truly lachrymose Dominic emerges. Dominic's tears are discussed in sermons composed by preachers such as the Portuguese friar Pelagius Parvus (d.c. 1250) and the Parisian friar William Peraldus (d. 1271), the miracle stories of the Dominican nun Blessed Cecilia (dictated between 1272 and 1288) and *De Modo Orandi*, an anonymous work describing the saint's nine ways of prayer, composed for the edification of novices (c.1280).³¹ Furthermore, Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum* (1256-1259), a widely disseminated text about the life of Dominic and the early Order, used to induct novices into its spirituality, provides valuable accounts of the saint's tears and the importance of lacrimation.

In addition to this accumulation of mid-thirteenth century sources, Dietrich of Apolda's late thirteenth-century synthesis of texts worked toward producing a definitive, if not exhaustive, *vita* for the saint. This work of compilation would be continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the Dominicans Bernard Gui (1261/2-1331), Galvano Fiamma (1283-1344), Thomas of Siena (c.1350-1430) and Alanus de Rupe (1428-1475). Dietrich's account is densely packed with passages describing Dominic's tears as he synthesised both the canonisation proceedings and *De Modo Orandi*.³² By

³¹ It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyse all the sermons and liturgical elements relating to the life of Dominic. For tears in Dominican sermons see for example *Pelagius Parvus and his 'Summa': A Preliminary Enquiry and a Sample of Texts*, ed. Simon Tugwell (Rome, 2012), pp. 374-75; for William Peraldus see Antione Dondaine, 'Guillaume Peyraut: Vie et Oeuvres', *AFP*, 18 (1948), 162-236; Bl. Cecilia, 'Die 'Miracula b. Dominici' der Schwester Cäcilia', ed. Angelus Walz, *AFP*, 37 (1967), 21-44, especially 24-25. For an empirical survey of the liturgy of St Dominic see Maura O'Carroll, 'The Cult and Liturgy of St Dominic', *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), pp. 567-611, especially her appendices pp. 588-611.

³² See Dietrich of Apolda, *Libellus*, AASS, 4 August I (Antwerp, 1733), 562-632.

this stage of rewriting, Dominic had been wholly re-cast by the biographers of the second half of the thirteenth century into the image of a lachrymose holy founder whose divine graces and devotional practices had emerged as an integral part of his saintly character. This reorientation has not attracted the attention of historians, possibly because there has been more scepticism towards later accounts of his life in historical terms. However, it is more likely that the lack of interest is rooted in the fact that Dominic has been regarded as outclassed by the Francis in terms of his affective piety and divine graces.

It should be noted, that in the short portrait of Dominic by the Dominican chronicler Jean de Mailly (d.c.1254-1260) there is no mention of tears even though it is essentially an abridgement of Peter Ferrand's *Legenda*. This is also the case in the laconic *Vita Altera* written c.1245-50 by the Dominican hagiographer Bartholomew of Trent (d.1251). It must also be recognised, from the outset, that none of the texts pertaining to Dominic explicitly refer to *gratia lacrymarum*. Peter Ferrand, Constantine of Orvieto, Pelagius Parvus and Humbert Romans do all apply the term *specialis gratia* when describing Dominic's weeping on behalf of sinners.³³ Nonetheless, one should be cautious in classifying these terms as synonyms. As noted above, the use and meaning of the term *gratia lacrymarum* was blurred.³⁴ In many cases this spiritual journey of tears, which progressed through stages (and is exemplified in an analysis of *De Modo*

³³ See below pp. 180-81, 183, 188, 190.

³⁴ See above pp. 38, 47-49.

Orandi below), was understood as the gift of tears.³⁵ This type of thinking would become more developed with Catherine of Siena (d.1380) who discussed specific stages of tears that led to spiritual perfection.³⁶

Nagy has argued that at the beginning of the thirteenth century, one can hardly distinguish between virtues and gifts.³⁷ Certainly, weeping was a virtuous pursuit but there can be no question that Dominic had a grace (*gratia*) of shedding tears. What is indistinct is the *nature* of this grace; whether it was regarded as a composite journey combining many types of tears or as a singular God-given experience. What is important in the study of Dominic is that despite the absence of the term *gratia lacrymarum*, there is no doubt that Dominic had a gift of tears, if not *the* ‘gift of tears’. The use of the term *specialis gratia* by both Peter Ferrand and Constantine of Orvieto suggest that Dominic’s gift of weeping on behalf of sinners was bestowed (*contulerat*) by God even though it may have been quite different to the *gratia lacrymarum* described by Jacques de Vitry.³⁸ Nevertheless, the semantic complexity of *gratia lacrymarum* should not obstruct the investigation of tears. Despite the lack of the term *gratia lacrymarum* in the texts pertaining to Dominic, his tears provide a fascinating insight into the spirituality of the early Order of Preachers and the evolving criteria for sainthood.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ See Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, pp. 201-14 and Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, trans. [from the Italian] Suzanne Noffke (London, 1980), pp. 161-83.

³⁷ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 423. See also François Vandembroucke, ‘Dons du Saint-Esprit- Le Moyen Âge’, DS (Paris, 1976), vol. 3, cols. 1587-1603, especially col. 1589.

³⁸ See above p. 98-99.

Dominic's Canonisation Processes: Bologna and Toulouse

The testimonies given at Dominic's canonisation proceedings provide some of the most lucid accounts of his tears by those who were part of his life. After the pontifical mandate, issued on 13 July 1233, Dominic's process took place in two phases with a preliminary enquiry undertaken in Bologna between 6 and 19 August and a secondary investigation in Toulouse shortly afterwards. The Bologna process was led by commissioners appointed by Gregory IX. In Languedoc sub-commissioners were assigned to the task but they did not examine the witnesses themselves, entrusting the duty to some Friars Preachers. Over the two processes, there are sixteen accounts of Dominic's tears given by eleven witnesses. The depositions of the Bologna witnesses survive in five medieval manuscripts and two dating from 1529 and 1717.³⁹ Angelus Walz utilised all but one of these manuscripts in the edition used in this study. In his edition of the testimonies from the Languedoc, Walz used five of the seven extant sources, four of which are medieval manuscripts and one that is dated to the eighteenth

³⁹ On which see Koudelka who refers to the following manuscripts and early printed editions: Venice Biblioteca Marciana MS IX, 61, Lat. 3287, fols 23-40 (fifteenth century); Dietrich of Apolda's *Libellus de vita et obitu et miraculis S. Dominici et de Ordine quem instituit* (manuscripts and printed editions), chapter 10; Modena Biblioteca Estense, Campori, γ. 0.3, 25, fols 144^v-153^v; Madrid San Domingo El Real (an old Catalan translation from the fourteenth century copied again in 1739); Bologna Biblioteca Univ. cod. lat. 1999, fols 21-26^v; Johannes Antonius Flaminus, *Vitae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Bologna, 1529), fols 66^v-78^v and J. Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* I (Paris, 1717), pp. 44-56. Vladimir J. Koudelka, 'Les Dépositions des témoins au process de canonisation de saint Dominique', AFP, 42 (1972), 48-49.

century.⁴⁰ The Bologna manuscripts form two distinct recensions: one group is written in the first person speech of the witnesses, the other in the third person.⁴¹ In his edition, Walz chose to follow the third person tradition (*vidit, audivit, credidit*) following the precedent set by Bernard Gui who reproduced elements of the Bologna process in his history of the Order (c.1314). In contrast, Dietrich of Apolda used the first person variant in his concise version of the depositions, appended to the end of his work. Unlike its sister enquiry, all of the depositions from the Languedoc investigation exist in the third person. However, the number of witnesses is not consistent in each copy. Although 27 deponents provided accounts, the end of the enquiry states that over 300 people testified.⁴² However, it was not uncommon for a selection of testimonies to be included in canonization proceedings or miracle collections. Walz concluded that some of the depositions must have been abridged, which is confirmed by the existence of an

⁴⁰ Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS IX, 61 Lat. 3287, fols 41-44 (fifteenth century); Città Vaticana, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10152, fols 182^v-186^t (fourteenth century); Madrid, San Domingo El Real (an old Catalan translation from the fourteenth century copied again in 1739); Bologna, Biblioteca Univ. MS Borselli, cod. lat. 1999, fols 26^v-29^v; J. Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* I (Paris, 1717), pp. 56-58. The additional manuscripts not used by Walz are Prouille, Monastère, Pierre Cambefort, fols 88^v-90 (which omits a large number of testimonies) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Campori, γ. 0.3, 25, fols 138-144. Walz did not use the fourteenth-century Catalan edition from Madrid. See Koudelka, 'Les Dépositions des témoins', 47-67.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁴² ACSD-T, 187: 'In fine huius littere posita erant ultra trecenta nomina hominum, virorum et mulierum sub iuramento testificantium supradicta, inter quos erant multi religiosi et presbiteri, clerici, sanctimoniales et alie persone honeste et fide digne.' (At the end of this letter were placed more than three hundred names of men; of men and women testifying under oath to the above-mentioned, among whom there were many religious and priests, clergy, nuns and other persons in a manner worthy of honour and of faith).

independent and extended fourteenth-century Modena manuscript. This manuscript provides the names of the witnesses, which are abbreviated to initials in all the other surviving manuscripts.⁴³

Vachez and Kleinberg, amongst others, have skilfully demonstrated how canonisation processes transmit valuable information about popular notions of sanctity, especially concerning the supernatural.⁴⁴ However, before analysing the accounts of Dominic's tears, it must be acknowledged that drawbacks have been noted with regard to the use of processes. Firstly, the witnesses were often selected as promoters of a cause and their testimonies might be criticised for a lack of freedom of expression as they were coloured by the direction of the questions (*articuli interrogatorii*) posed. The *articuli interrogatorii* functioned to make a person *fit* a particular pre-defined notion of

⁴³ Following the *Libellus* of Dietrich of Apolda (fols 1-127), the Modena MS (see above fn. 39) contains 'De Modo Orandi' (fols 127-33^v); 'Legenda de translatione S. Dominici' (fols 133^v-36^v); Bulla 'Visibilium et invisibilium' by Gregory IX produced for the commissioners investigating the life and miracles of Dominic (fols 136^v-37^v); the mandate from the commissioners of Bologna to the sub-commissioners of Toulouse (fols 138^r-139^r); the Languedoc Enquiry (fols 139^r-44^v); 'De Statura et complexione corporis b. Dominici' (fol. 144^{r-v}); the Bologna Enquiry (fols 144^v-53^r); a brief synopsis of the depositions of Toulouse (fols 153^v-54^v); 'De miraculo facto in conventu fratrum Predicatorum in Aretio in fratre Jacobutio de Spoleto' (fols 154^v-56^v); 'Oratio ad S. Dominicum' (fols 156^v-58^v) and 'De ymagine Ste Maria que est Rome in ecclesia sororum Sti Sixti de qua fit mentio supra ubi est tale signum' (fols 158^v-60^r). Koudelka, 'Les Dépôtsions des témoins', 63-64.

⁴⁴ Aviad Kleinberg, 'Canonisation without a Canon', *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge: Aspects Juridiques et Religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome, 2004), p. 14; André Vachez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 527-39. See also Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonder. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot, 2007); Michael E. Goodich, *Vita perfecta, the ideal of sainthood in the thirteenth century* (Stuttgart, 1982); Roberto Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella christianitas (1198-1302)* (Assisi, 2006).

sanctity.⁴⁵ The aim of the proceedings was not to provide an opportunity for free discussion on the character or merits of an individual, nor to create a unique profile of a saint as that had already been determined.⁴⁶ The purpose was the judicial confirmation of sainthood. The witnesses only stood to confirm the criteria set by the papal mandate. Vauchez, however, argues that the testimonies allow us to observe more than the ‘avatars of an official model’.⁴⁷ Discrepancies can be observed between the questions asked and the answers given. Indeed, answers to the same question often yielded different answers. It is precisely these characteristics of the process of canonisation proceedings that makes them valuable to the study of tears. As Vladimir Koudelka observed, although the testimonies offer little new evidence about the events of the saint's life, they constitute an invaluable source for learning a holy person's temperament and character and provide a sketch of their spiritual physiognomy (*physionomie spirituelle*).⁴⁸ Canonisation proceedings are thus a beneficial tool for evaluating the perceived indicators of sainthood as the depositions often go beyond the stylised descriptions found in *vitae*. What is important is that tears are a characteristic of sanctity that *both* the witnesses chose to relate and the scribes chose to include. Furthermore, the perceived ‘drawbacks’ of canonisation proceedings are themselves valuable insights into the recognised criteria for sainthood. Kleinberg has noted that ‘[l]ike any other legal concept, sainthood for the canonist is whatever the *consensus*

⁴⁵ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 4.

⁴⁶ See Kleinberg, ‘Canonisation without a Canon’, p. 10.

⁴⁷ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Koudelka, ‘Les Dépôts des témoins’, 47.

sapientium is at a particular discursive moment.’⁴⁹ Those who testified at his canonisation process (as well as those who wrote the questions and the scribes who recorded the depositions) knew that it was essential to include the tearful, supernatural indicator of sanctity.

The accounts from the first part of the process, completed at Bologna, provide the most comprehensive picture of Dominic’s sanctity. Twelve years had lapsed since the founder’s death. In contrast to the frenzy to canonise Francis after 1226 or Anthony of Padua in 1231, there was no such impetus to elevate the founder of the Order of Preachers. Although a *cultus* had sprung up in Bologna, there was an attempt to stifle the appearance of ‘pious propaganda’ that could damage the humble condition of the Order.⁵⁰ Over a decade later, Dominic’s memory was shrouded in silence. Around 1232, an impulsion to re-evolve Dominic’s holy memory began to rise to the surface. It can be of little coincidence that this quest for canonisation coincided with other events in ‘The year of Great Devotion’ in 1233.⁵¹ During the thirteenth century, war ravaged northern

⁴⁹ Kleinberg, ‘Canonisation without a Canon’, p. 13.

⁵⁰ *Libellus*, 97-98. See also Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, p. 381; Santi, ‘La spiritualità di Domenico’, p. 365.

⁵¹ Daniel A. Brown, ‘The Alleluia. A Thirteenth Century Peace Movement’, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 81 (1988), 11.

Italy yet momentary respite was enabled by a peace movement known as the *Alleluia*.⁵² Beginning in Parma during the Easter of 1233, this enthusiastic religious and political movement, led largely by the friars, swept through the northern towns. The feverish activity of the Dominican John of Vicenza (who took the habit in 1218) was not only critical in the preaching of peace and penitence but he seems to have generated the new surge of interest in Dominic.⁵³ This brief pause between warring allowed for a translation to take place peacefully. Whether at the behest of the brothers led by John of Vicenza or Pope Gregory IX, it was then decided that Dominic should be translated, sparking what would become a rejuvenation of the collective memory of the founder.⁵⁴ This was a campaign that would position Dominic at the centre of the Order as a founder-saint. The canonisation process undertaken at Bologna was a step in what was to become an enthusiastic reinvigoration of Dominic's holy character. Tears played no small part in the rebirth of his saintly memory as the Bologna canonisation proceedings demonstrate.

⁵² For the Alleluia see the Franciscan chronicler Salimbene di Adam (d.1290), *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols. (Bari, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 99-100. See also Brown, 'The Alleluia. A Thirteenth Century Peace Movement', 3-16; Augustine Thompson, *Revival preachers and politics in thirteenth-century Italy: the Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford, 1992); Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 1996); Marina Gazzini, 'In margine all'Alleluia del 1233: la Milizia di Gesù Cristo di Parma (1233-1261)', *Uno storico e un territorio: Vito Fumagalli e l'Emilia occidentale nel Medioevo*, ed. Roberto Greci and Daniela Romagnoli (Bologna, 2005), pp. 235-59.

⁵³ For John of Vicenza's role see ACSD-B, 158; Salimbene di Adam, *Cronica*, vol. 1, p. 102: 'procuratione istius fratris Iohannis ... eius [Dominicus] canonizatio facta fuit.' See also Thompson, *Revival preachers and politics*, pp. 52-62, especially p. 59; Simon Tugwell, 'Notes on the life of St Dominic', AFP, 68 (1998), 14-15.

⁵⁴ ACSD-B, 158.

The extended testimonies given at Bologna share common features with regard to Dominic's tears and reflect tenets of Dominican spirituality. The nine witnesses were all Dominican friars who had been close to Dominic. Dominic's tears are described in relation to his sacramental devotion, preaching and prayer. One of the most frequently testified elements was that Dominic had an abundance of tears when celebrating Mass. This is a common feature across saints' lives and is intrinsically connected to meditating on the Passion of Christ.⁵⁵ The interior life allowed mystical union with the poor and crucified Christ. The transubstantiation during mass was reflected in transformation of the individual through tears.⁵⁶ In the testimonies, many witnesses underline that Dominic shed tears every time that Mass was said. The provincial prior of the Order in Lombardy, Brother Stephen, who had known Dominic for more than 15 years since his time as a canon at Osma, described this frequency:⁵⁷

Testimonium fratris Stephani: Item dixit, quod sepiissime vidit eum celebrare missam, et semper in canone misse vidit oculos et maxillas eius lacrimis irrigari. Et cum tanta devotione celebrabat, et orationem dominicam in missa dicebat, quod bene poterant circumstantes devotionem eius intelligere. Et numquam recolit, eum se vidisse missam celebrantem, quin ita moveretur ad lacrimas, sicut superius dixit.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ See below pp. 237-38.

⁵⁶ See below p. 237-38.

⁵⁷ ACSD-B, 153.

⁵⁸ ACSD-B, 156. (Likewise, he said that very frequently he saw him celebrate Mass, and that his eyes and cheeks were always wet with tears during the Canon. He used to celebrate Mass and say the Lord's prayer during it with such great devotion that it was easy for those present to perceive his devotion. He never remembers seeing him celebrate Mass without his being moved to tears this way, as he stated above.)

Mass and tears are presented as inseparable elements. Brother Frugerio, who had met Dominic when he was visiting Bologna and had been in the order for 14 years⁵⁹, related how he not seen (or heard) Dominic with dry eyes when reciting the Eucharist:

*Testimonium fratris Frugerii Pennensis: Item dixit quod cum pluries missas audiverit ab eo in conventu et in itinere, non audivit aliquam, in qua non multas lacrimas effunderet. Et hoc scit quia vidit.*⁶⁰

This integral nature of tears in the performance of the sacrament is emphasised by the description of the wetness of Dominic's face (*vidit oculos et maxillas eius lacrimis irrigari*). The tears are physical proof of a divine connection with God and the inner transformation of the saint. In addition, Dominic's tear-stained cheeks are easy for the brothers to read as a sign of his great fervour (*bene poterant circumstantes devotionem eius intelligere*). Stressing the wetness of Dominic's face adds a legal quality to the descriptions. It is not enough to have heard Dominic's tears or groans but evidential proof is required through the description of their wetness.⁶¹ Although, by their very nature, tears once shed almost immediately evaporate without leaving a trace (which is part of their mystery), Dominic maintains a lachrymose appearance and tears are the

⁵⁹ Ibid., 164-65.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 165. (Likewise, he said that he heard [Dominic] celebrate Mass many times, both in the monastery and on journey[s], and he had not heard of a time when he did not shed many tears. [The witness] knew this because he had seen it.)

⁶¹ Katherine K. O'Sullivan has shown, in an article on Lady Meed's tears in *Piers Plowman*, that tears can serve as a kind of 'forensic evidence' in the legal process and that 'weeping moves beyond mere emotional expression and into the realm of evidence and proof.' Tears in trials is an area that warrants more investigation. See Katherine K. O'Sullivan, 'Tears and Trial. Weeping as Forensic Evidence in *Piers Plowman*', *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York, 2012), pp. 193-207.

markers of his engagement with the sacrament. Even during periods of itineracy, Dominic consistently celebrated Mass and shed tears. The first witness, brother Ventura, who had entered the order in 1220 and been made prior of the convent of St Nicholas in Bologna,⁶² testified that:

Et etiam eundo fere singulis diebus celebrabat missam, si ecclesiam inveniebat. Et quando missam cantabat, multas lacrimas effundebat, sicut ipse testis vidit.⁶³

This testimony regarding the frequent celebration of Mass suggests that Dominic's lacrimation might be read as a practice. Moreover, tears were also an integral part of his daily prayer. Brother Paul, a priest who had been in the order for 14 years and had travelled with Dominic for two years, recalled how Dominic's face was wet with tears when he prayed:⁶⁴

Et orando multam plorabat. Et hoc scit quia vidit eum pluries sic facientem. Et aliquando vocavit eum ab oratione et vidit faciem eius lacrimis perfusam.⁶⁵

According to brother John of Spain, a priest who had been in the order for 18 years and who had lived with Dominic 'day and night':⁶⁶

⁶² ACSD-B, 123.

⁶³ Ibid. (And when travelling he celebrated Mass almost every day if he found a church. When he sang Mass, he shed many tears, as the witness himself saw it happen.)

⁶⁴ ACSD-B, 160.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 162. ([Dominic] wept a great deal [when] praying. [The witness] knew this because he saw [Dominic] doing this several times. Sometimes when [the witness] went to fetch [Dominic] from prayer he saw his face wet with tears.)

Item dixit, quod raro loquebatur nisi cum Deo, scilicet orando, vel de Deo, et de hoc monebat fratres suos. Item dixit, quod semper vidit eum letum in presentia hominum, sed in orationibus frequenter plorabat. Et hoc scit, quia vidit et audivit eum plorantem.⁶⁷

It is evident here that tears are provoked by being in the presence of God and not others.

In addition, many brothers attested that Dominic shed tears throughout the night, which was, according to the book of Lamentations and the Psalms, the time for weeping.⁶⁸

According to brother Ventura:

Item dixit, quod pro maiori parte noctis erat in oratione et sepissime pernoctabat in oratione et multum plorabat in oratione. Interrogatus, quomodo scit hoc, respondit quia sepissime invenit eum in ecclesia orantem et plorantem et aliquando victum a somno dormientem. Et propter multas vigiliis precedentes sepissime dormitabat in mensa.⁶⁹

This persistent nocturnal weeping would wake the other brothers. As brothers Rudolf (the rector and chaplain of St Nicholas in Bologna)⁷⁰ and William (a priest who lived

⁶⁶ Ibid., 142-43.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 146. (Likewise, he said that [Dominic] rarely spoke except with or about God in prayer, and he encouraged the brethren to do likewise. Furthermore, [the witness] also said that he was always happy [when] with other people, but he frequently wept while praying. He knew this because he saw and heard his weeping.)

⁶⁸ Lamentations 1:2: BETH plorans ploravit in nocte et lacrimae eius in maxillis eius non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius omnes amici eius spreverunt eam et facti sunt ei inimici; Psalm 29:6: quoniam ad momentum est ira eius et vita in reprobatione eius ad vesperum commorabitur fletus et in matutino laus.

⁶⁹ ACSD-B, 127. (Likewise, he said that [Dominic] passed the greater part, and frequently the whole, of the night in prayer while he wept greatly. When asked how he knew this, the witness answered that he very often found him in the church weeping and praying, and sometimes dozing after having been overcome by sleepiness. On account of the many vigils that went before he frequently nodded at table.)

⁷⁰ Ibid., 147.

and travelled with Dominic)⁷¹ recounted, the other friars became curious about this weeping and went into the church to witness it for themselves:

Testimonium fratris Rodulfi: Item dixit, quod dictus frater Dominicus habebat consuetudinem sepiissime pernoctandi in ecclesia, et multum orabat et in oratione plorabat cum lacrimis et multo gemitu. Interrogatus quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia sepiissime sequebatur eum in ecclesia, et videbat eum sepe sic orantem et plorantem audiebat. Et sepe vidit eum stantem in oratione in summitate pedum, et tenebat manus elevatus quasi esset in oratione. Item interrogatus, quomodo vidit eum cum esset de nocte, respondit quia lumen erat semper in ecclesia.⁷²

Testimonium fratris Guilielmi de Monte ferrato: Item dixit quod quotienscumque debebat se collocare in loco, prius incumbibat multum orationi et pluribus vicibus cum fletu et lacrimis ita quod sepe excitabat ipsum testem et alios cum gemitu et planctu suo et sono.⁷³

Although the brothers habitually observed Dominic in tears during Mass, the saint's private lachrymosity aroused particular interest. Brother Bonvisus, who had been in the order for 14 years and had lived and travelled with Dominic in Bologna, Milan and

⁷¹ Ibid., 133-34.

⁷² Ibid., 148. (Likewise, he said that brother Dominic frequently had the custom of [spending] the entire night in church; he prayed much and in his prayer he wept with tears and groans. When questioned about how he knew the aforesaid, he answered that he had frequently followed him into church and saw him praying and heard his weeping. [The witness] often saw [Dominic] in prayer, standing on tiptoes, holding his hands elevated as if in prayer. Likewise, when questioned how he saw him at night, the witness answered that a light was always [burning] in the church.)

⁷³ Ibid., 134-35. (Likewise, [the witness] said that every time he found himself in the same place (as Dominic), [the founder] pressed on with many prayers and several times with weeping and tears. Therefore, [Dominic] frequently woke up the witness and the others with his groans, lament and noise.)

Rome,⁷⁴ recounted how he often hid in the church in order to observe Dominic in prayer:

Et ipse testis cum hoc cognoscere vellet, quid dictus frater beatus Dominicus faceret in ecclesia, sepius se occultavit in ecclesia, et audiebat eum cum clamore maximo et lacrimis orantem Dominum, et cum gemitu maximo.⁷⁵

These supposedly intimate moments of Dominic's private prayer are revealed in order to validate his devotion for the purpose of the canonisation proceedings. As Schmitt noted in his seminal work, *La raison des gestes*, a gesture needs to be witnessed by another in order to exist.⁷⁶ Indeed, Blanchfield has noted that validation by another is 'essential for the weeper and for the behaviour itself since the audience and its specific expectations provide the cultural context necessary to assess what meaning this behaviour should assume at that moment'.⁷⁷ It was expected that Dominic's private devotions should exceed those of the other brothers and that his tears should be more copious:

Testimonium fratris Stephani: Item dixit quod in predicationibus erat assiduus et sollicitus, et verba habebat ita commotiva quod sepiissime

⁷⁴ Ibid., 138.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 138-39. (Since the witness wanted to know what the blessed Brother Dominic would do in the church, he often hid himself in the church, and [so] heard him praying to the Lord with great cries and tears, as well as with heavy groaning.) The church to which Bonvisus refers is probably that of St Nicholas in Bologna where the pair lived together for 10 months. See ACSD-B, 138.

⁷⁶ Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 178.

⁷⁷ Lyn Blanchfield, 'Considerations of Weeping and Sincerity in the Middle Ages', *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York, 2012), p. xxiii.

commovebat se et auditores ad fletum, ita quod nunquam audivit hominem, cuius verba ita commoverent fratres ad compunctionem et fletum. ... Et in nocte, dum orabat, ad tantum gemitum et planctum prorumpebat et movebatur, quod fratres, qui erant in vicino, excitabantur a somno; et quidam eorum ad lacrimas commovebantur.⁷⁸

So, the notary and commissioners are informed of how the brothers were often awakened by the groans that accompanied Dominic's tears. The loud noise (*gemitu maximo... tantum gemitum*) alerted the brothers to their leader's lacrimation and corroborated his emotional and spiritual transformation. Saints were caught in a paradox whereby they should not be seen to take pride in their devotions nor create ostentatious 'shows' of piety but were obliged to remain humble while presenting themselves as exemplars. Dominic's audible and visible sanctity allowed him to maintain his humility whilst informing the brothers and, by proxy, the canonisation process, of devotional exertions.

In addition to being both public and private observers of Dominic's lacrimation, the brothers were often moved to tears out of admiration and imitation. Dominic's evangelism was rooted in the need to meditate on the saviour. In spending long vigils in adoration, contemplation and intercession, Dominic not only shed tears but moved the brothers with his example and preaching:

⁷⁸ ACSD-B, 155-56. (Likewise, he said that [Dominic] was unremitting and passionate in his sermons and used to have such moving words that he would very often move himself and his listeners to weeping, [the witness] had never heard a man whose words could so move the brethren to compunction and weeping (*compunctionem et fletum*) ... During the night, while he was praying, he would be moved and break out into such loud groaning and lamentation that the brothers, who were nearby, were woken from sleep and some of them were moved to tears.)

Testimonium fratris Frugerii Pennensis: Item dixit quod pernoctabat in oratione et cum gemitu et lacrimis orabat. Et quando faciebat sermonem fratribus lacrimas effundebat. Et propter hoc fratres sepius ad lacrimas movebantur.⁷⁹

This contagion is pronounced in accounts of Dominic's life. Several other testimonies refer to his particular ability to 'transmit' tears:

Testimonium fratris Venturae Veronensis: Item dixit, quod fere omni die nisi magna necessitate impeditus faciebat predicationem fratribus et collationem et multam plorabat et provocabat alios ad plorandum.⁸⁰

Testimonium fratris Rodulfi: Item dixit, quod multum erat sollicitus et devotus et assiduus in predicationibus et confessionibus. Et sepe plorabat in predicationibus et movebat audientes ad plorandum.⁸¹

Although this contagion is found in other saints' lives from this period (all saints were supposed to be the subject of imitation), Dominic's capacity for transferring tears is connected to his central role as a preacher.⁸² While Francis has been cast as the *alter Christus par excellence*, in his ministry Dominic bore the semblance of the Master

⁷⁹ ACSD-B, 165. (Likewise, he said that [Dominic] spent the night in prayer, he prayed with groans and tears. When he [preached] a sermon to the brothers, tears poured forth. Because of this, the brothers were often moved to tears.)

⁸⁰ Ibid., 127. (Likewise, he said that, unless impeded by great necessity, [Dominic gathered] the brothers and preached to them collectively almost every day; he wept greatly and provoked others to weep.)

⁸¹ Ibid., 151. (Likewise, he said that [Dominic] was very passionate, devout and unremitting in preaching and [hearing] confessions. And [when] he preached he often wept and moved those listening to tears.)

⁸² For another example see below p. 261-62.

teacher from Galilee.⁸³ Dominic's ministry, known for its exhortational quality and efficacy, allowed for his tears to be diffused. In the same way that the Holy Spirit entered Dominic and infused him with tears, the holy man was able to enter the hearts of his brethren and move them to tears. Moreover, just as the wetness of Dominic's face was described to legitimise the action, the contagion of tears worked as a tool against incredulity as others had directly shared his lacrimation.⁸⁴ As Kleinberg has noted, sainthood was a joint effort, not a one-man act.⁸⁵ The brothers' participation in Dominic's tears confirmed their veracity.

Although Dominic's continual state of shedding tears seems to substantiate Nagy's thesis that weeping became more of a practice than a charisma during the thirteenth century, the testimonies given at Bologna suggest that Dominic's tears also had a supernatural quality. Brother Bonvisus, who served Mass to Dominic, described how Dominic's tears flowed down his face in such a quantity that not one more could be expected:

Item dixit quod aliquando iuvabat eum in celebratione misse et tunc inspiciebat vultum eius, et inspiciebat et videbat lacrimas decurrentes in

⁸³ For Francis as *alter Christus* see Thomas of Celano, 'Vita prima S. Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 87-89 and 'Legenda minor S. Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 603.

⁸⁴ For more on tears as a tool against incredulity see below pp. 258-62.

⁸⁵ Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1992), p. 133.

faciem suam in tanta quantitate, quod una gutta non expectabat aliam. Et hoc etiam vidit eidem contingere in psalmodia.⁸⁶

This conception of a special gift is built upon, as we shall see, in the *legendae* that follow the canonisation proceedings. What is evident here is that the strikingly consistent portrait of Dominic presented at Bologna is of one of a lachrymose, apostolic leader who set himself among his community. Consequently, his tears were not simply his own grace but a contagion that he was able to pass on to his brothers. Although it was transmittable, his lachrymal devotion set him apart from the other brothers and was a defining trait of his sanctity.⁸⁷

Having completed the Bologna enquiry by the feast of the Assumption (15th August), the process moved on to Toulouse. Twenty-five witnesses, along with around 300 co-signatories, attested to Dominic's sanctity.⁸⁸ The witnesses from the Languedoc, however, formed quite a different cohort than the Bolognese.⁸⁹ Six laymen, five women and a nun gave their testimonies alongside eleven churchmen (four secular clerics, three abbots, two monks and two friars). In order to expedite the process at Toulouse, the procurator of the cause, the Dominican Philip of Vercelli (d. after 1266), compiled a list

⁸⁶ ACSD-B, 140. (Likewise, he said that sometimes [the witness] assisted him with the celebration of Mass and would then watch his face, and he used to observe and see tears running down his face in such a quantity that he expected not another drop. He saw the same thing happen when [Dominic sang] the Psalms.)

⁸⁷ See above p. 161-62.

⁸⁸ ACSD-T, 187.

of articles intended to cover all the key elements of sanctity appropriate to the founder of the Order of Preachers.⁹⁰ The list of twenty-five merits was reconstructed by Vicaire in the preface to his translated edition of the canonisation proceedings.⁹¹ The original set of questions, which were based on the results of the Bologna component and probably intended to keep the lay eyewitnesses on the right track, is lost. Crucially, for our purposes, Vicaire's simple list contains no mention of tears, which is surprising given that in the Bologna process eight of the nine witnesses made reference to Dominic's copious tears. Moreover, as demonstrated above, some witnesses made several references to his tears in one testimony. However, tears can be understood to fall within Vicaire's categories. For example, it would be appropriate to mention tears when asked whether Dominic was 'fervent in prayer and preaching' (questions 2 and 3); 'religious' (question 13) or 'an example to the brethren' (question 18).⁹² Despite Vicaire's attempt to reconstruct the lost *articuli*, the depositions recorded from the Toulouse enquiry are

⁸⁹ On the social composition of thirteenth-century Italian canonisation proceedings see Paulo Golinelli, 'Social Aspects in some Italian Canonisation Trials', *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge: Aspects Juridiques et Religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome, 2004), pp. 165-80.

⁹⁰ For Philip see Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and his Times*, p. 529 note 38. Note that all canonisation proceedings prior to 1260, with the exception of Dominic, lack the *articulii interrogatorii*. See Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 4, fn. 11.

⁹¹ Marie-Humbert Vicaire, *Saint Dominique: la vie apostolique* (Paris, 1965), p. 24: 1. Zealous for souls, 2. fervent in prayer, 3. and in preaching, 4. a persecutor of heretics, 5. a lover of poverty, 6. mean to himself, 7. but generous to others, 8. chaste, 9. humble, 10. patient, 11. an intrepid persecutor, 12. joyous in tribulation, 13. religious, 14. disregarded himself, 15. consoled sick brethren, 16. and the troubled, 17. a lover of regularity, 18. an example to the brethren, 19. fled glory in this world, 20. generous, 21. hospitable, 22. a friend to the regulars, 23. had no other bed than the church, 24. wore coarse clothing, 25. zealous in matters of faith of peace.

⁹² *Ibid.*

so succinct that it is impossible to know the exact nature of the questions. Furthermore, although a list of questions had been provided, those who were responsible for leading the enquiry ultimately directed the proceedings and the scribes who recorded the depositions and extensively abbreviated the accounts have coloured our understanding of the process.

In the Toulouse enquiry, three of the witnesses commented on Dominic's lachrymose piety. This number is far fewer than in the Bologna enquiry, possibly because it had not been included in the original *articuli interrogatorii* given to the friars charged with the investigation. However, it is important to note that many deponents agreed with the testimony of the last witness (*Et credit omnia predicta capitula esse vera*) and thus approved Dominic's lachrymosity.⁹³ It has been noted how witnesses in canonisation proceedings can exhibit a kind of 'mimicking' whereby they take up the formulae of the first witness.⁹⁴ Even though there are fewer accounts, the number of witnesses who agreed that Dominic was lachrymose is much higher, yet impossible to specify precisely. Of the named witnesses, three mentioned tears and 15 agreed with what others had said including their statements about tears. Therefore, a possible total of 18 witnesses in the main text mentioned or approved Dominic's tears. This figure excludes the 300 co-signatories who endorsed what had been said in the depositions. It is

⁹³ ACSD-T, 179.

⁹⁴ Jacques Paul, 'Expression et perception du temps d'après l'enquête sur les miracles de Louis d'Anjou', *Temps, Mémoire, tradition au Moyen Age* (Aix-en-Provence, 1983), pp. 19-41, especially p. 23. Such 'mimicry' has been demonstrated by Robert Bartlett in his study of the miracles and canonisation proceedings of the bishop of Hereford, Thomas de Cantilupe (d.1282). See Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man. A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), p. 55.

unlikely, although still possible, that these 300 witnesses had all observed Dominic in tears. The unique testimonies regarding the founder's tears all came from deponents who were of clerical status and would have had privileged access to the saint. It is feasible that the lay signatories could have seen Dominic in tears whilst he was preaching but far less likely that they would have observed his lacrimation during the celebration of Mass or during his private prayer. Unlike their clerical counterparts, the lay witnesses had fewer opportunities to witness his tears. It is also possible that the lay people were simply asked to sign in order to affirm Dominic's sanctity, as their accounts were perceived to be of less value. Although the co-signatories attested to Dominic's sanctity, this cannot be taken as firm evidence of his tears.

Each of the clerical deponents provided testimonies that echo those of the brothers from Bologna. These clerics may have been expected to have more knowledge about the life of the founder and may even have had a more personal relationship with Dominic. Consequently, the notaries may have considered their testimonies as more valuable and not condensed their accounts. Interestingly, each of the three accounts of Dominic's tears deals with a different facet, suggesting a strategy of truncation on the part of the scribe. The first deposition, given by abbot Maurin of Pamiers, records how the witness had seen Dominic in a flood of tears during prayer:

M. abbas Appamiensis, iuratus dixit idem quod abbas Bolbonensis, addens, quod ipse novit visu et audit(u) eiulatum et effusionem lacrimarum in orationibus.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ ACSD-T, 179. (M[aurin], abbot of [Parniers], said under oath the same as Abbot of Boulbone, adding that he knew having seen and heard [Dominic's] lamentation and outpouring of tears during prayers.)

The second testimony supplied by Lord William Peyre, abbot of the monastery of St Paul, records how Dominic was easily moved to tears, indicating the frequency and abundance of his lacrimation:

Item dixit, quod non vidit hominem tam frequentem in oratione nec qui tantum in lacrimis habundaret. Item dixit, quod quando in oratione erat, clamabat in tantum quod undique audiebatur.⁹⁶

In this concise testimony, the abbot underscores how he had seen *no man* who overflowed with as many tears. Moreover, the audible nature of his sanctity (*clamabat in tantum quod undique audiebatur*) drew attention to his tears as an indicator of spiritual transformation. In the third testimony to describe Dominic's tears, the witness, a deacon named Mark, specifies how he had found the tears as well as a place that was wet with tears:

Marchus, diaconus, iuratus, dixit, quod [...] ubi oravit invenit lacrimas et locum madefactum de lacrimis.⁹⁷

The scribe has seen this as an important detail to pick up as finding the wetness from tears gives legitimacy to this account. Moreover, the opportunity to find an element that

⁹⁶ Ibid., 184. (Likewise, [Lord William Peyre, abbot of the monastery of St. Paul] ... He said that he saw no man so frequent in prayer nor who abounded in so many tears. Likewise, [the witness] also said that when he was in prayer, he cried out so that he could be heard all around.)

⁹⁷ Ibid., 186. (Mark, a deacon, said under oath that [...] he found the tears and the place where [Dominic] prayed [was] wet with tears.)

ordinarily disappears without a trace suggests a supernatural quality and connects with the possibility of collecting tears as relics.⁹⁸

Each of these deponents, although concentrating on a different aspect, focuses on the abundance and frequency of Dominic's tears, demarcating the capacity as something remarkable and unsurpassed. These themes are also drawn out in the depositions found in additional sections of manuscripts that did not inform Walz's edition. MS Borselli (1493) describes how G. Vital, the deacon, along with many others, found Dominic's place of prayer soaked with tears:

Item G. Vitalis dyaconus et multi alii invener (...) lacrimas e locum madefactum, ubi oraverat, pre multa lacrimarum effusione.⁹⁹

In the fourteenth-century Modena manuscript, this account is augmented with further witnesses and expanded with additional detail:

Item G. Vitalis, dyaconus, R. scriptor, G. de Sancto Chucufacto, B. de Feran, qui et invenit lacrimis ubi beatus Dominici fleverat orando. Item mag. P. Selagisse, qui invenit lacrimas et lectum madefactum ubi fleverat pre multa lacrimarum effusione.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ On the collection of tear relics see below pp. 265-70.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 186, note z. MS Borselli, *Chronicon mag. gen. O.P.R. Bibliot. Universitaria di Bologna*, ms. 1999, f. 26^v-29^v. (Likewise, G. Vital the deacon and many others have found ... tears and the place wet, when he prayed because of an outpouring of many tears.)

¹⁰⁰ Modena Biblioteca Estense, Campori, γ. 0.3, 25, fols 143^{f-v}. Text published in Koudelka, 'Les Dépôts des témoins', 65. (Likewise, G. Vital the deacon, R[...] the writer, G[...] of Chucufacto [and] B[...] of Feran, who found the tears where blessed Dominic wept while praying. Likewise, mag[ister?] P[...] Selagisse, who found the bed wet with tears, and he wept because of the shedding of many tears.)

The account, given by a witnesses identified as Master P. Selagisse, appears to have been shaped by Psalm 6:7 (*laboravi in gemitu meo lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum in lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo*) and the witness was drawn to shed tears by Dominic's example.

Superficially, it may seem that the interest in Dominic's tears diminishes in the Languedoc part of the canonisation proceedings. However, when the 15 silent testimonies of agreement are taken into consideration alongside this augmented manuscript tradition, which adds another four testimonies, it is clear that the notaries, within their programme of abridgement, gave ample recognition of Dominic's lachrymosity.

This examination of the bipartite canonisation proceedings has demonstrated how tears were an essential component of Dominic's *fama sanctitatis* according to the brothers and clerical witnesses. In order to revitalise the lapsed collective memory of their founder, these deponents needed to recollect the steadfast characteristics of his sainthood that would ensure his enrolment in the catalogue of saints. Irrefutable verification of Dominic's sanctity was present in his tears; they were legitimate droplets of proof, central to his prayer, preaching and sacramental devotion.

This canonisation dossier, however, did not have a strong impact on the *legenda-vitae* that would characterise Dominic as the *legendae* evolved.¹⁰¹ Constantine of Orvieto seems to have referred to the Languedoc process but not Bologna, and Jordan and Frachet appear to have referenced the Bologna process minimally.¹⁰² This could explain why there are fewer references to tears in the different versions of the *legenda*. The emphasis on tears in Dominic's canonisation proceedings can, nonetheless, be used in comparison to the texts written by Jordan, Peter, Constantine and Humbert, to assess the reorientation of a saint. The following analysis will consider Dominic's lacrimation in these texts, noting the differing place of tears.

Jordan of Saxony's *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*

Dominic's first biographer and successor as Master General was Jordan of Saxony. His *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum* appears to have been drafted mostly before Dominic's translation and canonisation and added to at various points in time after this. Consequently, there is significant disagreement amongst scholars as to an actual date. Simon Tugwell differs from Luigi Canetti and C. N. L Brooke in arguing that the majority of the work, excluding the last section, was composed long before the

¹⁰¹ Indeed, as Anne Tallon has noted: 'La façon dont cette documentation a pu être utilisée par la suite dans la littérature dominicaine, en revanche, est sans doute l'aune à laquelle on peut mesurer le décalage entre les circonstances particulières de la canonisation et l'évolution ultérieure de l'Ordre' in 'Les procès en canonisation de saint Dominique et sa postérité dans la littérature dominicaine', *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), p. 492.

¹⁰² Tugwell argues that no authors used the proceedings until Dietrich of Apolda. See Simon Tugwell, 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic: A Textual Study and Critical Edition', *Medieval Studies*, 47 (1985), 78.

translation in 1233 and was probably finished by 1221.¹⁰³ In contrast, Canetti argues for a date after the translation, based on internal evidence that can be dated with some certainty.¹⁰⁴ Although Tugwell argues that ‘there is very little overlap’ between the *Libellus* and the canonisation testimonies, an examination of tears alone seems to contradict this.¹⁰⁵ Parts of the *Libellus* read like a distillation of the accounts given in Bologna.¹⁰⁶ On this basis alone it might be possible to suggest that the *Libellus* was added to significantly after the canonisation proceedings, even though it may have been drafted before the process.¹⁰⁷ Although it is possible that Jordan’s text may have driven the selection of the points to be investigated, it is unlikely that each of the deponents would have had access to his text, especially as it was produced in stages. It is more probable that as Master General of the Order, Jordan would have had access to the canonisation proceedings after the enquiry and integrated some of the details into his work whilst making revisions.

As the successor to the role of Master General, Jordan’s purpose behind the *Libellus* is, at first, ambiguous as he does not present a straightforward portrait of the saint. What

¹⁰³ See Tugwell, ‘Notes on the life of St Dominic’, 5-33. This dating is supported by Maura O’Carroll (among others) in ‘The Cult and Liturgy of St Dominic’, *Domenico di Caleruega e la Nascita dell’Ordine dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), p. 574.

¹⁰⁴ Canetti, *L’invenzione della memoria*, pp. 158-73.

¹⁰⁵ Tugwell, ‘Notes on the life of St Dominic’, 18.

¹⁰⁶ See below pp. 180.

¹⁰⁷ Tugwell, ‘Notes on the life of St Dominic’, 18.

Jordan wrote can hardly be considered as a saint's life *sensu stricto*.¹⁰⁸ The text does not follow the traditional configuration of a saint's *vita* nor is it a history of foundation. Despite being referred to as *De initio ordinis* and the *Liber principia ordinis* in the manuscript tradition it is not comparable with other histories of foundation like the various Cistercian *Exordia*.¹⁰⁹ The narrative of the *Libellus* shifts between conventions, beginning with Bishop Diego rather than Dominic but then going back to the saint's early life and family. The body of the text deals with Diego, Dominic and other friars such as Henry and Reginald, as well as with Jordan himself. The *Libellus* details the major Chapters of the Order and other key institutional moments as well as illustrating fully Dominic's death, burial and miracles, before ending on a curious note about Brother Bernard and his demon. This mixed genre text has been noted for its lack of intimacy. Jordan joined the Dominican Order in 1219 and although it is possible that the biographer met his subject, extended contact between the pair is improbable. He has been considered by some historians as an unusual person to write about Dominic.¹¹⁰ Unlike Celano's *life* of Francis, Jordan's *Libellus* is neither a commanding nor intimate presentation of a saint. However, Jordan did not confuse two genres; he was adroit in Latin and his style was both concise and considered. Jordan's purpose diverged from that of Celano in that, as Van Engen has noted, the Dominican tradition was not

¹⁰⁸ Few scholars have written extensively on Jordan despite his significant role in the early development of the Dominican Order and his numerous writings. For the most useful studies see Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria* and Brooke, 'St Dominic and his First Biographer', 23-40.

¹⁰⁹ Brooke, 'St Dominic and his First Biographer', 27.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

‘grounded in a life written to capture the holy radiance of an acclaimed saint but in life-stories written to delineate the origins of a guild of preachers.’¹¹¹ Although Dominic might be seen as a background figure in the *Libellus*, he infuses the whole text; he is a constant exemplar, and the brothers are enjoined to follow in the footsteps of his exemplary behaviour (*Immitemur tamen fratres, ut possumus, paterna vestigia*).¹¹² It thus reflects the ethos of the early Dominicans where Dominic was one among the brothers. The *Libellus* might be better classified as the hagiography of a community rather than of a founder.¹¹³ Nonetheless, in the passages that describe how Dominic taught by example, we find glimpses of both a personal and shared lachrymosity that is part of his spirituality and sanctity.

Several episodes in Jordan’s *Libellus* involve weeping and grieving yet only three specifically refer to Dominic’s lachrymal devotion.¹¹⁴ The first passage is contained in a chapter that recalls Dominic’s rapid progression to the position of sub-prior:

Flendi pro peccatoribus, pro miseris, pro afflictis singularem gratiam
tribuerat ei Deus, quorum calamitates in intimo gestabat compassionis

¹¹¹ Van Engen, ‘Dominic and the Brothers’, p. 11.

¹¹² *Libellus*, 76. This exact phrase is repeated by Peter Ferrand see LPF, 247.

¹¹³ See Alain Boureau, ‘*Vitae Fratrum, Vitae Patrum*. L’Ordre Dominicain et le Modèle des Pères du Désert au XIII^e Siècle’, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, 99 (1) (1987), 90.

¹¹⁴ Other instances of weeping and grieving not directly connected to Dominic are spaced across the *Libellus*. See *Libellus*, 60, 63, 68, 76, 81, 87.

sacrario, et estuantem interius per exitus oculorum foras ebuliebat affectum.¹¹⁵

Jordan's *Libellus* is the first place where Dominic's ability to shed tears is referred to as a unique God-given grace. Acknowledging tears as a grace becomes a feature of Dominic's sanctity in all of the subsequent *legendae*. This portrayal demonstrates how Dominic's tears were regarded as a supernaturally conferred ability rather than a virtue. The second passage echoes the reports given in the canonisation proceedings, adding a reference from Psalm 41:4:

Flebat autem uberrime atque creberrime, et fuerunt ei lacryme sue panes die ac nocte; die quidem tunc magis, cum missarum crebra sibi et quotidiana celebraret solemnia, nocte vero, cum super omnes infatigabilibus excubaret vigiliis.¹¹⁶

Although the content of this description reads like a distillation of the Bologna canonisation proceedings (Dominic sheds tears during Mass and observes unwearying vigils), the language used in this passage is unrelated and reflects Jordan's rhetorical style. The eloquent phrase '*flebat autem uberrime atque creberrime*' is repeated by each

¹¹⁵ *Libellus*, 32. (God had granted him the singular grace of weeping on behalf of sinners, the wretched [and] afflicted, he used to bear the misfortunes of [these people] in the innermost sanctuary of compassion [i.e. his heart]), and his passionate inner feeling bubbled forth through the outlets of [his] eyes.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 75. (He used to weep plenteously and frequently, and his tears were his bread by day and by night, more by day especially when he celebrated his daily Mass, and during the night he himself would keep watch over all, with his unwearying vigils.)

of the subsequent authors to write a *legenda*. Once again, Dominic is cast as habitually lachrymose. These penitential tears are the daily bread of the religious life (Ps 80.5).¹¹⁷

The third description in the *Libellus* refers to Dominic's ability to make others shed tears through his preaching:

Interdum quoque, quod amplius est, tam efficacibus utebatur, velut in modum predicationis sermonibus, ut ipso pronuntiationis modo ac pietate simul et profunditate verborum uberes elicuerit lacrimas de cordibus auditorium.¹¹⁸

Dominic's ability to transmit his tears resembles the charismatic nature of his preaching and his desire to share and engage others in his devotions. Dominic's lachrymose devotion is rendered more succinctly by Jordan possibly because he did not know the founder but also because the purpose of his text was different to the accounts given in the canonisation processes. However, the second Master General understood the

¹¹⁷ See below p. 181 fn. 135, p. 193 fn. 146. This theme occurs in other Dominican texts from the thirteenth century. In the *Instrumentum pauperis ad instruendum novitios in moribus et in desolationibus consolandum* (Record of a poor man for instructing novices in the customs [of the order] and for consoling them in their desolations) written by an anonymous brother from Toulouse in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, a novice enters the refectory of devotion in which Christ serves to the penitent soul the life-giving food of devotion: tears. Contemplation of the agony of hell is 'the sauce which gives savour to this food.' A special dish, known as the *pitantia*, crowns the meal and is an embodiment of the heavenly feast which awaits those who shed heartfelt tears of compunction. Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 418 fols 54^r-63^r, cited in Marian Michèle Mulchahey, "First the bow is bent in study...": Dominican education before 1350 (Toronto, 1998), pp. 113-16, 119.

¹¹⁸ *Libellus*, 79. (Sometimes even, which is even greater, he made use of such effective [tools], for instance in the way of preaching sermons, that just through the way of delivering and at the same time [thanks to] the piety and the depth of the words, he would draw out abundant tears from the hearts of the audience [those listening]).

importance of tears. In his Encyclical Letter of 1233, addressed to the brothers in the province of Lombardy, Jordan wrote that:

dum nobiscum in carne viveret, spiritu ambulabat, desideria carnis non solum non perficiens, sed extinguens; victu, vestitu et moribus veram in se exhibens paupertatem. In oratione continuus, in compassione praecipuus, in lacrimarum effusione profusus, id est animarum zelo fervidus; ad aspera non remissus, ad adversa securus.¹¹⁹

Jordan presents Dominic as an exemplar for the brothers, noting his role as a lachrymose intercessor. Moreover, the importance of weeping and tears can be traced in the fifty surviving letters that Jordan wrote to the holy woman Diana d'Andalo.¹²⁰ Diana (d.1236) was a Bolognese noblewoman who had attempted to establish a house for religious women in 1219 but had been thwarted by her family and a local bishop.¹²¹ It was only with Jordan's assistance that Diana was able to found the convent of Saint

¹¹⁹ Jordan of Saxony, 'Litterae Encyclicae 1233', *Litterae encyclicae annis 1233 et 1234 datae*, ed. Elio Montanari (Spoleto, 1993), p. 77. (When [Dominic] was living with us in the flesh he walked by the Spirit, not only bringing to an end the desires of the flesh, but actually extinguishing [them]. Presenting himself in true poverty by his clothing, his way of living and behaviour. [He was] in continual prayer, extraordinarily compassionate [and] he poured out a profusion of tears because of his burning zeal for souls.)

¹²⁰ Fifty out of the corpus of fifty-six surviving letters that were written to Diana were compiled in Jordan of Saxony, *Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen, des zweiten Dominikanergenerals (1222-37)*, ed. Berthold Altaner (Leipzig, 1925). An English translation of the letters has been made by G. Vann in *To Heaven with Diana!* (London, 1960). Note that Altaner and Vann differ in their numbering of the letters. All numbers given here refer to the Latin letters edited by Altaner unless otherwise stated.

¹²¹ An account of Diana's life can be found in A. Alessandrini, 'Andalò, Diana d'', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 78 volumes (Rome, 1961), vol. 3, pp. 48-50.

Agnes at Bologna in 1223.¹²² The letters that were sent between the pair have been described by McGinn as fluid, sensitive and delicate in their loving language.¹²³ Jordan's letters linger on the desire for heaven, the nun as *sponsa Christi* and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.¹²⁴ Although the letters were meant for the spiritual edification of Diana and the other nuns, there is a certain hesitancy in encouraging excessive and unusual ascetic practices. Indeed, Jordan warns against immoderate weeping.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, it is significant that Jordan frequently mentions weeping, grieving and shedding devout tears throughout his correspondence with the holy woman.¹²⁶

¹²² On Jordan's relationship with Diana see John Coakley, 'Gender and the Authority of the Friars: The Significance of Holy Women for Thirteenth-Century Franciscans and Dominicans', *Church History*, 60 (1991), 450-52.

¹²³ Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of Mysticism. Men and Women in the New Mysticism 1200-1350* (New York, 1998), p. 295.

¹²⁴ Although Diana's part of the correspondence is unfortunately lost, her lachrymosity is recorded in the late sixteenth century *vita* written by the Dominican Thomas Malvenda and found AASS, 10 June II (Antwerp, 1698), 366: 'Orationes ei et divinæ meditationes assiduæ atque ferventes: in quibus maximam lacrymarum vim fundere consueverat. Tanto devotionis sensu afficiebatur, ut intuentes ad pietatem et lacrymas inflammaret.' (Her prayers and meditations of the divine [were] unremitting and fervent: [on these occasions] she became accustomed to pour out the greatest amount of tears. She was moved by such a great sentiment of devotion, that she was inflamed to tears and devotion.) See below p. 240.

¹²⁵ As noted above in the case study of Marie d'Oignies, Jordan was concerned that Diana's vigils, including her tears, were excessive. See letters 1, 11, 30, 39 in Jordan of Saxony, *Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen*, pp. 7, 15, 34, 41.

¹²⁶ See Jordan of Saxony, *Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen*, letter 44, p. 44; letter 53, pp. 56-57. On the lachrymosity of other thirteenth-century Dominican women, such as Benevenuta Bojanni (1255-1295), Vanna of Orvieto (1264-1306) and Margaret of Città Castello (1287-1320) see chapter 3.

In addition to Jordan's own writings, in the *Vitae Fratrum*, Frachet recorded how Jordan himself shed abundant tears and caused others to weep.¹²⁷ Given this presence of tears in Jordan's letters and works pertaining to him, one may propose two reasons for the restrained presence of Dominic's tears in the *Libellus*. Firstly, in contrast to those who gave their depositions at the canonisation processes, Jordan did not know Dominic very well even though he had been in the Order for two years whilst the founder was alive. Despite Jordan's claim that he knew the saint fairly well (*satis vidi familiariter[que] cognovi*), he did not have the insight of having experienced religious life with Dominic.¹²⁸ However, the most important factors that bore down on the presentation of tears in the piece were the purpose and nature of the text. Jordan was following Dominic's desire to be one among the brothers rather than the leader of the fledgling order. The canonisation process tells us that Dominic desired to be buried 'sub pedibus fratrum' perhaps reflecting his wish to remain amongst the brothers rather than above them.¹²⁹ Evidently Jordan recognised Dominic's grace of tears, however, what must be noted is that the *Libellus* was not a *vita* nor is it likely that it was intended to support the founder's canonisation. By comparing his letters and his *Libellus*, we can see that Jordan adapted his tone and style with a particular dexterity. Jordan knew the literary conventions of his age. He knew when to apply passionate, lachrymose language in the context of divine love in his letters sent for the instruction of the holy women of Bologna and when to apply a measured and economical tone in detailing

¹²⁷ See *Vitae Fratrum*, 105-06, 108-09, 114-15, 121-22.

¹²⁸ For Jordan's account of this see *Libellus*, 26.

¹²⁹ ACSD-B, 128-130, 151.

recruitment to the Order. We must not, therefore, read the *Libellus* as an attempt to quash the lachrymose Dominic presented in the canonisation proceedings, but as a text with a tone and style applied for its purpose: a history of *the men*, not *the man*, who founded the Order of Preachers.

Jordan's *Libellus*, despite its seemingly indistinct purpose, provided considerable fodder for reworking. The text contained elements of a *life* of Dominic that could be re-used in a *Legenda*. Unsurprisingly then, the text was excerpted and re-worked in four subsequent attempts by authors with different motivations and styles.

Peter of Ferrand's *Legenda*

At some point before 1239, the Spanish brother Peter Ferrand (d.c.1254-1258) prepared a *Legenda* that would be apposite for reading on Dominic's feast day and at the table.¹³⁰ Peter had entered the Order as a young man and, aside from compiling his *Legenda*, his career in the Order of Preachers centred on teaching and preaching. Based largely on the *Libellus* but with a liturgical character, Ferrand's shortened *Legenda* was approved by the Dominican general chapter.¹³¹ Dominic's tearful devotion is limited to just one description where he is credited with possessing a special grace (*specialem gratiam*), bestowed by God, of weeping on behalf of sinners:

¹³⁰ The loose dating for Peter's death is given in the introduction to Laurent's edition in LPF, 197.

¹³¹ The approval of Peter's *Legenda* is confirmed by the Regensburg lectionary (Oxford, Keble College MS 49) which contains the heading: 'In festo s. Dominici, frater Petrus Hispanus cum approbatione capituli generalis.' See 'Die Dominikuslegende im ersten Lektionar Humberts von Romans', ed. H. Barth, AFP, 54 (1984), 83-112, here 101.

Specialem gratiam contulerat ei Deus flendi continue pro peccatoribus, pro miseris et afflictis. Et animarum pereuntium zelo succensus, nec minus desiderio celestis habitationis affectus, crebo in orationibus pernoctabat. Sepe autem et super orationes rugiebat a gemitu cordis sui, nec continere se poterat, quin vox plangentis evidenter eminus audiretur.¹³²

This episode is partly extracted from the *Libellus* (my underlining). Ferrand distilled two chapters from the *Libellus*, changed the syntax and added some new words (my italics). In Ferrand's account Dominic's grace is special (*specialem*) rather than singular (*singularem*) and bestowed (*contulerat*) by God rather than granted (*tribuerat*). All subsequent hagiographers follow Ferrand's description of the grace as special. Moreover, in one of his ten sermons written for the feast of Dominic,¹³³ Pelagius Parvus (who was present at the translation of Dominic and probably there as a participant of the general chapter) drew on this description of the founder's tears.¹³⁴

Sic et beatus Dominicus rorem lacrimarum multarum emisit ut aridos, id est peccatores, rigaret. Unde in vita eius dicitur: Flebat autem uberrime atque creberrime et, sic<ut> ait Ps. xlii., fuerunt ei lacrimae sue pa<nes> die ac nocte; et, sicut ait apostolus, gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus

¹³² LPF, 215. (God had bestowed on him the special grace of continually weeping on behalf of sinners, the wretched and afflicted, and fired by zeal for the souls of the dying, and no less affected by a desire for heavenly dwelling, he would spend the night in constant prayer. Often, however, during his prayers he used to roar from the groaning of his heart, and he could not contain himself, so that the voice of the wailing man could be heard from a distance.)

¹³³ For Parvus see above p. 145.

¹³⁴ John G. Tuthill, 'The School Sermon Exported: The Case of Pelagius Parvus', *Viator*, 22 (1991), 172.

... *Flendi pro peccatoribus, pro miseris, pro afflictis, specialem gratiam contulerat ei deus.*¹³⁵

Parvus integrated elements from Jordan's *Libellus* (underlined) with Peter's description of Dominic's special grace of tears (italicised). For the purposes of his sermon, he fused the two accounts to produce a full exposition of Dominic's lacrimation to share with his congregation.

Peter, on the other hand, sets Dominic's special grace within a discussion of the purity of the heart and the salvation of sinners.¹³⁶ Although this grace is God-given, Peter modifies Jordan's version by suggesting that the saint's weeping was continual. Dominic spends the night in prayer *offering up* tears on behalf of sinners. Peter records how Dominic's heart groaned (*gemitu cordis sui*) as he recalled the souls of the dying and his tears are read as an expression of suffering. In Peter's abridged account therefore, there is a subtle shift towards a more penitential reading and Dominic is cast as a lachrymose intercessor.

¹³⁵ *Pelagius Parvus and his 'Summa'*, pp. 374-75. (So blessed Dominic discharged splashes of many tears so that the dry, that is to say the sinners, would be watered. Hence, as it is said in his *vita*: He used to weep plenteously and frequently, and, as it says in Psalm 42 his tears were his bread by day and by night; and, as the apostle says, rejoice with those who rejoice; weep with those who weep ... God had bestowed on him the special grace of continually weeping on behalf of sinners, the wretched [and] afflicted.)

¹³⁶ LPF, 215.

Constantine of Orvieto's *Legenda*

Between 1246 and 1247, Constantine of Orvieto (d. after 1257) re-worked Dominic's *legenda*, in a form which was approved by the General Chapter in 1247 or 1248.¹³⁷ Little is known about Constantine but he appears to have had an active career: he was bishop of Orvieto c.1250 and was sent as a papal legate on a failed mission to the Nicene Court in 1256.¹³⁸ Once again, the *Libellus* was used as a basis but more miracle stories were added at the behest of Constantine's provincial prior.¹³⁹ It is in this *Legenda* that Dominic emerges as a charismatic saint with supernatural powers. Constantine's purpose seems two-fold: to position Dominic at the centre of the Order as the founder saint and to emphasise his miraculous powers. This happened at the time that Thomas of Celano had been commissioned to write a second *vita* of Francis which was to include more miracles. As Tugwell has observed, it is likely that Constantine was aware of the need to present a Dominic who could hold his own against Francis, especially as fierce antagonism between the orders came to the fore during this period.¹⁴⁰ The lachrymosity so prevalent in Dominic's canonisation therefore began to re-emerge. Unsurprisingly, Constantine borrowed from Peter Ferrand and the idea of Dominic's *specialis gratia* of weeping on behalf of sinners is prominent in his work:

¹³⁷ Van Engen, 'Dominic and the Brothers', p. 10; *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. Simon Tugwell (Rome, 2008), p. 56.

¹³⁸ LCU, 263.

¹³⁹ LCU, 286. Van Engen, 'Dominic and the Brothers', p. 12.

Flebat autem uberrime, hanc enim specialem gratiam contulerat ei Deus pro peccatoribus miseris et afflictis, novumque in se preferens Ieremiam, totus erga pereuntium animas miro compassionis liquescebat affectu. Qua propter hoc apud se semper speciali desiderio pulsabatur, hac precipue et incessanter aures divine clementie petitione pulsabat, quatenus hanc sibi gratiam dignaretur infundere.¹⁴¹

This description, adapted from Jordan and Peter, is augmented with words of liquification (*liquescebat*), grace and infusion (*infundere*). The language used by Constantine is more affective and descriptive than that of his predecessors and demonstrates the subtle ways in which Dominic was recast within the prevailing notions of sainthood. Interestingly, Constantine likens Dominic to a new Jeremiah (*novumque in se preferens Ieremiam*). He is the only hagiographer of Dominic to draw this analogy.¹⁴² Jeremiah had long been known as the ‘weeping prophet’; a moniker which may have derived from the depiction of him sitting and weeping as he composed

¹⁴⁰ See Simon Tugwell, ‘Christ as a Model of Sanctity in Humbert of Romans’, *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans. Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, IN., 1998), p. 93; *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, p. 54.

¹⁴¹ LCU, 292-93. (Moreover [Dominic] wept abundantly, for God bestowed this special grace upon him of behalf of sinners, the wretched and afflicted, and showing in himself a new Jeremiah, all of the perishing souls liquefied into a wonderful feeling of compassion. Therefore, [Dominic] always beat himself with special desire, in this way, particularly and incessantly his ears used to beat with a petition of divine mercy, [as far as] he deemed worthy to pour out this grace.)

¹⁴² Thomas of Cantimpré refers to Jeremiah when describing Lutgard of Aywières’ tears, see VLA, 252. See also Philip of Clairvaux, ‘Vita Elizabeth sanctimonialis in Erkenrode’, *Catalogus Codicum hagiographicum Bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis*, 2 volumes (Brussels, 1886), volume 1, p. 366.

the laments contained in the work of the same name.¹⁴³ In the bible Jeremiah's weeping prefigured Luke's portrait of Jesus (Lk. 19: 41-48), as he wept before, during and after the fall of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴ Although tears appear frequently across the books of Jeremiah and Lamentations, Constantine does not integrate any of these verses and the comparison is not developed here or in subsequent texts about Dominic.¹⁴⁵

As part of his scheme of remodelling, Constantine instead adds new descriptions of Dominic's tears:

Diem impertiebatur proximis, noctem Deo, sciens quoniam in die mandavit dominus misericordiam suam et nocte canticum eius. Sane de suis oculis quasi quendam fontem effecerat lacrimarum, fuerunt ei lacrimae eius panes die ac nocte; die quidem magis, cum missarum crebra et quotidiana celebraret sollemnia, nocte vero, cum super omnes infatigabilibus excubaret vigiliis. Frequenter autem, quando corpus domini elevabatur in missa, in tantum mentis rapiebatur excessum, ac si ibidem presentem Christum

¹⁴³ See the preface to the book of Lamentations. For Jeremiah as the weeping prophet see M. C. Callaway, 'The Lamenting Prophet and the Modern Self: On the Origin of Contemporary Readings of Jeremiah', *Inspired Speech. Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon*, ed. L. Stulman (London, 2004), pp. 48-62, especially p. 51; David Bosworth, 'The Tears of God in the Book of Jeremiah', *Biblica*, 94 (2013), 24-46.

¹⁴⁴ See M. C. Callaway, 'The Lamenting Prophet and the Modern Self: On the Origin of Contemporary Readings of Jeremiah', *Inspired Speech. Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon*, ed. L. Stulman (London, 2004), p. 51.

¹⁴⁵ For tears in Jeremiah see 9:1; 9:10; 9:18; 13:17; 14:17.

For tears in Lamentations see 1:2; 1:16; 2:11; 2:18; 3:48.

incarnatum videret, propter quod missam cum ceteris multo tempore non audivit.¹⁴⁶

As already seen, the motif of tears as bread was a common hagiographical trope.¹⁴⁷ However, Constantine adds that Dominic's eyes were like a fountain of tears and relates this episode to the celebration of Mass. Tugwell believes that Constantine used only the Languedoc section, yet this episode has elements that recall the Bologna canonisation process. The language used by Constantine is different to the testimonies, but both brothers Stephen and Ventura had commented on Dominic's unwearying vigils and tears during Mass, information that had not been included by Peter Ferrand.¹⁴⁸

As part of his agenda of adding miracle stories, Constantine also included miracles that involved weeping. In one episode, a young man was brought back to life when the Lord

¹⁴⁶ LCU, 329. ([Dominic] used to share the day with his neighbours, the night with God, knowing that the Lord commanded [him to show] mercy during the day and [to chant] prayers at night. Indeed, he had produced, as it were, a fountain of tears from his eyes, his tears were his bread day and night; even more so during the day when he would celebrate frequently and daily Masses. During the night he would keep watch over, with unwearying vigils. Frequently, however, when the body of the Lord was being elevated during Mass, he would be rapt and so unaware of his physical surroundings that in that condition he would see the incarnate Christ present and on account of this, he did not hear Mass with everyone else very often.)

¹⁴⁷ See above pp. 118, 184, 189.

¹⁴⁸ For the testimonies of brothers Stephen and Ventura see above pp. 154, 157, 159-61. Simon Tugwell, 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic: A Textual Study and Critical Edition', *Medieval Studies*, 47 (1985), 78.

was tearfully implored.¹⁴⁹ In shedding tears, the body was offered as a spiritual sacrifice, as underlined in Romans 12:1: ‘present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God.’¹⁵⁰ This idea of self sacrifice, as opposed to material gifts, was particularly prominent in mendicant spirituality as their ideal was to live without possessions and reject the exchange of material gifts on earth. In this episode, the tears are the central elements that encourage the miraculous event and demonstrate Dominic’s role as an intercessor.

Each of these tearful additions assisted in altering the tone of Dominic’s *Legenda* and aligning him more with the lachrymose founder seen in the canonization proceedings. As Van Engen has summarised: ‘By the mid-1240s... twenty-five years after his death,

¹⁴⁹ LCU, 340. ‘Vir quidam de castro Sormuc de villa Leley, Gothar nomine, orbatus filio, Thoma nomine, iam defuncto, superveniente nocte circa corpus eius plorans et eiulans residebat. Socio tandem, qui secum aderat, ad quiescendum pergente, cum remansisset solus, accenso lumine, iuxta caput adolescenti filii defuncti se collocans, habenas lacrimis relaxavit, beatum Dominicum ut patri redderet filium incessanter votis pariter et vocibus interpellans. Factum est igitur, ut circa pullorum cantum qui mortuus fuerat se moveret et apertis oculis patri dixit: ‘Quid est pater, quod sic habeo faciem madefactam?’ Cui ille: ‘Lacrime patris tui sunt, fili, quia tu mortuus fueras, et ego solus remanseram omni gaudio destitutus’. At ille: ‘Multum’ inquit, ‘pater, flevisti, sed beatus Dominicus desolationi tue compatiens, ut tibi vivus redderet, suis meritis impetravit.’

(A man from Sormuc, a fortified settlement of the Leley estate, by the name of Gothar, [was] bereaved of his son, by the name of Thomas, now deceased. He sat beside the body, weeping and wailing. Finally, the servant who was with him went to rest. As night fell, with a lighted lamp, he placed himself near the head of [his] deceased young son freed the bonds of his tears, and begged blessed saint Dominic unceasingly with prayers and incantations, to restore his son to his father. Therefore, it came to pass that about cockcrow, the dead man began to move, opened his eyes, and said to his father, ‘Father, why is my face wet like this?’ His father said: ‘These are your father’s tears, my son, because you were dead and I was left alone, bereft of joy.’ But the boy said: ‘You have shed many tears, father, but blessed Dominic took pity on your great distress and by his merits procured my restoration to you alive.’)

Dominic's image was intentionally adjusted to fit that of a heavenly intercessor and holy founder.¹⁵¹ It is clear that as part of the readjustment, Dominic was recast in the light of his Franciscan counterpart and in line with the dominant notions of what constituted sainthood. This transmutation is evident in the inclusion of lachrymose episodes couched in fluid and affective language.

Humbert of Romans' *Legenda prima* and *Legenda maior*

The third and fourth reworkings of Dominic's *vita* came in the form of Humbert of Romans' *Legenda prima* and *Legenda maior*. Humbert (d.1277) was born in Romans near Valence and studied canon law in Paris.¹⁵² He entered the Dominican Order in Paris in 1224 and subsequently became the Lector of the Lyons convent, provincial prior of the Romans province (c.1241-1246) and then provincial of France (1246-1254).¹⁵³ In 1246 Humbert was commissioned to write his *Legenda prima*.¹⁵⁴ Between 1246 and 1248 he compiled this work before serving as Master General of the Order (1254-1263). As the Master General he undertook an extensive programme of revision of the liturgical books and wrote a second *Legenda* of Dominic (1256).¹⁵⁵ Both of

¹⁵⁰ Romans 12:1: obsecro itaque vos fratres per misericordiam Dei ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem sanctam Deo placentem rationabile obsequium vestrum.

¹⁵¹ Van Engen, 'Dominic and the Brothers', p. 13.

¹⁵² See *Cronica Ordinis*, ed. B. M. Reichert, MOPH, 1 (1896), 336-37.

¹⁵³ As Lector at Lyons and provincial prior see *Cronica Ordinis*, 337.

¹⁵⁴ *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, appendix T10, p. 582 (text) and pp. 56-59 (Tugwell's discussion).

¹⁵⁵ For Humbert as Master General see *Cronica Ordinis*, 336; for his revision of liturgical books and second *Legenda* see *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, pp. 586-88.

Humbert's *legendae* were written as part of wider lectionaries.¹⁵⁶ Although the *Legenda prima* has the elements of a *vita*, it was designed as a liturgical text for use at Matins.¹⁵⁷ This *Legenda* was innovative, containing parts that were demarcated for the feast of Translation as well as for Dominic's main feast and its octave day.¹⁵⁸ The 1246 lectionary, that contained the first *Legenda*, survives in the Regensburg sanctoral yet the only complete version of the text is found in Oxford Keble College MS 49 (c.1270).¹⁵⁹ The *Legenda prima* is essentially an abridgement of Ferrand's *Legenda*.¹⁶⁰ Humbert did not borrow from Constantine, possibly because this *Legenda* was not circulating at this point.¹⁶¹ In many places Humbert thinned Ferrand's work and this is seen in his reproduction of the account of Dominic's tears:

Ferrand's Legenda

Specialem gratiam contulerat ei Deus flendi continue pro peccatoribus, pro miseris et afflictis. Et animarum pereuntium zelo succensus, nec minus desiderio celestis habitationis affectus, crebro in orationibus pernoctabat. Sepe autem et super orationes rugiebat a gemitu cordis sui, nec continere se poterat, quin vox plangentis evidenter eminus audiretur.

Humbert's Legenda prima:

Speciale autem habebat gratiam flendi pro peccatoribus, nec minus desiderio celestis habitationis affectus crebro in oratione pernoctabat.

¹⁵⁶ The word lectionary refers to the book with the readings for Matins (i.e. *Liber lectionarius*) and not the readings for Mass as in modern parlance.

¹⁵⁷ *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 56, 58, 64-71.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58.

Sepe autem inter orationes se continere non poterat quin vox plangentis euidenter audieretur. Frequenter autem aures diuine clemencie <h>ac speciali pe<ti>tione pulsabat quatinus cordi eius illam caritatem dignaretur infundere qua proximorum salutem posset efficacius procurare.¹⁶²

Critically, Humbert expunged the important detail that Dominic's special grace of weeping was bestowed by God (*contulerat ei Deus*). This abridgement is in line with Humbert's policy of reducing the supernatural and elements that could not be readily verifiable. For example, Humbert modifies accounts of visions in order to steer away from committing himself to their objective reality.¹⁶³ Although Humbert truncated Ferrand's account he added that Dominic's weeping 'effectively procured the salvation of his neighbours' and that Dominic was offering himself for the deliverance of others. Thus, Humbert subtly placed more emphasis on weeping as a penitential act.

The second reference to Dominic's tears in the *Legenda prima* is taken directly from Jordan's *Libellus*:

Flebat autem uberrime atque creberrime et fuerunt ei lacrimae sue panes die ac nocte, die quidem tunc magis, cum missarum crebra et cottidiana

¹⁶² LP, p. 430. ([Moreover, [Dominic] had the special grace of weeping on behalf of sinners, [and] no less affected by longing for heavenly dwelling, he would spend the night in constant prayer. Often, however, during his prayers he was not able to contain himself so that the voice of the wailing man could be clearly heard. Frequently, however, he would batter the ears of divine mercy with this particular request, that He might deign to pour His love into his heart so that he could more effectively procure the salvation of his neighbours.)

¹⁶³ *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, p. 54.

celebraret sollempnia, nocte uero cum super omnes infatigabilibus excubabat uigiliis.¹⁶⁴

Despite his propensity to tinker with other's texts, Humbert copied Jordan verbatim and went on to use this passage a second time in his *Legenda maior*.¹⁶⁵ The *Legenda maior* edited by Tugwell is a collation of the 14 medieval manuscripts that were known to him.¹⁶⁶ The text itself is divided into chapters with titles but parts are also presented as lessons.¹⁶⁷ Once again, the drive to place Dominic at the centre of the Order was played out in Humbert's work by synthesising elements of each of the works which preceded it. However, in his description of Dominic's tears, Humbert deviated little from the earlier *Legenda* written by Peter:¹⁶⁸

Specialem gratiam contulerat ei deus flendi pro peccatoribus, pro miseris et afflictis, et animarum pereuntium zelo succensus nec minus desiderio celestis habitationis affectus crebro in orationibus pernoctabat. Sepe autem et inter orationes rugiebat a gemitu cordis sui, nec continere se poterat, quin vox plangentis eminus, audiretur. Frequenter quoque et aures diuine clementie hac speciali petitione pulsabat quatinus cordi eius illam caritatem

¹⁶⁴ LP, 438. (He used to weep plenteously and frequently, and his tears were his bread by day and by night, by day especially when he celebrated his daily Mass, and during the night he would keep watch over all, with his unwearying vigils.) Cf. *Libellus*, 75.

¹⁶⁵ On Humbert's propensity to tinker see *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, p. 64.

In line with the *vitae*-progression of Francis of Assisi, Humbert's *Legenda maior* of 1256 was deemed the official version. See Van Engen, 'Dominic and the Brothers', p. 10.

¹⁶⁶ For Tugwell's lengthy discussion of the manuscript tradition see *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, pp. 107-210.

¹⁶⁷ *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, p. 249.

¹⁶⁸ Words used by Peter are indicated with italics.

dignaretur infundere qua proximorum salutem posset efficacius procurare, exemplo eius uidelicet, qui se totum nostram obtulit in salutem.¹⁶⁹

Humbert copied Peter almost verbatim in this passage whilst working in a small portion of Constantine's text (my underlining). Humbert clearly took time to sift what he considered to be the best elements from each text whilst thinning irrelevancies.¹⁷⁰ Importantly, Dominic's *specialis gratia* of tears endured but Humbert modified Constantine's phrase 'gratiam dignaretur infundere' to 'caritatem dignaretur infundere', switching the focus from grace to love and charity.¹⁷¹ Both of Humbert's *legendae* differ significantly from that of Constantine.¹⁷² Tugwell even suggests that Humbert may have considered Constantine's description of Dominic's frequent tears liable to set a bad example because he missed choir and for this reason he chose not to include it in his version.¹⁷³ Humbert did not maintain Constantine's language of melting through tears but, like Peter, focussed on the idea of the purity of the heart. Tugwell has suggested that Humbert was rather traditional in his writings and, viewed in the context

¹⁶⁹ LM, p. 460. (God had bestowed on him the special grace of weeping on behalf of sinners, the wretched and the afflicted, and, fired by passion for the souls of the dying, and no less affected by a desire for heavenly dwelling, he would spend the night in constant prayer. Often, however, during his prayers he used to roar from the groaning of his heart, and he could not contain himself, so that the voice of the wailing man could be heard from a distance. Frequently, too, he would batter the ears of divine mercy with this particular request, that He might deign to pour His love into his heart so that he could more effectively procure the salvation of his neighbours through His example, that is, he who offered himself entirely for our salvation.)

¹⁷⁰ See *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, pp. 217, 223.

¹⁷¹ LCU, 292-93. See above fn. 141 p. 183.

¹⁷² *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, p. 54.

¹⁷³ LCU, 329. See *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, p. 221.

of Vauchez's shifting perceptions of sanctity, that Humbert belonged 'to the world which was passing, in which prime candidates for canonisation were public figures like bishops, rather than the new world in which sanctity was associated more with personal spiritual prowess and in which people, including some Dominicans, were fascinated by visionaries and ecstasies.'¹⁷⁴ This orthodoxy may be seen in his descriptions of Dominic's tears. When describing the founder's abundance of tears using the bread motif from Psalms (41:40) and taken directly from Jordan, Humbert does not embellish his descriptions:

Flebat autem uberrime atque creberrime et fuerunt ei lacrimae sue panes die ac nocte. Die quidem tunc magis cum missarum crebra et cotidiana celebraret sollemnia, nocte vero cum super omnes infatigabilibus excubaret vigiliis.¹⁷⁵

In this and his other works, Humbert had little to say about the contemplative life.¹⁷⁶ As he penned his official *Legenda* he was careful in his construction of Dominic, perhaps out of concern for the increasing competition with the Franciscans.¹⁷⁷ Unlike Constantine and Gerard Frachet, whose texts demonstrate antagonism between the orders, Humbert adopted a policy of 'mutual respect' for the Franciscans as

¹⁷⁴ Tugwell, 'Christ as a Model of Sanctity', p. 96.

¹⁷⁵ LM, p. 416. (He used to weep plentifully and frequently, and his tears were his bread by day and by night, by day especially when he celebrated his daily Mass and during the night he himself would keep watch over all, with his unwearying vigils.) Cf. *Libellus*, 75.

¹⁷⁶ Mulchahey, "*First the bow is bent in study...*", p. 111.

demonstrated by a joint encyclical addressed to both Orders in 1255.¹⁷⁸ His descriptions of Dominic's tears might be classified as conventional and cautious in contrast to the fluid and affective descriptions given by Constantine and in the canonisation processes.

From Peter's *Legenda* to Humbert's reworking, the early Order of Preachers took pains to cultivate Dominic into a founder saint. This was done on a practical level as well as by recasting the nature of his *fama*. Both daily and annual liturgical observances were instituted to aid the Preachers' remembrance of Dominic.¹⁷⁹ In addition, the General Chapter of 1239 established that a conventual mass should be read at least once a week in the founder's memory and that on feast days, antiphons for Dominic should be added to vespers, lauds and second vespers. Ordinary weekdays saw the introduction of antiphons for Dominic at vespers and matins.¹⁸⁰ This concerted attempt to move Dominic into the centre of the Order was also seen in the Chapter of 1250, which asked

¹⁷⁷ Tugwell has noted how Humbert made little reference to Dominic in relation to the idea of *sequela Christi*. Although Humbert uses the model of the apostles, there is no overt use of the *vita apostolica* nor Dominic as the *alter christus*. See Tugwell, 'Christ as a Model of Sanctity', pp. 92-99.

¹⁷⁸ For Frachet's account of a Franciscan who was sceptical of Dominic's power to work miracles see *Vitae Fratrum*, 88 and LCU, chapters 23-27. See also *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, pp. 297-308.

¹⁷⁹ Van Engen, 'Dominic and the Brothers', p. 10.

¹⁸⁰ *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, p. 11. An initial survey of the early Dominican liturgy has shown no references to tears. For the early Dominican liturgy see *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, especially pp. 1-25 (for a description of Humbert's quest for liturgical uniformity), 555-62 (for Humbert's text for the feast of St Dominic); O' Carroll, 'The Cult and Liturgy of St Dominic', pp. 567-611; Leonard E. Boyle, 'Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: Le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L1', *Revue de Musicologie*, 91 (2) (2005), 469-71; A. Dirks, 'De Liturgie dominicanae evolutione', AFP, 54 (1984), pp. 39-82; Philip Gleeson, 'Dominican Liturgical Manuscripts from before 1254', AFP, 42 (1972), 81-135.

priors and brothers to seek out opportunities to dedicate churches to Dominic.¹⁸¹ This concentrated shift was almost certainly coloured by competition with the Franciscans and the desire to possess a saint with all the hallmarks of the new *fama sanctitatis* (public knowledge of sanctity). In tracing the nature of Dominic's *fama* through his hagiographies, it has been shown how episodes of shedding tears gradually became more prominent and in Constantine's edition the affective, supernatural language surrounding them became more effusive. This shift reflects more general perceptions of the holy and possibly a Franciscan influence. Although in these *legendae* one can observe the constant presence of tears, it is in the later hagiographical dossier that a truly lachrymose Dominic, reminiscent of the canonisation processes, reemerges.

Gerard Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*¹⁸²

Gerard's Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum* was completed between 1256 and 1259, a little after Humbert's *Legenda maior*. It is an important source for both the devotion and lachrymosity of Dominic and the early Dominicans, but has enjoyed limited visibility because, following Isnard Frank's erroneous suggestion, it has not been thought to fit well with the tone of the Order's scholasticism.¹⁸³ The genre of the *Vitae Fratrum* is different to that of the preceding *legendae*. Indeed, the work has more in common with Jordan's *Libellus*, as it was written as a hagiography of a community rather than of a

¹⁸¹ *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, p. 53.

¹⁸² Recent scholarship on this text often refers to it as the *Vitas Fratrum*, despite the evident grammatical problems, as this is the title given in the earliest manuscript. See Boureau, '*Vitae Fratrum, Vitae Patrum*', 86.

¹⁸³ Isnard Wilhelm Frank, 'Die Spannung zwischen Ordensleben und wissenschaftlicher Arbeit im frühen Dominikanerorden', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 49 (1967), 164-207.

saint. However, the affective descriptions of shedding tears are more reminiscent of Franciscan hagiography. Gerard (d.1271) entered the Order in Paris in 1225 and served as provincial prior for eight years in Provence (1251-59) and then prior in Montpellier 1259-63.¹⁸⁴ His text had a far greater circulation than any of the former *legendae*. The *Vitae Fratrum* exists in over 50 manuscripts and Van Engen suggests that each Dominican house held a copy.¹⁸⁵ It was recommended by Master Humbert and ‘effectively provided the main instrument for inducting people into the life and spirit of Preachers.’¹⁸⁶ Moreover, Humbert ordered that it not be distributed outside the Order without permission.¹⁸⁷ As a hagiography of a community it provided a model for imitation within the order. It can be argued, therefore, that this text had a fundamental role in shaping the spirituality of the early Dominicans and in this respect the emphasis placed upon Dominic’s tears as well as the lachrymosity of the brothers is important.

Frchet’s work synthesises many miracle stories that were given to him by Humbert, who had collected them after the 1255 General Chapter.¹⁸⁸ It is of little surprise, therefore, that the first episode of Dominic’s tears is related through the medium of the miracle story. In this lachrymose miracle, Dominic acts as an intercessor and uses his tears to revive a young boy:

¹⁸⁴ Van Engen, ‘Dominic and the Brothers’, p. 14.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹⁸⁷ *Vitae Fratrum*, 4-5. Van Engen, ‘Dominic and the Brothers’, p. 15.

¹⁸⁸ *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, pp. 73, 83. See also Van Engen, ‘Dominic and the Brothers’, p. 14.

Cum idem pater per Franciam vadens castrum Castellionis venisset, contigit filium sororis capellani, qui eum receperat hospicio, de solario cadere, et quasi exanimem a matre et parentibus plangi. Quibus beatus Dominicus compassus sese in oratione cum lacrimis prostravit, et exauditus est a Deo, et puerum reddidit incolumem matri sue.¹⁸⁹

The prostration shows humility before God and a willingness to act as his vessel. The tears that are offered up to God give special emphasis to his plea. The efficacy of this type of prayer is rewarded as God revives the boy through Dominic. Furthermore, Dominic's tears are juxtaposed with the lamentations expressed by the parents. The parents' mourning shows an attachment to the world, whereas Dominic's tears move beyond this and are received by the divine. The founder sheds the 'correct' type of tears and so his entreaty is answered.

The next episode reads more like a deposition from the canonisation proceedings as Frachet recounts a testimony provided by Brother John of Bologna:

Frater quidam, vir bonus et discretus, dixit, quod VII noctibus vigilaverat, ut videret, qualiter beatus pater se haberet in nocte. Dixit ergo, quod in oracione modo stans, modo ingeniculans, modo prostratus, in tantum perseverabat, quousque sompnus eum arripiebat. Qui cum evigilasset, statim visitabat altaria; et ita usque circa mediam noctem agebat. Tunc autem fratres dormientes, quietissime visitans, discoopertos cooperiebat. Quo facto rediens in ecclesiam continue orabat. Dixit idem frater, quod cum frequenter iuvaret eum ad missam, vidit, quod post sumptum corpus dominicum, se

¹⁸⁹ *Vitae Fratrum*, 76. (The father (Dominic) had come to the fortified settlement [at] Chatillon [while] going through France, it happened that the son of the sister of the chaplain who had received him as a guest, fell from the upper floor of the house and his mother and father were lamenting over his lifeless [body]. Having compassion [for them], blessed Dominic prostrated himself in prayer with tears and he was heard by God and the boy was restored unharmed to his mother.)

vertebat ad vinum et aquam sumenda, sepe fluebant lacrimae ab oculis eius.¹⁹⁰

Although brother John of Bologna did not provide a deposition in Dominic's canonisation enquiry, his account echoes the testimonies that were supplied. Firstly, John had seen Dominic's three different stances during prayer: standing, kneeling and prostrated. By secretly observing Dominic's nocturnal vigils, he was also able to describe the founder's sleep deprivations and continual prayer. Finally, John also recounts Dominic's tears during Mass. The changing of water to wine is subtly juxtaposed with Dominic's inner transformation with tears. Given the likeness of this part of the text to the proceedings, it is highly likely that either the brother John or Frachet had seen the dossier. Furthermore, it is probable that this account may have served as a source for the anonymous compiler of *De Modo Orandi*, a prayer manual that described Dominic's nine ways of prayers.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ *Vitae Fratrum*, 79. (A brother (John of Bologna), [who was] a good and prudent man, said that he had kept watch for seven nights so he could see in what manner the blessed father used to spend the night. Consequently, he said that sometimes he stood while he was praying, sometimes he knelt down, sometimes he prostrated himself, and would continue like this until sleep took hold of him. When he woke up, he would visit the altars at once, and would go on doing this until round about midnight. Then, while the brothers were sleeping, he very quietly visited [them] and would cover [those who were] uncovered (i.e. had no blanket). This done, he would return to the church and pray continuously. The same brother said that he would often help [Dominic] at Mass and saw that after he had partaken of the Lord's body, he would turn to partake of the wine and water, [and] tears would often flow from his eyes.)

¹⁹¹ See below p. 201.

The remaining episodes that recount Dominic's tears have a strongly penitential tone, reflecting the influence of the lives of the Desert Fathers. In the first of these, Dominic actively directs a brother to change the subject of his tears:

Interdixit aliquando fratri Bertrando, socio suo, ne suas, sed aliorum culpas defleret, attendens, quod pro peccatis suis se nimis affligebat. Et tante virtutis verba fuerunt, ut ex tunc pro aliis habundantur fleret, pro se autem flere non posset, eciam volens.¹⁹²

Rather than weeping for his own sins, Dominic stressed that Brother Bertrand must direct them towards the salvation of others. This extract conveys the Dominican ethos of putting others first and ensuring their salvation whilst continuing to suffer on earth.¹⁹³

In the following episode, Frachet records how Dominic would weep over the sins of man when he entered a new town or city, akin to Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Luke 19:41):¹⁹⁴

Super peccatis hominum mirabiliter sanctus pater fuit compaciens; quando appropinquabat ville vel civitati, quam posset a longe videre, recognitans

¹⁹² *Vitae Fratrum*, 80. (One day he told brother Bertrand, his companion, that he should not weep for his own sins but for those of others, because he considered [Bertrand] was far too hard on himself because of his sins; and his words were of such great powers that from that moment he used to weep copiously for other people, but could not weep for himself, even when he wanted [to do so].)

¹⁹³ On Dominican penitence see Marie-Humbert Vicaire, 'S. Dominique', DS (Paris, 1976), vol. 3, col. 1527.

¹⁹⁴ Luke 19:41: et ut adpropinquavit videns civitatem flevit super illam.

miserias hominum et peccata, que flebant in illa, totus in lacrimas solvebatur.¹⁹⁵

This connection between Dominic and Jesus is rather unconventional in terms of the early Dominican writings and iconography.¹⁹⁶ However, it serves to underline the importance of universal salvation and the role of the Dominicans therein. In the final lachrymose episode of the *Vitae Fratrum*, Gerard recalls an episode of shared tears whereby Dominic induces the brothers to weep after he receives a vision:

Nocte quadam in urbe Roma, dum sacris vigiliis apud cathacumbas excubaret fervencius, visio ei monstrata est. Factumque est in vigilia in matutinis, revertens domum, post signum campanule vocat fratres, qui magna emittens suspira, voce flebili eos alloqui cepit, et verbum illud evangelicum, sed tremebundum in medium protulit dicens: “Fratres, ecce sathanas expetivit vos, ut cribraret sicut triticum.” Flebant autem fratres uberime in verbis ipsius, sed et ipse cum flentibus flebat et amplius. Denique protulit verbum, quod sibi propheticè monstratum est, dicens: “Flete, inquit, fratres quoniam duo ex nobis debent ire ad vitam, et duo ad mortem.” Ad quod verbum ulteriori modo exterriti fratres acrius plorantes dicebant inter se: “Numquid sum ergo?” Quod postea impletum est; nam

¹⁹⁵ *Vitae Fratrum*, 81-82. (The holy father was wonderfully patient over people’s sins, when he approached a town or city which he could see from a distance, thinking about people’s miseries and sins for which they were weeping there, he used to dissolve entirely into tears.)

MS Gandavensis provides a slightly different reading of this passage. It records how Dominic flowed with tears over the sinners who were descending into hell: ‘et miseriis erat compaciens ita quod quantocumque appropinquaret alicui civitati vel ville, quam posset de aliquo loco eminenti videre, recitans miserias hominum et que in ea fiebant peccata, et quod multi descenderunt in infernum, totus effluebat in lacrimas.’ See *Vitae Fratrum*, 81, fn. 24.

¹⁹⁶ See Tugwell, ‘Christ as a Model of Sanctity’, pp. 92-99. For Dominic as *alter Christus* in art see Joanna Cannon, ‘Dominic *alter Christus*? Representations of the Founder in and after the *Arca di San Domenico*’, *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans. Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, IN, 1998), pp. 26-48.

paucis diebus elapsis, duo ex fratribus ordinem exeuntes, haud dubium, quin ad mortem iverint. Alii vero duo sarcinam corporis reliquentes, ad vitam pervenerunt perennem.¹⁹⁷

Drawing upon Luke 22:31, in which Jesus foresees Peter's denial,¹⁹⁸ Dominic warns the brothers that Satan tries to draw out evil and that the brothers should remain strong in their faith. Dominic encourages the brothers to weep for the two brothers who, in the vision, will go to their deaths by leaving the Order. In this episode, Dominic teaches the word of the gospel, and the example of his weeping is held up for imitation. Weeping expresses sorrow for future sins and is done collectively in the hope of salvation.

Gerard's text is quite unlike the preceding *legendae* as it brings together diverse accounts of lachrymose miracles, visions and testimonies. These accounts were compiled to provide spiritual guidance to novices and the brothers of the Order. In the *Vitae Fratrum* tears are both to be admired and imitated: Dominic wrought miracles through tearful intercession and was represented as an *alter Christus* yet he also

¹⁹⁷ *Vitae Fratrum*, 84. (One night in the city of Rome, while [Dominic] was keeping watch at the catacombs fervently in sacred vigils, a vision was shown to him. It happened in the early hours of the morning while he was going home. After the bell had been rung, he summoned the brothers and, sighing deeply, began to address them in a tearful voice, and, in their presence, quoted that fearful Gospel verse, saying, 'Brethren, Satan has sought you out so that he may sift you like wheat (Luke 22:31)'. The brothers began to weep copiously at his words, but he himself wept along with them even more. At last he told them what he had shown to him by way of a prophecy. 'Weep, brethren', he said 'because two of you must go to life and two to death.' At this, the brothers, even more thoroughly terrified, and wailing more passionately, began to say to each other, 'Surely it doesn't mean me!' Later on, this was fulfilled, for after a few days had gone by, two of the brothers left the Order and there can be no doubt they went to [their] death; and two others, leaving behind the burden of the body, arrived at eternal life.)

¹⁹⁸ Luke 22:31: ait autem Dominus Simon Simon ecce Satanas expetivit vos ut cribraret sicut triticum.

encouraged others to imitate his penitential lachrymose example. The *Vitae Fratrum* conveys a shared and penitential lacrimation yet also presents Dominic as a divine intercessor who was intimately transformed by tears during the Eucharist.

De Modo Orandi

The anonymous prayer manual *De Modo Orandi* was probably composed by a Dominican brother in northern Italy around 1280.¹⁹⁹ Produced for the edification of Dominican novices, this short handbook describes the modes of prayer that Dominic was seen to adopt during his private and contemplative prayer.²⁰⁰ *De Modo Orandi* is an indispensable source for the study of tears, the development of Dominic's holy character and the affective nature of early Dominican spirituality.

At least from 1733 when Guillaume Cuypers published *De Modo Orandi* as the concluding chapter to Dietrich of Apolda's *Libellus* on Dominic in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the text was long supposed to be part of this work.²⁰¹ Indeed, several extant versions of

¹⁹⁹ For a comprehensive discussion of the date and authorship of *De Modo Orandi* see Tugwell, 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic', 70-74.

²⁰⁰ From the mid-thirteenth century, several friars wrote about the training of novices including William of Tournai. In addition to *De Modo Orandi*, the *Libellus seu tractatus de instructione novitiorum secundum modum vivendi in ordine Predicatorum* describes the first steps of entering the Dominican Order in Humbert of Romans (now attributed to Jean of Montlhéry), *Opera de vita regulari*, vol. 2, pp. 525-44. For the education of Dominican novices see Mulchahey, "First the bow is bent in study...", pp. 97-126.

²⁰¹ Dietrich of Apolda, *Libellus*, AASS, 4 August I (Antwerp, 1733), 562-632 edited from Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1218 (c.1440), fols 133^v-141^v. See Tugwell, 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic', 22, fn.75.

De Modo Orandi are found in Dietrich manuscripts.²⁰² Nevertheless, most of the twentieth-century editions of *De Modo Orandi* were made from Vatican Library MS Rossianus 3, a manuscript that dates to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, which is accompanied by nine vignettes depicting Dominic in prayer (discussed below).²⁰³ In contrast to the Dietrich manuscripts, Rossianus 3 is the only Latin manuscript to contain *De Modo Orandi* as a separate work. Tugwell has suggested that the Nine Ways of Prayer was a separately conceived piece of work that was appended to Dietrich's *Libellus* and that Rossianus 3 is a 'degenerate' and 'inferior' version of the text despite the stunning illustrations.²⁰⁴ Boyle's counter argument in favour of Rossianus 3 is based on a number of sound observations. Firstly, he notes that the vignettes provide a 'distinct advantage' as they are integral to the working of the text.²⁰⁵ Without the

²⁰² Rome, Biblioteca Casantense 168 (fourteenth century), fols 71^r-74^v; Modena, Biblioteca Estense Campori App. 59 (early fourteenth century), fols 127^r-133^v; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. soppr. D.2.76 (fourteenth-fifteenth century), fols 70^v-75^r; Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1168/470 (fifteenth century), fols 118^v-124^r; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1218 (c.1440), fols 133^v-141^v; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10152 (fourteenth century), fols 168^r-176^r and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 36 sin. 4 (late fourteenth century), fols 84^v-87^r. For the provenance and ownership of these manuscripts see Tugwell's detailed study 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic', 1-34. It is also highly likely that Bernard Gui (1261/2-1331) produced a copy of *De Modo Orandi* but the Carcassonne manuscript which is supposed to have contained it, is now lost. See Tugwell, *ibid.*, 6-7.

²⁰³ For a facsimile edition of the text: *Modi Orandi Sancti Dominici*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Zurich, 1995). For a list of twentieth century editions based on Rossianus 3 see Tugwell, 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic', 2-3. For the provenance of the Rossi manuscript see Leonard E. Boyle, "'The Ways of Prayer of St Dominic'" Notes on MS Rossi 3 in the Vatican Library', *AFP*, 64 (1994), 7-10.

²⁰⁴ Tugwell, 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic', 1-124, especially 3, 44.

²⁰⁵ For Boyle's full counter argument as to the validity of Rossianus 3 see Boyle, "'The Ways of Prayer of St Dominic'", 5-17.

images, Boyle argues that the ‘Ways’ are incomplete if not ‘wholly unintelligible’.²⁰⁶ Secondly, Boyle observes that the thirteenth-century miracle stories added in Tugwell’s edition are extraneous, detract from the purpose of the text and are intrusive.²⁰⁷ Although Boyle provides a strong defence in this respect, for any study of the opusculum, it is appropriate to use the most reliable and comprehensive text available as Tugwell presents several fourteenth-century copies of the text rather than a single manuscript. Thus, Tugwell’s detailed edition of the tract is used here rather than Boyle’s shorter edition of the singular fourteenth-century Rossianus manuscript.²⁰⁸

Although nine medieval manuscripts survive with the text of *De Modo Orandi*, only three contain images that represent the ways of prayer.²⁰⁹ Several other copyists of the text left space for illuminators to complete the work but this was not carried out.²¹⁰ The illustrations of *De Modo Orandi* are unique in that it was the first time that the prayer of

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Tugwell’s edition uses the manuscripts noted above in footnote 202 and Rome, Archives of the Order of Preachers, Santa Sabina XIV 54, fols 45^r-46^v (an eighteenth century copy of Ambrogio Taegio’s *De insigniis Ordinis Praedicatorum* c.1520). Tugwell, ‘The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic’, 81-92.

²⁰⁹ Madrid, Monastero de Santo Domingo el Real S.N., Codex Matensis fols 79^r-88^r (Castilian), Citta Vaticana, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Rossianus 3 fols 5^r-13^r and *Codex Bononiensis* (Italian vernacular, describes 14 modes) which is reproduced in *Cartulaire: ou Historie diplomatique de saint Dominique*, ed. A. Collomb and F. Balme, 3 vols. (Paris, 1901), vol. 3, pp. 277-87. The now lost *Codex Carcassonnensis* (dated to the end of thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century and last known of in the seventeenth century) is thought to have contained images.

²¹⁰ See for example Vatican Lat. MS 1218.

a saint had been represented in images for didactic purposes.²¹¹ In eight of the nine scenes in Rossianus 3, Dominic's holy action is the focal point, with a crucified Christ accompanying each vignette.²¹² Aubin has argued that 'l'image ne se contente pas d'illustrer le texte, ni de le rendre plus intelligible.'²¹³ Indeed, *De Modo Orandi* is not the ekphrasis of the image; the images might be seen as constituting a 'didactic pictorial language' whereby the gestures act as the 'verbs', directing the beholder in how to imitate the model.²¹⁴ The combination of word and image in *De Modo Orandi* reflect the canonical goal of the Dominican Order: to teach by word and example (*docere verbo et exemplo*). It reveals both a personal and charismatic engagement in prayer and underlines the importance of reciprocity and exchange in the canonical life where there was a 'double emphasis' on the inner man and the outer community.²¹⁵

In this opusculum, Dominic is presented as the living example of a preacher in prayer *par excellence*. Although the author had not witnessed Dominic in prayer, he was careful to note that he received his information from those who had and were close to the

²¹¹ Catherine Aubin, *Prier avec son corps: à la manière de saint Dominique* (Paris, 2005), p. 15.

²¹² For images see *Modi Orandi Sancti Dominici*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Zurich, 1995).

²¹³ Aubin, *Prier avec son corps*, p. 16.

²¹⁴ William Hood used the term 'didactic pictorial language' when referring to the cell frescoes in S. Marco, Florence by Fra Angelico. See William Hood, 'Saint Dominic's Manners of Praying: gestures in Fra Angelico's cell frescoes at S. Marco', *The Art Bulletin*, 68 (2) (1986), 196.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 197.

founder.²¹⁶ The nine modes, accompanied by an introductory preface, were devised as part of a mnemonic process whereby the novice preacher was guided through meditation, contemplation, prayer and study in order to be prepared for preaching. Several of these modes were meant to be imitated during times of silent, individual prayer and contemplation. The solitary nature of Dominican prayer, which may have been influenced by the eastern concept of *hesychasm*, not only encouraged introspection but provided the spiritual solitude which promoted tears.²¹⁷ Importantly, the manners of prayer are punctuated by tears and the novice brothers were enjoined both to imitate and to admire Dominic's lachrymosity.

The rapid diffusion and tradition of copying and excerpting is testament to its place in the training of novices and how it reflected what it meant to be a Dominican. Not only was *De Modo Orandi* translated into Castilian during the fourteenth century, it was continually copied and excerpted as part of Dominic's evolving hagiographic dossier between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.²¹⁸

De Modo Orandi was not the first prayer manual to prescribe and describe the manner in which prayer should be undertaken. In his *De Penitentia*, the Parisian theologian

²¹⁶ See DMO, 86.

²¹⁷ Vicaire, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs*, pp. 419, 423.

²¹⁸ In addition to the Latin manuscripts, there is a fourteenth-century Castilian version of *De Modo Orandi* which is collected as part of a *life* of Dominic (Madrid, Monastero de Santo Domingo el Real S.N., fols 79^f-88^f) and an early sixteenth-century version included in Ambrogio Taegio's compilation *De insigniis Ordinis Praedicatorum* which survives in an eighteenth-century copy (Rome Archives of the Order of Preachers, Santa Sabina XIV 54, fols 45^f-46^v). For a detailed study see Tugwell, 'The Nine Ways of Prayer of St Dominic', 4-6.

Peter the Chanter (d.1197) had produced seven modes of prayer that were accompanied by what Trexler described as ‘doll-like mannequins’: technical drawings that mimicked his descriptions.²¹⁹ Several of the postures found in the Chanter’s work (kneeling, prostration and four standing manners) are used in *De Modo Orandi*. Trexler observed that the Chanter was probably addressing a German or Italian audience as this is where the majority of the manuscripts of the work were found.²²⁰ As this is the area where *De Modo Orandi* is assumed to have been compiled, it is possible that the unknown author had seen the Chanter’s seven modes of prayer and used them as a basis for his text.²²¹ Certainly, as will be shown, there is some overlap between the treatises but the focus on tears as an accompanying expression appears to be unique to *De Modo Orandi*.

In addition to the manual produced by the Chanter, in the Dominican tradition Humbert of Romans had prescribed modes of prayer in his commentary on the Rule. The Master General described six manners of prayer including bowing, genuflection, prostration and the folding of hands.²²² Prescribing the physical process of prayer was not novel. The thirteenth-century vernacular guide for English female recluses *Ancrene Wisse* (written c.1225-40 by an anonymous Augustinian or Dominican friar), directed

²¹⁹ Richard C. Trexler, ‘Legitimizing prayer gestures in the twelfth century. The *De Penitentia* of Peter the Chanter’, *History and Anthropology*, 1 (1984), 98-99.

²²⁰ Trexler, ‘Legitimizing prayer gestures’, 103.

²²¹ The Chanter’s treatise on prayer was copied during the thirteenth century as attested by the Ottobeuren manuscript which was commissioned by the abbot Bertholdus (1229-1248). Trexler, ‘Legitimizing prayer gestures’, 104. Schmitt has observed how at least 8 manuscripts of this work appeared between 1220-1400. See Jean-Claude Schmitt, ‘Saint Dominic’s Gestures at Prayer’, *Modi Orandi Sancti Dominici*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Zurich, 1995), p. 16.

²²² Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, vol. 2, pp. 160-71.

anchoresses through stages of physical devotion that included genuflection, lifting eyes and hands to heaven, prostration, various hand signals and bowing.²²³ However, neither the *Ancrene Wisse* nor Humbert's six manners of prayer prescribe or encourage weeping.²²⁴ Thus, despite these forerunners, *De Modo Orandi* was unique in its purpose as it was both part of the hagiographic corpus relating to Dominic and a manual for novices. As Schmitt has observed, 'it represents a marked departure from the tradition of Dominican hagiography ... in its subject matter and in its composition [*De Modo Orandi*] is almost without equal in medieval religious literature ... it sets out to illustrate a system of prayer in all its modalities of voice and gesture.'²²⁵

Each gesture or bodily comportment described in the prayer tract induced an inner state. In the first mode, humility and reverence were elicited with a deep bow, followed by compunction which was evoked by prostration (mode 2). In the third manner, penitence was demonstrated through flagellation while genuflexion encouraged compassion and intercession (mode 4). In the fifth mode, standing with hand gestures before the chest assisted in meditation, while in the sixth comportment, divine power was called upon through imitation of the crucifixion. In the seventh mode, Dominic stands with his hands joined and held directly overhead as if in the shape of an arrow, ready to pierce

²²³ See Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 edited in *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses. A Translation*, ed. and trans. Bella Millett (Exeter, 2009), pp. 7-19.

²²⁴ In one short passage, Humbert cites Psalm 94 'Procidamus ante Deum, ploremus coram Domino, qui fecit nos.' but there are no other references to tears. Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, vol. 2, p. 166.

²²⁵ Schmitt, 'Saint Dominic's Gestures at Prayer', pp. 8-9.

heaven, which demonstrated his ecstasy. In the penultimate manner, Dominic is engaged in recollection through reading, a characteristic of the Dominican way of life, which prepared the brother for preaching. The culmination of these scenes is fervour for preaching, travelling and holy conversation.

To understand the place and importance of tears in *De Modo Orandi*, it is necessary to move systematically through each manner. Tears are highlighted in the text's introduction and then are described in the second, fourth, sixth and eighth modes of prayer. Resting firmly on the authority of the Church fathers and Dominican masters Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great and William Peraldus, the prayer manual begins by illustrating the interconnectivity of the body and soul.²²⁶ The theological framework that underlies the modes of prayer is how body and soul work in tandem and are not separate:

Tamen de modo orandi secundum quod anima exercet membra corporis ut ipsa deuotius feratur in deum, ut anima mouens corpus remoueretur a corpore et fiat quandoque in extasi ut Paulus, quandoque in agonia ut Saluator, quandoque in excessu mentis ut Daudid propheta, secundum quem modum sepe beatus Dominicus orabat.²²⁷

²²⁶ DMO, 81-82.

²²⁷ DMO, 82. (However, concerning the manner of praying in which the soul uses the members of the body in order to rise more devoutly to God, so that the soul, as it causes the body to move, is in turn moved by the body, until sometimes it is in ecstasy like Paul, sometimes in agony like the Saviour, and sometimes in rapture (an excess of the mind) like the prophet David. According to this manner, the blessed Dominic used often to pray).

The formula *anima mouens corpus remoueretur a corpore* is Augustinian; an unsurprising authority given that the Dominicans followed the Augustinian rule.²²⁸ The relationship between body and soul had been discussed by Hugh of St Victor (d. 1141) in his *Soliloquium de arra anime*, a constructed dialogue between the author and his soul, which circulated widely in the Middle Ages.²²⁹ His theology of the interconnectivity of the body and soul was transmitted in his *De institutione novitiorum*, a tripartite pedagogical programme in 21 chapters that discussed the proper way of life for novices.²³⁰ In *De institutione novitiorum*, Hugh developed a dialectic between the interior and exterior, whereby the body expresses the movements of the soul but in turn the movements of the body could stifle any illicit movements of the soul.²³¹

The modes of prayer that united the physical body and the spiritual soul in the journey towards God resulted in tears. Tears were the unmistakable signs of true devotion and so the author of *De Modo Orandi*, from the outset, underlines the importance of Dominic's lacrimation:

Talis enim modus orandi incitat deuotionem, alternatim ex anima in corpus et ex corpore in animam. Et iste modus faciebat sanctum Dominicum resolui uehementer in lacrimas, et accendebat feruorem bone uoluntatis in tantum ut mens cohibere non posset quin deuotionem membra corporis manifestarent

²²⁸ Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 310.

²²⁹ Hugo de S. Victore, 'Soliloquium de arra anime', PL, 176 (1854), 951-70. See Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 174.

²³⁰ Hugo de S. Victore, 'De institutione novitiorum', PL, 176 (1854), 925-52. According to Schmitt, *De institutione novitiorum* survives in 172 manuscripts which demonstrates its influence. Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 174.

²³¹ See Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 176.

certis inditiis. Vnde ipsa ui mentis orantis quandoque insurgebat in postulationes, obsecrationes, gratiarum actiones.²³²

De Modo Orandi clearly articulates the notion that specific states of mystical consciousness could be stimulated by assuming bodily postures.²³³ Achieving each of these states of the soul led to a spiritual transformation, often identifiable by tears. The bodily compartments begin with a bow and gradually move upwards from prostration, through to kneeling, standing, crucifixion and finally as an arrow ready to be shot into heaven. These seven holy calisthenics echo the spiritual transformation: as the body rises, the soul rises to be closer to God. The ‘journey through tears’, evident in many saints’ lives, is strongly identifiable in *De Modo Orandi* and parallels the ascent of the body and soul.²³⁴

After the humble bow of the first mode of prayer, the journey of transformation can only begin with the recognition of sins and shedding of tears. Dominic’s heart is pricked by compunction (*compungebatur in corde suo*) as he prostrates himself in the *secundus modus*:

Orabat etiam sepe beatus Dominicus prohiendo se totum ad terram pronum super faciem suam, et compungebatur in corde suo et erubescibat semetipsum et dicebat, aliquando ita alte ut etiam audiretur, illud

²³² DMO, 82. (This manner of praying stirs up devotion, the soul stirring the body and the body stirring the soul. Praying in this way used to make Dominic melt vehemently into tears, and it so kindled the fervour of his good will that his mind could not prevent his bodily members from showing unmistakable signs of devotion. So, by the sheer force of his mind at prayer, he sometimes rose up in petitions and entreaties and thanksgiving.)

²³³ Hood, ‘Saint Dominic's Manners of Praying’, 198.

²³⁴ DMO, 82.

euangelicum, Deus propitius esto michi peccatori. Et pie et uerecunde satis memorabat uerbum Dauid dicentis, Ego sum qui peccaui et qui inique egi. Et flebat atque gemebat fortiter. Et postea dicebat, Non sum dignus uidere altitudinem celi pre multitudine iniquitatis mee, quoniam irritaui iram tuam et malum coram te feci. Et de illo psalmo, Deus auribus nostris audiuius, fortiter et deuote dicebat, Quoniam humiliata est in puluere anima nostra, adhesit in terra uenter noster. Et iterum, Adhesit pauimento anima mea, uiuifica me secundum uerbum tuum.²³⁵

Compunction was defined by tears; indeed, for Desert Fathers there was no compunction without tears.²³⁶ The compunction in Dominic's heart recalls Acts 2:37-38.²³⁷ The remembrance of sins rips open the heart and tears are produced as the body is affected by the soul. The interior feeling of being pricked (*compunctus*) is expressed by the exterior body. The sting of compunction in this mode has an undertone of a conversion moment accompanied by tears, conversion marking a turning point or the beginning of a new spiritual life or journey.

²³⁵ Ibid., 83-84. (Dominic also often used to pray by throwing himself down on the ground, flat on his face, and then his heart would be pricked with compunction, and he would blush at himself and say, sometimes loudly enough for it to be actually heard, the words from the gospel, 'Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner.' And with great devotion and reverence he would recite the words of David, 'It is I who have sinned and done unjustly.' He would weep and groan passionately, and then say, 'I am not worthy to look upon the height of heaven, because of the greatness of my sin; I have provoked your anger and done evil in your sight.' And from the Psalm he would say, strongly and devoutly, we have heard God with our ears, 'My soul is laid low in the dust, my belly is stuck to the earth.' And again, 'My soul is stuck to the floor, make me come alive according to your word.')

²³⁶ For prostrating in compunction see *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, ed. Benedicta Ward, pp. 17, 62.

²³⁷ Acts 2:37-38: [H]is auditis compuncti sunt corde et dixerunt ad Petrum et ad reliquos apostolos quid faciemus viri fratres. Petrus uero ad illos paenitentiam inquit agite et baptizetur unusquisque uestrum in nomine Iesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum uestrorum et accipietis donum Sancti Spiritus.

Dominic's physical movement reflects the movements of his soul. His prostration reflects humility, penitence, mercy and adoration. The saint throws himself down (*proicere*) to the earth as his stomach is laid to dust (*adhesit in terra uenter noster*). In becoming the lowest of the low and recognising his sins, the journey can begin in order to rise up towards God.²³⁸ It is not simply the physical body that is laid low but the heart and soul. Once again, the author invokes the speech of biblical sinners; placing them in Dominic's mouth serves not only to legitimise the modes of prayer but to transcribe the words of the saint's prayer.²³⁹ Beginning with the tax collector (*publicanus*) of Luke 18:12 (*Deus propitius esto michi peccatori*) and then taking on the speech of David (3 Kings 8:47) (*Ego sum qui peccaui et qui inique egi*), Dominic recognises his sins and asks for mercy leading to forceful weeping (*flebat atque gemebat fortiter*).²⁴⁰ These tears are the start of his parallel lachrymose journey.

Biblical and patristic precedents provide the backbone of *De Modo Orandi*. After Dominic's first tears, the author evokes the King of Judah in the Penitential Prayer of Manasseh (2 Chronicles) (*Non sum dignus uidere altitudinem celi pre multitudine*

²³⁸ cf. Deuteronomy 9:18.

²³⁹ Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 310.

²⁴⁰ Two of the biblical passages cited in this mode are used in the Chanter's five ways of prayer: 'ego sum qui peccavi, ego inique egi' and 'Adhesit pavimento anima mea, vivifica me secundum verbum tuum.' See Richard C. Trexler, *The Christian at prayer: an illustrated prayer manual attributed to Peter the Chanter* (Binghamton, 1987), p. 188.

iniquitatis mee).²⁴¹ From the physically low place of this mode of prayer the novice is reminded that he is not yet ready to observe the heights of heaven. This same warning is issued in Peter the Chanter's treatise but is attributed to Martin of Tours rather than the penitential prayer.²⁴² Thus it is made clear that this is the outset of a spiritual journey. To convey this sense of beginning further the author appeals to a scene of the nativity where the Magi arrived to worship the infant Christ. Jesus was born so that he could absolve the sins of others. The beginning of Christ's earthly life echoes the start of the novice's spiritual life.

The author relied heavily on the authority of the Psalms as they frequently encourage using the body.²⁴³ Schmitt has noted how these corporal modes of prayer had a double reality in being both vocal and gestural.²⁴⁴ The words of the Psalmist become the words of Dominic's prayer, however, his tears often supplant speech. Shedding tears is essentially non-vocal but it is audible; tears sometimes spring forth during speech but often prevent it. In contrast, gestures are frequently accompanied by tears which add efficacy and legitimise the motion.

The pedagogical objective of the second manner is clear: to teach the brethren how to pray.

²⁴¹ According to Aubin, this prayer was included in the sinner's response in the Roman breviary and the Dominican breviary (the 7th response on Sunday and the 1st on Wednesday and Saturday during Matins from Trinity to the end of July). See Aubin, *Prier avec son corps*, p. 51 fn. 1.

²⁴² Trexler, 'Legitimizing prayer gestures', 102, fn. 29.

²⁴³ Aubin, *Prier avec son corps*, p. 18.

Volens autem aliquando docere fratres quam reuerenter deberent orare, dicebat eis. Magi illi deuoti reges intrantes domum inuenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius; certum est autem quod inuenimus hominem deum cum Maria ancilla eius, uenite adoremus et procidamus ante deum, ploremus coram domino qui fecit nos. Iuuenes etiam hortabatur dicens, Si non potestis flere uestra peccata, quia non habetis, sunt tamen multi peccatores ordinabiles ad misericordiam et caritatem, propter quos prophete et apostoli gemuerunt, propter quos uidens Iesus eos, fleuit amare, et sanctus Dauid similiter flebat dicens, Vidi preuaricantes et tabescebam.²⁴⁵

The brothers are taught with what reverence they should pray and they are encouraged to imitate the lacrimation of the founder. Recalling an episode from Frachet's *Vitae Fratrum*, the brothers are instructed to weep (*ploremus*) and if they have no personal sins to weep over, they must weep for the sins of others, as Jesus did when he entered Jerusalem.²⁴⁶ If unable to weep for one's own sins or the sins of others, spiritual

²⁴⁴ Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 310.

²⁴⁵ DMO, 83-84. (Sometimes, wanting to teach the brethren how reverently they ought to pray, he would say to them, 'The Magi, those devout kings, entering the house and discovered the child with Mary his mother. Now it is certain that we discovered God and Lord with Mary his handmaiden. Now it is certain that we have found him too, God and man, with Mary his handmaid, come let us worship and fall prostrate before God, let us weep before the Lord who made us. He encouraged the young men too, saying to them, 'If you cannot weep for your own sins, because you have none, there are many sinners to be directed towards mercy and love, on account of the prophets and apostles [who] groaned in distress and for their sake Jesus wept bitterly when he saw them, and similarly the holy David wept saying, 'I saw the guilty and I wasted away.')

The biblical citation 'uenite adoremus et procidamus ante deum' is also found in the Chanter's prayer manual. See Trexler, *The Christian at prayer*, p. 189.

²⁴⁶ The *Vitae Fratrum* records how Dominic told Brother Bertrand to stop weeping for his own sins and weep for the sins of others instead. *Vitae Fratrum*, 80, 83-84.

progression would be hindered. This penitential practice is related to the Dominican ethos of the salvation of others.²⁴⁷

After flagellation, encouraged in the third mode, tears are again of focal importance in the *quartus modus*. In contrast to the open and shared weeping over sins of the second manner, in this mode the tears are introspective and intimate. Through repeated genuflexion, Dominic is physically caught up in an experience with the divine:

Quandoque autem loquebatur in corde suo et uox penitus non audiebatur, et quiescebat in genuflexione stupefactus animo, aliquando diu ualde. Et aliquando uidebatur in ipso modo aspectus eius intellectu penetrasse celum, atque cito uidebatur exilaratus gaudio et extergens lacrimas defluentes. Et fiebat in magno desiderio quasi sitiens cum peruenerit ad fontem, et sicut peregrinus cum iam est prope patriam. Et preualebat et inualescebat et multum composite atque agiliter mouebatur et sursum erigendo se et genuflectendo.²⁴⁸

Genuflection was an integral part of Christian devotion and had been at least since Tertullian (c.160-225). It formed part of early monastic devotional practice for saints

Lc 19:41-44: et ut adpropinquavit videns civitatem fleuit super illam dicens quia si cognovisses et tu et quidem in hac die tua quae ad pacem tibi nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis tuis quia venient dies in te et circumdabunt te inimici tui vallo et circumdabunt te et coangustabunt te undique ad terram prosternent te et filios qui in te sunt et non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem eo quod non cognoveris tempus visitationis tuae.

²⁴⁷ On Dominican penitence see Marie-Humbert Vicaire, 'S. Dominique', DS (Paris, 1976), vol. 3 col. 1527.

²⁴⁸ DMO, 85. (At other times, however, he spoke in his heart and his voice was not heard at all, and he would remain on his knees, his soul stunned by wonder, sometimes for a very long time. And sometimes it seemed from his appearance that was penetrating heaven, and then he seemed radiant with joy, quickly wiping away the flowing tears. At such times it happened that he would arrive, at last approaching his homeland with great desire, like a thirsty person coming to a spring. Then he would grow more forceful and strong and he moved very skilfully and nimbly, standing up and kneeling down.)

such as Patrick (d.461) and William of Gellone (d.862) amongst many others. During the course of repeated bodily disciplines, first through flagellation and then genuflection, the Gift of Tears could be induced.²⁴⁹ According to the Syrian bishop and theologian Isaac of Ninevah (d.c.700):

It often happens that when a man bends his knees in prayer and stretches his hands to the heavens, fixing his eyes upon the cross of Christ and concentrating all his thoughts on God during his prayer, beseeching God all the while with tears and compunction, suddenly and without warning a fountain springs up in his heart gushing forth sweetness.²⁵⁰

Likewise, Peter the Chanter had noted the connection between genuflection and tears in his guide for novices.²⁵¹ By using the body in this way, Dominic is reminded of the physical incarnation of Christ. As he begins to experience ecstasy, tears take the place of speech. At the moment of penetrating heaven (*penetrasse celum*), tears flow in abundance as a sign of joy. These tears are framed by silence, are an expression of elation and are quantified by their copious volume.²⁵² In contrast to the physical comportment of being laid to the dust, in the fourth manner, Dominic is engaged in a climb towards heaven with his repeated genuflection. Each motion of kneeling and

²⁴⁹ Flagellation also formed part of early monastic devotion, including that of Isaac of Nineveh. However, it was during the 1260s that a popular flagellant movement developed in Perugia under the direction of Rainieri Fasani. The flagellants' spirituality was based on a belief in the value of physical suffering. See André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages. Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame, IN, 2002). pp. 122-27.

²⁵⁰ *The Ascetical Homilies of St Isaac the Syrian*, ed. and trans. [from Greek] D. Miller (Boston, 1984), p. 39.

²⁵¹ See Trexler, *The Christian at prayer*, p. 196.

²⁵² For tears framed by silence see above pp. 104-08.

standing up reflects the arduous climb to spiritual perfection which is rewarded by penetrating heaven and receiving a bounty of joyful tears. The fountain might be viewed as a symbol of rising up towards heaven and the descent of refreshing tears.

In the sixth manner of prayer Dominic holds his arms outstretched as if on a crucifix. This *imitatio Christi* stance is of importance for several reasons. Unlike their Franciscan contemporaries, later thirteenth-century Dominican writers and artists avoided the close representation of Dominic and Christ. Tugwell has also observed how both Constantine and Bernard Gui actively eliminated references to Christ as Dominic's model.²⁵³ Although Christ as a model was important to the earliest hagiographies of Dominic (Jordan, and Peter) when it served to validate the way of life, it tended to disappear.²⁵⁴ Tugwell suggests that in order to avoid confrontation, Dominican writers avoided what had become a Franciscan theme.²⁵⁵ Indeed, in an art historical analysis Cannon has suggested that the Dominicans were not generally eager to be represented in close proximity to the crucified Christ.²⁵⁶ Although the earliest vignettes do not survive, the description of Dominic mimicking Christ in the text appears to be unique and may reflect the influence of the Franciscans. As Schmitt has observed, manners six and seven were not based on ancient models.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Tugwell, 'Christ as a Model of Sanctity', p. 92.

²⁵⁴ For Christ as a model in Jordan see *Libellus*, 32-33; in Peter see LPF, 222-26. See also Tugwell, 'Christ as a Model of Sanctity', p. 97.

²⁵⁵ Tugwell, 'Christ as a Model of Sanctity', p. 97.

²⁵⁶ Cannon, 'Dominic *alter Christus?*', p. 29. See above p. 217.

²⁵⁷ Schmitt, 'Saint Dominic's Gestures at Prayer', p. 19.

Crucially, the sixth manner is the first of the modes where the novice is neither forbidden nor encouraged to imitate; quite the opposite, the novice is actively warned about the precious nature of this manner of prayer that Dominic would only adopt rarely:

Hoc modo orauit dominus pendens in cruce, silicet extensis manibus et ulnis, et cum clamore ualido et lacrimis exauditus est pro sui reuerentia. Nec istum modum frequentabat uir sanctus dei Dominicus nisi cum aliquid grande et mirabile fieri cognouisset inspiratus a deo uirtute orationis. Nec uero prohibebat fratres sic orare, nec etiam suadebat.²⁵⁸

Although the overriding use of the tract was for the edification of novices, imitation of this and the following manner was not expected. They were primarily intended to illustrate the saint's admirable qualities and prophetic power. It was not envisaged that novices would accomplish miracles nor be rapt in ecstasy. These modes present the saint in his capacity as an intercessor. As Schmitt has observed, *De Modo Orandi* is traversed by a tension between the pedagogical goal and the extraordinary nature of the prayer undertaken by the saint.²⁵⁹ Moreover, the tension between the holy gesticulation (*sainte gesticulation*) and the pedagogical reflexion is evident in the images as well as the words.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ DMO, 87. (This was how the Lord prayed when he hung on the cross, his hands and arms stretched out, when, with great cries and tears, his prayer was heard because of his reverence. The holy man of God, Dominic, did not use this kind of prayer regularly, but only when, by God's inspiration, he knew that some great wonder was going to occur by virtue of his prayer. He neither forbade the brethren to pray like this nor did he encourage it.)

²⁵⁹ Schmitt, *La raison des gestes*, p. 311.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

In negotiating the path between that which is to be imitated and that which is to be admired, *De Modo Orandi* demonstrates how tears might be both. This paradox highlights the malleability of tears in hagiographic texts. Tears traversed the boundaries of human grasp and divine intervention. Whilst open to all devout souls they were also the prized reward for God's intercessor on earth.

The final mode in which Dominic shed tears is the eighth. This manner can be viewed as the denouement. From the ascent to ecstasy, Dominic returns to earth and the Dominican focus of ongoing study:

Erat nempe sancto patri Dominico et alius orandi modus pulcher et deuotus et gratus. Post horas quippe canonicas et post gratiarum actiones que comuniter post sumptionem cibi fiunt, sobrius et delibutus pater spiritu deuotionis, quem spiritum hauserat ex diuinis uerbis que cantabantur in choro seu in refectione, cito ponebat se ad locum aliquem solitudinis, in cella uel alibi, ut legeret uel oraret, consistendo secum et stando cum deo. Et sedebat quietus et expandebat librum aliquem ante faciem suam, munitus signo crucis; et legebat et afficiebatur mente dulciter ac si audiret dominum loquentem, sicut dicitur in psalmo, Audiam quid loquantur in me dominum deus, quoniam loquetur pacem in plebem suam et super sanctos suos et in eos qui conuertuntur ad cor. Et quasi cum socio disputaret nutibus et mente, modo impatiens uidebatur, modo quietus auditor, disceptare et luctari et

arridere simul et flere, et figere intuitum et submittere et iterum loqui
silenter et tundere pectus.²⁶¹

This is a mode of imitation but is also an intimate and individual experience of God. In silence and solitude Dominic was able to engage with God as if in a disputation. This experience would cause Dominic to smile and weep simultaneously as if he were receiving divine knowledge. Only through study and prayer was the novice prepared for the preaching described in the final mode.

The analysis of the manners of prayer has revealed the significance of tears in both Dominican spirituality and in the construction of their saint. The spiritual transformation that is promoted through *De Modo Orandi* was achieved not only through bodily compartments but through tears. Lacrimation punctuates the modes of prayer and goes beyond adding emotional emphasis. Tears were more than an accepted cathartic release from the physical calisthenics of prayer. They legitimised the stages of transformation and could be both imitated and admired. What is unique about *De Modo*

²⁶¹ DMO, 90. (Indeed, the Holy Father Dominic also had other beautiful way of praying [with] devotion and grace. After the canonical Hours and the giving of thanks which is said in common after meals, the father [was] sober and anointed with a spirit of devotion which he had drawn from the divine words which had been sung in choir or in the refectory; [he] would go off quickly by himself to a place of solitude, or elsewhere in a cell, to read or pray, pausing and standing with God. And he used to sit quietly and open/spread out some book in front of his face, strengthened with the sign of the cross, and he used to read and was moved in his mind sweetly as if he heard the Lord speaking to him. As the Psalm says, 'I will hear what the Lord God is saying in me, for he will speak peace to his people: And unto his saints: and unto those who are converted to the heart.' (cf. Psalm 85:8). It was as if he was arguing with a companion with nods and reason [and] in this way he appeared impatient. Then he would be listening quietly [and] you would see him disputing and struggling, and smiling whilst simultaneously weeping, fixing his gaze, submitting, then again speaking quietly and beating his breast.)

Orandi is the unambiguous instruction to strive for the lachrymose perfection of the founder whilst also admiring his charismatic grace.

Through the systematic examination of the texts pertaining to Dominic, this case study has demonstrated the importance of tears in the classification of Dominic's sanctity and in the spirituality of the early Dominicans. The texts in this evolving dossier help to demonstrate the changing nature of sainthood which seems to have placed an increasing importance on tears. Although the inclusion of tears appears to be textually driven in terms of the writer's purpose, it is evident that tears were an important facet of Dominic's sanctity. The thirteenth century witnessed a new orientation in the classification of saints focussed on divine, charismatic gifts and the on supernatural nature of sanctity.²⁶² These gifts corresponded to a higher degree of perfection than ordinary virtues.²⁶³ It is as part of this new classification that tears became an important symbol of sainthood. Bonnet remarked that 'a saint is first an extraordinary man inhabited by God. He is also a response to the spiritual needs of a generation... he is a man who is the eminent illustration of the ideas of sanctity which are held by the Christians of a particular period.'²⁶⁴ Following Dominic's translation in 1233, and notwithstanding the apparent disappearance of the canonisation proceedings during the writing of the *legendae*, the saint was gradually reshaped to reflect a more miraculous,

²⁶² See Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 434-35.

²⁶³ See *ibid.*, p. 522.

²⁶⁴ S. Bonnet, *Histoire de l'ermitage et du pèlerinage de Saint-Rouin* (Paris, 1956), p. 75 cited in Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 7.

affective saint. Dominic's tears and those of his followers were a central part of this reorientation.

Dominic of Caleruega is an indispensable case study for illustrating the importance of tears in the thirteenth century as his canonisation occurs when the increasing judicial form of canonisation processes meant that the criteria of sainthood were being codified. The present analysis supports Vauchez's observation that a saintly reputation could not flourish if the grace of tears was lacking.²⁶⁵ Even though the term *gratia lacrimarum* is absent in this dossier, it is evident that Dominic was perceived to have a *specialis gratia* of tears. Taken together, this dossier demonstrates that, although the portrait of Dominic may seem less intimate and overtly affective in comparison to other saints of the day, there are personal glimpses of his lachrymosity in the *legendae* and extensive references to his holy tears in the canonisation proceedings, the *Vitae Fratrum* and *De Modo Orandi*. Dominic was chosen for this study for precisely the reason that he has not been considered as an affective saint; the lachrymosity demonstrated shows how the importance of tears was not limited to certain groups or the female sex during the course of the thirteenth century. As Dominic continued to be rewritten into the fourteenth century both Dietrich of Apolda and Bernard Gui reintroduced the acute focus on tears seen in the canonisation proceedings, the *Vitae Fratrum* and *De Modo Orandi*.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 439.

²⁶⁶ See Dietrich of Apolda, *Libellus*, 562-632 and Bernard Gui, *Bernardi Guidonis Scripta de Sancto Dominico*, ed. Simon Tugwell, MOPH, 27 (Rome, 1998), pp. 241, 261, 279-80, 289, 292-93.

Moreover, this chapter has also revealed how tears were an important part of early Dominican spirituality, even though many studies on devotion have neglected to acknowledge the early Dominicans' engagement in affective piety.²⁶⁷ Aside from emphasising the importance of lachrymal devotion in the construction of his *fama sanctitatis*, this case study has sought to bring Dominic and the early Dominicans into the dialogue of affective spirituality that has traditionally focussed on the Franciscans and female mystics. The intellectualism of Thomism has prevented a true study of early Dominican spirituality, which was tender, affective, and lachrymose.

This study has also shown how tears were able to traverse the boundary between personal and shared experience. Dominic wished to be counted as one among his brothers and he taught by his words and his example. Thus, tears were actively encouraged in the other brothers, as demonstrated in the *Vitae Fratrum* and *De Modo Orandi*.²⁶⁸ Furthermore, Dominic had a 'contagion' of tears whereby he could share his lacrimation and move others to tears. This might be considered as a 'penitential gift of tears' as the focus is often upon weeping for the salvation of others and washing away their sins. Although there is a strong sense of habitual, contrite tears, Dominic's *specialem gratiam* stretches beyond weeping for sinners. Dominic's tears have intercessory powers and turn the ear of God to the plight of the world. Moreover, the

²⁶⁷ For example, Robert W. Swanson makes few references to the Dominicans in *Religion and Devotion in Europe c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995). See also Gaston, 'Affective Devotion and the Early Dominicans', pp. 90-95.

²⁶⁸ Furthermore, as Santi has argued, tears almost become part of the Dominican Liturgy as reading the Salve Regina becomes a means of bringing the community to tears. Santi, 'La spiritualità di Domenico', p. 393.

founder's intimate engagement during Mass is accompanied by abundant tears that wet not only his face but the Church floor. These tears set him apart from others and were something at which to be marvelled. Indeed, the only way that the brothers and therefore the record could know of such tears was to observe him secretly during or after the experience.

Given the state of competition between the Franciscans and Dominicans, it is likely that the upsurge of interest in Dominic's canonisation was in part influenced by the desire to have a founder-saint that could rival that of the Franciscans.²⁶⁹ Given this competition, one must question whether the 'lacrimisation' of the hagiographic dossier pertaining to Dominic was in part influenced by the affective spirituality of the Franciscans and their lachrymose founder.²⁷⁰ However, it must be noted that this 'lacrimisation' was part of a much broader trend which characterised all religious movements at this time. In the following chapter, the case studies of Marie d'Oignies and Dominic of Caleruega will be tested against hagiographies of other holy men and women from the thirteenth century to demonstrate that tears were a quintessential, if diverse, facet of sanctity. This concluding chapter will focus on the different ways that tears work in saints' *vitae* and explain the reasons why they were soaked into the fabric of saintly life during this critical period.

²⁶⁹ Tugwell, 'Notes on the life of St Dominic', 17.

²⁷⁰ For Francis of Assisi's tears see appendix.

Chapter 3

Tears in thirteenth-century saints' lives

This concluding chapter will bring to life the lachrymosity of thirteenth-century religious devotion. Using a wide variety of hagiographical texts, predominantly from Italy, France and the Lowlands, but including important examples from elsewhere in Europe where relevant, it will contextualise the arguments presented in the case studies of Marie d'Oignies and Dominic of Caleruega. In developing these arguments it will present a comprehensive picture of how tears were soaked into the fabric of thirteenth-century holy life and an integral element of sainthood. Foremost, it will be stressed that tears were a quintessential element of *both* male and female devotion and that tears were part of the language of piety for both sexes. It will be shown that although the reasons for emphasising the significance of tears in female lives were socially constructed, tears were expected for both sexes. Tears *could* be gendered but were more associated with piety than gender in thirteenth-century hagiographies. Tears were often present in each of the spiritual 'life stages' of a saint - from conversion moments synonymous with penitential rebirth to the moment of divine union and the reception of grace. Unlike the stigmata, which were a rare sign of divine visitation, tears were widespread and traversed the boundary between *imitanda* and *admiranda*.¹ Tears were simultaneously part of the journey to perfection and its pinnacle. This chapter will demonstrate, therefore, how tears were a multivalent figure: they were a tool of

¹ See above pp. 138, 219-20.

legitimacy for those who lacked institutional recognition, operated as a form of language for women who could not preach and were deeply intertwined with somatic devotion and medical understandings about the body. As a contrast to the ‘sea of tears’ that this thesis presents, this section will also consider the relatively few instances when saints are not recorded as having shed tears and will account for that absence.

*

Tears were an essential component of the language of piety for both holy men and women. Weeping was synonymous with the beguine lifestyle. In the *vita* of Douceline of Digne (d.1282), a beguine from Marseilles, her anonymous hagiographer wrote that ‘a beguine was made for weeping’.² This epithet was reconstructed by the hagiographer from the notion that a monk was not truly a monk if he did not shed tears, as taught by the Desert Fathers and exemplified in Caesarius of Heisterbach’s *Dialogus miraculorum*

² *La vie de Sainte Douceline texte provençal du XIVe siècle*, ed. R. Gout (Paris, 1927), p. 63: ‘E dizia li sancta que beguina era de plorar e non de cantar. ‘Car illi’, sa dizia, ‘Jhesu Crist crucifiat continuamens deu portar en son cor, aissu cant porta lo senhal de la dolor de la sieua mort sobre son cap cubert, e mostra e figura en la cara.’” (And the Saint said that a beguine was made for weeping, and not for singing: “For”, she said, “she must continually carry Jesus Christ crucified in her heart, just as she wears the sign of the pain of his death on her covered head and shows it on her face”).

(c.1220-1235).³ The use of the same characterisation for both sexes reveals how tears were viewed as the same in the lives of both religious men and women. Nagy has argued that the thirteenth century is characterised by diffusion, laicisation and feminisation where mendicant religious women in particular appropriated the Gift of Tears as part of their spirituality.⁴ Certainly, when tears moved out of the confines of the cloister they were no longer the unique grace of the male spiritual elite, but it is essential to stress that tears were a quintessential feature of *both* male and female devotion in the thirteenth century. Nagy implies a move away from the dominant male tears of the preceding centuries, but in fact female and lay assimilation of the grace did

³ *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, ed. Benedicta Ward, p. 177. *Dialogus*, vol. 1, pp. 438–40: ‘Cum intellexissem supradictum monachum gratiam illam lacrimarum percepisse a femina tali religiosa, rogavi Abbatem meum, tunc recenter factus monachus, ut liceret mihi tales visitare feminas. Et concessit mihi statim. Veniens itaque ad dominum cuiusdam honestae matronae Brabantiae hospitandi gratia; cum intellexisset desiderium meum, dixit mihi in ioco: ‘Quid quaeritis videre istas begginas? Vultis ergo, ostendam vobis mulierem bonam, quae quicquid vult, obtinet a Deo.’ Respondi: ‘Talem multum videre desidero.’ Et statim ad verbum eius mulier quaedam de cubiculo suo egressa, veniens ad me, coepit mecum loqui. In cuius adventu, cum mihi sentirem gratiam adesse, rogavi eam, ut oraret pro me. Quae cum diceret: ‘Quid vultis ut orem pro vobis?’ Respondi: ‘Ut possim deflere peccata mea.’ Et illa: ‘Numquid non estis monachus? Qui peccata sua non potest deflere, monachus non est.’ (When I understood that the aforesaid monk gained the grace of tears from a religious woman, I asked my abbot, for at that time I had recently become a monk, that I might be allowed to visit such women. Immediately he granted me [permission]. And so, coming to the property of a certain honorable married woman of Brabant for hospitality; when she understood my desire [to meet the holy women], she said to me in jest: ‘Why do you seek to see these beguines? If you wish, I will show you a good woman who obtains from God whatever she wishes.’ I answered: ‘I desire very much to see [such a woman].’ And immediately at her word, a woman coming from her room approached me and began to talk with me. Upon her arrival, when I felt the grace to be near, I asked her to pray for me. When she said, ‘Why do you wish that I pray for you?’ I answered, ‘So that I can weep for my sins.’ And she [said]: ‘Are you not a monk? He who cannot weep for his sins is no monk.’)

⁴ See above p. 41. Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, p. 389.

not suppress male tears nor did it lead to a watershed moment when they were no longer an important feature of male sanctity.

Certainly, tears had a gendered quality. In medical science, women were classified in accordance with their wetness, humidity and malleability.⁵ In addition, tears were particularly important for beguines or penitent women as they were a visible cleanser that symbolised purification and operated as a kind of second baptism.⁶ Nonetheless, although tears have a gendered quality, they should be recognised as more associated with piety than with the feminine.⁷ Several scholars have written about a genderless concept of sanctity but it is important to note that the hagiographer could not ignore sex difference as women could not exercise a sacramental role.⁸

Both holy men and women shed copious amounts of tears but their hagiographers often placed differing levels of emphasis on them.⁹ Goswin of Bossut's *lives* of the Cistercian nun Ida of Nivelles (d.1231) and lay brothers Arnulf (d.1228) and Abundas of Villers (d.1239) demonstrate how a hagiographer could do this. In his *life* of Ida, Goswin recounts eleven episodes of her holy lachrymosity (including a chapter that is devoted solely to her tears), while in Arnulf and Abundas' *vitae* there are five and four episodes,

⁵ See above p. 26.

⁶ See Kimberley-Joy Knight, 'Si puose calcina a' propi occhi: The Importance of the Gift of Tears for Thirteenth-Century Religious Women and their Hagiographers', *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York, 2012), pp. 136-55.

⁷ Webb, "'Lacrime cordiali'", p. 103.

⁸ See Katherine J. Lewis, 'Gender and Sanctity in the Middle Ages', *Gender & History*, 12 (3) (2000), 735-44.

respectively, involving their tears.¹⁰ Likewise, in Thomas of Cantimpré's *vitae*, the holy women appear to be more lachrymose. In the *vita* of the Cistercian nun Lutgard of Aywières' (d.1246), 12 episodes of her tears are recorded, in the *life* of Margaret of Ypres (d.1237), who was a *mulier religiosa* influenced by her Dominican confessor, there are seven instances and for the Benedictine nun turned recluse Christina the Astonishing (d.1224), there are just five.¹¹ Meanwhile, in Thomas' *vita* of the Cistercian abbot John of Cantimpré (d.1210) there are six episodes that recount the saint's tears.¹² In addition, the hagiographer records several episodes when John causes others to shed

⁹ See appendix.

¹⁰ VIN, pp. 204-6, 217, 221-3, 227-8, 250, 258-61, 273, 275-6, 285. Goswin of Bossut, 'Vita Arnulfi conversi', AASS, 30 June V (Antwerp, 1709), 614, 616-7, 619, 621, 624 (moving others to tears), see also 622 for another monk receiving the gift of tears in Arnulf's presence. 'De Vita Van Abundus Van Hofi', ed. A. M Frenken, *Cîteaux*, 10 (1959), 14, 17, 19, 32 (see 31 and 33 for other monks receiving the gift of tears).

¹¹ VLA, 238, 243 (Lutgard tearfully implores the virgin Mary for her protection), 244 (interceding for Jacques de Vitry with tears), 245, 245 (weeping for the death of John of Liro), 246, 252, 253, 254, 258 (12 episodes); VMY: 107, 108, 111, 114-5, 117, 118 (7 episodes of Margaret's tears); VCM: 655, 658, 659 (5 episodes of Christina's tears).

¹² 'Une oeuvre inédite de Thomas de Cantimpré, la "Vita Ioannis Cantipratensis"', ed. Robert Godding, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 76 (1981), 265 (John offers prayers and tears for the conversion of a heretic); 282 (John weeps with a murderer); 305 (praying and in a mass with a wonderful amount of tears); 305 (John sheds tears when he suffers with dropsy and begs to be taken to the Church); 312 (John intercedes with tears so that Marie of Champagne, daughter of Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine, could be delivered from the pains of labour); 315 (John sheds tears on his deathbed).

tears and describes the lachrymosity of other holy men associated with John.¹³ Thomas' *vita* of John is not unlike Jordan's *Libellus* as it focuses on the lives of several other holy men including the Cistercian John of Montmirail (d.1217) and the lesser known brothers Julian and Fulco who were among the first to join the community of regular canons at Cantimpré. When taken together, the accounts of holy men's tears in John's of Cantimpré's *vita* number nine plus another five when others are moved to tears by the holy men. Although the descriptions of tears are shorter and fewer for each holy man, their lachrymosity is unmistakable. This pattern is identifiable across almost all thirteenth-century male *vitae*: there are fewer descriptions of tears and they are generally truncated.

However, this is not to say that there was a difference of practice or that tears were less important in male saintly repertoires. Indeed, tears are an almost ubiquitous attribute of male sanctity. Rather, the scope of holy activity for religious men was vast; they could travel, preach, study theology, write, and perform miracles. Consequently, their *vitae* often place less emphasis on their devotional practices and tears. In contrast, as women had a limited number of outlets through which they might express their holiness, a special emphasis was placed on bodily devotions and religious experiences.¹⁴

¹³ 'Une oeuvre inédite de Thomas de Cantimpré', ed. Robert Godding, 293, 295, 302, 304, 309 (John causes others to be dissolved in tears); 271 (Julian, who joined the order with John, is described as dissolving in tears); 274 (a monk named Fulco was baptised with tears after breaking his vow of chastity). For John of Montmirail see 285 where the his tears are implied and also his *vita*: 'Vita Iohannis de Monte-Mirabili', in AASS, 29 September VIII (Antwerp, 1762), 223, 229. Diverse additions, known as *Auctaria*, were included in the *Commentarius praevius* to the *vita* and include further episodes of tears, see AASS, 29 September VIII (Antwerp, 1762), 214.

¹⁴ See above pp. 49-51.

Frequently, the episodes of tears are framed by lengthy descriptions. For example, a description of tears during Mass in a female *life* is more likely to include sensory elements, mystical language and vivid imagery.¹⁵ Consequently, tears have a more prominent place in female *vitae* in comparison to their male counterparts because men had a fuller programme of saintly activity to fulfil.

Furthermore, God-given tears themselves should not be thought of as gendered even though the people who shed them were themselves of a particular sex. The tears were shed by holy men and women but they did not 'belong' to the individual; they were ultimately God's grace working within a holy vessel. Consequently, the language and imagery used to describe tears is shared and not gender specific. Tears are often described in *vitae* or canonisation processes by using terms such as *infundere*, *abundantia*, *effusione* or *profusione lacrymarum*. Although Bynum has argued that from the twelfth century there was a rise in affective spirituality and feminisation of religious language and imagery, this theory is not tenable for descriptions of tears.¹⁶ Even though the descriptions of tears tend to be lengthier in female *lives*, the type of language and imagery that is used in male and female *vitae* remains shared.

¹⁵ See for example VBN, 82-83, 102-03.

¹⁶ Bynum's study focuses largely on the use of maternal imagery. See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies of spirituality in the high Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 135-46. In contrast, Alain De Libera has argued in his examination of Angela of Foligno that gender does not affect the language of mystical theology and devotion. See Alain de Libera, 'Angele de Foligno et la mystique feminine. Elements pour une typologie' *Angele de Foligno. Le Dossier*, ed. Giulia Barone and Jacques Dalarun (Rome, 1999), pp. 345-71 especially p. 353.

One of the feminine characteristics identified by Bynum is that a woman is nurturing and capable of nourishing with her own bodily fluid.¹⁷ The effluvia to which Bynum refers are milk and blood, following the precepts of medieval medical theory.¹⁸ Similarly, using the biblical model, of Psalm 41:4 (*fuertunt mihi lacrimae meae panis die ac nocte*), tears are often described as nourishing. However, the important distinction here is that tears nourish both the male and female body. As shown in chapters one and two, both Marie and Dominic were fed by their tears and this is a common characteristic found in both male and female hagiographies.¹⁹ In the bible, Psalm 41 is answered by Psalm 79:6: *cibabis nos pane lacrimarum et potum dabis nobis in lacrimis in mensura*. As tears are given to the individual by God, they do not ‘belong’ to them so the nourishing quality of the tears derives not from the female body or the assumption of a female characteristic but from the parched soul who drinks from the refreshing waters of God.²⁰

The shared language and imagery of lachrymal devotion is also evident in descriptions of liquefaction. Nagy has argued that the theme of liquefaction, dissolving into incoercible and incontrollable tears, is controlled by the Magdalene who watered

¹⁷ Bynum, *Jesus as Mother.*, p. 131.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-32.

¹⁹ See above pp. 113, 175, 185, 190, 192. For other examples see: VMC, p. 190; ‘Vitae B. Odiliae Viduae Leodiensis Libri Duo Priores’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 (Brussels, 1894), 203; *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel, comtesse d’Ariano- (+ 26-XI-1360): Apt et Avignon, 14 mai-30 octobre 1363*, ed., Jacques Cambell (Turin, 1978), p. 49.

²⁰ Cf. Psalm 41:2.

Christ's feet.²¹ Liquefaction might then be seen as a theme of female mobility, whereby the malleable and humid woman is dissolved in tears and converted from sin to love.²² As discussed above, Jansen has noted how tears represented a state of liquification in contrast to the metaphor of being hardhearted.²³ The heart could, however, be overcome by the warm infusion of *caritas* and dissolved into liquid.²⁴ Indeed, when Arnulf of Villers prayed for the sins of others, he dissolved completely as a consequence of his devotions:

Et cum pro aliquibus, qui peccatorum pondere premebantur, vel gravi tentatione sive qualibet alia tribulatione angustiabantur, Dominum attentius oraret; non poterat se continere, quin totus in lacrymas solveretur.²⁵

Nagy has rightly noted that this mystical, Magdalenian approach remained opened to men, but it is important to stress that dissolving into tears was not always controlled by the Magdalene, nor was it feminising.²⁶ Men did not assume a female role when shedding tears. Arnulf of Villers' *vita* describes how he burned with desire to be elevated to the heavens:

²¹ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, pp. 404-05.

²² Scholarship has focussed on the female body as a permeable container which opens and closes. On the control of female bodily systems see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* and Caciola, *Discerning spirits*.

²³ See above p. 26.

²⁴ Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, p. 209, fn. 47.

²⁵ Goswin of Bossut, 'Vita Arnulfi conversi', AASS, 30 June V (Antwerp, 1709), 619. (When [Arnulf] would pray attentively to the Lord for anyone hard pressed by the weight of sins or whoever were distressed by another tribulation, [Arnulf] was not able to restrain himself from dissolving wholly into tears).

Aliquando etiam, cum in oratione constitutus, effunderet sicut aquam cor suum, ante conspectum Domini Dei sui, et ardenti desiderio ad summa elevaretur; de thesauris summæ bonitatis, cum lætitia cordis, uberes reportabat lacrymas devotionis.²⁷

Arnulf pours out his heart, not in imitation of the Magdalene, but because he is overflowing with happiness.²⁸ Although the image of the Magdalene may be invoked when describing male devotion, tears in men are rarely explicitly connected with the Magdalene.²⁹ For example, the converted knight Gospert of Aspremont (d.1263) was compared to both Mary and Martha by the monk who wrote his *vita* shortly after his death, but his tears are not connected to either woman.³⁰ Indeed, as shown above in the case study of Dominic, male saints' lives seem to have a stronger identification with David, Paul, Jeremiah or Christ than any *imitatio Magdalene*.³¹ Although Jansen has demonstrated the importance of Mary Magdalene to the Dominicans in the late Middle Ages, it is important to stress that their founder's tears are never connected with her.³² Tears were not a tool of feminisation nor solely a female symbol connected to the

²⁶ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, pp. 404-05.

²⁷ Goswin of Bossut, 'Vita Arnulfi conversi', 619. (Likewise, sometimes when engaged in prayer, he would pour out his heart like water before the face of the Lord his God. He would be lifted to the heights burning with desire, and from the treasures of goodness on high, with happiness of heart, he related tears of abundant devotion).

²⁸ Note that in the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Arnulf is cured by the touch of Mary Magdalene but there is no mention of tears. See *Dialogus*, volume 4, p. 1696.

²⁹ Nagy observes how the Magdalene inspired both Francis of Assisi (d.1226) and Saint Louis (d.1270). See Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, p. 399.

³⁰ 'Vita Goberti Asperimontis', AASS, 20 August IV (Antwerp, 1739), 390.

³¹ See for example pp. 217 fn. 227, 221, 223 fn. 245.

³² Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene*, p. 76.

Magdalene. In the context of thirteenth-century religious life, the shedding of tears was not viewed as a female act but expressed an intense and meaningful way of connecting with God that was befitting of both sexes.³³

Tears and somatic devotion

Tears accompany various types of somatic devotion such as prayer stances, fasting, flagellation and genuflexion. For example, the thirteenth-century Pisan mystic Gherardesca (d.c.1260) genuflected six hundred times with tears.³⁴ Moreover, tears accompanied her prayers as she fasted for forty days and forty nights.³⁵ Tears brought a particular efficacy to other forms of devotion as they could be seen as a sign of success. Tears not only uplifted the recipient and prolonged the practice but they drew the holy person closer to God.

Descriptions of tears were also multi-sensory. Not only could tears be seen and heard but they could be touched and tasted.³⁶ As we have seen, tears were commonly likened to bread reflecting Psalm 79:6, yet, they also had flavours. Tears are described as salty

³³ Cf. Galatians 3:28: non est masculus neque femina omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu.

³⁴ 'Vita', AASS, 29 May VII (Antwerp, 1688), 165: sicque factum est ut quotidie neque manducaret neque biberet, donec in ecclesia sexcentis genuflexionibus Dominum lacrymabiliter precaretur. See also Peter of Morrone's *vita*: 'S. Pierre Célestin et ses premiers biographes', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 16 (1897), 394.

³⁵ Ibid., 166. For other examples of fasting and tears see Thomas of Celano, 'Vita prima S. Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 12.

³⁶ See below for tears as relics, pp. 265-70. Tears could also be the response to the senses. For example, Margaret of Cortona burst into tears when she recalled the sweetness of the Lord as it surpassed the smell of any delicate food. VMC, p. 242.

(*salsa*), bitter (*amara*), sweet (*dulce*) and like honey.³⁷ The sensory descriptions of tears allowed the hagiographer to elucidate emotions that might be difficult to convey. For example, the bitter taste of tears was frequently a response to the suffering of Christ or the sting of repentance. In contrast, the sweet taste of tears reflected the transformation of the soul and the presence of God. In some instances, holy men and women drink their tears as only this can quench their spiritual thirst.³⁸ Thus, through the circulation of liquids, the body has the ability to cleanse and refresh.

The celebration of the Eucharist was frequently accompanied by tears as they reflected divine service, an identification with His suffering and an inner transformation. There were two types of Eucharistic devotion with the tears. The first type was exclusively male as these were the tears that were shed during the celebration of Mass. As Nagy found in her study, the priest or bishop celebrating the Mass with tears had a long tradition that stretched back to Saint Benedict, but by the thirteenth century such descriptions were incorporated as part of their sanctity.³⁹ Tears during Mass were a sign of devout service to God and are found in the canonisation proceedings for the hermit Giovanni Bono (d.1249); Peter of Morrone (d.1296), founder of the Celestines; the bishop of Hereford, Thomas of Cantilupe (d.1282); and the Augustinian friar Nicholas

³⁷ For tears as salty and bitter see Franca of Piacenza's *life*: Bertramo Reoldo, 'Acta', AASS, 25 April III (Antwerp, 1675), 395. For sweet tears see VBN, pp. 82, 100.

³⁸ See the *vita* of Gherardesca of Pisa: 'Vita', AASS, 29 May VII (Antwerp, 1688), 170.

³⁹ Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, p. 400.

of Tolentino (d.1305).⁴⁰ Likewise, this characteristic is found in male *vitae* including the hermit Odo of Novara (d.1200), the abbot John of Cantimpré (d.1210) and James Saloman of Venice (d.1314).⁴¹ The second type of lachrymal devotion during Mass was that experienced whilst receiving the body and blood of Christ. Found in both male and female texts, the transubstantiation of the body and blood was reflected in the internal transformation of the saint. The third witness in Clare of Assisi's canonisation proceedings, sister Filippa, recounted how the holy woman had the gift of tears and poured out many tears when receiving the Eucharist.⁴² A graphic description of this response to the Eucharist is found in the *life* of Beatrice of Nazareth where her 'facial cataracts open' and an abundance of tears, full of sweetness and consolation, begin to drip out.⁴³ Connected to the tears split during the celebration or reception of the

⁴⁰ For Giovanni Bono see 'Processus canonizationis', AASS, 22 October IX (Antwerp, 1668), 832; for Peter of Morrone see 'Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozess in dem Codex zu Sulmona', ed. F. X. Seppelt, *Monumenta Coelestiniana: Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstes Coelestin V* (Paderborn, 1921), p. 312; for Thomas of Cantilupe see 'Compendium Vitae ex Processu Canonizationis', AASS, 2 October I (Antwerp, 1765), 603; for Nicholas of Tolentino see *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. N. Occhioni (Rome, 1984), pp. 90, 100, 119, 209, 213, 224, 251, 265, 270, 404, 410. See also Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, p. 400.

⁴¹ 'Documenta de B. Odone Novariensi, Ordinis Carthusiani', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1 (1882), 346; Thomas of Cantimpré, 'Une oeuvre inédite de Thomas de Cantimpré, la "Vita Ioannis Cantipratensis"', ed. Robert Godding, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 76 (1981), 305; for James of Venice see 'Vita', AASS, 31 May VII (Antwerp, 1688), 464.

⁴² *Santa Chiara di Assisi i primi documenti ufficiali: Lettera di annunzio della sua morte, Processo e Bolla di canonizzazione*, ed. Giovanni Boccali (Perugia, 2002), p. 111.

⁴³ VBN, p. 82: 'aperte sunt catharacte capitis eius; et ceperunt ab oculis eius, in habundantia plene consolationis et dulcedinis effuse lacrimae distillare.'

For other examples see 'Vita Idae Lewensis', in AASS, 29 October VIII (Brussels, 1853), 121.

Eucharist were those experienced whilst meditating upon the suffering of Christ. Francis of Assisi's soul melted when he meditated on the memory of Christ and he could scarcely contain his tears and sighs.⁴⁴ Likewise, when the 'servant saint' Zita of Lucca (d.1278) thought about the Passion she burned so fervently that she could scarcely restrain her tearful groans (*vix exterius a lacrymosis gemitibus continere valebat*).⁴⁵ Dauphine of Puimichel wept as fused with the body of Christ and was crucified with him (*am lo Crucific se crucificava*).⁴⁶ In meditating on the suffering flesh, the body was conceived as open and malleable and the experience of shedding of blood and tears coalesced.⁴⁷ This union is elucidated in Agnes of Blannbekin's *vita* where the side wound of Christ signifies tears.⁴⁸

The prevalence of medical concerns about tears and weeping

Although tears could be both received as a grace or offered up in the hope of intercession, they were the product of the body regardless of their origin, and the descriptions of them were often linked to medical ideas about the body. The most

⁴⁴ See 'Legenda minor S. Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 603.

⁴⁵ 'Vita sanctae Zitae virginis', AASS, 27 April III (Antwerp, 1675), 503.

⁴⁶ *Les vies occitanes de Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine*, trans. Jacques Cambell (Rome, 1963), p. 200.

⁴⁷ Swift, 'A Penitent Prepares', p. 87.

⁴⁸ LAB, 252: 'Adverte etiam sanguinem bullientem et de latere fluentem, qui incendium devotionis in animabus devotis operatur, adverte nihilominus aquam fluentem de latere, quae significat lachrymas, quibus devotae anime lavantur et mundantur.' (Notice also the boiling blood flowing from the side, [in] which the fire of devotion works in the souls of the devoted. Notice likewise the water flowing from the side, which signifies tears, with which devout souls are washed and cleansed.)

common problems and concerns expressed in *vitae* and canonisation processes are severe headaches, blood-filled eyes, blindness, extreme fatigue and brain damage. Such concerns have been highlighted above in the case study of Marie d'Oignies but deserve further note here because of the prevalence of anxieties surrounding tears in hagiographical texts.⁴⁹

It is unsurprising that some confessors, such as Jordan of Saxony, warned against shedding excessive tears given the anxiety that they could disturb the natural balance of the body and be symptomatic of death. In his letters to Diana d'Andalo and the Dominican nuns in Bologna, Jordan made several pleas against immoderate weeping. In a letter sent from Paris dated to Christmas 1227, Jordan explained that:

Experiaris quandoque idipsum quoque; circa alias cautissimam te et providam esse volo; nam ut saepe vos monui, exercitatio corporalis ad modicum est utilis et vigiliarum et abstinentiarum lacrimarumque facile modus exceditur. Virtus autem, ut est humilitas et patientia, benignitas et oboedientia, caritas quoque atque modestia nimis excrescere nunquam possunt.⁵⁰

It is evident from this letter that Jordan saw Diana's lacrimation as part of her somatic devotion and something that was under her control. The confessor links his message of temperance to the biblical passage 1 Timothy 4:8 (*nam corporalis exercitatio ad modicum utilis est pietas autem ad omnia utilis est*) suggesting, perhaps, that corporal

⁴⁹ See above pp. 114-15.

⁵⁰ Jordan of Saxony, *Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen*, p. 41. (Likewise, you would be tested sometimes; I want you to be most cautious and heedful around the others (i.e. the sisters); for, as I often advise you all, bodily exercise is a little bit profitable, the manner (*modus*) of vigils, abstinences and tears are exceeded easily. However, virtue, that is humility and patience, kindness and obedience, charity and modesty can never grow too much.)

devotions had taken precedence over more traditional virtues. In a second letter, sent from Padua in 1229, Jordan repeats his unease and expresses concerns that tears are ill fitted to their feeble strength.⁵¹ The call to moderate their physical devotion echoes the careful balance that Jacques de Vitry threaded through his *vita* of Marie; her immolations and hydraulic lacrimation were often palliated by descriptions of her reserved deportment. These letters, however, appear not to have had the desired effect and Jordan felt compelled to send another in December 1230 where he repeated the instructions given in the letter from 1227.⁵² Arguably, these letters reflect a desire to temper excessive corporal devotions rather than simply tears. However, Jordan's correspondence illustrates how the concern that tears might harm was more than a hagiographic trope.

The imbalance of fluids was linked to brain damage, a concern that is most aptly demonstrated in Clare of Assisi's *vita*. In an episode reminiscent of Christ's temptation in the wilderness, Clare faces the devil represented as a black child who reproaches her for her weeping. The devil plays upon the notion that tears could harm the body by causing brain damage, blindness and a crooked nose. Once again, the notion of harming the body through devotion may allude to the wider criticism that women faced as they tortured their bodies through flagellation and fasting. In this episode, the positive aspect of religious weeping is juxtaposed with physical harm:

Lacrimanti semel profunda nocte astitit angelus tenebrarum in forma nigri pueruli et ipsam monuit dicens: Ne tantum plores quoniam caeca fies. Cui

⁵¹ See Jordan of Saxony, *Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen*, p. 7.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

cum illico responderet: Caecus non erit qui Deum videbit. Confusus ille discessit. Eadem nocte post matutinum orante Clara, et irriguo solito balneata, monitor fraudulentus accessit: Ne tantum, inquit, fleveris, ne tandiu resolutum cerebrum per nare emunxeris: quoniam adhuc tortum nasum habebis. Cui celeriter respondet: Torturam nullam patitur, qui Domino famulatur. Statim elapsus evanuit.⁵³

Although the demon's words are supposed to be deceitful, they are nonetheless similar to the concerns expressed in other *vitae* by those close to saints. In addition to the threat that her brain will dissolve, implying madness, the demon also suggests that Clare will go blind. As noted above, during the thirteenth century there was a dramatic surge in the interest in Optics and numerous treatises circulated across Europe.⁵⁴ It was suggested in some medical treaties that the eye was made up of several delicate layers which could be easily harmed or damaged.⁵⁵ As Galen had warned, the shedding of excess liquid caused the eyes to go weak and soft. In the life of the Carthusian nun

⁵³ *Sanctae Clarae virginis assisiensis: legenda latina*, ed., Giovanni Boccali and trans. [into Italian] Marino Bigaroni (Perugia, 2001), p. 138. (Once, [Clare was] shedding tears at the dead of night, and the angel of darkness stood [before her] in the form of a black child and warned her saying: 'Don't weep so much because you will become blind'. She immediately responded: 'He [who] will see God will not be blind.' Then the boy departed in confusion. That same night after Matins as Clare was praying bathed by her usual waters (i.e. tears), the fraudulent counsellor approached and said, 'You shouldn't cry so much, nor so long, [or] you will wipe your dissolving brain from your nostrils and then you will have a twisted nose'. She quickly responded that 'no one who serves the Lord suffers [such] twisting', [and] he slipped away and disappeared immediately.)

For a similar episode see the *life* of Guilianan Collalto (d.1262): 'Vita' AASS, 1 September I (Antwerp, 1746), 315.

⁵⁴ See above pp. 53-54.

⁵⁵ For a description and depiction of the seven tunics and three humours of the eye see 'The Book of Macharius' in British Library, Sloane MS 981, f. 68 (late fourteenth to early fifteenth century).

Beatrice of Ornacieux (d.1303), from the charter house of Parmenie near Grenoble, her hagiographer and fellow Carthusian nun and prioress Margaret of Oingt (d.1310) records how Beatrice frequently thought that she would lose her eyesight at a result of her tears.⁵⁶ For the Cistercian nun Lutgard of Awyieres (d.1246) blindness became a reality towards the end of a life filled with tears.⁵⁷ This concern, however, did not apply solely to women. In Peter of Monterubbiano's *vita* of Nicholas of Tolentino (d.1305) excessive weeping also leads to an unease that sight might be lost.⁵⁸ Likewise, both Gilbert of Sempringham (d.1189) and Francis of Assisi lost their sight because of their tears.⁵⁹

A fear for both the eyes and head are demonstrated at length in the *vita* of the Provençal Franciscan tertiary, Dauphine of Puimichel (d. 1361):

Plorava yssamen amaramen las armas, las quals vezia per algunas lagezas de peccat orregar e enquinar. E per aquestas causas tantas lagremas escampava, que per ayso encorrec e .lh venc gran enfermetat dels huelhs e del cap; e per amor d'ayso fo lhi acosselhat per sollempnial metge que se abstengues de plorar, si volia esquivar lo consumimen e la destructio del cap e la orbeza dels huelhs. Empero ela li respondec que may volia encorre e sufertar aquels

⁵⁶ *Les oeuvres de Marguerite d'Oingt*, ed. Antonin Duraffour, Pierre Gardette and Paulette Durdilly (Paris, 1965), p. 104: 'Illi eret mout enteriment obediencz et de mout grant oreyson assyduaz et de si grant devocion que plusiors veis illi cuidavet de tot perdre lo veyr per les laygremes que illi gitavet.' (She was wholly obedient and eager at prayer; she had such ardent devotion that, several times, she thought she would totally lose her eye-sight because of the many tears she shed.)

⁵⁷ VLA, 204.

⁵⁸ Peter of Monterubbiano, 'Vita et miracula Nicolai Tolentinatis', AASS, 10 September III (1750), 656.

⁵⁹ See *The Book of St Gilbert*, ed. R. Foreville and G. Keir (Oxford, 1987), pp. 86, 108 and Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, 'Legenda maior S. Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 580; 'Legenda minor S. Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 676-77.

dampnatges que absterer de lagremas, per las quals huelh mental es denegat et purgat, e .l Creator n'es conogut.⁶⁰

In order to save her eyesight and avoid the destruction of her head, Dauphine's doctor advised her to temper the volume of tears that she shed on behalf of sinners. This instruction to moderate her pious behaviour was impossible for Dauphine who was striving for lachrymose perfection and knowledge of God. Likewise, the deponents in Dauphine's Canonisation Process (May 1363) relay their fears that the holy woman would destroy her brain:

Item, quod, ut Deo posset vacare liberius, sola comedebat, nec volebat quod ad eam aliquis accederet, nisi ab ea audiret certum signum, ex eo quia ipsa panem lacrimosa comedebat; et oculos ad celum sepiissime cum fletu et lacrimis elevabat, sic devocionis lacrimas effundendo. Et continue singulis noctibus et quasi tota qualibet nocte oracionibus, lacrimis et lectionibus insistebat, et requiem sompni corpori suo parum dabat; et tot et tantas lacrimas effundebat, quod nonnulli, eidem domine circumstantes, de consumpcione cerebri et cecitate visus ipsius domine dubitabant. Et quod contingit quod, cum ipsa domina iam antiqua facta de dolore seu malo quod in oculis paciebatur, cuidam devoto et sibi familiari medico conquereretur; et dubitans quod idem medicus devotus, qui confessor suus fuerat et familiaris valde preceperit eidem ut a lacrimis abstinere, premisit eidem quod nullo modo lacrimas sibi prohiberet, quia nullo modo sibi de lacrimarum abstinencia obediret; nam plus volebat consumpcionem cerebri et

⁶⁰ *Les vies occitanes de Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine*, trans. Jacques Cambell (Rome, 1963), p. 203. (She also wept bitterly for the souls that she saw tarnished and soiled by sins of the flesh. And this caused so many tears to escape her that great infirmity came upon her eyes and her head (and for the love of him) to the point where a renowned doctor advised her to abstain from crying if she wanted to avoid the consumption and destruction of her head and the blinding of her eyes. But she replied to him that she would rather incur and suffer such damage than abstain from tears, through which the eye of the mind is refined and purified and the Creator is known.)

The usage of the word *escampava* in these episodes is telling: *escampava* suggests that the tears were something uncontrollable and divinely given rather than 'human' tears.

cecitatem visus incurrere quam abstinere a lacrimis, quibus oculus cordis purificatur et Creator agnoscitur.⁶¹

This account suggests that Dauphine was wilfully trying to destroy her brain and sight through tears. Blindness was looked upon favourably by these women as it was a means of both removing temptation and becoming closer to God.⁶² Likewise, Douceline of Digne's anonymous hagiographer recorded how, despite experiencing severe headaches and being unable to sleep as a result of habitual weeping, the holy woman would not abandon her lacrimation:

E con, per lo continu plorar que fazia, agues encorreguda sobregreu malautia del cap, en tant que, motas ves, n'estava tot .i. jorn e una neuch de manjar, ni podia hubrir los uels, ni a pernas podia parlar, ni auzir neguna paraula; ab tot aquo, non si cessava de plorar a las horas adordenadas ques

⁶¹ *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel*, pp. 49-50. (Item: That so that she might be more freely empty for God, she used to eat alone and did not want anyone to approach her unless he/she heard a certain sign from her, the reason being that she was eating her bread, full of tears; and she would very often raise her eyes to the sky, with weeping and tears, thus pouring out tears of devotion. And continually each night and indeed during the whole of any night, she would persevere with prayers, tears and readings, and give her body little rest in sleep; and she would shed so many and such a large amount of tears that some people who were standing around her began to fear she would destroy her brain and become blind. And it happened that when this lady had become old from grief or illness, she began to suffer in her eyes and complained to a doctor whom she knew well and who was devoted to her; and fearing that this devoted doctor who had been her confessor and close friend would tell her to stop shedding tears, she told him in advance that there was no way he would stop her shedding tears, because when it came to doing that, she would not obey him at all, because she wanted to destroy her brain and incur blindness more than [she wanted] to abstain from the tears whereby the heart is purified and recognises the creator.)

⁶² See Knight '*Si puose calcina a' propi occhi*', p. 146.

avia acostumat. Non contrastera pauc ni mot, per mal qu'illi agues, a sa devocion.⁶³

Although the responses of Dauphine and Douceline may seem part of the *topos* of the hagiographic struggle - something a saint must endure as a test of their faith and sanctity - shedding tears is never seen as something that must be overcome. These holy women surpass worldly expectations with the knowledge that their painful lacrimation on earth would be rewarded by laughter in heaven.

Despite these medically-based anxieties, saints' *vitae* always reconcile the disquiet regarding shedding an abundance of tears. In an extended passage, Thomas of Cantimpré defends the tears of the Dominican nun Margaret of Ypres (d. 1237) and validates her lacrimation by referring to an episode from the life of Marie d'Oignies:

Erubescant nostri temporis contemplativi! Quod si semel fleverint pre devocione, Christi memores, vel ad horam si semel vigilaverint solito amplius, si ieiunaverint ultra horam, mox cum Helysei puero et vere puero clamant: "Caput meum doleo! Caput meum doleo!" Si enim vere virtutem viri in veris anime viribus attigissent, numquam effeminati tam citissime redderentur. Memor sum illius beatissime femine Marie de Oignies, de qua venerabilis Iacobus de Vitriaco in vita ipsius eam commemorat respondisse: "Hec, inquit, lacrimae refectio mea sunt, quae caput non affligunt, sed mentem pascunt; nullo dolore torquent, sed animam serenitate exhilarant; non cerebrum exhauriunt; non cerebrum evacuant, sed animam satiant." E contra, isti: "Lacrimae, inquit, cerebrum exhauriunt, pulmonem confundit vigilia, ieiunia membra debilitant, et quia in tali destitucione membrorum Deo servire quis non potest, aromatica repleant caput, pulmonem relevent somnus, et quidquid terra vel mare in piscibus et carnibus poterit, membra

⁶³ *La vie de Sainte Douceline*, p. 93. (As a result of her continual tears, she would have terrible headaches, so that she was often unable to eat for a day and a night, and could not open her eyes. She would barely be able to talk and could not hear a word. With all that, she did not cease her weeping at the appointed hours to which she was accustomed. No matter what the illness she might have, she did not fail in her devotion in any way.)

dilapsa reficiat.” Ve qui sine causa vel causa quidem modica dicta factaque patrum invertunt⁶⁴

Here Thomas provides an active defence against the idea that weeping is harmful. The contrast between medical and religious thought is pronounced. The hagiographer suggests that some contemplatives abandon their tearful devotion too early and complain of pain. According to Thomas, if they had strength in spirit, they would not be rendered effeminate. Thomas plays on the etymologically related words *vir* (*man*), *vires* (*strength*), and *virtus* (*virtue*), using the example of a weak woman’s strength to shame effeminate men. Thus, it is not those who weep that are feminised but those who give up on tears. Thomas makes a clear link between medical thinking and devotional piety when he states that tears empty the brain. By comforting the body rather than using it to serve the Lord, Thomas states that they ‘turn the words and deeds of the Fathers upside down’ (*dicta factaque patrum invertunt*). This passage extends the message in Marie’s *vita* and Thomas vociferously defends tears as part of somatic devotion.

⁶⁴ VMY, 114-15. (Let the contemplatives of our time blush for shame! If they will weep once out of devotion, mindful of Christ, or will keep vigil even once for one hour more than usual, or if they will fast beyond the hour, they soon cry like boy in Elisha (and truly [he was] a boy): ‘My head hurts! My head hurts!’ For if they really would have achieved a man’s virtue with strength of spirit, they would never be so quickly rendered effeminate. I remember that most blessed woman Marie d’Oignies, of who the venerable Jaques de Vitry put down in writing in his *vita* of her, her answer: ‘These tears, she said, are my refreshment, they do not damage the head but they feed the mind; they [do not] torment [me] with pain but they gladden [my] soul with serenity; they do not drain the brain nor empty the brain, but they sate the soul.’ On the contrary, ‘They say tears drain the brain; vigils disturb the lungs; fasting weakens the limbs. And because no one can serve God by such failure of the limbs, let perfumes restore the head, let sleep relieve the lungs, and whatever the earth or sea will be able [to give] with fish or meat to restore the decaying limbs.’ Woe to those who without cause (or indeed only slight cause) turn the words and the deeds of the Fathers upside down!)

Contrary to the concerns expressed about her weeping in her *vita*, it is through tears that the Cistercian nun Beatrice of Nazareth recovers her health.⁶⁵ Her anonymous hagiographer records that Beatrice achieved perfect bodily health from an abundance of tears (*Beatricem videlicet ex multa lacrimarum habundantia tam perfectam corporis sanitatem consequi*).⁶⁶ In this passage her hagiographer makes a clear distinction between tears that harm and tears that heal. Her tears were ‘outside the natural order of things’ (*naturalem rerum ordinem accidisse*) and were the work of divine will. Yet, the author clearly states that such a deluge of tears experienced in other circumstances would almost certainly lead to great weakness (*cum ex lacrimarum effusione, si nimia fuerit, magis debilitari necesse quis habeat quam a debilitatis pondere releuari*).⁶⁷ This ability to go against the expected natural order further emphasises that the saint had been endowed with a special and miraculous grace.

At a time when new medical theories were spreading across Europe, hagiographers drew connections between the body and the effect of devotional practice. It is evident from Jordan’s letter to Diana that people could be sceptical about the value of somatic devotional practice and questioned the worth and effects of excessive weeping which, physiologically speaking, was understood to be both the cause and effect of illness. Crucially, these hagiographical texts reveal thirteenth-century understandings of tears in physiology that can be scarcely found elsewhere. Given that the pathway to perfection

⁶⁵ In the *life* of Beatrice of Nazareth a nun misunderstands Beatrice’s rapture and tears for illness. See VBN, pp. 70-71.

⁶⁶ VBN, pp. 70-71.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

was saturated with tears, it is perhaps unsurprising that hagiographers and deponents drew the connection with physical harm. Moreover, involuntary tears seem to have been considered as the most dangerous and were symptomatic of death. As some tears were the product of divine grace and were not under the control of the recipient, their unconstrained nature aroused disquiet. Nonetheless, in the mode of narrative that is typical of healing miracles, the medical concerns expressed are often neutralised and the *vitae* underscore that this holy activity can bring spiritual health.

Tears of Blood

Tears of blood are not a common occurrence in medieval saints' lives yet they find their place in several thirteenth-century *vitae*. They are another important aspect of lachrymal devotion and, even though they are not present in the hagiographical dossiers of Marie and Dominic, they warrant some consideration. Although scholars such as Bettina Bildhauer and Caroline Walker Bynum have examined the importance of blood in the later medieval period, with a particular focus on Germany, neither examined tears of blood.⁶⁸

The earliest source for the Virgin Mary weeping blood as she watched Christ being crucified appears at the beginning of the thirteenth century in the *Vita Beatae Mariae Virginis et Salvatoris rhythmica*.⁶⁹ This text was written by a German speaker living in

⁶⁸ See Bettina Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood* (Cardiff, 2006), especially pp. 143-45 and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in late medieval Northern Germany and beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007).

⁶⁹ *Initia Carminum ac Versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*, ed. Hans Walther (Göttingen, 1959), poem 17250.

Friuli or Istria and records how Mary lay faint across Jesus' body, weeping tears of blood.⁷⁰ Slightly earlier than the *Vita Beatae Mariae* was the High Middle German translation of the *Chanson de Roland*, *Rolandslied* (c.1170), which records Charlemagne's bloody tears.⁷¹ Taken together these texts begin to illustrate the place of tears of blood in the thirteenth century. However, it is in an examination of thirteenth-century saints' *vitae* that the most dramatic episodes of bloody tears are found.⁷² When saints bled and suffered with Christ they moved closer to heaven. Similarly, with each teardrop, holy men and women drew closer to God. Tears of blood can be linked to the acute emphasis that was placed on identifying with Christ's passion. Francis of Assisi's reception of the stigmata dramatically altered the perception of the bleeding saint in the thirteenth century. Francis became an *alter christus* with his stigmatic bleeding and tears of blood should be examined in this context. The stigmata unquestionably revived an emphasis on the salvific blood of Christ and this is not only reflected in

⁷⁰ See Andrew Breeze, 'The Virgin's Tears of Blood', *Celtica*, 20 (1988), 110.

⁷¹ *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. and trans. Dieter Kartschoke (Stuttgart, 1993), line 7559, p. 508.

It must be noted that tears of blood in Irish sources pre-date the thirteenth century, see Vernam Hull, 'Celtic Tears of Blood', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 25 (1956), 226-36.

⁷² It should be noted that tears of blood appear in earlier hagiographies. For example, Merovingian princess and Benedictine holy woman Gertrude of Nivelles (626-659), from Marie d'Oignies' home town, shed tears of blood. See 'Vita', AASS, 17 March II (Antwerp, 1668), 599.

hagiographical texts but in devotional images from the later Middle Ages.⁷³ Bildhauer's volume considered the redemptive nature of blood and demonstrated how drops of Christ's blood were likened to a legal tender, a 'currency of holy blood'.⁷⁴ In the same way that tears were shed for sins, droplets of blood echoed Christ's redemption of humanity. When tears of blood were shed, a strong message of redemption and salvation was conveyed. This message is exemplified by Margaret of Cortona, who wept so hard for the sins of her neighbours that her eyes bulged from her head and her tears turned to blood:

Hec ita proximorum uitia cum Christi passione defleuit, quod non solum frequenter pre dolore radices oculorum uidebantur de suis orbibus erui, uerum etiam aliquando lacrimae in sanguinem uerse sunt.⁷⁵

This striking description of Margaret's tears not only emphasises her physical exertion but echoes the spilling of blood as a sacrificial act. Moreover, in the miracle collection of the Vallombrosan holy woman Umilta of Faenza (d.1310), the hagiographer records how when she was thinking about mortal sins of others the colour would drain from her face as if she were half-dead and she would weep bitterly (*amare defleret*) until they

⁷³ The combination of shedding tears and blood is present in images such a *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, in particular those produced by a follower of Dieric Bouts c.1475 (The Coutauld Collection). Such images represent the sixth station of the cross and depict the mingling of the blood from the thorn of crown with tears. Similarly, the Virgin's bloody tears were painted in a *pietà* and sung about in fifteenth century Franciscan carols. See Breeze, 'The Virgin's Tears of Blood', 114-15.

⁷⁴ See Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood*, p. 143.

⁷⁵ VMC, p. 190. (With the passion of Christ, she wept for the sins of [her] neighbours. Frequently, not only did the roots of her eyes seem to protrude (*erui*) from their orbits (*orbibus*) because of sorrow, but, truly, sometimes the tears turned into blood.)

turned completely into blood (*vidit lacrymas in sanguinem totaliter esse conversas*).⁷⁶

In order to hide her excessive humility, Umilta hid the small piece of cloth which she used to wipe away her bloody tears.⁷⁷ This striking image of bloody tears was reproduced in a sixteenth-century Florentine hymn that was written in memory of Umilta: *Dum plangis sacratissima dilecti Jesu vulnera/ Pro lacrymis das sanguinem, qui totam rigat faciem*.⁷⁸ In Juliana of Mont Cornillion's *vita*, the image of bloody tears is equally intense:

Igitur cum a tempore visionis prædictæ, plusquam viginti annorum curricula pertransissent; et iterum Christi Virgo Juliana, præ nimia humilitate, inenarrabilibus gemitibus et precibus institisset, quatenus ipse Christus cuiquam alteri personæ negotium memoratum imponeret, nec hoc solum posset aliquatenus impetrare; cernens sibi durum fore contra voluntatis divinæ stimulum calcitrare, voluntatem suam ipsius subdidit voluntati: institerat enim tantis precibus et fletibus, ut plerumque; exhaustis lacrymis, oculi ejus purum sanguinem loco lacrymarum deducerent.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ 'Vita', AASS, 22 May V (Antwerp, 1685), 211.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ 'Alius Hymnus', AASS, 22 May V (Antwerp, 1685), 222. (While you bewail the most holy wounds of Jesus/ you give blood like tears which wet the whole face). For other instances of bloody tears in miracle collections see Bertramo Reoldo, 'Acta' [of Franca of Piacenza], in AASS, 25 April III (Antwerp, 1675), 397.

⁷⁹ VJC, 459. (Thus, more than twenty years would have passed by the time of the aforementioned vision, Juliana the virgin of Christ, because of excessive humility, again had pursued indescribable groans and prayers, that Christ himself would impose the pain of remembering on another person, not only would she be able to obtain this to a certain point, what she asked, discerning for herself that it would be hard to kick against the goad of divine will and submitted her will to his. For she had persisted with prayers and tears so, for the most part, exhausted by tears, her eyes would draw out pure blood in place of tears.)

For a similar episode of tears of blood see the *life* of the German beguine Christina Stumbelensis (d.1312), 'Vita', AASS, 22 June IV (Antwerp, 1707), 436.

Juliana has no more tears to shed as a result of her continual lachrymose prayer; instead, her eyes shed pure blood. This connection of tears and blood in Juliana's *vita* is perhaps unsurprising given that she devoted her life to trying to establish a Feast of Corpus Christi. These bloody tears emphasise her suffering and profound humility (*profundissima humilitate*) yet also reflect her intense identification with the Passion of Christ.⁸⁰ In the life of the Dominican penitent Benvenuta Bojani (d. 1292), the holy woman was unable to restrain her tears (*nec etiam se a lacrymis poterat continere*) when meditating on the Passion of Christ. The morning after the ecstatic experience she found that her veil was stained with bloody tears:

Mane vero lucescente, vidit multas guttas sanguinis super velum quod tenuerat super caput; et tentans si de naso sibi aliquid sanguinis exivisset, et minime reperiens, cognovit quod fuerunt lacrymæ suæ quæ colorem sanguinis portendebant.⁸¹

The hagiographer is careful to note that the blood was not from her nose, but the consequence of her tears. In this episode, Benvenuta not only mirrors Christ's suffering but she is united with the Virgin Mary.⁸² In the lives of Juliana and Benvenuta, bloody

⁸⁰ VJC, 459.

⁸¹ Conrad of Castellario, 'Vita' [of Benvenuta Bojani], AASS, 29 October XIII (Paris, 1883), 167. (As morning grew bright, she saw many drops of blood on the veil that she had kept over her head; and testing if some blood had been discharged from her nose and not finding any, she knew that the her tears were like the colour of blood)

For a further discussion of tears in the *life* of Benvenuta see Petrachi, 'Le lacrime di Benvenuta Bojanni', pp. 355-68.

⁸² Conrad of Castellario, 'Vita', 167: Et cum instantia multa est Dominum deprecata, ut Passionis suae deberet sentire dolorem, ut in dolore Passionis suae posset beatam Virginem sociare.

tears are non-stigmatic manifestations of blood piety in response to the suffering of Christ, but such tears could be the response to a revelatory experience of the divine. In the *life* of Ida of Louvain, the Holy Spirit makes a revelation to a brother and when he returns to himself after the vision, he notices that his habit spattered with tears of blood.⁸³ According to the hagiographer, the brother read this as a sign of the intense fervour that he had experienced.⁸⁴

Although Nagy argued that the stigmata led to higher bids of corporal piety it does not appear that stigmatic bleeding superseded tears.⁸⁵ Indeed, there are more instances of bloody tears than the stigmata. Tears became part of this sanguine devotion and were not displaced by it. Although tears of blood are evident before the thirteenth century, there is a correlation between the pronounced emphasis on ‘blood piety’ and the increasing number of descriptions of bloody lacrimation in saints’ *vitae*. This powerful imagery fused ideas of redemption, salvation and personal piety and went on to become a popular visual image in the fourteenth century.

Tears as language, knowledge and a method of teaching

As part of their multivalence, tears could act as a form of language, assist in ‘teaching’ by example, and reflect the transmission of holy knowledge. Each of these facets are

⁸³ VILO, 169: Qui post paululum ad se reversus, anteriorem vestimenti sui partem, guttis roseis, ac si pro lacrymis sanguinem ejus oculi distillasset copiose respersam invenit. (After a little while [the monk] returned to himself, he found the front part of his clothes (i.e. his habit) copiously spattered with drops of red as if his eyes had dripped blood like tears.)

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Nagy, *Le Don Des Larmes*, p. 409.

prominent in female *lives* as tears were a non-verbal language through which religious women might 'speak' and 'teach'. In some cases tears were considered a disruptive form of communication. Lacrimation defied control and caused some to be irked by the attention that it drew to religious women.

In an environment where speech was suppressed, tears held a particular significance for religious women. Tears were non-verbal yet ultimately gave religious women a voice. Women did not have the clerical authority to preach and consequently used their physical devotions to manifest their spirituality. Their tears communicated their holiness whether they were being offered up to God or given by him.

Tears were also a sign of the reception of heavenly knowledge. In her early years at the fledgling Cistercian monastery of Kerkom, Ida of Nivelles received divine knowledge with tears. Ida was sixteen years old when she entered the monastery and was unable to understand the Dutch dialect that her fellow sisters and the preacher spoke. Despite being isolated by the language around her, Ida's *vita* explains how the Holy Spirit breathed the word of God into her and that her tears were too copious to hold back.⁸⁶ As she was overcome, Ida demonstrated that she had received heavenly knowledge. She was imbued by the Holy Spirit with the knowledge verbally imparted by the Dutch-speaking preacher. In this way, Ida did not miss out on spiritual fulfilment whilst in a place where the language was unfamiliar to her.

Those who shed tears were often unable to control their efficacy. Divinely-given tears were often violent in nature, seizing the whole body and rendering the recipient rapt in

⁸⁶ See Goswin of Boussut, 'Vita Beatae Idae de Niuella Sanctimonialis in Monasterio de Rameya', *Qvinque Prvdentes Virgines*, ed. P. F. Chrysostome Henriquez (Antwerp, 1630).

the moment of union with God. Beatrice of Nazareth's anonymous hagiographer describes how she struggled to stem the flow of her tears when she thought of her heavenly bridegroom:

Huius rei testes fuerunt ille, plene dulcedinis et deuotionis, ex oculis eius distillantes in habundantia lacrimae, quarum impetum ante sponsi faciem, quotiens ad mentem illi redit: et-si voluisset, nulla tamen valuisset cohibere instantia.⁸⁷

A lack of control when participating in devotional activities is a central theme in texts pertaining to women. Tears were seen by some as troublesome as they challenged traditional modes of expressing devotion. Rather than meekly accepting the Eucharist, many holy women subverted the norm by erupting with flowing tears, groans and sighs. Whilst shedding hot tears and trembling, their disruptive tears were an instrument of separation from the ordinary confines of female devotion and the silence of the cloister.⁸⁸ Elizabeth Petroff argues that for a woman to become a saint she had to transgress in order to become visible.⁸⁹ This transgression had to be carefully undertaken; it must be seen to be of divine sanction or the woman was in danger of being branded a heretic. The Franciscan tertiary Angela of Foligno (d.1309) screamed because of the fire of love that she experienced. Although people accused her of being

⁸⁷ VBN, pp. 100-01. (The witnesses of this event were tears dripping in abundance from her eyes, full of sweetness and devotion. And if she would have wanted, no insistence would be strong enough to hold back [the assault of tears] before the Bridegroom's face, whenever he returned to [her] mind.)

⁸⁸ Dhira B. Mahoney, 'Margery Kempe's Tears and the Power over Language', *Margery Kempe: A book of essays*, ed. Sandra J. McEntire (London, 1992), p. 39.

⁸⁹ Petroff, *Body and Soul*, p. 166.

demonically possessed, she describes in her *Memorial* how she could not stop herself even if someone stood over her with an axe and threatened to kill her.⁹⁰ The Viennese beguine Agnes of Blannbekin (d.1315) found that she could barely speak because of her tears (*vix prae lachrymis loqui potuit*) and because of the desire that burned in her chest, she pleaded with the Lord that he should not make her a target of gossip (*sed rogavit dominum, ne permitteret eam sic divulgari, quod dominus fecit*).⁹¹ In the fourteenth century, the same problematic nature of tears reoccurs in the Book of Margery Kempe.⁹² It is no coincidence that these instances occur in female *vitae*.

The attempt to limit or restrain forms of devotion is characteristic of the opposition that thirteenth-century religious women faced. Clare of Assisi was known for her excessive fasting and was restrained from carrying out her ascetic wishes by both St Francis and the Bishop of Assisi who made her consume a minimum amount of bread.⁹³ Margaret of Cortona's confessor was only allowed to visit her once a week because some of the

⁹⁰ Angela of Foligno, *Memoriale* (Turnhout, 2010), p. 153.

⁹¹ LAB, pp. 349-50.

⁹² *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry A. Windeatt (Harlow, 2000), p. 288: thorw the holy sermown, and... thorw hir meditacyon, [the] grace of devocyon wrowt so sor in hir mende that [Margery] fel in a boystows wepyng. Than seyde the good frer: 'I wolde this woman wer owte of the chirche; sche noyith the pepil.' Summe that weryn hir frendys answeyde ayen: 'Sir, have hir excusyd. Sche may not withstand it.' Then meche pepil turnyd ayen hir and wer ful glad that the good frer held ayen hir. Than seyde summe that sche had a devyl wythinne hir. And so had thei seyde many tymys befor, but now thei wer mor bolde, for hem thowt that her opinyon was wel strenghtyd er ellys fortifyed be this good frer. Ne he wolde not suffyr hir to her hys sermown, le than sche wolde levyn hir sobbyng and hir crying. See also p. 297: thorw the yyft of wech gracys sche wept, sobbyd, and cryid ful sor ageyn hir wyl- sche myth not chesyn, for sche had levar a wept softly and prevyly than opynly yyf it had ben in hyr power.

⁹³ *Sanctae Clarae virginis assisiensis*, p. 134.

friars at the provincial Chapter felt that her consolations were delusions and that she feigned her devotions in order to gain a reputation.⁹⁴ Many women desired to receive the host as often as possible yet were constrained by the Church. They often required special dispensation from their confessors so that they could receive the host on a daily basis.⁹⁵ In contrast, restraining tears was much more difficult. Moreover, in one episode in the *life* of Ida of Louvain, a beguine and then Cistercian nun from Liège, her fellow sisters mock her for weeping.⁹⁶ However, tears could not be restrained, modified or muted to suit the wishes of others. When the heart was pricked by compunction it was difficult to withhold the flow of tears. Moreover, *gratia lacrymarum*, by its very nature, was God-given and no man could stand in its way. This, however, did not stop churchmen from being irked and trying to prevent tears from being displayed in front of an audience. In the *vita* of the Franciscan tertiary Margaret of Cortona, Giunta Bevegnati records how she tried to remain silent because others attributed her weeping to vainglory (*qui tui fletum doloris temere pro uana gloria fieri extimant, silentium tibi penitus indidisti*).⁹⁷ Conversely, religious men were not criticised for their tears, which are documented as being equally irrepressible. The first deponent in Giovanni Bono's canonisation enquiry, a fellow hermit named Salveto, recalled how the holy man was unable to hold back his tears (*nulla ratione poterat ipse lacrimas continere*).⁹⁸ Where

⁹⁴ VMC, p. 249.

⁹⁵ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, p. 59.

⁹⁶ See 'Vita beatae Idae Lovaniensis', AASS, 13 April II (Antwerp, 1675), 168.

⁹⁷ VMC, p. 254.

⁹⁸ 'Processus canonizationis', AASS, 22 October IX (Antwerp, 1668), 772. See also Francis of Assisi's *Legenda minor* in *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 603.

women could be ridiculed or degraded for their devotional practices, men were always held up as models of perfection.

Despite criticism, whereby a saint must undergo a struggle and be dissuaded from their holy activity, tears were a positive marker of sanctity. Try as they might, churchmen could not restrain holy women's tears even though they challenged traditional modes of expressing devotion. Female saints' *lives* always redress the criticism of tears. In an episode in Margaret of Cortona's *vita*, she goes out onto the balcony of her house in the middle of the night and begins to pray with loud tears. Her devotions wake those in her neighbourhood and, rather than being annoyed at the disruption, her hagiographer records how they were touched with compassion, edified, and moved to pity and tears by her lacrimation.⁹⁹

Legitimation through tears

Lacrimation was one way of authenticating a new form of life for those who were pursuing new directions.¹⁰⁰ Although churchmen could be wary of certain types of tears, their place in *vitae* and canonisation proceedings helped to validate a vocation and demonstrate candidacy for sanctity.¹⁰¹ The prominence of tears demonstrated in the case studies of Marie and Dominic is followed in the hagiographical dossiers of founder saints including Francis of Assisi, Clare of Assisi (founder of the Damianites), Giovanni

⁹⁹ VMC, pp. 190-94.

¹⁰⁰ Nagy has also shown how Romuald (d.1027) faced much resistance in the course of his attempts for monastic reformation and that the Gift of Tears was often used by those who suffered from a lack of institutional recognition. See Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, p. 417.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Bono (founder of an order of hermits), Peter of the Morrone, and holy women who were among the first members of the ‘third orders’ including Margaret of Cortona and Umiliana dei’Cerchi.¹⁰² Given the struggles that women faced in securing institutional recognition, it is worth briefly looking at the place of tears in the dossiers of two prominent women: Umiliana dei’Cerchi and Margaret of Cortona.

Umiliana de’Cerchi, the daughter of a wealthy Florentine merchant, was one of the first women to forge a path as a proto-Franciscan tertiary.¹⁰³ Her contemporary, Vito da Cortona, was commissioned to compile her *vita* by the Franciscans of Santa Croce in Florence around 1246 in recognition of her holy life.¹⁰⁴ For Umiliana, whose lifestyle choice was newly emerging, tears helped to shield her against accusations of heresy. The Cathars were flourishing in Florence around the time that she turned to a quasi-mendicant way of life. In the 1240s there was intense antagonism between orthodoxy and heresy in Florence and out of this opposition the Franciscans sought to emphasise Umiliana’s holiness with authentic signs of divine grace.¹⁰⁵ As Umiliana was widowed

¹⁰² See appendix.

¹⁰³ For a study of Umiliana’s life see Anna Benvenuti Papi, ‘*In castro poenitentiae*’: *Santita e Societa femminile nell’Italia medievale* (Rome, 1990), pp. 59–98 and pp. 171–203. See also Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), pp. 111–24. For Umiliana as a proto-tertiary see Anna Benvenuti Papi, ‘Umiliana dei Cerchi nascita di un culto nella Firenze del Dugento’, *Studi Francescani*, 77 (1980), 87–117.

¹⁰⁴ The earliest extant *life* edited in the *Acta Sanctorum* is used here. However, several later versions and interpretations exist, including one in the vernacular: see Domenico Moreni, ‘Leggenda della beata Umiliana de’Cerchi’, *Prosatori Minori del Trecento*, ed. Giuseppe De Luca (Milan, 1954), pp. 723–68.

¹⁰⁵ See Lansing, *Passion and Order*, pp. 120–24. For an introduction to Cathar beliefs, see Jean Duvernoy, *La religion des cathares* (Toulouse, 1976).

and had given birth to children, the first tears that are recorded in her *vita* represent cleansing and spiritual rebirth:

O quantis perfundebantur lacrymis illæ genæ et pectus beatum, quia non lacrymæ sed rivuli videbantur, quæ de ipsius oculis emanabant.¹⁰⁶

As Umiliana begins her spiritual journey, her tears washed away the stains of a worldly life and purify her body. These tears are a verification of Umiliana's choice of life; her superabundant grace sets her apart from others and demonstrates that she has been chosen by God to receive his grace. In another episode, Vito records how a witness named Monna Compiuta saw Umiliana mimicking the posture of the crucifixion with profuse tears. Her tears were so strong that they resembled rainfall rather than tears (*ut non lacrymæ sed pluvia videretur ipsa irrigatio lacrymarum*).¹⁰⁷ These tears operated as physical proof of a divine connection.¹⁰⁸ Vito further legitimises Umiliana's tears by constructing her as an *alter Franciscus* as this episode replicates one found in Francis' of Assisi's *Legenda Maior*.¹⁰⁹

Margaret of Cortona's *vita* written by Giunta Bevegnati has the most occurrences of tears of any thirteenth century *life*.¹¹⁰ As the former mistress of a nobleman and an unmarried mother who ran away from her father's house and became a Franciscan tertiary in 1277, tears were a way of showing her true repentance and transformation.

¹⁰⁶ VUC, 388. (With what tears she flooded her cheeks and breast, which seemed not tears but streams flowing from her eyes.)

¹⁰⁷ VUC, 393.

¹⁰⁸ For a further discussion of how Umiliana cherished these tears see below pp. 277-79.

¹⁰⁹ See Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, 'Legenda maior S. Francisci', *Analecta Franciscana*, 10 (1941), 603.

¹¹⁰ See appendix.

The dominant model in Margaret's *vita* is the Magdalene. Giunta constructs Margaret as a new Magdalene as a way of legitimising her uncloistered penitential life.¹¹¹ Almost every action in the *vita* is accompanied, and legitimised, by tears. Margaret's transition from the world to the tertiary order is signalled by tears in an episodic conversion.¹¹² Lacrimation is central to Margaret's role as a penitent, she chastises herself and bursts into uncontrollable tears at the thought of her former sins.¹¹³ In one episode, reminiscent of the bible, the Lord asks Margaret 'Cur fles?'¹¹⁴ Margaret responds that she is battling against those who do not believe her. The Lord strengthens her with the knowledge that he too was doubted as the son of God.¹¹⁵ In Margaret's *vita*, Jesus frequently enters into a dialogue with her and encourages the holy woman in her tears whilst reflects on his own suffering.¹¹⁶ Despite her incessant tears, Jesus even informs Margaret that she is shedding too few tears.¹¹⁷ Cumulatively, these lachrymose episodes authenticate Margaret's way of life: they show her transformation and her connection with God.

¹¹¹ See for example VMC, p. 246. Identification with the Magdalene aided in legitimising and is found in the lives of Benvenuta Bojani and Yvette of Huy. For Benvenuta as a lachrymose Magdalene see Conrad of Castellario, 'Vita', AASS, 29 October XIII (Paris, 1883), 168. For Yvette of Huy see VBH, 884. VMC, p. 209. See also Nagy, *Le Don des Larmes*, p. 399.

¹¹² VMC, see chapter 2, pp. 186-89.

¹¹³ VMC p. 226.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57, 259-60.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

Consequently, Margaret's tears cause others to admire her and she is able to move others to tears by her actions.¹¹⁸

Tears as part of the judicial criteria for sainthood

In Vauchez's seminal study of canonisation in the later middle ages he suggests that a saintly reputation could not flourish if the grace of tears was lacking.¹¹⁹ Certainly, this observation appears true of Dominic's bipartite enquiry, however, the level of lachrymosity varies in the other proceedings undertaken during the thirteenth century. Of the papal canonisation enquiries, many include depositions that recount the saint's tears such as the surviving proceedings for Elizabeth of Hungary (d.1231 canonised 1235), Odo of Novara (d.1200, cult approved 1242), Edmund of Canterbury (d.1240, canonised 1246), Clare of Assisi (d.1253, canonised 1255) and William of Bourges (d.1209, canonised 1218).¹²⁰ For other thirteenth-century saints it is more difficult to get a picture of their sanctity through the documents that remain. For example, only the enquiry *de virtutibus*, undertaken in 1252, has survived for Simon of Collazzone (d.1250) and part of the acts of the process of 1276 have survived for Margaret of Hungary (d.1271).¹²¹ Likewise, the acts of the enquiry held at Saint-Denis for Louis IX

¹¹⁸ For admiration of her tears see VMC, p. 250. For moving others to tears see pp. 225, 246.

¹¹⁹ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 439.

¹²⁰ See appendix.

¹²¹ See 'Il B. Simone da Collazzone e il suo processo', ed. M. Faloci Pulignani, *Miscellanea Francescana*, 12 (1910), 97-132. For Margaret see the process edited by G. Fraknoi in *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vespriensis*, I (Budapest, 1896), pp. 163-383.

in 1282 have been largely lost and only small fragments remain.¹²² For others, the documentation often focusses on their miracles and less emphasis is given to characteristics of their personal piety. For example, a list of miracles composed c.1222-30 was provided to support the canonisation of the former Carthusian monk Stephen of Châtillon, bishop of Die (d.1208). There are no references to Stephen's lachrymose piety but there are numerous accounts of tears being shed for Stephen's intercession in curing the sick.¹²³ There are also some canonisation documents that do not include any references to tears. For example, in the case of Ambrose of Massa (d.1240), whose process was undertaken in Orvieto in the year of his death, only nine witnesses testified about his life whereas 140 deponents recalled his miracles.¹²⁴ The focus on post-mortem miracles rather than personal piety could explain the absence of tears.¹²⁵

Of the saints who have full canonisation dossiers, tears are frequently mentioned by the deponents. In Clare of Assisi's canonisation proceedings, undertaken in 1253 but surviving only in a fifteenth century vernacular copy in the Umbrian dialect, the witnesses who intimately knew Clare attest to her lachrymose piety. Each sister from San Damiano describes a different facet of her tears and, as seen in Dominic's

¹²² See L. Carolus-Barré, 'Consultation du Cardinal Pietro Colonna sur le IIe miracle de S. Louis', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes*, 117 (1959), 57-72.

¹²³ 'Miracula Sancti Stephani', AASS, 7 September III (Antwerp, 1750), 194-200.

¹²⁴ 'Processus Canonizationis B. Ambrosii Massani', AASS, 10 November IV (Bruseels, 1925), 571-608. On the problems with this enquiry see Letizia Pellegrini, 'Negotium imperfectum: il processo per la canonizzazione di Ambrogio di Massa (O.M., Orvieto 1240)', *Società e storia*, 17 (1994), 253-78.

¹²⁵ This may also be the case for the enquiry for Hugh of Lincoln (d.1200) undertaken c.1219. See 'The canonization of Hugh of Lincoln', ed. H. Farmer, *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*, 7 (1956), 86-117.

Languedoc process, there is no overlap in the depositions, suggesting scribal intervention in order to avoid repetition.¹²⁶ In the enquiry for Giovanni Bono, which took place in four stages during 1251-54, seventeen witnesses recalled instances of his tears.¹²⁷

Aside from the enquiry itself, letters could be sent in support of a canonisation. For the Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury, some of his supporters included information about his lachrymose piety in the reports that they sent to the papacy. One letter, written by a Cistercian bishop in 1244, refers to Edmund's '*oratione cum gemitibus et lacrymis*' whilst the abbot of Reading recalls his '*instantiam orationum, profluvium lachrymarum, infinitatem quadam genuflexionum.*'¹²⁸

Tears are also included in the dossiers provided for the canonisation of non-thirteenth century saints. For example, the canonisation enquiry of the martyr-bishop Stanislaus (d.1079), undertaken in 1251-52 under the supervision of the Dominicans, includes references to tears.¹²⁹ Moreover, for saints who lived in the thirteenth century but were canonised in the early part of the fourteenth century, tears remain an important part of the depositions. Even though only part of Peter of Morrone's process remains, several testimonies refer to his tears.¹³⁰ Similarly, tears are found throughout the enquiries for

¹²⁶ See appendix.

¹²⁷ See appendix.

¹²⁸ 'Epistolae', *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, III, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris, 1717), 1906, 1910.

¹²⁹ For tears and lachrymose miracles see 'Miracula Sancti Stanislai', ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 4 (1961), pp. 292, 302, 305, 309.

¹³⁰ Morrone died in 1306 and was canonised in 1313. Only 162 statements out of the original 322 remain. See appendix for references.

Nicholas of Tolentino (d.1305), Chiara of Montefalco (d.1308), Louis of Toulouse (d.1308), and Dauphine of Puimichel.¹³¹ In the cases of Nicholas of Tolentino and Chiara of Montefalco, the *articuli interrogatorii* enquire about tears as proof of their sanctity, demonstrating that the postulators believed that they were an essential aspect of perfection.¹³² Although many dossiers that include tears did not lead to canonisation, it is evident that both deponents and the papacy regarded them as one of the criteria for sainthood.¹³³

Tear Relics

The value placed upon holy tears in the thirteenth century is demonstrated further by the collection of tear relics. In Vendôme, the sacred tear of Christ known as *La Sainte Larme*, *La Très Sainte Larme* or *Madame Sainte Larme* boomed in popularity during the later Middle Ages, depositing a trail of associated *ampullae* across Europe. It was not just the *Sainte Larme* that was revered. *Vitae* from the thirteenth century confirm the importance of collecting and preserving tears from several would-be-saints.

¹³¹ There are some imperfections with the edition of Louis' process published in *Analecta Franciscana*, 7 see M. H. Laurent, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 46 (1951), 786-91.

See appendix for references.

¹³² See *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. N. Occhioni (Rome, 1984), p. 21 (article 22) and *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Florence, 1984), pp. 6-8 (articles 35, 48, 50, 51). Note that in the case of Chiara, witnesses refer to her tears outside of the specified articles, see for example the first witness, *ibid.*, p. 41.

¹³³ Such unsuccessful enquiries with tears include Stephen of Die, Odo of Novara, Giovanni Bono, Nicholas of Tolentino, Chiara of Montefalco, and Dauphine of Puimichel. In some cases, the enquiries were deemed to be inadequate, see Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 52-53.

La Sainte Larme was the tear, or one of the tears, that Christ shed upon the death of Lazarus, as recorded in John 11:32-37. According to the apocryphal version of this Gospel story, the tear was caught by an angel in a phial and given to Lazarus' sister, Mary Magdalene, to keep. It is noteworthy that the Magdalene, known for her lachrymose outpourings, was the recipient and protector of this tear. Primary relics of Christ were rare and consequently at least eight French churches claimed to possess his tear.¹³⁴ Nonetheless, the relic housed at the Benedictine Abbey of La Trinité in Vendôme was the most well known and had been established there since the eleventh century.¹³⁵ The tear came to be housed in Vendôme after its owner, Geoffrey Martel (d.1060) founder of La Trinité, and his wife Agnes of Poitou (d.1077), experienced a miraculous event. One Sunday morning, the pair saw three stars fall into a well outside Vendôme. Deducing that the stars represented the Holy Trinity, Geoffrey sought the advice of several priests regarding the miracle. They recommend building a monastery

¹³⁴ Each of the following churches claimed they possessed the holy tear: the Premonstratensian Abbey of Saint-Pierre (later Saint Larme) at Sélincourt (Somme), Thiers (Puy-de-Dôme), Saint-Leonard at Chemillé (Maine-et-Loire), the Cistercian abbey at Fontcarmont (Seine-Maritime), Saint-Maximin (Var), Saint Pierre-le-Puellier at Orléans (Loiret), Allouagne (Pas-de-Calais) and La Trinité at Vendôme (Loir-et-Cher). See Boertjes, 'Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme', p. 443. and René Crozet, 'Le Monument de la Sainte Larme a la trinité de Vendome', *Bulletin Monumental*, 121 (1963), 171-85. Other primary relics of Christ include drops of his blood, milk teeth, foreskin and fragments of nails and hair. It was not unusual for several churches to claim a relic. Like the *Sainte Larme*, Christ's foreskin was claimed by several churches including Coulombs, Calcata (near Viterbo), Le Puy, Metz, Antwerp, Hildesheim, Santiago de Compostela and Notre-Dame-en-Vaux in Châlons-sur-Marne. Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonder. The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot, 2007), 1.

¹³⁵ See Boertjes, 'Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme', p. 444 and Achille De Rochambeau, 'Voyage à la Sante-Larme de Vendôme, etude historique et critique sur cet antique pèlerinage', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois* 12 (1873), 156-212.

on the site of the well where the stars had fallen and by 1040, an abbey was officially founded. The tear reliquary was then positioned in the choir and consistently venerated until its loss during the French Revolution.¹³⁶

In Vendôme, the tear of Christ was preserved by being encased in an *ampulla* of rock crystal and gold casing.¹³⁷ The pilgrims that visited the *Sainte Larme* prompted a souvenir trade that produced small *ampullae*, pilgrim medals, badges and pendants. These *ampullae*, cast in pewter during the thirteenth century, were pouch-shaped.¹³⁸ Boertjes estimates that such *ampullae* were produced in their thousands despite only a fraction remaining today. Although most examples of Vendôme *ampullae* have been found in the Loire region, archaeological excavations in England, Austria and the Netherlands show the potential scope and popularity of the holy tear.

Ampullae from Vendôme were not just souvenirs that indicated a completed pilgrimage but were amulets that could ward off evil and protect the wearer. They had been in direct contact with the holy site and were consecrated with this tangible connection. In order to establish this relationship an *ampulla* was submerged in water taken from the well and then blessed. This act is depicted in the iconography on all of the pouch-

¹³⁶ See Boertjes, 'Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme', p. 446 and Crozet, 'Le Monument de la Sainte Larme', 172.

¹³⁷ Boertjes, 'Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme', p. 444.

¹³⁸ See Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges. Medieval Finds from Excavations of London 7* (Southampton, 1998), 10 and Boertjes, 'Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme', pp. 450, 454.

shaped *ampullae* from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³⁹ The submerged *ampullae* and the liquid inside them could then be taken home and cherished.

In the same way, would-be-saints had their tears collected as cherished droplets of heaven. As shown above, Marie openly gifted her tear-soaked handkerchief to her hagiographer prior to her death. In an episode from the *life* of Ida of Nivelles (d.1231), the Christ child appears in a vision to a holy man and begins to collect Ida's abundant tears in a golden basin (*peluis aurea*) to show that they are acceptable to him (*Vt autem idem puer tantarum effusionem lachrymarum de ardentissimi cordis amore procedentium, sibi acceptabilem esse ostenderet*).¹⁴⁰ The golden bowl suggests the precious quality of Ida's tears and that they were worthy of collection. As Christ appears as a child, the vision might also allude to tears as symbols of purity and innocence. Once he had collected the tears, Jesus bathed his own face (*quibus decoram faciem suam lauabat*) mirroring Ida's tear stained face and also legitimising her tears. Seeing this, the holy man knew that his soul would be saved.¹⁴¹

Tears were collected and preserved as relics by those who were close to saints. In the *vita* of Dauphine of Puimichel, a nun secretly entered the holy woman's chamber in order to steal the tears that had saturated her veil:

¹³⁹ See Boertjes, 'Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme', pp. 452, 454. The ritual act of submerging relics was already in use by the eleventh century and was not unique to the *Sainte Larme*, see *Ibid.*, p. 452, fn. 37.

¹⁴⁰ Goswin of Bousut, 'Vita Beatae Idae de Niuella Sanctimonialis in Monasterio de Rameya', *Qvinque Prvdentes Virgines*, ed. P. F. Chrysostome Henriquez (Antverpiae, 1630), pp. 258-61.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Cum una vetz estes al mostier de sancta Crot(z), una monga del dig mostier, mot devota e sa familiar, una dia intrec en sa cambra; e prenden secretamen lo vel am que terzia e yssugava sos huelhs, e apremen am sas mas, l'ayga de las lagremas escampec en un fiola o botiga; la qual ayga reservec a ssi per relequias.¹⁴²

The hagiographer refers to the tears as *relequias*, in the plural, suggesting that each individual tear was a relic in its own right. In addition, the author notes that the tears 'escampec' into the phial, suggesting that this was the place they desired to be kept, as relics only moved if they wished.

The tears collected from saints or from Vedôme had miraculous qualities and could be consumed in order to cure an ailment or rubbed on the affected area as an ointment. *Saint Larne* relics seem to have been particularly associated with the healing of ailments of the eye. An account from the second half of the twelfth century records how a boy named John, who suffered with an eye disorder, begged his father to drop charges against the monks of La Trinité regarding an estate at Villarvent. Once the father acquiesced, the boy's condition improved.¹⁴³ However, when the whole family then went to visit the tear relic, John's eyes were completely cured by divine intervention.¹⁴⁴ This thaumaturgical effect is seen in the *life* of Juliana of Mont-Cornillon where her

¹⁴² *Les vies occitanes de Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine*, p. 202. (One day when [Dauphine] was in the monastery of Sainte-Croix, a very pious nun of the said church, her servant, entered her room; and she secretly took the veil with which she wiped and dried her eyes, and squeezed it with her hands; and the water of her tears escaped into a phial or bottle, which water she kept for herself as relics.)

¹⁴³ *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye Cardinale de la Trinité de Vendome*, ed. C. H. Métais, 5 volumes (Paris, 1894), vol. 2, p. 490.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

tear-soaked linen cloth is used to heal an eye ailment suffered by a beguine.¹⁴⁵ The beguine was afflicted by pain which grew worse with the passing of time, and after following sound advice, she went to visit Juliana who gave her a blessing and the linen cloth that she had used to wipe tears from her own eyes (*et eidem pro benedictione lineum pannum dedit, quo ab oculis suis tergere consueverat exitus lacrymarum*).¹⁴⁶ The next day, the beguine fell asleep whilst praying at Mass and when she awoke she found that she no longer felt pain and had been cured by Juliana's intervention.¹⁴⁷

The Absence of Tears

In contrast to the profusion of tears that has been presented hitherto, it is essential to point out that not all saints are recorded as having shed tears, nor do all *vitae* place equal emphasis on lacrimation. It has already been shown how male *lives* are less focussed generally on somatic piety due to their broad pathways of holy activity.¹⁴⁸ However, there are both male and female *vitae* that do not record tears. In addition, there are saints who weep infrequently and those who lose the ability to shed tears. This section will examine these absences and account for the diverging place of tears.

In the *life* of Ida of Louvain, descriptions of her tears are notably lacking in certain episodes. There are descriptions where Ida weeps out of grief or offers up tears towards

¹⁴⁵ VJC, 456.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Both Thomas of Cantimpré and Goswin of Bossut include fewer accounts of tears in their male lives in comparison to their female *vitae*. See above pp. 228-30.

heaven in the hope that a priest would celebrate the Eucharist on a certain day.¹⁴⁹ Yet, tears are absent from some situations where they might be expected. As noted above, tears are frequently received when celebrating Mass or in a state of contemplation. At this point, holy women in particular become rapt in a moment of ecstasy frequently accompanied by tears. After this, the recipient is plunged into a state of languidness, as seen above in the *life* of Marie d'Oignies.¹⁵⁰ In the *life* of Ida of Louvain there is a similar description, yet tears are peculiarly absent:

Quodam etiam tempore, sanctissimæ diei Pentecostes Dominica, ad Communionem Dominici Corporis hæc amantissima Dei Virgo processerat; ut in aliis quoque festivitibus, suo tempore per annum occurrentibus, ad nutum sui Confessoris et ejus obtenta licentia consuescebat: illo tamen die, quo Spiritus sanctus in discipulorum cordibus est infusus, hanc, de qua loquimur, accepta Communionem sanctissima, tam copiosa gratiarum et charismatum sancti Spiritus affluentia perlustravit Altissimus; quod ad id verbotenus exprimendum intelligendumve corde tenus, nullus omnino consurgeret animus, nullus caperet intellectus. Sed nec ipsa, cui hæc pro spirituali munere sunt concessa, suis viribus intra cordis sui receptacula se cohibere prævaluit: quin potius ipsa corporis sui machina, sub tanto fasce nimis onerata succubuit; et virium corporalium officio destituta, et continuum tandem incidens in languorem, ægritudinis lectum expetiit: in quo per dies aliquot, ad usque videlicet almi Præcursoris et Dominici Baptistæ Vigiliam, amoris dumtaxat incendio conflagrata, caritatisque

¹⁴⁹ For tears of grief see VILO, 169; for tears offered up to God see VILO, 164.

¹⁵⁰ See above p. 97.

delicioso vulnere sauciata, corpore quidem languida, sed mente sanissima,
feliciter inter dilecti sui brachia conquievit.¹⁵¹

Despite being recorded as infused (*infusus*) and flowing (*affluentia*) with divine graces and becoming weak (*languida*) in body, the characteristic tears are not present. This kind of description, where tears might be expected but are not present, is echoed in other episodes in the text.¹⁵² Ida's love of receiving the Eucharist, and her trance-like state after receiving it, align her with her beguine and Cistercian contemporaries such as Ida of Nivelles, Marie d'Oignies or Beatrice of Nazareth, yet her lack of tears in this instance sets her apart. Ida's body was the host for other divine signs as she is recorded as having received the stigmata, which might seem to support Nagy's conclusion that the stigmata supersedes tears. It is, however, evident from the extensive occurrences of tears in Francis of Assisi's hagiographic dossier and Chiara of Montefalco's canonisation proceedings that this was not the case.¹⁵³ In Ida's *vita*, there is no evident

¹⁵¹ VILO, 175. (Likewise, at one time, the Sunday of Pentecost, the most holy of days, the virgin of God (i.e. Ida) lovingly approached this communion of the body of the Lord, she was accustomed to obtaining permission with the agreement of her confessor just as on any feast days occurring at this time during the year. However, on that day, when the Holy Spirit was poured out into the hearts of the disciples, this, of which we speak, having received the most holy Communion the Most High enlightened and flooded her so abundantly with the graces and gifts of the Holy Spirit that no mind or intellect could express or get to the heart of it all. But not even herself, to whom these things were permitted as spiritual gifts, she managed to restrain herself within the confines of her heart by her own strength, but rather the machine of her body succumbed under so great a load. Destitute of bodily strength by [her] service and continuously falling into faintness, finally, she asked for a sickbed and [stayed] in that place for several days, that is up until the Vigil of the aforesaid kind John the Baptist. Burning with the fire of love, and hurting with the delicious wound of love, with a weak body but with the soundest mind, she happily rested between the arms of her beloved.)

¹⁵² See also VILO, 160.

¹⁵³ See appendix.

reason why tears are absent during her eucharistic rapture. In this instance, the absence seems to be little more than the preference exercised by the hagiographer or of those recalling the stories known about Ida.

It could be suggested that tears are absent in cases where the saint suffers from a disability. For example, there are no tears in the two recensions of the *vita* of the Dominican disabled saint Margaret de Città di Castello (d. 1320).¹⁵⁴ However, there are many accounts of tears in Margaret's posthumous miracles.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, in the *vita* of the holy leper Alice of Schaarbeck, who lived during the first half of the thirteenth century, there are descriptions of her tears in spite of her disability. It might be expected that a leper would be unable to weep as their tear ducts often do not function. However, there are some tears in Alice's *vita*. In one instance, her hagiographer Arnold of Villers records that:

existens memor Dei, delectata est et consolata: ad cuius pedes devotis cum
imbre lacrymarum confugit orationibus, petens refocillari.¹⁵⁶

It is clear that, despite her infirmity, Alice was able to shed tears. Her hagiographer also records how Alice was also able to weep 'inwardly' as well as outwardly:

¹⁵⁴ *Le Legendae di Margherita da Città Castello*, ed. Maria Cristiana Lungarotti (Spoleto, 1994).

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 84, 103, 106, 109.

¹⁵⁶ 'Vita Aleydis', AASS, 11 June II (Antwerp, 1698), 479. (Becoming mindful of God, [Alice] was delighted and comforted. She fled to his feet with devout prayers [and] with a shower of tears, begging to be refreshed.)

intus imbre lacrymarum et vigili recordatione propriæ infirmitatis, ac dilatione visionis divinæ gloriæ, jugiter manavit; et ad producendos fructus, ad animam refocillandam aptos, omni tempore conscientiam rigavit.¹⁵⁷

The notion of ‘internal’ tears became more developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as demonstrated by Julian of Norwich’s *Revelations of Divine Love* written c.1373.¹⁵⁸ It is possible that Alice did not have more episodes of tears in her *vita* because she was too unwell to attend Mass, a locus for the reception of divinely-given tears.¹⁵⁹ However, the reduced number of descriptions may also be because the hagiographer thought it inappropriate to include tears as they were often understood as a means of purification and cleansing; something that a leper was already undergoing.

Another reason for the muted appearance of tears or the brevity of descriptions of lacrimation is that they could be secondary to other concerns. As noted above, Juliana of Mont-Cornillon’s *vita* emphasises her quest to establish a feast of Corpus Christi.¹⁶⁰ As her hagiographer recounts her valiant struggle against her detractors, her devotional activity takes a back seat. Saints lives were not formulaic as hagiographers emphasised

¹⁵⁷ ‘Vita Aleydis’, 478. (Inwardly, by a shower of tears, and by wakeful recollection of [her] own weakness and from the delay of the visions of divine glory, [the shower] flowed continually, it watered [her] conscience at all times, [and was] apt for refreshing the soul and producing fruits.)

¹⁵⁸ Julian of Norwich, *A revelation of love*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter, 1976), p. 87: This weping meneth not al in poring out of teares by our bodily eye, but also to more gostly vnderstanding; for the kindly desire of our soule is so gret and so onmesurable that if it were goven us to our solice in erth, and we saw not the fair blisfull chere of hymselfe, yet we shuld not stynten of moning ne of gostly weping, that is to sey, peynfull longing, till whan we sen verily the faire blisfull chere of our maker.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Vita Aleydis’, 481.

different modes of sanctity for different characters. Juliana's repertoire, as presented by her hagiographer, differs greatly from that of Marie d'Oignies whose bodily devotions were stressed by Jacques de Vitry.

In Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum* there are several episodes where holy men desire tears but are initially unable to experience them. The novice in the constructed dialogue asks the monk to explain whether anyone is able to obtain the grace of tears for others and the monk clarifies this question with three examples.¹⁶¹ In the first episode, Caesarius recounts the actions of a monk who was sent by his abbot to a Cistercian nunnery. He asked a certain nun if she could obtain the gift of tears for him on the days when the vigils were longer:

Volo ut obtineatis a Domino ter mihi in hebdomada ad sollemnes vigiliis, hoc est, feria secunda, feria quinta et sabbato, quando longiores sunt vigiliae, specialem gratiam lacrimarum et devotionis.¹⁶²

The nun dutifully fulfills this request and during Matins the monk receives abundant tears. The success of this request spurred Walter, an Abbot from Villers, to make a similar solicitation. He sets out to make this request of a beguine but meets a different holy woman from Brabant and asks her that he might weep for his sins (*ut possim deflere peccata mea*). This was fulfilled in him even though the holy woman found the

¹⁶⁰ VJC, 459.

¹⁶¹ *Dialogus*, vol. 1, p. 434: 'Potest quis alteri tales obtinere lacrimis meritis sive precibus?'

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 436. (I want you to obtain for me the special grace of tears and devotion from God three times a week [during] the solemn vigils: that is, on the second day (i.e. Monday), the fifth day (Thursday) and Saturday, when the vigils are longer.)

Lord somewhat hardened to her request.¹⁶³ In the third case, Caesarius imparts the example of a monk who was the vehicle for the gift of tears demonstrating that it was not just women who could act as lachrymose intercessors.¹⁶⁴ Walter asks if he can receive the grace of tears after Mass and, in the same manner as above, it is given to him.¹⁶⁵ The anecdotes provided in these three chapters convey the message that those who seek the gift of tears with sincerity can obtain it through holy men and women who act as God's vessels. Caesarius informs his reader that this is because God does not repulse the prayers of those who truly love him.¹⁶⁶

A century later, Catherine of Siena questioned whether it was possible to achieve something similar to the perfection of tears if an individual found themselves unable to weep:

Restoti ora a dire, a soddisfare del desiderio tuo che m'ài adimandato, d'alcuni che vorrebbero la perfezione delle lagrime e non pare che la possino avere: acci altro modo che lagrima d'occhio? Sí: ècci uno pianto di fuoco, cioè di

¹⁶³ *Dialogus*, vol. 1, p. 440: 'Primo quidam Dominum durum inveni; sed dixi ei: "Domine, non evades manus meas, nisi monachus ille habeat gratiam lacrimarum". Et statim concessit tibi.' ("At first I found the Lord hard, but I said to him, 'Lord, you will not escape my hands, if this monk will not have the grace of tears.' Immediately, He granted it to you.")

This chapter is also important as it contains one of the first references to beguines.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 440-42. For a similar case see the *life* of Arnulf where he 'sends God' to another monk and this is manifested in abundant tears: Goswin of Bossut, 'Vita Arnulfi conversi', 622.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 440: "Volo ut obtineas mihi posset missam gratiam lacrimarum, quibus peccata mea deplangam"... Sequenti die cum post missas moram facerem ante quoddam altare, et essem solus in oratione, tanta mihi affuit abundantia lacrimarum, ut mirarer.' ("I want you to obtain for me the grace of tears [after] Mass that it is possible that I can bewail my sins"... The following day, when, after the Masses, I paused before a certain altar alone in prayer, I was greatly astonished by the abundance of tears flowed from me).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

vero e santo desiderio, il quale si consuma per affetto d'amore. Vorrebbe dissolvere la vita sua in pianto per odio di sè e salute dell'anime, e non pare che possa. Dico che costoro àno lagrima di fuoco, in cui piagne lo Spirito santo dinanzi a me per loro e per lo prossimo loro.¹⁶⁷

As with Julian of Norwich's notion of internal weeping, it became possible to weep without actually shedding tears. In the *Dialogo*, Catherine suggests that once the soul has been enflamed with holy desire tears were no longer necessary for a personal transition from one state to another and that the Holy Spirit was able to transform the desire of the individual into active work on behalf of those in need of salvation.¹⁶⁸

In contrast, during the thirteenth century the loss of tears was particularly disturbing. A physical manifestation of tears was crucial. Vito da Cortona recorded in his *vita* of Umiliana de' Cerchi that one day she was deeply troubled as she had had her ability to weep taken away.

Sed Deus volens aperire fervorem suum, non sibi tam cito se dedit, quem cum multo desiderio expectabat; imo quamdam duritiam præostendit, ut in devotione habere lacrymas non valerat. Quod ipsa ferre non sustinens, calcem propiis oculis apposuit: ita quod privari credidit lumine oculorum. Hoc egit, ut pius Deus pietate motus, ei pietatis lacrymas largiretur: et bene conscia sui timuit, ne hoc actum sit oculorum vitio. Et quia quandoque mortem suorum ploravit, vovit Deo se numquam producturam lacrymas, nisi ob memoriam peccatorum suorum, vel ob gratiam Dei vel Domini

¹⁶⁷ Catherine of Siena, *Il Dialogo*, p. 211. (It now remains to tell you, to satisfy your wish, of those who would like the perfection of tears but do not seem to be able to have it; is there another way than by means of the tears of the eye? Yes, it is a weeping of flame, that is of real and holy desire, consumed by the affection of love. She would like to dissolve her life in weeping for the hatred of herself and the salvation of souls, and it seems that she cannot. I say that these souls have tears of flame, in that the Holy Spirit weeps before me for them and for their neighbours.)

¹⁶⁸ See Webb, "Lacrime cordiali", pp. 99-112.

passionem. Post paucos dies tantam Deus infudit ei gratiam lacrymarum, ut non quasi lacrymæ viderentur, sed rivuli fluviorum.¹⁶⁹

Umiliana is recorded as being unable to achieve union with God and she reads the inability to shed tears as an estrangement from the divine.¹⁷⁰ The artificial manner in which Umiliana induces her tears might be read as transgressive and foolhardy as she risks blindness; however, as demonstrated above, tears were an important physical manifestation of grace for the holy woman as she forged a new path as a proto-tertiary. The removal of Umiliana's grace of tears was connected to her struggle to dissociate herself from her secular life. In the *vita* Vito explains that Umiliana admitted that she sometimes lamented the death of her kin rather than her sins.¹⁷¹ The transition to the religious life was challenging for Umiliana with respect to her familial and social role as a mourner.¹⁷² It was only when the holy woman vowed that she would never again weep

¹⁶⁹ See VUC, 389. (But God wanted to reveal her fervour and did not give himself, whom she awaited with such longing, to her so quickly; rather he showed her a certain hardness, for she was unable to weep at her devotions. She could not bear this and applied quicklime to her own eyes, so that she thought that she had blinded herself. She did this so that God, moved by pity, would grant her pious tears, and, well knowing herself, feared that this had happened because of the vice of her eyes. And because she sometimes lamented the death of her kin, she vowed to God that she would never weep in future unless because of the memory of her own sins or because of the grace of God or the Passion of the Lord. After a few days, God poured out on her such a great grace of tears that they seemed not tears but rivers)

¹⁷⁰ For a comprehensive analysis of this episode see Knight, '*Si puose calcina a' propi occhi*', pp. 136-55.

¹⁷¹ VUC, 389: Et quia quandoque mortem suorum ploravit

¹⁷² Knight, '*Si puose calcina a' propi occhi*', pp. 141-44 and Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 116-17.

in worldly lamentation that her grace of tears was restored.¹⁷³ Umiliana's desperate tear-inducing technique emphasises not only the importance that was placed upon shedding tears, but the importance of shedding the correct type of tears. Umiliana was able to channel her emotion from mourning to interior transformation.¹⁷⁴ The *Dialogus miraculorum* explains in more detail some other reasons why God might revoke the Gift of Tears:

Monachus: Tempore quodam Dominus, qui intentator est malorum, gratiam lacrimarum, quam illi copiose contulerat, subtraxit, unde satis tentabatur. Novicius: Antequam procedas, nosse vellum, cur Deus huiusmodi gratias viris iustis subtrahat. Monachus: Quatuor de causis videtur illa subtractio fieri, ne videlicet gratia assiduitate vilescat; ne meus de usu illius superbiat; ut cum maiori desiderio quaeratur, et recuperata diligentius custodiat; quarta causa est culpa veniali.¹⁷⁵

Caesarius' four-fold reasons for the removal of the gift of tears not only highlights that there was a clear distinction between tears offered up to God and those given by Him, but suggests that vainglory, a lack of sincerity and venial sins prevent the recipient from gaining this beatific foretaste of heaven. Umiliana's act in reclaiming her tears suggests how deeply she cherished the grace and should not be read as a deceitful or manipulative act.

¹⁷³ VUC, 389: vovit Deo se numquam producturam lacrymas, nisi ob memoriam peccatorum suorum.

¹⁷⁴ This supports Lansing's findings, see above p. 32.

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Finally, there are some *vitae* and canonisation proceedings that do not include tears in any way. In some *vitae* the absence of tears is particularly unusual. For example, Margaret of Oingt is not recorded as having shed tears but in her writings about her fellow sister, Beatrice of Ornacieux, there are several references to her lachrymose piety.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, tears are prevalent in the *vitae* of Francis of Assisi's companions and some even have chapters devoted to their tears, yet, they are curiously absent in Brother Ginepro's *life*.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, in the short *vita* of the Dominican royal saint Helen of Hungary (d.1298), the holy woman is not recorded as having shed tears although others weep at her deathbed.¹⁷⁸ This contrasts with the *vitae* of her sisters, Margaret of Hungary (d.1270) and Cunegund (d.1292) and her paternal Aunt Elizabeth of Hungary (d.1231) for whom tears are a reoccurring part of their piety.¹⁷⁹ Other *vitae*, such as

¹⁷⁵ *Dialogus*, vol. 2, pp. 746–48. (Monk: Once the Lord who is no tempter of the wicked, took away from him [a monk named Christian] the grace of tears, which he had bountifully bestowed on him, and this was a sore trial. (Novice): Before you go further, I should like to know why God takes away graces of this kind from holy men. (Monk): That withdrawal seems to me to have four causes: first, that the grace may not be cheapened by uninterrupted continuity; second, that the heart may not be lifted up by pride in its enjoyment; third, that it may be sought with greater eagerness, and may be cherished more diligently when regained; and the fourth cause is venial sin.)

¹⁷⁶ See appendix.

¹⁷⁷ 'Vita fratris Juniperi' [Ginerpro] *Analecta Franciscana*, 3 (1897), pp. 54-64.

For chapters devoted to tears see 'Vita fratris Massaei de Marignano,' *Analecta Franciscana*, 3 (1897), pp. 119-20; 'Vita fratris Christophori', *Analecta Franciscana*, 3 (1897), p. 162.

¹⁷⁸ 'Vita beatae Helenae Ungarae', AASS, 9 November IV (1925), 272-76. Note that the earliest copy of this *life* is from the early fifteenth century. See the *Commentarius praeuius*, 267-72.

¹⁷⁹ See appendix.

those of Ubaldesca of Pisa (d.1206) and the early Franciscan brother Andrew Caccioli of Spello (d.1254), are terse and it is possible that by virtue of space, their lacrimation was not included.¹⁸⁰ Likewise, in the short *vita* of Catherine of Louvain (d.c.1300), which is largely concerned with her conversion from Judaism to Christianity, there are few references to tears but they do not relate to Catherine or her conversion.¹⁸¹

Although it is difficult to account for the lack of tears in some *vitae* or canonisation proceedings, the absence affects only a small proportion of the lives produced during the thirteenth century.¹⁸² As a large proportion of the hagiographers are anonymous, it is challenging, if not impossible, to suggest why they may not have included them. Moreover, there are no instances in the *vitae* analysed here where a hagiographer of more than one *life* included tears in one *vita* and not another. Those saints who are not recorded as having shed tears not only often have terse *vitae* but, as a rule, often did not experience a significant *cultus* after death. In contrast, the most eminent founder saints of the days whose *vitae* would have been read widely, and whose canonisation proceedings ensured that they would be enrolled in the catalogue of saints, all contain descriptions of their tears.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Silvani Razzi, 'Vita' [of Ubaldesca], AASS, 28 May VI (Antwerp, 1688), 855-59; Thomas of Hispello, 'Vita [Andrew Caccioli of Spello]', AASS, 3 June I (Antwerp, 1695), 365. It should be noted that although Andrew was one of the early Franciscans, his *vita* may not have been written by Thomas of Hispello and what survives is an early modern publication.

¹⁸¹ 'Vita [of Catherine of Louvain]', AASS, 4 May I (Antwerp, 1680), 532-34.

¹⁸² See appendix.

¹⁸³ See appendix.

Conclusion

In the sea of tears that characterises the medieval period, the thirteenth century represents the high tide of lachrymal religiosity. Navigating this swell has been no straightforward task. Each teardrop in the vast ocean of hagiographical texts was imbued with meaning. As this thesis has demonstrated, the multivalence of tears allowed them to become soaked into the fabric of thirteenth-century holy life. Tears were expressions of contrition and penance, conversion and baptism, meditation and spiritual growth. They were also the manifestation of God's grace working in a holy vessel.

The swell of holy lacrimation occurred when tears moved outside the confines of the cloister walls and were open to men and women alike. This thesis has demonstrated how hagiographies and canonisation proceedings from this period were often saturated with descriptions of holy lachrymosity. Tears could be both imitated and admired and they traversed the boundary between earthly and divine. Lacrimation was both a sign of virtuous humanity and of divine habitation: tears could be offered up to God and given by Him.

Although descriptions of tears proliferated, they were not devalued. Tears were sought after, imitated, admired, cherished as relics, and helped to sanction canonisation. Although Nagy argues that tears were devalued on a spiritual scale in relation to higher bids of corporal piety, the evidence presented here suggests that tears were not devalued by their proliferation. Although Caesarius of Heisterbach expressed concerns that the

grace of tears would be revoked cheapened by uninterrupted continuity, this anxiety is rarely realised in saints' *vitae*.⁹²¹ Tears were not subsumed by the rare appearance of the stigmata nor any other bodily displays of piety. Indeed, as this thesis has demonstrated, tears often accompanied other forms of bodily piety and evolved to become part of blood piety. Whereas Nagy suggests that tears became mere virtues and were no longer signs of grace, it is evident that a charisma of tears was not diffused and lost. Tears were not devalued by those who shed, witnessed or wrote about them. In the thirteenth-century, those who wept were truly blessed.

⁹²¹ *Dialogus*, vol. 2, pp. 746–48.

Appendix 1: References to tears in thirteenth-century saints' *vitae* and canonisation processes¹

Name	Date of death	Date of composition (Date of text)	Edition	References to the saint's tears
Abundus of Villers	1239	c.1240s (1603 MS)	'De Vita Van Abundus Van Hofi', ed. A. M Frenken, <i>Cîteaux</i> , 10 (1959), 5-33.	14, 17, 19, 32.
Agnes Blannbekin	1315	14th C (18th C copy)	<i>Leben Und Offenbarungen der Wiener Begine Agnes Blannbekin</i> , ed. and trans. Peter Dinzelbacher and Renate Vogeler (Göppingen, 1994).	184, 348, 350, 466, 468, 470.
Agnes of Bohemia	1282	(14th C MS)	'Vita', AASS, 6 March I (Antwerp, 1668), 509-513.	511
Agnes of Montepulciano	1317	c.1350	Raymond of Capua, 'Vita', AASS, 20 April II (Antwerp, 1675), 792-813.	798, 803, 807.
Agnes of Assisi	1254		'Vita sororis Agnetis, germanae sanctae Clarae', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (1897), 173-82.	176
Albert of Messina	1307	1536	'Vita et miracula', AASS, 7 August II (Antwerp, 1735), 226-36.	227, 228, 230.
Alice the Leper	1250	(1630)	'Vita Aleydis', AASS, 11 June II, (Antwerp, 1698), 477-83.	478, 479, 481.
Alpais of Cudot	1211	13th C	'Vita B. Alpaidis', AASS, 1 November II (Brussels, 1894), 174-207.	175, 176, 177, 179, 180.
Ambrose Sansedoni	1287		'Vita S. Ambrogii', AASS, 20 March III (Antwerp, 1668), 181-201. 'Vita et miracula', AASS, 20 March III (Antwerp, 1668), 210-41.	182, 186, 193. 216.
Andrew of Gallerani	1251		'Vita Andreae de Galleranis', AASS, 19 March III (Antwerp, 1668), 52-57.	53
Angela of Foligno (1)	1309	1292-96	Angela of Foligno, <i>Memoriale</i> (Turnhout, 2010).	140, 152, 200, 302.

¹ Where information is not available or is uncertain the space has been left blank. The most recent printed editions of texts have been used where available.

Name	Date of death	Date of composition (Date of text)	Edition	References to the saint's tears
Angela of Foligno (2)		c.1320 (TAQ 1381).	Angela of Foligno, <i>Il Liber della beata Angela da Foligno</i> , ed. Enrico Menestò, 2 volumes (Spoleto, 2009), volume 1, pp. 96-171.	100, 156.
Anthony of Padua	1231	1232 (13th-15th C MSS) (15th C)	'Legenda prima', <i>Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae</i> , ed. L. de Kerval (Paris, 1904), pp. 23-114. 'Legenda 'benignitas', <i>Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae</i> , ed. L. de Kerval (Paris, 1904), pp. 207-71.	59, 71, 72. 225, 228, 229, 234.
Arnulf of Villers	1228	c.1228-1240	Goswin of Bossut, 'Vita Arnulfi conversi', AASS, 30 June V (Antwerp, 1709), 608-631.	614, 617, 619.
Augustine of Siena	1309		'Vita', AASS, 19 May IV (Antwerp, 1685) 616-21.	618
Beatrice of Nazareth	1268	end 13th C -1320.	<i>Vita Beatricis: The Life of Beatrice of Nazareth (1200-1268)</i> , ed. and trans. Roger De Ganck (Kalamazoo, 1991).	28, 30, 50, 52, 54, 58, 70, 80, 82, 100, 116, 144, 154, 166, 174, 186, 210, 320, 322.
Beatrice of Ornacieux	1303/09	TAQ 1310 (14th C MS)	Marguerite d'Oingt, 'Li via seiti Biatrice virgina de Ornaciu', <i>Les oeuvres de Marguerite d'Oingt</i> , ed. Antonin Duraffour, Pierre Gardette and Paulette Durdilly (Paris, 1965), pp.104-137.	104, 110, 122.
Benvenuta Bojani	1292	1292-1294 (1757 copy)	Conrad of Castellario, 'Vita', AASS, 29 October XIII (Paris, 1883), 152-85.	156, 160, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 172
Bernard of Quintavalle	1241		'Vita fratris Bernardi de Quintavalle', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (1897), pp. 35-45.	44, 45.
Bona of Pisa	1207/08		'Vita', AASS, 29 May VII (Antwerp, 1688), 145-64.	149
Bonaventure of Bagnoregio	1274		Petro Galesinio, 'Vita', AASS, 14 July III (Antwerp, 1723), 838-860.	842, 844, 850.

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Boniface of Lausanne	1260		'Vita', AASS, 19 February III (Antwerp, 1658), 155-59.	156, 159.
Carolus of Villers			'Vita', AASS, 29 January II (Antwerp, 1643), 977-80.	979
Chiara of Montefalco	1308	1318-19	<i>Il Processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco</i> , ed. Enrico Menestò (Florence, 1984).	6, 7, 8, 41, 124, 125, 165, 172, 189, 193, 195, 199.
Christina (Mirabilis) of St Trond	1224	1232	Thomas of Cantimpré, 'Vita Christinae mirabilis', AASS, 24 July V (Antwerp, 1727), 630-60.	655, 658, 659.
Christina Stumbelesensis	1312	1272-1282 (1289 MS)	Petrus de Dacia, <i>De Gratia Naturam Ditante sive de Virtutibus Christinae Stumbelesensis</i> , ed. Monika Asztalos (Stockholm, 1982). 'Vita', AASS, 22 June IV (Antwerp, 1707), 431-54.	171, 175. 431, 432, 436, 439, 440. 447, 449, 452, 454.
Christopher of Romandiola	c.1272		'Vita fratris Christophori', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (1897), 161-173.	162
Clare of Assisi	1253	1253 (15th C copy) 1255-60 (13th & 14th C MSS)	<i>Santa Chiara di Assisi i primi documenti ufficiali: Lettera di annunzio della sua morte, Processo e Bolla di canonizzazione</i> , ed. Giovanni Boccali (Perugia, 2002). <i>Sanctae Clarae virginis assisiensis: legenda latina</i> , ed. Giovanni Boccali and trans. [into Italian] Marika Bigaroni (Perugia, 2001). <i>Legende minores latine Sancte Clare virginis Assisiensis</i> , ed. and trans. Giovanni Boccali (Assisi, 2008).	111, 142, 160, 166, 170-1, 174, 177, 197. 134, 136, 138, 142, 144, 146, 152, 158, 162, 180, 186, 190, 192. 72, 74, 76, 86, 90, 96, 98, 204, 206, 278, 328, 352, 354, 356, 362, 368, 396, 398, 404, 412, 440, 442, 476, 496, 528, 530, 540, 612.
Contardo	1242		'Acta', AASS, 16 April II (Antwerp, 1675), 448-52.	449

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Cunegund	1292	1320-1339 (17th C copy of 1401 MS)	'Vita et miracula Sanctae Kyngae ducissae Cracoviensis', ed. X. Ketrzyski, <i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica</i> , 4 (1961), pp. 682-744.	686, 687, 695, 706, 708, 713, 719.
Dauphine of Puimichel	1360	14th C 1360-63	<i>Les vies occitanes de Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine</i> , trans. Jacques Cambell (Rome, 1963). <i>Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel, comtesse d'Ariano (+ 26-XI-1360): Apt et Avignon, 14 mai-30 octobre 1363</i> , ed. Jacques Cambell (Turin, 1978).	138, 142, 148, 150, 180, 186, 200, 202, 226. 49, 50, 55, 259, 260, 265, 266, 280, 281, 285, 486, 487.
Diana d'Andalo	1236	1222-1236 (Late 16th C MS)	<i>Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen, des zweiten Dominikanergenerals (1222-37)</i> , ed. Berthold Altaner (Leipzig, 1925). Thomas Malvenda, 'Vita B. Dianæ', AASS, 10 June II (Antwerp, 1698), 363-68.	7, 15, 41, 44, 56. 366.
Douceline of Digne	1274	(14th C MS)	<i>La vie de Sainte Douceline texte provençal du XIVe siècle</i> , ed. R. Gout (Paris, 1927).	63, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 107, 129, 136, 140, 141, 142, 198, 199, 200, 205.
Edmund of Canterbury	1240	1247-53 (early 14th C) 1241-1246	Matthew of Paris, 'Vita S. Edmundi', <i>St Edmund of Abingdon: a study in hagiography and history</i> , ed. C. H. Lawrence (Oxford, 1960), pp. 222-89. [Letters to support the Canonisation of Edmund] 'Epistolae', <i>Thesaurus novus anecdotorum</i> , III, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris, 1717), 1888-1916.	224, 232, 235, 248, 269. 1906, 1910, 1911.
Elena Enselmini	1231	15th C	Siccone Polentono, 'Vita et Visiones B. Helenae', AASS, 4 November II (I) (Brussels, 1894), 512-17.	514
Elisabeth of Spalbeek	1304		Philip of Clairvaux, 'Vita Elizabeth sanctimonialis in Erkenrode', <i>Catalogus Codicum hagiographicum Bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis</i> , 2 volumes (Brussels, 1886), volume 1, pp. 362-79.	366, 374.
Elizabeth of Hungary	1231	c.1233 1235	Conrad of Marburg, 'Vita et miracula', <i>Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth Landgräfin von Thüringen</i> (Marburg, 1908), pp. 155-239. <i>Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth Landgräfin von Thüringen</i> , ed. A. Huyskens (Marburg, 1908), pp. 110-140. 'Processus et ordo canonizationis beate Elyzabet propter quorumdam detractiones et calumpnias', <i>Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth Landgräfin von Thüringen</i> , ed. A. Huyskens (Marburg, 1908), pp. 140-146.	157, 162, 173. 121, 122, 124, 126, 137. 145, 146.
Elzear of Sabran	1323	1323	'Vita sancti Elzearii de Sabrano', AASS, 27 September VII (Antwerp, 1760), 576-94.	580, 581, 585, 588, 591-92.

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Engelbert of Cologne	1225	TAQ c.1240	Caesarius of Heisterbach, 'Vita', AASS, 7 November III (Brussels, 1910), 644-81.	653, 654.
Facio of Cremona	c.1272	1582 copy of 13th C MS lost in 18th C	'Sainteté laïque au XIIIe siècle: la Vie du B. Facio de Crémone (v.1196-1272)', ed. A. Vauchez, <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome</i> , 84 (1) (1972), 13-53.	40
Fina di San Gimignano	1253		Giovanni del Coppo, 'Vita', AASS, 12 March II (Antwerp, 1668), 236-42.	237
Franca di Piacenza	1218		Bertramo Reoldo, 'Acta', AASS, 25 April III (Antwerp, 1675), 382-99.	386, 388.
Francis of Assisi	1226	1228-29 1234-35 1230-35 (mid-13th C MS) 1260-63 1260-63	Thomas of Celano, 'Vita prima S. Francisci', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 10 (1941), 1-115. Thomas of Celano, 'Vita secunda S. Francisci', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 10 (1941), 127-268. Julian of Speyer, 'Vita S. Francisci', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 10 (1941), 335-71. Henry of Avranches, 'Legenda Versificata', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 10 (1941), 407-521. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, 'Legenda maior S. Francisci', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 10 (1941), 555-652. 'Legenda minor S. Francisci', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 10 (1941), 653-678.	12. 137, 187, 195, 204, 205, 220. 337. 497. 562, 564, 580, 587, 603. 656, 657, 676, 677
Gandulf of Binasco	1260	(1632)	Jacob of Narnia, 'Dialogus de vita', AASS, 17 September V (Antwerp, 1755), 704-6.	705
Gherardesca of Pisa	1260/67		'Vita', AASS, 29 May VII (Antwerp, 1688), 165-180.	165, 166, 169, 170, 176, 177, 180.
Gilbert of Sempringham	1189	c.1202 (early & mid-late 13th C & 15th C MSS)	<i>The Book of St Gilbert</i> , ed. R. Foreville and G. Keir (Oxford, 1987).	64, 86, 109.

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Giles of Assisi	1262	(14th & 15th C MSS)	'Vita fratris Aegidii, viri sanctissimi et contemplativi', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (Quaracchi, 1897), pp. 74-113.	79, 81, 90,
Giovanni Bono	1249	1251-54 (18th C copy)	'Vita', AASS, 22 October IX (Antwerp, 1668), 748-67. 'Processus canonizationis', AASS, 22 October IX (Antwerp, 1668), 771-814.	750, 752. 772, 773, 782, 788, 789, 807, 815, 817, 818, 822, 823, 832, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 851.
Giuliana Collalto	1262		'Vita', AASS, 1 September I (Antwerp, 1746), 312-17.	315, 316.
Godfrey the Sacristan	1200		'Vita' AASS, 2 October II (Antwerp, 1768), 534-37.	535
Gosbert of Aspremont	1263	c.1263	'Vita Goberti Asperimontis', AASS, 20 August IV (Antwerp, 1739), 377-95.	388, 391, 393.
Hugh of Bonnevaux	1194	1221	'Mittunt depositiones testinm de miraculis sancti Hugonis abbatis Bonorum-vallium', <i>Thesaurus novus anecdotorum</i> , I, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris, 1717), 888-83.	892
Hugh of Lincoln	1200	c.1206-1212 (1350-1400 & 15th C MSS)	Adam of Eynsham, <i>Magna vita sancti Hugonis: The Life of Hugh of Lincoln</i> , ed. Decima Douie and D. Hugh Farmer, 2 volumes (London, 1985).	(vol. 1) 23, 28, 35, 58. (vol. 2) 90, 164, 199.
Ida of Leau	1270		'Vita Idae Lewensis', AASS, 29 October VIII (Brussels, 1853), 107-124.	110, 113, 121.
Ida of Louvain	1261		'Vita beatae Idae Lovaniensis', AASS, 13 April II (Antwerp, 1675), 157-189.	164, 168, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181.
Ida of Nivelles	1231	1230s	Goswin of Bossut, 'Vita Idae Niuellensis', <i>Qvinque Prvdentes Virgines</i> , ed. P. F. Chrysostome Henriquez (Antwerp, 1630), 197-297.	204, 205, 206, 217, 221, 222, 223, 227, 228, 250, 258, 259. 260, 261, 273, 275, 276, 285.

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James of Venice	1314		'Vita', AASS, 31 May VII (Antwerp, 1688), 460-74.	464, 465, 469.
John of Cantimpré	1210	1223-28	Thomas of Cantimpré, 'Une oeuvre inédite de Thomas de Cantimpré, la "Vita Ioannis Cantipratensis"', ed. Robert Godding, <i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i> , 76 (1981), 257-316.	265, 282, 305, 305, 312, 315.
John of Montmirail	1217		Auctaria in 'Commentarius praeuius', AASS, 29 September VIII (Antwerp, 1762), 186-218. 'Vita Iohannis de Monte-Mirabili', AASS, 29 September VIII (Antwerp, 1762), 218-35.	214. 223, 229.
Jordan of Saxony	1237	1256-1259	Gerard Frchet, <i>Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum</i> , ed. B. M. Reichert, <i>MOPH</i> , 1 (1896), pp. 99-146.	105, 106, 108, 109, 114, 115, 121, 122.
Juliana of Mont-Cornillon	1258	1261-64	'Vita Iulinae Corneliensis', AASS, 5 April I (Antwerp, 1675), 437-77.	450, 453, 455, 456, 458, 459, 471, 475.
Leo of Assisi	c.1270		'Vita fratris Leonis,' <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (1897), pp. 65-74.	65, 67, 70, 72, 73.
Louis IX	1270	1295-1297	William of Chartres, 'Vita et miracula sancti Ludovici regis Francorum', AASS, 25 August V (1741), 559-68.	560
Louis of Toulouse	1297	(14th-15th C)	'Processus Canonizationis sancti Ludovici episcopi Tolosani', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 7 (1951), pp. 1-254. John de Orta, 'Vita sancti Ludovici episcopi Tolosani; Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M., episcopi Tolosani', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 7 (1951), pp. 335-80.	45, 101, 110, 131. 341, 346.
Luchesius Modestini	1260	c.1300	'Note e documenti intorno a S. Lucchese', ed. Martino Bertagna, <i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i> , 62 (1969), 452-57.	453, 454, 456.
Lukardis of Oberweimar	1309	(14th C)	'Vita venerabilis Lukardis', <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 18 (1899), 305-467.	311, 322, 324, 331, 337, 341, 347, 459.
Lutgard of Aywieres	1246	1246-48	Thomas of Cantimpré, 'Vita S. Lutgardis', AASS, 16 June III (Antwerp, 1701), 231-263.	238, 243, 244, 245, 245, 246, 252, 253, 254, 258.

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Margaret of Faenza	1330		'Vita', AASS, 26 August V (Antwerp, 1741), 847-51. Joannus Faventino 'Revelationes et Miracula', AASS, 26 August V (Antwerp, 1741), 851-54.	849, 850. 852.
Margaret of Hungary	1270		Garinus, 'Vita Margaritae Hungaricae (Legenda minor)', AASS, 28 January II (Antwerp, 1643), 900-06.	900, 901, 902, 903.
Margaret of Ypres	1237	1240-43	Thomas of Cantimpré, 'Vita Margarete de Ypres', ed. G. Meerseman, <i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> , 18 (1948), 106-30.	107, 108, 111, 114, 115, 117, 118.
Margherita of Cortona	1297		Giunta Bevegnati, <i>Legenda de Vita et Miraculis Beatae Margaritae de Cortona</i> , ed. Fortunato Iozzelli (Rome, 1997).	181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 201, 206 207, 211, 212, 213, 214 215, 218, 220, 221, 225, 226, 227, 237, 241, 242, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 263, 265, 275, 277, 285, 289, 290, 296, 310, 311, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 329, 334, 336, 337, 339, 346, 357, 367, 382, 389, 403, 407, 413, 420, 422, 430, 431, 437, 441
Masseo of Marignano			'Vita fratris Massaei de Marignano', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (1897), pp. 115-20.	118, 119, 120.
Nicholas of Tolentino	1305	1305	Peter of Monterubbiano, 'Vita et miracula Nicolai Tolentinatis', AASS, 10 September III (1750), 644-64. <i>Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino</i> , ed. N. Occhioni (Rome, 1984).	647, 652, 655, 656. 90, 100, 119, 209, 213, 224, 251, 265, 270, 404, 410.
Novellone of Faenza	1280	15th C	'Una Vita del Beato Nevolone faentino, terziario francescano', ed. F. Lanzoni, <i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i> , 6 (1913), 645-53.	649

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Odilia of Liege	1220	(15th C MS)	'Vitae B. Odiliae Viduae Leodiensis Libri Duo Priores', <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 13 (1894), 197-287.	203, 214, 215, 227, 231, 252, 256.
Odo of Novara	1200		'Documenta de B. Odone Novariensi, Ordinis Carthusiani', <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 1 (1882), 323-54.	326, 345, 346, 349.
Peter of Morrone (Celestine V)	1296	1306 1306 (14th C MS)	'Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozess in dem Codex zu Sulmona', ed. F. X. Seppelt, <i>Monumenta Coelestiniana: Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstes Coelestin V</i> (Paderborn, 1921), pp. 211-334. 'S. Pierre Célestin et ses premiers biographes', <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 16 (1897), 365-487.	211, 212, 215, 291, 312. 394, 407, 417, 422.
Raymond the Palmer	1200		'Vita', AASS, 28 July VI (Antwerp, 1729), 644-57.	645, 647, 648, 649, 653.
Richard of Chichester	1253	13th C	Ralph Bocking, 'Vita', AASS, 3 April I (Antwerp, 1675), 282-318.	294, 300.
Ruffino of Assisi		13th C	'Vita fratris Rufini, consanguinei sanctae Clarae', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (Quaracchi, 1897), pp. 46-54.	51
Simon of Assisi			'Vita fratris Simonis de Assiso', <i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 3 (Quaracchi, 1897), pp. 159-61.	160
Thomas of Cantilupe	1282	1307	'Compendium Vitae ex Processu Canonizationis', AASS, 2 October I (Antwerp, 1765), 599-609.	603
Umiliana dei Cerchi	1246	1246	Vito da Cortona, 'Vita beatae Humilianae de Cerchis', AASS, 19 May IV (Antwerp, 1685), 386-401.	388, 389, 390, 394, 395.
Umilta of Faenza	1310		'Vita', AASS, 22 May V (Antwerp, 1685), 205-12.	206, 208, 209, 210, 211.
Vanna of Orvieto	1306	(14th C MS)	<i>La "Legenda" di Vanna da Orvieto</i> , ed. and trans. Emore Paoli and Luigi G. G. Ricci (Spoleto, 1996).	145, 146.
Verdiana	1236/42	c. 1420	'Vita', AASS, 1 February I (Antwerp, 1658), 257-63.	258, 260, 261.
William of Bourges	1209	(13th C MS)	'Vita S. Guillelmi archiepiscopi Bituricensis', <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 3 (1884), 274-350. 'Canonizatio Sancti Gulielmi', <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 3 (1884), 350-61.	277, 278, 282, 284, 292, 293, 307, 316, 318, 322. 352, 354.

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Yvette of Huy	1228	c.1229	Hugh of Floreffe, 'Vita beatae Juettae', AASS, 13 January I (Antwerp, 1643), 864-87.	864, 872, 874-86, 878, 881, 884.
Zita of Lucca	1278	c.1278 (1380 copy)	'Vita sanctae Zitae virginis', AASS, 27 April III (Antwerp, 1675), 499-510.	503, 505, 506.

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