

SAD TOPICS: AN OUTLINE FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL SADNESS

Tristes tópicos: esboços para uma história do entristecimento medieval¹

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Abstract:

Centered on the study of medieval saddening, the present article focuses on the understanding of the historical relation between emotion and society. To achieve this goal, I present concepts and methodologies from the field of history of emotions, while making an analysis of rhetorical topics and semantics of medieval texts written by members of the clergy and made available today through vast digital databases. This approach – positioned at the crossroads of the fields of history of emotions, *writing practices*, social studies, and digital humanities – allows us to set the boundaries of the formation and affirmation of a salvific emotive regime and of the emotional communities inside ecclesiastical communities. At the closing of this analysis, I will be able to sketch the historical establishment of a relation between sadness and social order. To many medieval members of the clergy, being sad was a sign of spiritual rectitude which should guide certain mundane actions of the community of faith. This community should, then, remain aware of the injustices committed against its members, either individually or collectively. This, in conclusion, brings to light a form of ecclesiology based on becoming sad.

Keywords: Social history of emotions; ecclesiology; rhetoric; digital humanities.

Resumo:

Centrado no estudo do entristecimento medieval, o presente artigo visa à compreensão histórica da articulação entre emoção e sociedade. Para tanto, são apresentados conceitos e metodologias oriundos dos estudos históricos das emoções, bem como se realiza análise tópica e semântica de vastas bases de dados congregando importantes coleções de textos medievais redigidos por membros do clero. Tal abordagem, situada entre história das emoções, das práticas escritas, das relações sociais e as humanidades digitais, permite conhecer e delimitar a formação e a afirmação de um regime emotivo salvífico, bem como de comunidades emocionais centradas em comunidades eclesiais. Ao final do percurso analítico é possível esboçar o estabelecimento histórico de uma relação entre entristecimento e ordem social: o entristecimento era, para muitos clérigos medievais, um sinal da retidão espiritual que deveria conduzir certas ações mundanas da comunidade de fé; comunidade essa que deveria, por sua vez, permanecer sensível às injustiças cometidas contra seus membros ou suas coletividades. Desse modo, estabeleceu-se uma forma de eclesiologia emotiva pautada pelo entristecimento.

Palavras-Chave: História social das emoções; eclesiologia; retórica; humanidades digitais.

1. Do emotions have history?

Do emotions have a history? Not a few people would answer no to this question, declaring that feelings like joy and sorrow were always present among human beings. Many would also say that this is a universal characteristic of humankind, associated to our nature. It is not uncommon, in this sense, to associate emotions to a certain primitive character of our experience in this planet: people and societies which are markedly emotional would generally be seen as primitive, primeval, or childish – in opposition to people and societies supposedly civilized, developed, or adult. This is a polarity that propagates, as a scientific truth, the desire of separation and distinction between reason and emotion, valuing the first positively over the second; a conflict recently made present in Western society, in literature and science, raising the individual to the position of emotional *locus*. Therefore, the emotions experienced individually in the West would always have existed in all human societies spread on the globe, whether in the present day or in the past, even the most remote one. Supposed masters of emotions, we think that our psychological therapies, pharmacological drugs, and image technologies allow us to know everything about emotions, to better dominate them. If emotions are universal, dominating a person's emotions means not only to dominate his or her humanity, but Humanity itself. From the domination of inner emotions, we reach the control of people and societies.

However seductive this conception of emotion might seem, nowadays we – who live in a sort of “Extreme West” (ROUQUIÉ, 1991) – know that such arguments reveal, in truth, the historicity of a widespread, evolutionary, individualist, and present-day view of emotions. This complex articulation of characteristics became hegemonic in the West after the 19th century and suffered strong expansion in the 20th century. Even if the dualistic principle in its base has already been criticized by Western scholars like Descola (2005) and Damasio (1996) (especially the dualities nature/culture and emotion/reason), other pathways were suggested by scholars coming from different cultural horizons. That is the case, for instance, of Ailton Krenak and his battle against the “superficial, globalizing narrative that wants to tell us always the same story” (2020, p. 19). This narrative is centered in an excluding, Western notion of humanity that, according to Krenak, not only produced (and still does) the destruction of cultural diversity and of

different forms of thinking and feeling the world, but is also the basis of the current process of destruction of the planet.

After these introductory remarks, the present article starts from another answer to the initial question: yes, emotions have history. This does not mean that the historical character of a study of emotions consists in identifying past forms of, for example, happiness or sadness. Here, the intention is to ponder on the actual status of our object of study. I say “object” because, from the start, in a proper historical study, the researcher has no guarantee that past historical agents would understand happiness or sadness as being emotions (for example, if today the term “blessed” is not clearly emotional, the Latin term *beatus* carries an emotional sense, happiness, during Western Middle Age). In this sense, the historical study of emotions must start from a very clear premise: constructionism (HACKING, 2000). The ensuing consequence from this premise is that an emotion is never restricted to the dominion of Nature, because it is the result of a historical process that sets affection in the cultural field; in temporal terms, all emotion is circumstantial. Therefore, in a dialectic movement, the study of emotions leads to a better understanding of a certain social organization in the same sense that the study of a certain society allows us to observe the functioning of emotions at a certain time.

The affirmation of the historicity of emotions leads us to another question: how do we know what people felt years, decades, centuries ago? When trying to give an answer to this question, it is necessary to examine some conceptual and methodological considerations before I examine a case study that helps us glimpse, even if initially, some concrete answers.

Concepts

First, it is necessary to realize the close connection between emotion and cognition. To fear something, for example, implies a certain knowledge: knowing this something can cause pain, threaten our joy or even our existence. The same thing can be said about anger: we feel ire when facing something that is opposed to our will and desires. In both cases, it is necessary that our bodies “read” the world around us, through its stimuli. This “reading,” more than instinctive, is the result of a cognitive system

without which the existence of an emotion might be put in jeopardy, even to the point of making it impossible to exist.

Rosenwein (2006), in dialogue with the proposal of Reddy (2001), relates emotions to judgements, values, and goals. A form of opinion about something, an emotion is never exclusively the result of an idiosyncrasy; it is pierced by social interactions, placing the emotive beings inside a network of meanings that are, at the same time, both given and in constant construction.

“Emotions (...) are "upheavals of thoughts" – as Nussbaum has put it – that involve judgements about whether something is good or bad for us. These assessments depend, in turn, upon our values, goals, and presuppositions – products of our society, community, and individual experience...”
(ROSENWEIN, 2006, p. 191)

The cognitive act present in every emotion presupposes the possibility of decoding external signs and translating them into a form of communication, especially learning. According to a certain “economic pedagogy of fear,” we are taught to be afraid of certain economic policies and not others. Therefore, we are led to accept the plague of economic austerity policies (social security reforms, limit on state expenditure, payment of public debt, etc.) for fear that the current social order may collapse due to a fiscal apocalypse that would take us to hell on earth. In other terms, to save ourselves and find happiness (beatitude, in a certain sense) we accept the suffering caused by the austerity that will purge the economic errors (sins, in a certain sense) committed by our “fathers.”

If this pondering on the role of emotions in the current day economic and political practices – “evolved”, “civilized”, and “rational” – might seem strange to some readers, it could be easier for them to accept the supposed medieval “emotional childishness” (BLOCH, 1982), that produced what has been called “theological pedagogy of fear”, to explain the domination of the Church over medieval society (DELUMEAU, 1993)... Irony aside, in both cases we find something similar: fear as something collectively learned (creation of emotional consensus) based in a manner of knowing the world (either economically or theologically).

Two authors, responsible for key changes in the field of historical research on remote temporalities, explain more clearly what I have tried to express here.

“... emotions can be regarded as overlearned cognitive habits; they are involuntary (automatic) in the short run in the same sense that such cognitive habits are, but may similarly be learned and unlearned over a longer time frame. However, the learning of what we conventionally call emotions must often involve both deep goal relevance and mental control.” (REDDY, 2001, p. 32)

“People train themselves to have feelings that are based on their beliefs. At the same time, feelings help to create, validate, and maintain belief systems.” (ROSENWEIN, 2006, p. 196)

Cognition, learning, goals, control, and beliefs: here are some of the key conceptual elements of the current historical study of emotions. These studies no longer place the individuals, but societies, on the center of attention of the researchers. Therefore, starting from these premises, a history of emotions must be, in my view, a *social* history of emotions. In social relations we find the functioning of a certain given historical emotion: knowing, learning, setting goals, controlling, and believing always presuppose the interactions between parts of a whole, a form of communication. In this sense, one can say that an emotion communicates something socially, therefore there is no emotion without its social expression (a fact that questions any exclusively physiological approach to emotions). Among the several forms of communication, one has received greater attention of researchers of emotions, and will be the focus of the case study to be presented later: verbal language.

In face of this theoretical background, a methodological and conceptual question is a must: how can emotions be analyzed through verbal communication? Little over two decades ago, William Reddy forged a key concept for the historical study of emotions: the “emotives.” According to the author, “emotional expressions, which I call emotives, are like performatives in that they do something to the world” (REDDY, 2001, p. 111). In fact, the verbalization of emotions makes emotives “instruments for directly changing, building, hiding, intensifying emotions, instruments that may be more or less successful.” (REDDY, 2001, p. 105). While “speech acts” (notion created by J. L. Austin, taken by Reddy and key to his reflection on the way emotions are expressed – translated, according to him – in words), the emotives are neither false nor true, they act out something in the world (REDDY, 2001, p. 97).

The emotive concept steer us away from a dichotomic approach to emotions, an approach marked by, on the one hand, a supposed interior individual sincerity and, on the

other hand, by the supposed false emotive appearance present on the exterior social game. The emotives allow us to realize that, be them either false or true, emotions not only exist in the world (therefore, outside bodies but related to them) but also act in it, altering human history.

The more attentive reader has already realized that the emotive concept allows us to rephrase the question of an existing dichotomy between the inner emotion and its outer expression. Instead of starting from a premise that separates the two instances, it demonstrates and affirms the principle that there is no emotion without its expression; expressions not only take part on emotions, they constitute elements of affectivity, of the emotive experience itself. This is what happens when, for instance, I say: “I, a medievalist, hate the Middle Ages.” More than describing truthfully or untruthfully my inner personal emotions, this speech act provokes the listener/reader, who can now pose to himself or herself some questions: Do I also hate the Middle Ages? Why would someone hate the Middle Ages? How can someone affirm to hate the Middle Ages on a journal about the Middle Ages? How can a medievalist hate the Middle Ages? Does he really hate the Middle Ages? These and many other questions can be posed from my emotional utterance; all of them depend less on the interior affective truth the sentence holds relating to the emitter and more on the social and cultural relations implied on this emotive. Relations that are cognitive (one needs to know the English language to read and understand the utterance), educational (we learn to love or hate the Middle Ages), agentive (the goal of someone who hates is destruction), and normative (one hopes that a researcher controls his/her emotions). All these forms of sociocultural relations are anchored on the belief that hate is negatively valued in our society. More than revealing my personal emotivity, the sentence allows us to observe the network of collectively shared meanings that a certain emotion holds in our society.

We are now very far from the understanding that to know an emotion is to investigate an individual psychically, physiologically, chemically, as a body outside its social relations (inside a lab, for instance). Therefore, more than looking for a supposed individual truth of emotions, Reddy’s emotives allow us to reach for the actions of emotions in societies. Thus, the reference for the study of an emotion is not ontological anymore, but historical, relating to the “(1) descriptive appearance, (2) relational intent,

and (3) self-exploring and self-altering” (REDDY, 2001, p.111) of an emotion on a certain time and space.

More than that, even! We can say there is no emotion outside time, as well as saying there is no emotion outside space. Every historical agent is born into a network of meanings that are in constant state of change; it must be stressed, however, that the emotional commonplace of an age is only eternal while it lasts. In the example above, the commonplace is that hate is something negative; it is expressed in a language, against objects that are also hated by those close to us; it is focused on the elimination of something; it cannot be expressed by researchers, specially by those researchers that study the hated object. Thus, I think that the constructivist approach to emotions (guided by the study of the ways they are constructed historically *hic et nunc*) does not rule out the perception of the existence of a network of emotive meanings that are shared by a determined group of people since the birth of the individuals of this group. The emotional commonplace is a considerable part of the historical study of emotions, because, like Rosenwein said, “commonplaces are socially true even if they may not be individually sincere (...) they are *emotives*” (ROSENWEIN, 2006, p. 193)

Methodology

What has been said up to this point relates to the way we understand emotions today, and not to the way medieval authors understood what many, then, associated to movements of the soul, a very complex and diverse theme (see, for instance, BOQUET; NAGY, 2015). This article does not have the aim of studying the general terms of the medieval conceptions of emotions (not even analyzing the pertinence of the term, or lack thereof, at the time); the following pages will be dedicated to a specific case study centered in one emotion. To do so, some methodological operations will be carried out, in dialogue with Rosenwein’s suggestions. The following table presents some of this author’s practical propositions for the historical study of emotions and the way these propositions communicate with the case study done here.

<i>Rosenwein (2011)</i>	<i>Case study analyzed here, starting from:</i>
Delimit a series of documents of the same emotive group;	Clerical production;
Measure the relative importance of each emotive and know is discursive functions;	Most common and everyday use of words and emotives;
Search for the value of an emotion in the documents studied;	Discursive contexts and meanings that mark the use of saddening in clerical documentation;
Search for the sociability expressed by emotions;	Historical agents associated with being sad;
Aim for a total history.	Becoming sad as a converging point of complex social and cultural relations.

2. Sad topics

Writing medieval suffering: the case of being sad

Many are the forms of suffering experienced throughout history². For the medieval period, a possible typology arises from the historiographic reading that already focused on the study of medieval suffering, stressing the importance of this emotivity for medieval society (ZOMBORY-NAGY; EL KENZ; GRÄSSLIN; FRANDON, 1994; ROSS, 1997). Many times, suffering was studied in relation to other emotions, especially in relation to sadness and grief (SLOTENMAKER, 2016; SILVA, 2011). Dignified, adequate suffering, especially in theatre and courtly “literature,” or in the writings of authors like Chaucer, can be seen as a privileged form of the verbal expression of this sensibility (DUMITRESCU, 2017; O’CONNELL, 1996; ROCHER, 1994; SOUTO ESPASANDIN; GUTIÉRREZ GARCÍA, 2005). Personal pain also deserved the attention of researchers, in special its articulation with the notion of transformation (KALAS-WILLIAMS, 2020). It is not surprising, therefore, that the study of suffering gave great attention to the body. In this case, bodily suffering led researchers to reflect on health and gender, but also on physical pain inflicted on animals (ROFFEY, 2020; GRAHAM, 2018; VARGAS, 2016).

From the physical to the mystical body, the suffering of Christ evidenced by the passion of the crucifixion is an important topic in medieval studies (WILSON, 2016).

From there, it is no wonder that the spiritual dimension of suffering gained strength through moral values like mercy and compassion (BLOWERS, 2010). Through the spiritualization of pain, a whole universe of the theology of suffering is opened to medievalists, especially from the writings of Thomas Aquinas and Meister Eckhart (MOWBRAY, 2009). One can see that approaches to suffering in the medieval world were wide and varied. However, some fields still receive little attention, such as social suffering and the relation between suffering and the Church (REID, 2002; PONTROUÉ, 1993). It is this ecclesial and social dimension that I will examine on the following pages, through the study of a form of suffering, which is to become sad.

Among the several forms of sadness present in Latin Christian tradition, *contristare* (saddening) has particular interest because it refers not only to the emotive state itself, but also to the way it is reached. Augustine, in his *City of God* (9,5), affirms that “any right-thinking person would find fault with anger at a wrongdoer which seeks his amendment, or with sadness which intends relief to the suffering, or with fear lest one in danger be destroyed”³. Such use reveals another important aspect of this emotion: in the passage above, one does not see the sadness of the oppressed, but the fact that one can (or even should) become sad (sadden) when facing the oppression suffered by others; *contristare* and its passive form *constristari* act through what we know today as “empathy,” a markedly social sensibility that depends on the contact with other persons (or other living beings) to exist. It is not a coincidence that Rosenwein, translates the term into *feel sympathy for* on her list of ciceronian and patristic emotive Latin words (Rosenwein, 2006, p. 52). Augustinian expression, however, does not initiate a long exegetic tradition, being used just once in all the writings of this author and retaken only three other times in all the documentation analyzed here (on the o corpus for analysis used on this article, see below): the *De districtione monachorum* by Eutropius of Valencia (6th-7th centuries), the *De regis persona et regio ministerio* by Hincmar of Reims (806-882), and the *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate* (q. 26 a. 7 s. c. 2), by Thomas Aquinas (c.1224-1274).

I arrive at an important methodological-theoretical point: the study of medieval emotives must take into consideration the exegetic practices and, consequently, the rhetoric responsible for the creation, circulation, and efficacy of emotions and their acts of speech. Trying to understand the number of times an emotive is repeated (or altered)

along time can lead to a more precise history of emotions, demonstrating more clearly the role of the commonplace in the social affirmation of certain emotions⁴.

Current information technology offers a new and promising form of articulation between history of emotions and rhetoric studies. Today, there are tools that allow us to identify, exhaustively and with little loss of quality, different dimensions of writing practices, among them the topic. Huge documental *corpora*, composed of millions of words from different editions of medieval texts, are available and can be examined on the Internet. The *corpora* are not just available for consultation as books on a physical library, but constitute databases that can be researched for specific words and expressions with different tools and search engines. It is not something totally new, since the study of words through computational tools goes back to the indexation of Thomistic vocabulary coordinated by Busa during the 1940s. In addition, after the 1970s – with the establishment of the first digitalized documental *corpora* – researchers begin to make factor analysis of the words and their semantic study⁵.

Such computational advances were more commonly associated with traditional historical schools, like philology; theoretical and technological roadblocks led researchers to give less attention to topic and to rhetoric, especially in the exegetic studies of medieval religious tradition. A history of emotions studied through the attention given to emotives and to lists of words offers a theoretical and conceptual background that values the topic as a discursive element, full of social significance. In this sense, the establishment of the emotive commonplace along the centuries goes beyond the frontiers of writing and reaches the societies that chose to practice them, as acts of speech that are meaningful to the collective experiences of life. Therefore, the present article argues that, dialectically, the emotives have their meanings based on commonplace rhetoric that is responsible for the constitution of certain affectionate commonplace expressions that are historically anchored in the societies which produced these emotives.

The theoretical-methodological principles presented here can be translated into a research question: what was the importance of becoming sad during the medieval period? We can, and should, modulate this question according to documental, chronological, geographical, social, typological, and other criteria. On the following pages I will try to offer an initial analysis of the usage of emotives associated with saddening, in a context at the same time wide and restricted: wide, for the great range of different temporalities,

geography, and social context; restricted, because it is centered on documentation written in Latin, fundamentally western, religious, and especially clerical.

The case study done here made use of the database *Corpus Corporum* organized by the researchers of Zurich University, and available at <https://mlat.uzh.ch/>. In October 2021, time of the realization of this research, the database possessed over 160 million words, over eight thousand works of around 2,800 ancient, medieval, and renaissance authors⁶. The database was composed, at that time, of 26 important documental collections: *Libri sacri*, *Aristotelis Physica latine versa*, *Patrologia Latina*, *Auctores scientiarum varii*, *Latinitas antiqua*, Rinascimento, Richard Rufus Project, *Croatiae auctores Latini*, *Neolatinitas*, *Philosophica*, *Hagiographica*, *Itinera*, *Grammatici Latini*, *Theologica*, *Poetica*, *Antiquitas posterior*, *Historica*, *Versiones latinae*, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici*, *Encyclopaediae*, *Latinità Italiana del Medioevo*, *Monumenta*, *Mathematica*, *Mirabile Digital Library*, *Dissertationes*, *Graeca miscellanea*. In this documental *corpus* there were 6,455 occurrences of “saddening” (the verb *contristare* and the noun *contristatio*). A total of 407 (about 6% of the total) of these occurrences relate to five biblical passages, appearing to be the most recurring emotives in the entire database, real expression of commonplace medieval religious emotivity. Even if we take into consideration the methodology of the research (word search – a practice strengthened by decades of academic use of indexes, and potentialized by the refinement of the markup languages HTML and TEI, but with some limitation caused by the process of OCR capture and of lemmatization of Latin texts), we have a key element of the saddening commonplace in a Latin clerical context.

Empathic sadness: biblical topics

Among the biblical saddening emotives, the most numerous occurrences relate to Ephesians 4, 30:

“*Et nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum Dei: in quo signati estis in diem redemptionis*” (*Vulgata*); “do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God who has marked you with his seal, ready for the day when we shall be set free.” (<https://www.bibliacatolica.com.br/new-jerusalem-bible/ephesians/4/>)⁷.

This passage received great attention from medieval commentators, since I was able to index 113 occurrences of the expression on the studied *corpus*. Here is found an affirmative answer to an important theological question: would the deity be an emotional being? Not only would the Holy Spirit experience emotions, but these could be result of human action. Affected by human actions, the deity becomes saddened. Beyond the entrance of sadness on the list of divine emotions, joining joy and ire, it is the human horizon that draws my attention here, since saddening arises from the interaction of emotive beings. Do not sadden the *Other* is the central meaning of this passage, which specifically suggests to the faithful to avoid causing sadness to the deity, for it is against the salvation of the soul.

The second biblical passage which received great attention from medieval Christian authors is found on 2 Corinthians 7, 9:

“nunc gaudeo: non quia contristati estis, sed quia contristati estis ad poenitentiam. Contristati enim estis secundum Deum [ou ainda: enim estis ad Deum], ut in nullo detrimentum patiamini ex nobis”; “I am glad now, not because you were made to feel distress, but because the distress that you were caused led to repentance; your distress was the kind that God approves and so you have come to no kind of harm through us.”.
(<https://www.bibliacatolica.com.br/new-jerusalem-bible/2-corinthians/7/>)

The salvific horizon continues to be capital for the understanding of saddening. Diametrically opposed to the joy associated with penitence, this form of sadness appears on 99 occurrences along the texts analyzed here. As in the previous case, the emotive evokes human interaction through the saddening of *another*; a virtuous form of suffering, it leads to the necessary correction to the salvation of the soul. In this sense, suffering is not only given a positive value, but it is considered necessary to reach joy in the other world.

With 92 occurrences, we have the passage on 1 Thessalonians 4,13:

“Nolumus autem vos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri, qui spem non habent”; “We want you to be quite certain, brothers, about those who have fallen asleep, to make sure that you do not grieve for them, as others do who have no hope.”.
(<https://www.bibliacatolica.com.br/new-jerusalem-bible/1-thessalonians/4/>)

Close to the feeling of grief, the passage relates to the care for those who lost dear ones. The horizon of salvation appears here implicitly, and can be associated to the emotivity of those who do not have hope regarding the destiny of the faithful after the death of the flesh. The social element appears clearly again: the narrator aims to not sadden the *other*, his fellow faithful. There is a form of empathy for those who suffer for the dead, a suffering identified negatively with sadness, being a form of hopelessness.

The emotives studied here show that, through the Middle Ages, it was the Bible that taught how to sadden. There is nothing new in this, if we remember the study of Guerreau (2006), evidencing the forming function of Latin vocabulary and semantics exerted by this group of texts. However, it was in the New Testament, especially in the *Corpus Paulinum*, that medieval authors searched for the meaning of sadness. A good amount of the occurrences mentioned above come from texts centered in the exegeses of the Pauline Letters. That seems to indicate, in medieval clerical emotivity, the potentially social content of this emotion, through its use inside an epistolary rhetoric, between an issuer and a receiver of a speech act.

The two following occurrences to be analyzed shift our attention to the Old Testament, in special to the Psalms. This is a group of texts of great circulation during the Middle Ages, even getting to the point of changing the part (the Psalms) for the whole (the Bible), as shown by Guerreau (2006) in his semantic study of the term “*textus*”.

“Improperium expectavit cor meum et miseriam: et sustinui qui simul contristaretur, et non fuit; et qui consolaretur, et non inveni” (Psalm 68,21 – Vulgata) ; “Insult has broken my heart past cure. I hoped for sympathy, but in vain, for consolers – not one to be found.” (Psalm 69, 20 – <https://www.bibliacatolica.com.br/new-jerusalem-bible/psalms/69/>)

Commentators used this passage 67 times. Once more, there is a distance from the explicit salvific horizon. However, we are clearly placed on the way of the contact with the *other* and even the way of empathy. The option made by the editors of the Bible of Jerusalem to translate *contristare*, in its passive form, into “sympathy” shows clearly the emotive power of the term: can the faithful not feel compassion when facing the suffering of another? It is precisely the lack of compassion, of collective saddening, that is being denounced here, since the narrator of the passage explicitly declares to be waiting for the sadness of others when facing the suffering caused by the insult.

A similar mood is present on Psalm 54:3 (55,2 in English), when the narrator calls to his interlocutor (the deity): “give me a hearing, answer me, my troubles give me no peace. I shudder” (“*Intende mihi, et exaudi me. Contristatus sum in exercitatione mea*”). Sadness appears here as a form of calling the attention of the other, who, as on the last case, should not keep silent or avoid offering comfort to the one who suffers. The request, close to a cry, reaffirms the main characteristic of saddening that I have stressed up to now: being sad presupposes the existence of relations with other people. In this sense, it is a markedly social emotion, since without such human relations – or the relation of human beings with the deity, as in the case of a community of faith – such emotion seems to simply not exist, or its existence deserved less attention from the exegetes throughout the Latin Middle Ages.

The analysis of sadness – both in the noun and verb forms used in Latin by members of the clergy and available today through great computer databases covering a wide range of geographical regions and historical periods – allowed the identification of the active production of emotional commonplace centered on biblical texts, in special on the Psalms and *Corpus Paulinum*. Far from being rhetoric or doctrinal exercises, limited to de realm of ideas, the repeated usage of examples from Holy Scripture points to the normalization of certain emotive acts of speech. Through the brief survey done here we can observe two important forms of experiencing sadness during the Middle Ages: (1) a suffering that is not only individual, but also a form of empathy towards the members of a community of faith; (2) this said empathy is marked by the saddening *with* the other as a form of salvific virtue. In this sense, the present study demonstrates the need to surpass the current individualizing dimension of emotions I mentioned in the beginning of this article, so that we can understand how emotive regimes and communities produced, circulated, and affirmed their own emotions.

The digital structuring of *corpora* composed by different kinds of documents allows comparisons among research results in our area of interest, in order to offer greater precision for the identification of the place of saddening inside the emotive experience of medieval clergy. I will examine two examples that let us refine our understanding of the articulation between emotion, writing practices, and rhetoric. The first is centered on a very common documental type during the Middle Ages, hagiography. An investigation was realized in the *Acta Sanctorum Database (ASD)*, targeting texts from before 1500 for

*contrist** (including, this way, both the verb *contristare* and the noun *contristatio*)⁸. A total of 662 occurrences were found. However, only two (BHL 2678 and BHL 4387) relate to one of the five biblical passages already mentioned, Psalm 68:21 (69,20). Therefore, the rhetoric genre hagiography, even if it is plural in its realization, has a very low incidence of the use of the biblical topic of saddening analyzed before.

The second comparative case to be presented searches for sadness inside a heterogeneous database, focusing on a significantly different documentation from what was seen up to now: the deeds (charters and diplomas in special). This search was done in *Corpus Burgundiae Medii Aevi – CBMA* (<http://www.cbma-project.eu/>)⁹. Using, similarly, word search for *contrist**, a list of 84 occurrences was found. Once again, the biblical topic of sadness, that was highlighted above, is almost totally absent. In the documentation connected to deeds, no occurrence of this topic was found. Only four occurrences from different documental types could be listed. One of them is found in book two (XXVIII) of the *Collationes* by Odo of Cluny (c.878-942) and quotes Psalm 68,21. The other three, found in the epistles (Book II, epistles XII and XVII – the second having hagiographic nature: BHL 7086d –, Book IV, epistle XXXIX) by Peter the Venerable (c.1092-1156), and relate to the topic of 1 Thessalonians 4:13.

When one compares these different documental *corpora*, three main typological conclusions appear: the biblical topic of sadness, put in evidence by the current study, is almost absent in hagiographic texts; it is known through the monks of Cluny, who use it, specially 1 Thessalonians 4:13 and Psalm 68,21; the predominance of epistolary type indicates that the rhetoric context for the use of this topic is the dialogue, markedly inside the monastic environment. This confirms the social character of saddening, already mentioned here. The cross-checking of data obtained in different *corpora* indicate, therefore, some constants of the emotives analyzed here (for instance, the taste for dialogic rhetoric) and some particularities (the hagiographic option to distance itself from certain commonplaces of biblical saddening). In sum, I can affirm that written practices, through the disposition of the rhetoric of emotives, play a fundamental role in the diffusion and affirmation of emotions in certain community or society. It is impossible, therefore, to separate an emotion from its verbal expression.

An ecclesiology of sadness?

The study of the saddening present in texts written in Latin by members of medieval clergy demonstrates the importance of a social analysis of emotions. Not only due to the clear establishment of a commonplace of biblical origin, but also due to the recurring presence of the emotion in a communitarian context, because of its dialogical rhetorical background. The quantitative survey done in the greater documental *corpus* studied here (*Corpus Corporum*) points to yet another, qualitative, fact of relevance: in the sequence of biblical passages quoted, medieval authors refer most to saddening in relation to the Church (34 occurrences of the emotion with direct association with the term *ecclesia*). Therefore, the biblical “other” belonging to the community of faith becomes related to the Church itself.

When I list the 6,455 occurrences of saddening used in the analyzed documentation (as I said, the occurrences of the verb *contristare* and of the noun *contristatio* found in the database *Corpus Corporum*), it is possible to realize that the most recurring non-biblical use happens in association to the term *ecclesia* and the word will be, many times, used in its accusative form – *ecclesiam* –, pointing to the saddening of the Church. If, on the biblical examples above, there is the preoccupation of not saddening the deity, here the authors give attention to whatever can sadden the Church, in particular what can oppress it. This echoes the Augustinian example cited: sadden (*contristari*) with the oppressed (*adflicto*) to free him.

According to the data available on the analyzed *corpus* (*Corpus Corporum*), chronologically, the authors that associated saddening to the Church were active from the 3rd to the 12th centuries, with a brief interval during the 10th century. Regarding the approximate date of production of the texts, one can organize chronologically the attention given to this emotive relation: 1 occurrence in the 3rd century; 2 occurrences on the 4th century; 4 occurrences on the 5th century; 6 occurrences on the 6th century; 1 occurrence on the 7th century; 3 occurrences on the 8th century; 4 occurrences on the 9th century; 3 occurrences on the 11th century; 8 occurrences on the 12th century; 2 occurrences of uncertain date. In this perspective, the 12th century is a moment of strong preoccupation with saddening associated to the Church. However, the noted increase of written production since the 11th century could lead us to see as a significant emotional

fact something that is an effect of the source (the bigger the amount of written documentation available, the bigger the probability of finding mention of the emotion we study)¹⁰. Trying to correct this statistical deviation, I must use a different chronological organization, and to do this the traditional periodization of the Middle Ages can be of some help. From this angle, saddening related to the Church is clearly a topic that attracted greater attention of authors active from the end of Antiquity to the end of the Carolingian period (18 occurrences between the 5th to the 9th centuries), in opposition to following centuries (11 occurrences between the 11th and 15th centuries).

What is the meaning of this chronology? Would it be associated to documental types more common in a certain age than in another? Trying to answer these questions, it is necessary to explore the typological disposition of the emotive occurrences. Among the 34 textual units analyzed, one can find six documental types: sermons, treatises, letters, histories, *vitae*, and hagiographic texts. In quantitative terms, the emotives appear on 17 treatises, 8 letters, 3 histories, 2 normative texts, 2 *vitae* (of uncertain date), 1 hagiographic text, and 1 sermon. As in any typology, we must consider fluid forms of text. For instance, many letters have a normative or sermonic character in their writing. However, the taxonomic effort offers some significant results. The first one relates to the marked presence of treatises as a privileged *locus* for the reflection on saddening. We found here – in harmony with the importance of biblical exegeses for the understanding of the historicity of this emotion – 12 treatises on the Holy Scripture, with emphasis on the Proverbs of Solomon (5 treatises), Mathew (2 treatises), Psalms (2 treatises). A hybrid species of treatise, norm, and sermon, the epistles figure as another relevant medium for the circulation of medieval Latin clerical reflection on saddening and its relation to the Church.

Generally, documental typology points to an important historical fact. In our day, we have a notion of emotion that is strongly dependent of scholarly reflections that emphasize its biological dimension, especially neurologic and psychological. Likewise, medieval emotive experience produced its own comprehension of emotions. In the case of saddening, medieval “scholars” analyzed this emotion, through treatises on biblical themes, and related it to the ecclesial dimension. Not to consider such medieval emotive experience would be the same as erasing the important historical fact that, in our days, sadness is, many times, related to the medical dimension.

Up to now I have centered my attention in one of the elements that compose the analyzed relation. Now we must understand better which ecclesial aspects are set into motion when medieval authors deal with saddening. To do this we must, firstly, remember the triple semantic dimension that the term *ecclesia* assumes during the Middle Ages: assembly (the community of faithful), building (the place or group of worship), and institution (clergy) (IOGNA-PRAT, 2006). Even though I am aware that these meanings can overlap one another, I will deal with them separately.

Let us start with the material aspect: the church as a building or local community. There are three general contexts in which these emotives appear: the death of a founder or the absence of the leader of a certain community; the predation of churches; and economic exchanges. In the first case, we have a historical text mentioning certain community of cenobites which sadden when they receive the news about the death of its founder (12th century)¹¹, and two epistles of the 11th century – one dealing with the usurpation of a church by a layman, and the saddening that comes from this¹², and another affirming that the prelate was not just a little sad when facing the tribulations and calamities suffered by a church without pastoral care¹³. It does not seem to be random that such preoccupations are concentrated between the 11th and the 12th centuries, and in letters, since the period was characterized by important disputes regarding pastoral care inside the Church.

As to the predation of churches, we also have three occurrences. In a sermon of the 5th century, the death of the saints saddened the community, and the predation of the things of the Church brought no happiness¹⁴. A history of the 12th century narrates the saddening caused by the destruction of a church¹⁵. Lastly, a normative text of the 4th century points out that a church that remains too long without a prelate saddens the people¹⁶. Here the emotives are dispersed in different documental genres, without the prevalence of one over the others. The 4th and 5th centuries, being a moment of strong impact in the material structures of the communities, appear as the period which left greater testimonies regarding the saddening about the predation of churches.

Finally, economic exchanges are the background of the other three kinds of occurrences. In a treatise of the 12th century (in a dialogue with the Benedictine Rule, 36) we can read that the sick are saddened by the costs their disease cause to the church¹⁷. In the 6th century, a Papal epistle affirms that it is not convenient to sadden his followers

with the non-payment of debts that do not harm the Church¹⁸. In another epistle, produced in the same period, the Pope recommends not saddening his partisans with the abandonment of their lands, and not harm the Roman Church with loss of income¹⁹. Letters of the 6th century, a moment of changes in the circulation of both goods and people, are the most common context of the use of saddening in relation to the economic exchanges of the Church.

If we take into consideration these nine emotives, saddening seems to delineate an emotional community marked by the lack of a religious leadership that is locally efficient in the protection of certain interests of the community. This social tension also seems to mark, although in a different way, the use of emotives related to the Church as institution through its representants, the clergymen.

Much less common than other emotives, the association of saddening with the clergy seems to be used in a very clear context: lack of union inside the community. One letter of the 6th century announces that the Church was disturbed and saddened by the dispute that opposed the Roman Church to the Emperor, regarding the distribution of ecclesiastical positions during the brief papacy of Agapetus I (535-536)²⁰. In a 9th century treatise, the good (just?) servant (clergyman?) is saddened by the evils (injury?) done to the Church²¹. In a hagiographic text of uncertain date (8th century?), the unsolvable dissensus sadden the *ecclesia* (clergy)²². In its turn, an emotive firstly used in a treatise of the 6th century, and later retaken in a normative text of the 9th century, affirms that great sacrifices to the devil (that is, fostering disagreement) sadden the *ecclesia*²³. Mostly through treatises published in the 6th and 9th centuries (moments of organization of the clergy, notably but not only monastic), we see an emotional community marked by the idea that lack of clerical union saddens the Church.

Twenty occurrences happen when the semantic field of *ecclesia* seems to refer to the assembly of the faithful, to the community of faith, to society, or even – on a bigger scale – to Christendom itself. We can perceive four main contexts for the use of the emotive: bad use of religious rituals and practices, good use of religious rituals and practices, cruelty, and injustice. In the first case, in a hagiographic text of the 7th century, we read that the sudden death (with no goodbyes) of a member of a religious community saddens his peers²⁴. In a treatise of the 9th century, we read that Augustine had been saddened with the *damnatio* of those who go to church looking for litigation more than

prayer²⁵. In another treatise, also from the 9th century, it is affirmed that the clergy is saddened when the faithful take part on the Eucharist with anger or pride²⁶. Thus, the saddening caused by the bad use of religious rituals and practices is markedly present in treatises produced during the 9th century, a period with some importance for the history of medieval liturgy.

The preoccupation with religious rituals and practices seems to be the main sign of the relation between saddening and *ecclesia* since – beyond the three occurrences mentioned above – there are other ten occurrences in the opposite context, i.e., of the good use of religious rituals and practices. In a treatise of the 12th century, we read about the saddening of the church when its light went out (light = candle = Christ)²⁷. Saddening as personal penitence, that brings joy to the Church and ensures the crown (salvation), is mentioned in a treatise of the 3rd century²⁸. According to a *vita* that is hard to date, the passion of the martyrdom of a saint provokes sadness, but his/her grave receives veneration, as we attest by the testimony relics of the martyrs of the Church²⁹. In a treatise of the 4th century, it is said that whomever remains desperately saddened and penitent, moving away from public and dreadful living, will return to the Church³⁰.

The defining social profile of the community of faith is made even clearer on the last six uses of the emotive analyzed here, since all of them refer, in some sense, to heresies. Either in a treatise from the 8th century, where it is possible to read that the heretics and the enemies of the Church are saddened by the works of the chosen, or in the saddening of the Church (mother) that is caused by those who, having been baptized, do bad deeds or heresies (emotion affirmed and reaffirmed by five treatises – 1 from the 5th century, 2 from the 8th century, and 2 from the 12th century – which comment Proverbs 15: 20: “*filius sapiens laetificat patrem, et stultus homo despicit matrem suam*”). Emotivity appears as the frontier that gives access to or excludes faithful from the community of faith³¹. This way, saddening associated to good use of religious rituals and practices sets the limits to some fundamental contours of Christian society (Church), through numerous treaties produced in the 8th and 12th centuries (periods of emergence of certain polemics regarding belonging to the community of faith).

The panegyrical tone of the emotives leads to the role of emotion in the defense of the Church. Among the arguments used in this defense, we find, in two moments, cruelty. In two letters, one from the 5th century and other from the 6th, we see comments

about the unnecessary cruelty that saddens the Church and about the cruelty committed against Catholic churches that saddens (the Church) as much as it gladdens (the heretics)³². Once again, although in a different historic background, it is the polemist context of affirmation of a certain reading on Christianity that seems to feed an emotivity clearly preoccupied with social organization.

The last five uses of saddening related to the Church (community of faith) refer to injustice, an element that seems to speak to those mentioned before. A treatise of the 5th century comments on how the estrangement from justice (Church) causes saddening³³. In the following century, a history tells of saddening caused by divisions (injustices) existent in the Church³⁴. In the 11th century, a treaty comments on saddening caused by the persecution of the Jewish against the Christian Church³⁵. In the 12th century, a letter affirms that lack of adequate (just) action on the part of a prelate, publicly, saddens the Church and makes the public complain³⁶. A treatise of the same century deals with the community of faith (Church) that had been saddened by the injustices committed against its founders³⁷. With certain emphasis on treatises from the 11th and 12th centuries (a period not only of growing valorization of canonic law, but also of greater reflection about social order), justice seems to offer values of great importance to saddening in relation to the Church.

Running through the documentation that deals with saddening in an ecclesiastical context, particularly in its wider communitarian sense, we can notice the outline of an emotional community that tries to give meaning to, order, and normalize this emotion. Often used as a way of qualifying (or correcting) certain religious acts and identifying cruelty and injustice committed against the *ecclesia*, saddening assumes a regulatory function in the community of faith. Being saddened possesses, thus, an ecclesiological character that organizes society, internally and externally.

We have observed that, regarding the most commented biblical emotives during the Middle Ages, clerical authors writing in Latin establish this emotional commonplace: saddening with the other is a salvific virtue. We can now say that the amplitude of this commonplace goes beyond the Bible and reaches other emotive uses, especially regarding

the *ecclesia*. In this sense, this emotivity can be perceived as a kind of norm that reaches all the social group analyzed here; this is what W. Reddy called Emotional Regime: “The set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them; a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime.” (REDDY, 2001, p. 129).

Moreover, the analysis of the emotives used in association to the Church allowed for a less general and more precise view of the social role of saddening. We can say that emotional communities centered on saddening, in the perspective of the agents of the Church, produced true emotive ecclesiologies. On the one hand attacks to local churches or communities cause sadness, since the Church, through the clergy, is saddened by the crimes committed against its agents and faithful. On the other hand, when they distance themselves from the Church, dissidents that are saddened can look for reconciliation, giving testimony of their belonging to the community of the faithful. We can perceive, therefore, the way Christian writers built, throughout the Middle Ages, a relation between saddening and social order: one must be sensitive to injustices, for the truly faithful must be saddened when facing injustices committed against local Christian communities, against the clergy, and against the entire community of faith. Thus, an emotion (saddening) is a sign of spiritual (moral) rectitude of the community of faith.

3. Conclusion

At the end of this journey through medieval emotivity, especially through saddening experienced by members of the clergy writing in Latin, it must be made clear that the surveying procedure used here did not allow us to study all the nuances and particularities of these emotions that are present in all analyzed texts. However, concepts and methodologies from the historical studies of emotions, in association to the topical analysis of vast databases, allowed us to clearly trace the formation and affirmation of a wide emotive regime and of specific emotional communities marked by saddening. To do this, it was necessary to follow the five steps described in the first part of this article.

First, it was necessary to select a series of documents from a certain group, i.e., documents written in Latin and produced by members of the clergy. Second, starting from the legacy of Ciceronian and Patristic emotive vocabulary in the Middle Ages

(ROSENWEIN, 2006, p. 52-53), we searched for the uses of the terms *contristare* / *contristatio* to identify the relative importance of certain emotive contexts and their experiences set in writing. We could then see not only certain emotive commonplaces, but also their variations and even the emergence of new uses. The identification of the ways in which saddening appears in written narratives allowed us to observe which values would be associated to this emotion and, more important, its aims – in special the salvation of souls and the defense of the Church, notably through the virtue of justice.

Some readers could ask for the demonstration of how the characteristics of saddening highlighted along this article could act in the world. I believe that all interest in a history of emotions centered in the concept of emotives becomes, thus, evident: as a speech act, the different ways of mentioning saddening take part in the construction and affirmation of a salvific emotional regime, and of emotional communities centered on the affirmation of certain ecclesial communities, of their communities of faith, and of the Church. Far from being a specific niche of historical discipline, a self-centered sub-area, the social history of emotions shows itself to be a privileged crossing of different historical approaches. A total history worthy of the name, not for covering the totality of human experience, which is impossible, but by opposing the atomization, self-sufficiency, and immobilization of a field of knowledge. In order to handle the plurality, interrelation, and dynamics of human experience, the present study travelled through some fields of knowledge, including rhetoric, grammar, exegesis, religion, ecclesiology, politics, and power. All these fields are necessary to the comprehension, not only of how saddening was experienced in the Middle Ages, but also how this emotion took part in the construction and maintenance of certain social order.

The comprehension of social functioning is the final goal of this article on saddening during the Middle Ages. This social functioning was observed here through the optics of affection in a “science of empathy” anchored in the historical-cultural comprehension of emotions³⁸. In this sense, the study of saddening and of the empathy generated by this emotion is inserted in a wider horizon of preoccupations that aim to understand how people live together and how this coexistence is altered along time. In conclusion, I hope the readers recognize the heuristic value of this *social* history of emotions that is openly constructionist and that goes beyond the casuistic dimension of emotions, which is connected to individuals, to reach its collective experience.

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Notes

¹ Previous versions of this text were presented in three academic meetings: *Jornada Emoções na Idade Média: abordagens e historiografias* (2021); *Journée d'études CBMA (Corpus Burgundiae Medii Aevi) – Hagiographie bourguignonne 2.0 – corpus électronique et nouvelles recherches (LAMOP-Paris 1)* (2021); *Formas de renascer, transformar e continuar na antiguidade e medievo: desafios e perspectivas públicas e globais – Vivarium* (UFMT), *ATRIVM* (UFMS) e *LEOM* (UFPE). I thank the participants of these meetings for the debates raised during these occasions. I would like to thank the Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro and the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal e Nível Superior for financing the English-language version of my article “*Tristes tópicos: esboços para uma história do entristecimento medieval*”.

² Boddice approached the wider issue of pain as a cultural and physical construct: “...there has never been a thing that we might now call ‘pain’ that has been purely biological, purely mechanical or functional, and separate from an affective experience, however it may have been locally and temporally construed... (...) Humans experience ‘pain’ meaningfully. (...) Pain without meaningful experience is not pain at all, but simply the relation of external stimulus to physiological response.” BODDICE, 2022, p. 78.

³ “*Irasci enim peccanti ut corrigatur, contristari pro afflictio ut liberetur, timere periclitanti ne pereat*”. Augustin, *City of God* 9,5.

⁴ For a detailed study of the emotive tradition present in medieval rhetoric, see the unavoidable work of COPELAND, 2021.

⁵ On the impacts, the potentialities, and the limitations of the use of digitalized *corpora* in historical studies, see the important groundbreaking collective article ROBERTSON, S.; MULLEN, L., 2017; see also the recent concise text of MILLIGAN, 2022. For a case study on the history of the influences of computational technology in medieval studies, see: LEJEUNE, 2021. Finally, on methodologies for word search, see: PHILIPPART DE FOY, 2008; KUTTER, 2018; MCGILLIVRAY, 2021; CASTANHO, 2021; TRIGALET, 2022.

⁶ The Internet Archive has some images of the data base from October 2021 in its Wayback Machine: <https://web.archive.org/web/20211020232625/http://mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/>.

⁷ All Latin citations of the Bible, on this article, come from the *Vulgata*; all the passages of the Bible in English come from the Bible of Jerusalem online.

⁸ The research was realized in 2021, before the migration of the database to the ProQuest platform: <https://about.proquest.com/en/products-services/acta/>.

⁹ Search done through the Philologic platform and compared to the beta version updated to TXM, available since December 2021 to the participants of the CBMA project. My thanks to the professors Eliana Magnani and Nicolas Perreaux for the access to this rich material.

¹⁰ On the increase of writing after the 11th century, see CLANCHY, 2013.

¹¹ “*Coenobitae autem, audita morte fundatoris ecclesiae suae, nimium contristati sunt, precesque et missas et alia beneficia pro anima ejus Deo, cui vivunt omnia, fideliter obtulerunt, quae successores eorum usque hodie ferventer observare satagunt.*” Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica, Liber Tertius, VIII, Migrationes Normannorum in Apuliam. Primae eorum ibidem sedes. Ansetillus monachus*. In: MIGNE, J.-P. (éd.), *Patrologiae cursus completus seu bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium ss. patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum*, Paris, 1844-1865, 221 vols.

(*Series Latina*). From now on, *PL* followed by the number of the volume and the column where the passage is located. *PL*, 188, c.0254B.

¹² “*Sicut charissimus filius noster Guillelmus Aquitanorum dux nos contristavit, cum ecclesiam S. Georgii, quae est in Olerona, cum pertinentiis suis vobis abstulit, et Ebloni de castro Allionis dedit*”. *Amatus Burdegalsis, Ad Goffridum Abbatem Vindocinensem. PL*, 155, c.1642C

¹³ “*Litteras sane dilectionis vestrae, quas ad beati apostoli Petri sedem pro vestri causa negotii non solum semel sed et bis et ter misistis, libenter suscepimus, una cum dilecti filii nostri Berengarii regis apicibus; sed de vestris afflictionibus et incommoditatibus, quas vos tanto tempore perpressos lacrymabiliter conquesti estis, non modice contristati sumus, scilicet quod Ecclesia vestra multis attrita calamitatibus, omni pastoralis sit destituta solatio, ex quo Argrinus venerabilis episcopus ab ipsa per subreptionem quorundam recessit Ecclesia: quem omnes concorditer vos elegisse, excepisse et acclamasse testificamini; nullumque post ipsum alium sponte recepisse episcopum, sicut libello vestrae reclamationis plenius continetur.*” *Joannes IX, Epistola III. Ad clerum et populum lingonensem. Argrinum episcopum iis restituit. PL*, c. 0030D.

¹⁴ “*Quo responso mens devota percepto, indubitata suscipiens optimo ab antistite, et Christi martyre, veritatem, nihil magis prae omnibus curat, quam ut avaritia persequentis, quod de morte sanctorum contristabat Ecclesiam, de praeda Ecclesiae gaudium non haberet.*” *Maximus Taurinensis, Homilia LXXXV De eodem natali II. PL*, 57, c.0411B.

¹⁵ “*Homo cunctorum quos nostri saeculi memoria complectitur immanissimus, in Deum etiam blasphemus; ulro quippe gloriari solebat se interfuisse ubi quater viginti monachi pariter cum ecclesia concremati fuerint: idem se in Anglia factitaturum et Deum contristaturum depraedatione Wiltoniensis ecclesiae, etiam subversione Malmesbiriensis, cum monachorum illius loci omnium caede; id se muneris eis repensurum, quod regem ad nocumentum sui admisissent.*” *Willelmus Malmesburiensis, Historiae novellae: De Captione Roberti Filii Huberti. PL*, 179.1419B.

¹⁶ “*Si ergo haec circa laicos constituta sunt, quanto magis nec licet, nec decet episcopum, si nullam gravem habeat necessitatem, nec tam difficilem rationem, diutius abesse ab Ecclesia sua, ut populum contristet.*” *Canones Sardicenses. De episcopis etiam laica communione privandis, qui civitates mutaverunt, XIV. PL*, 56, c.0782A.

¹⁷ “*Quatuor sunt unde conqueruntur infirmi, scilicet de infirmitate, de medicina, de cibo, de ordine. De infirmitate ideo quidam conqueruntur, quia pondus infirmitatis inviti portant. Alii vero sunt qui conqueruntur, eo quod fratrum labori interesse nequeant. De medicina vero quod non subveniatur eis, ut ipsi dicunt, charitate fraterna, quidam conqueruntur. Alii quod dispendium patiatur Ecclesia pro infirmitate eorum, contristantur.*” *Hugo de Folieto, De claustro animae, Liber Primus, Cap XII, Quod larga sit infirmis religio. PL*, 176, c.1037D.

¹⁸ “*Et ideo quia nostros nos filios, et praesertim ubi damnum minime sentit Ecclesia, non convenit contristare, his fraternitati tuae mandamus apicibus, ut suprascripto fratri coepiscopoque nostro Basilio et Maximo viro clarissimo, secundum voluntatem praedictorum filiorum nostrorum Cethegi atque Florae gloriosarum personarum, decem libras auri sine tarditate post subditam desuscepto paginam dare debeatis, quatenus dum nulla in accipiendis eis mora provenerit, et illi mandata sibi, ut noverint, utiliter exsequantur, et pars Ecclesiae rationabiliter sit munita.*” *Gregorius I, Epistolae, Liber Decimus, Epistola IX, Ad Joannem Episcopum Syracusanum. Basilio Capuano antistiti, pro Cethego et Flora, auri libras decem per Maximum solvat. PL*, 77, c.1072C.

¹⁹ “*Ita ergo sanctitas vestra provideat, ut neque dilecti filii mei praedicti de relictis suburbanis sibi necessariis contristentur, nec nostra Romana Ecclesia damnum aliquod vel minorem utilitatem in eorum reddituum perceptione sustineat.*” *Gregorius I, Epistolae, Liber Duodecimus, Epistola XLIII. Ad Joannem Syracusanum Episcopum. Sic exigendos ait redditus, ut neque contristentur debitores, neque Romana Ecclesia damnum sustineat. PL*, 77, c.1250A. The document was originally produced in the beginning of

the 7th century (602?). The author, the interlocutor, and the theme of the letter, however, go back to the end of the 6th century.

²⁰ “*Verum semper isti soli Dei Ecclesiam perturbaverunt et contristaverunt; et nos usque ad istos fletum utique continuimus.*” *Libellus monachorum Agapeto oblatus contra Anthimum...* PL, 66, c.0056A.

²¹ “*Habet et istum pessimum, in quo sunt omnes qui universam Dei Ecclesiam conturbant ac divellunt, et conscindere non metuunt. Habet et istos [conservus] qui ejus injurias ferre nequeunt, qui contristantur pro talibus in Ecclesia quae fiunt. Non quod tristitia poenalis ulla cadat in angelos, sed quia eis non placent mala quae fiunt. Propterea contristari valde dicuntur, nec immerito, cum et Dominus irasci dicatur ac gaudere, reliquasque affectiones humanae mentis habere.*” Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matthaem, Liber Octavus*. PL, 120, c. 0639B.

²² “*Illud vero animos nostros afficit, et consacerdotum ac totius ecclesiae contristavit auditus inextricabilis quorundam dissensio, quod et ad correctionem oportet, Domino annuente, perducere, ut non contemptores pontificalium decretorum, sed ut oboedientiae filii ante Deum omnium iudicem conprobemini esse custodes.*” *Vita Wilfridi I episcopi Eboracensis*. LEVISON, W. ; KRVSCH, B. (eds.). *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, VI. Hannoverae et Lipsiae* 1913, p. 249.

²³ “*Excusationem non habet furor iste, si creditis: non interest quibus itineribus ad mundi principem currat, qui a sancta unitate desciscit: pingues hostias litat diabolo, qui contristat Ecclesiam. Vanas ergo repudiate tendiculas: simplicem habet defensionem pacis affectus: nimis armatus est, qui illa quae adversarius concordiae ministrat, tela contemnit: sufficit contra omnia jacula jurgiorum fidei nuda oppositio.*” *Magnus Felix Ennodius, Libellus apologeticus pro synodo*. PL, 63 c. 0202C. Texto retomado em *Isidorus Mercator, Collectio decretalium*, collection of decrees later identified as mostly false. PL, 130, c.1018B

²⁴ “*Quod cum senex ignoraret, pulsaretque praefectus canonis lignum, quod fratres convenientes mortuum efferrent, ut vidit senex cadaver in ecclesiae medio jacere, contristatus est valde, quod non illum salutasset priusquam migraret e saeculo.*” *Joannes Moschus, Pratum spirituale Caput XI, Vita abbatis Agioduli*. PL, 74, c.0127A.

²⁵ “*Plures sunt de quorum perditione nimium contristor; illos dico qui, venientes ad ecclesiam, magis litigare cupiunt quam orare, et quando lectiones divinas debent in ecclesia intentis auribus et tota pietate suscipere, tunc foris causas dicere, et diversis [se] student calumniis impugnare.*” *Jonas Aurelianus, De institutione laicali, Liber Primus, Caput XIII*. PL, 106, c.0148C.

²⁶ “*Similiter dum adhuc Dominicum corpus habemus quasi in ore, et ira Dei ascendit super nos et occidit pingues, id est, superbos et indigne Dominicum corpus sumentes, excaecatione mentis percutit. Vel dum sapientia magna sumus refecti, quoniam inde superbimus, occidit nos Dominus interius: et electi Israel, id est, viri et praelati nostri contristantur in Ecclesia.*” *Haymo Halberstatensis, Commentaria in Psalmos. LXXVII. Titulus: Intellectus Asaph*. PL, 116, c.0461D.

²⁷ “*Hoc vere congruit et vis ipsa significationis exposcit, ut sicut praeteritis noctibus exstincta luminaria faciem Ecclesiae contristaverunt, sic eadem nocte hac cereus illuminatus jugi flammae tripudiantis jubare laetificet.*” *Rupertus Tuitiensis, De divinis officiis, Liber Sextus, Caput XXVIII De cereo*. PL, 170, c.0171B.

²⁸ “*Qui sic Deo satisfecerit, qui poenitentia facti sui, qui pudore delicti, plus et virtutis et fidei de ipso lapsus sui dolore conceperit, exauditus et adjutus a Domino, quam contristaverat, nuper laetam faciet Ecclesiam; nec jam solam Dei veniam merebitur, sed et coronam.*” *Cyprianus Carthaginensis, De lapsis, XXXVI*. PL, 4, c.0494B.

²⁹ “*Sed nec illud praetereundum est, quod fida relatione cujusdam ex sociis et principibus exsilii ipsius accepi, qui ita gestum esse, ut retulit, oculata fide se comprehendisse, Deum et reliquias ipsius martyris in Ecclesia, quam passionem sua contristavit, et sepultura veneratur, nobis quamplurimis testatur est.*” *Passio II S. Thomae Cantuariensis*. PL. 190, c. 0339B.

³⁰ “*Accepit autem, cum didicit corrigere se velle, quos arguebat, ut per poenitentiam se reformarent: dat autem, dum eos revocat ad Ecclesiam; ne diu contristati desperarent de se, et ad publicam et funestam vitam declinarent.*” *Ambrosiaster, Commentaria in Epistolam ad Corinthios Secundam, Caput VII*. PL, 17, c.0306C.

³¹ “*Et haeretici contristantur, atque omnes inimici Ecclesiae, quoties electos quosque pro catholica fide vel correctione morum, quibus Ecclesiae muri renouentur, laborare conspiciunt.*” *Beda, Allegorica expositio in Esdram et Nehemiam, Liber tertius, Caput XVI, Nehemias, accepta licentia et epistolis regis, venit Jerusalem aedificare civitatem; a quo anno supputantur septuaginta hebdomades annorum quas praedixit angelus Danieli, et pertingunt ad tempus passionis Domini*. PL, 91, c.0886A. “*Qui accepta fidei mysteria bene servat, laetificat Deum Patrem; qui vero haec actione mala vel haeresi commaculat, matrem contristat Ecclesiam.*” *Beda, Allegorica expositio in Parabolas Salomonis, Liber Secundus, Caput X*. PL, 91, c.0967D. The passage reappears in *Anselmus Laudunensis, Glossa ordinaria, Liber Proverbiorum*, PL,

113, c.1092C (*Glossa ordinaria*, is a work produced along decades, possibly initiated in the 11th century and finished in the 12th, so I opted here to consider the 12th century as approximate date of the work) and in *Rabanus Maurus, Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, PL, 111, c. 0711D. See also: “*Ille qui accepta fidei ac baptismatis mysteria bene servat et opere implet, filius sapiens est; ille procul dubio laetificat Deum Patrem: qui vero accepta fidei ac baptismatis sacramenta, malis operibus vel haeretica pravitate corrumpit, filius stultus est; hic nimirum est moestitia matri suae, videlicet Ecclesiae, quia contristat eam.*” *Salonius Viennensis, Expositio mystica in Parabolas Salomoni: Interlocutores Veranus et Salonius*. PL, 53, c.0974D. E: “*Ille qui accepta fidei ac baptismatis mysteria bene servat, et opere implet, filius sapiens est; iste procul dubio laetificat Deum Patrem. Qui vero accepta fidei ac baptismatis mysteria, malis operibus vel haeretica pravitate corrumpit, filius stultus est; hic nimirum moestitia est matris suae, sanctae videlicet Ecclesiae, quia contristat eam.*” *Honorius Augustodunensis, Quaestiones in Proverbia et Ecclesiasten*. PL, 172, 0317B.

³² “*Gratuita igitur crudelitate, nulla necessitate (quamvis et aliae causae, quas suspicamur, nec opus est committere litteris, forsitan fuerint), atrociter contristavit Ecclesiam*”. *Augustinus Hipponensis, Epistle 151, Domino merito illustri, e debito a me honore dignissimo filio Caeciliano...* PL, 33, c.0651. E “*in qua enim mundi parte immanitatis hujus invidia non et catholicas contristat Ecclesias, et haeticorum prava vota laetificat?*” *Hormisdas I, Epistola LXXIII ad Dorotheum thessalonicensem episcopum...* PL, 63, c.0500C.

³³ “*Dedisti nescio quid auri et argenti; ventum est ad hunc articulum, ut nisi perdas, forte aliquod peccatum committas, injuriam forte ingeras Ecclesiae, blasphemare cogaris: posito itaque in angustiis, aut damno pecuniae, aut damno justitiae, dicitur tibi, Perde potius pecuniam, ne perdas justitiam: tu autem cui non dulcis est in ore justitia, sed adhuc in illis membris infirmus es, quales in ventre deputat Ecclesia, contristatus eligis aliquando amittere aliquid de justitia, quam vel nummum de pecunia; et percutis te damno graviore, implens saccellum tuum, et exinaniens cor tuum.*” *Augustinus Hipponensis, In Psalmum XLIII Enarratio. Sermo Ad Plebem*, 25. PL, 36, c.0492.

³⁴ “*Hi vero qui prius cum eo contristati fuerant, hactenus ab Ecclesia segregantur.*” *Cassiodorus, Historia tripartita, Liber Sextus, Caput XXXIII Quia Eusebius veniens Antiochiam propter Paulinum, et divisum videns populum fuerit indignatus*. PL, 69, c.1046A.

³⁵ “*Videntes autem conservi ejus, scilicet praedicatores Evangelii, quae fiebant, persecutionem Christianae Ecclesiae a Judaeis illatam, contristati sunt, et compatiendo venerunt et narraverunt domino suo, implorantes auxilium contra dolum persecutorum.*” *Anselmus Laudunensis, Enarrationes in Matthaeum. Caput XVIII*. PL, 162, c.1410D.

³⁶ “*Illud vero publice contristat Ecclesiam, populique murmur excitat, nec mediocriter militat in dispendium vestrae opinionis, quod in tanto discrimine, in tot lacrymis, in tot provinciarum supplicationibus, nec unum nuntium ad principes illos a vestro latere destinastis.*” *Aleonorae reginae Anglorum ad Coelestinum Pontificis opem implorat pro liberatione Richardi regis Anglorum, filii sui*. PL, 206, c.1264B.

³⁷ “*Sive ad illius temporis statum respicias quo decem tribus in Assyrios translatae sunt, sive ad illius quo Judaei Romanorum gladiis excisi sunt, vera est utrobique similitudo; quia proinde haec passi sunt, quod et priores illi prophetas occiderunt, et juniores isti Christum et apostolos interfecerunt; et hoc faciendo matrem super filiis alliserunt, id est Ecclesiam Dei graviter contristaverunt.*” *Rupertus Tuitiensis, Commentaria in duodecim prophetas minores, Liber Quintus*. PL, 168, c.0169C.

³⁸ Expression inspired on the critic approach of BODDICE, 2022, p. 85: “The risk, made more acute by a blooming ‘science’ of empathy that has situated and even ‘hardwired’ this quality in the brain, is that cultural conventions for authenticating, invalidating, acting upon, and failing to act upon other people’s (or other beings’) suffering are naturalised, when in fact the evidence points to their cultural-historical qualities.”