

## Generations of Feeling

*Generations of Feeling* is the first book to provide a comprehensive history of emotions in pre- and early-modern Western Europe. Charting the varieties, transformations, and constants of human sentiments over the course of eleven centuries, Barbara H. Rosenwein explores the feelings expressed in a wide range of “emotional communities,” as well as the theories that served to inform and reflect their times. Focusing particularly on groups within England and France, chapters address communities as diverse as the monastery of Rievaulx in twelfth-century England and the ducal court of fifteenth-century Burgundy, assessing the ways in which emotional norms and modes of expression respond to, and in turn create, their social, religious, ideological, and cultural environments. Contemplating emotions experienced “on the ground” as well as those theorized in the treatises of Alcuin, Thomas Aquinas, Jean Gerson, and Thomas Hobbes, this insightful study offers a profound new narrative of emotional life in the West.

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Barbara H. Rosenwein  
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# Generations of Feeling

*A History of Emotions, 600–1700*

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Barbara H. Rosenwein

*Loyola University Chicago*



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For Tom

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The human world provides a spectacle  
convulsive with opposing desires and contending wills.  
Geoffrey O'Brien, "Balzac on the Brink"

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## Prefatory note

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I have regularized the use of *i/j* and *u/v* in Latin quotations in accordance with the guidelines of H. A. Kelly, “Uniformity and Sense in Editing and Medieval Texts,” in *Medieval Academy News* (Spring 2004), 8: I use the *i* and *u* for the vowel sound and *j* and *v* for the consonant sound. However, I have not regularized other orthography, nor have I changed the punctuation of the editions that I use.

In note citations I normally leave out p. (standing for page number) unless the citation involves a series of numbers (chapter, section, and so on), in which case the p. is used.

I do not ordinarily cite the full original Latin of Latin-language sources in my notes. However, I include relevant Latin terms in my translations. I do give the original texts of *Moyen français*, Old Occitan, and Middle English in the notes. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted, but I have taken into account (and herewith express my gratitude for) numerous modern translations.

## Acknowledgments

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I began this project nearly ten years ago. My debts range from chance meetings, emails, and papers as much as they do from solicited advice, invitations, and critical readings. In short, this book owes so much to so many people that it is impossible for me to name and thank them all. Some of those who helped me will find their names in fitting places in chapter footnotes. I hope that others will forgive me if I have left out their names. Although their names are perhaps omitted, their impact remains very real and very much appreciated.

Here I will limit myself to thanking four people who have sustained me in ways more than I can say throughout the long process of writing this book.

My first debt is to Riccardo Cristiani. I first met him when he was a doctoral student at the University of Bologna. He eventually became my research assistant. In the course of our work together, he has become a collaborator. He has an amazing knack for seeing problems in argument and exposition, for doubting (and being right to doubt) the accuracy or the completeness of a point, and for critiquing weak translations and paraphrasing. He identified new and essential bibliography for me to read. Via email and Skype and even more intensely when we got together in person, we discussed the emotional consequences of mankind's Fall from Paradise; hammered out the differences between one theorist and another; disagreed (until we agreed) about the contents of chapter introductions; and worried about the suitability of words, phrases, and formulations. Together we wrote the first half of Chapter 4 on Aelred and all of Chapter 5 on Thomas Aquinas. Together we laughed and anguished over passages of reading and writing. In addition to all of that, Riccardo did the essential "little things" that make or break a book: proofreading, preparing the genealogies, maps, figures, bibliography, and index – even checking to be sure that my commas and periods were in the right places. Rather than thank him separately in each chapter, which might seem merely repetitive, I want here to say that there is nothing in this book that does not bear witness to his incisive input.

## Acknowledgments

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Lester K. Little has been my mentor and colleague throughout my career. Indeed, he inspired that career. It was Lester who first made clear to me that one could talk about feelings in history without being anachronistic: as an undergraduate, I sat enthralled in his classroom as he talked about how medieval Christians projected their anxieties onto Jews. We have collaborated often both formally and informally, and the latter is the case for this book, of which Lester read and critiqued a near-final draft. I am deeply indebted to him.

Dominique Iogna-Prat has been my intellectual companion since I began work, years ago, on the monastery of Cluny. He and I subsequently changed our focus almost simultaneously, he looking at social and ecclesial theory across the medieval and early modern divide, I doing much the same for emotions. After reading the entire manuscript of this book in draft, Dominique offered numerous observations and suggestions. Extraordinarily attuned to continuities and transformations, he saw connections and gaps that had never occurred to me. I am very grateful.

Finally, I thank my husband, Tom. For years he has lived with this book in the process of becoming and a wife eternally at her desk. He has been unfailingly supportive in every way. In the interstices of his own busy law practice, he has done the laundry, washed the dishes, and purchased the groceries. He has listened to me complain, gush with enthusiasm, and wallow in misery about theorists, courts, and churchmen. When the manuscript was finished in draft, he read it, offering me both feedback and encouragement. I dedicate the book to him.

Let me end with some institutions and people who helped me continuously with this project: Loyola University Chicago, its library (above all Interlibrary Loan Librarian Jennifer Stegen), and its Department of History (above all chairmen Timothy Gilfoyle and Robert Bucholz); and Cambridge University Press (especially Elizabeth Friend-Smith, Amanda George, Katherine Law, and Rebecca Taylor).

To all, my grateful thanks.

# Abbreviations

Aelred, BS Gen.	Aelred of Rievaulx <i>De bello standardii</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne <i>Genealogia Regis Anglie Henrici iunioris</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
Inclus.	<i>De institutione inclusarum</i> , in OO, 637–682
Lament	<i>Eulogium Davidis regis Scotorum</i> , in <i>Pinkerton’s Lives of the Scottish Saints</i> , ed. William M. Metcalfe
OO	<i>Aelredi Rievallensis. Opera Omnia</i> , 1: <i>Opera ascetica</i> ed. Anselme Hoste and Charles H. Talbot
SA Spec. car.	<i>De spiritali amicitia</i> , in OO, 287–350 <i>De speculo caritatis</i> , in OO, 3–161
Aimeric de Belenoi	Aimeric de Belenoi, <i>Le Poesie</i> , ed. and trans. Andrea Poli
Alcuin, DR	Alcuin of York <i>Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi Regis Caroli et Albini magistri</i> , in <i>The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne</i> , ed. and trans. Wilbur Samuel Howell
DVV	<i>De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem comitem</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
Ep.	<i>Epistolae</i> , ed. Ernst Dümmler
Aquinas, ST	Thomas Aquinas <i>Summa theologiae</i> , in <i>Corpus Thomisticum</i> , ed. Enrique Alarcón
Super Sent.	<i>Scriptum super Sententiis</i> , in <i>Corpus Thomisticum</i> , ed. Enrique Alarcón

## List of abbreviations

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Augustine, <i>Civ. dei</i>	Augustine of Hippo <i>De civitate dei</i> , ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessions</i> , ed. and trans. Pierre de Labriolle
<i>Lib. arb.</i>	<i>De libero arbitrio</i> , in <i>Il “De Libero Arbitrio” di S. Agostino</i> , ed. and trans. Franco De Capitani
<i>Tractatus</i>	<i>Commentaire de la première épître de S. Jean</i> , ed. and trans. Paul Agaësse
Bernart	<i>The Songs of Bernart de Ventadorn</i> , ed. and trans. Stephen G. Nichols, Jr. et al.
BMK	<i>The Book of Margery Kempe</i> , ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen
Cadenet	<i>Les Poésies du troubadour Cadenet</i> , ed. and trans. Josef Zemp
<i>Cat. Rai.</i>	<i>Catalogues raimondins (1112–1229). Actes des comtes de Toulouse, ducs de Narbonne et marquis de Provence</i> , ed. Laurent Macé
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Cristianorum. Series Latina
<i>Chanson</i>	<i>Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise</i> , ed. and trans. Eugène Martin-Chabot
Cicero, <i>DA</i>	Marcus Tullius Cicero <i>Laelius: de Amicitia</i> , trans. William Armistead Falconer
<i>TD</i>	<i>M. Tulli Ciceronis Tusculanae Disputationes</i> , ed. Michaelangelus Giusta
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DLFMA	<i>Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age</i>

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DNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EEBO	Early English Books Online
FQ	Edmund Spenser, <i>The Faerie Queene</i> , ed. A. C. Hamilton, 2d rev. ed. Hiroshi Yamashita and Toshiyuki Suzuki
Gaucelm Faidit	<i>Les poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit. Troubadour du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> , ed. and trans. Jean Mouzat
George, <i>A Latin Poet</i>	Judith W. George. <i>Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul</i>
Gerson, CP	Jean Gerson <i>Canticordum au pèlerin</i> , in <i>La doctrine du chant du Coeur de Jean Gerson</i> , ed. and trans. Isabelle Fabre
DP long	<i>De passionibus animae</i> , in OC, 9:1–25
DP short	<i>De passionibus animae</i> , in OC, 9:155–57
EP	<i>Enumeratio peccatorum ab Alberto posita</i> , in OC, 9:160–66
OC	<i>Oeuvres complètes</i> , ed. Palémon Glorieux
TC	<i>Tractatus de canticis</i> , in <i>La doctrine du chant du Coeur de Jean Gerson</i> , ed. and trans. Isabelle Fabre
Greg. Tur., <i>Histories</i>	Gregory of Tours <i>Historiarum libri X</i> , ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison
VP	<i>Liber vitae patrum</i> , ed. Bruno Krusch
Hobbes, <i>Lev.</i> OL	Thomas Hobbes <i>Leviathan</i> , ed. J. C. A. Gaskin <i>Thomas Hobbes Malmesburiensis opera philosophica quae latine scripsit, omnia in unum corpus nunc primum collecta</i> , ed. William Molesworth
La Marche	Olivier de La Marche, <i>Mémoires</i> , ed. Henri Beaune and Jean d'Arbaumont
LB	<i>The Holy Bible ... made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his</i>



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	<i>Followers</i> , ed. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden
Lefèvre	Jean Lefèvre, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. François Morand
Loeb, “Le relations thesis”	Ariane Loeb, “Les relations entre les troubadours et les comtes de Toulouse (1112–1229).” M.A. Thesis
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	<i>Auctores antiquissimi</i>
SRM	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores (in Folio)</i>
Monstrelet	Enguerrand Monstrelet, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. L. Douët-D’Arcq
Paston	<i>Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century</i> , pts. 1 and 2, ed. Norman Davis, pt. 3, ed. Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond
Peire Vidal	Peire Vidal, <i>Poesie</i> , ed. Silvio Avallé d’Arco
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne
Raimon de Miraval	<i>Les poésies du troubadour Raimon de Miraval</i> , ed. and trans. L. T. Topsfield
RB	<i>The Rule of Saint Benedict</i> , ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SE	<i>Spirituell experiences, of sundry beleevers. Held forth by them at severall solemne meetings, and Conferences to that end. With the recommendation of the sound, spiritual, and savoury worth of them, to the sober and spirituall Reader, By Vavasor Powel, Minister of the Gospel</i>
Staley	<i>The Book of Margery Kempe</i> , trans. Lynn Staley

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VA	Walter Daniel, <i>The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx</i> , ed. and trans. Frederick M. Powicke
WW	<i>The Writings of William Walwyn</i> , ed. Jack R. McMichael and Barbara Taft