

Gender and Emotions in Medieval
and Early Modern Europe:
Destroying Order,
Structuring Disorder

In memory of Philippa Maddern (1952–2014)

Scholar, leader, mentor, friend.

Edited by

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Chapter 5
Emotions and the Social Order of Time:
Constructing History at Louvain's
Carthusian House, 1486–1525

Matthew S. Champion

The first recorded moves to found a male Carthusian house in Louvain date from the late 1480s, with a purchase of land by Walter Waterlet, a member of the chapel of the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, provost of Maubeuse and scholaster of St Gudule's in Brussels.¹ In 1489, Charles's widow, Margaret of York, laid the foundation stone of the new monastery, inaugurating an ambitious building programme that continued into the sixteenth century.² Yet the foundations of Louvain's Carthusian monastery were not simply laid

¹ This chapter is written, with love, for Pip Maddern. I would like to thank Joanne Anderson, John Arnold, Michael Champion, Sarah Gador-Whyte, Miri Rubin and Miranda Stanyon for their help in preparing this chapter. E. Reusens, 'Chronique de la Chartreuse de Louvain depuis sa fondation, en 1498, jusqu'à l'année 1525', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 13 (1877): 228–99 (hereafter *Carthusian Chronicle*), at 230. The chronicle text used in this chapter follows this largely reliable edition, except where it deviates from the manuscript source; Walter Waterlet (also known as Walter Henry) was a one-time canon of Louvain's principal church, St Peter's. See E. Reusens, 'La fondation de la Chartreuse de Louvain et les prieurs de ce couvent jusqu'en 1762', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 16 (1879): 215. See further Micheline Soenen, 'Un amateur de musique à Bruxelles à la fin du XVe siècle: Gautier Henri, chanoine et écolâtre de Sainte-Gudule', in *Album Carlos Wyffels*, ed. Hilda Coppejans-Desmedt (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1987); Barbara Haggh, 'The Officium of the *Recollectio Festorum Beate Virginis* by Gilles Carlier and Guillaume Du Fay: Its Celebration and Reform in Leuven', in *Recevez ce mien petit labeur: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, eds Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 93–8.

² On the Burgundians, Carthusian patronage, and spirituality, see Mario Dâmen and Robert Stein, 'Collective Memory and Personal *Memoria*. The Carthusian Monastery of Scheut as a Crossroads of Urban and Princely Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Brabant', in *Mémoires conflictuelles et mythes concurrents dans les pays bourguignons (ca 1380–1580): Rencontres de Luxembourg (22 au 25 septembre 2011)*, eds J.M. Cauchies and P. Peporte (Neuchâtel: Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes, 2012); Ezechiel Lotz, 'Secret Rooms: Private Spaces for Private Prayer in Late-Medieval Burgundy and the Netherlands', in

in stone. Along with the physical building works, the Carthusians constructed their monastic house through writing and reading history, liturgical and memorial practices, and architecture and images, including extensive stained-glass windows. These practices constructed a community of memory, shaped through affective engagements with biblical narrative and the narrative of the monastery's own history. For Louvain's Carthusians, time was shot through with emotions; emotions that ordered the perception and experience of time.

Although the monastery was largely destroyed in the eighteenth century, a number of sources for considering its affective life survive.³ The chief material remains of the house are the famous stained-glass windows commissioned in the early sixteenth century, which were sold after the monastery's dissolution and are now scattered across the United Kingdom and North America.⁴ The chief textual sources for the house's early history are visitation records commencing in 1505,⁵ and an important manuscript miscellany containing the monastery's chronicle from its earliest years.⁶ The chronicle includes details of the social and political networks of the men and women who founded and populated the house, as well as the way these networks were memorialised in the monastery's history. Central to constructing this history was the deployment and representation of normative emotional responses to monastic life. The normative affective regimes of Louvain's Carthusian house are cast into relief by a rupture in narrative texture midway through the chronicle, where time ordered by the construction of each monastic cell shifts into a radically personalised and highly emotive catalogue of extraordinary events, violent crimes, and disasters clustering around the advent of the sixteenth century. By considering the nexus of the social and material

Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages, ed. Julian M. Luxford (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 166–77.

³ See Henri Delvaux, 'Chartreuse de Louvain', in *Monasticon Belge: Province de Brabant*, ed. Dom U. Berlière, 8 vols (Liège: Centre national de recherches d'histoire religieuse, 1890–1993), IV.6 (1972), 1492–3.

⁴ On the monastery's glass, see Jessie McNab, *Flemish Renaissance Stained Glass from the Great Cloister of the Carthusian Monastery in Louvain* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 1–7; Paul Williamson, ed., *Medieval and Renaissance Stained Glass in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 84–7, 146–7, plates 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69; Madeline Harrison Caviness, Jane Hayward, Meredith Parsons Lillich, Linda Morey Papanicolaou, Virginia Chieffo Raguin, and Helen Jackson Zakin, *Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1985), 141–8, 189; Hilary Wayment, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge: The Side-Chapel Glass* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society and Provost and Scholars of King's College, 1988), 55–66. On the functions of such glass, see Mario Damen, 'Vorstelljke Vensters. Glasraamschenkingen als instrument van devotie, memorie en representatie (1419–1519)', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 8 (2005): 140–200.

⁵ London, British Library (hereafter BL), MS Harley 3591.

⁶ Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (hereafter KBR), MS 15003–48.

world of the monastery, the ordering of time, and the deployment of emotions, this chapter seeks to understand some of the complex ways in which affective structures were shaped by the unfolding of time, and how narrative temporalities shaped, and were shaped by, languages of affect.

Louvain's Carthusian chronicle exists in a single manuscript compiled in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁷ The manuscript may be, or include parts of, a 'certain book written on paper for the refectory including histories, sermons and legends of the saints' recorded in British Library, MS Harley 3591, which would suggest that the chronicle was read communally in the monastery.⁸ The chronicle's first part was written by Jan Vekenstijl, one of the first brothers sent to found the community.⁹ It commences with the purchase of land, continues with a narrative ordered by building work on the monastery's cells, and concludes in 1502. A second chronicler then begins, returning to the year 1494 to mark the death of Waterlet and continuing in a strict yearly division to 1525. The chronicle appears in a manuscript miscellany showing few signs of unified design, but framed by an opening tract, the *Speculum biblie demonstrativum genealogie domini nostri Iesu Christi* (Mirror of the Bible demonstrating the Genealogy of Our Lord Jesus Christ) (Figure 5.1).¹⁰

The *Speculum* commences with Adam and concludes with a diagrammatic figure of the church. The remainder of the manuscript – at least in its current form – might be read as taking up the course of history in the final age of the world, from the inauguration of the church at Pentecost to the coming of the eschaton. Interpreted this way, the Carthusian chronicle participates in a larger history, one modelled on biblical temporality, marked by long continuities, genealogical thinking, and a potentially progressive *Heilgeschichte*.¹¹ In affective terms, the passage of time here might seem unmarked by rupture and violence, a *locus amoenus* like the paradisiacal garden of the *Speculum*'s first folio. Yet biblical history is also a history of rupture, of grief and joy, affliction and blessings, exile and return. This affective configuration was taken up in the narrative of Louvain's Carthusians in Vekenstijl's chronicle.

Traces of this configuration first emerge in the account of a founding bequest to the monastery made by Egidius de Platea in 1489. Egidius's donation had strings attached – for the bequest to be effective, the house had to be founded in

⁷ KBR MS 15003–48, fols 441r–462r.

⁸ BL, MS Harley 3591, fol. 17r: 'librum quemdam papireum cum historijs, sermonibus, et legendis sanctorum pro refectorio'; cf. *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, 6 vols (Ghent: J. Poelman, 1836–37), VI, 2.

⁹ KBR, MS 15003–48, fols 441r–446r. On Jan, see KBR, MS 11929–30, fols 164r–164v.

¹⁰ For the manuscript's contents, see J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 13 vols (Brussels: Henri Lamertin, 1901–48), II, 227–32.

¹¹ On progress and *Heilgeschichte*, see Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013), 119, 159–66.

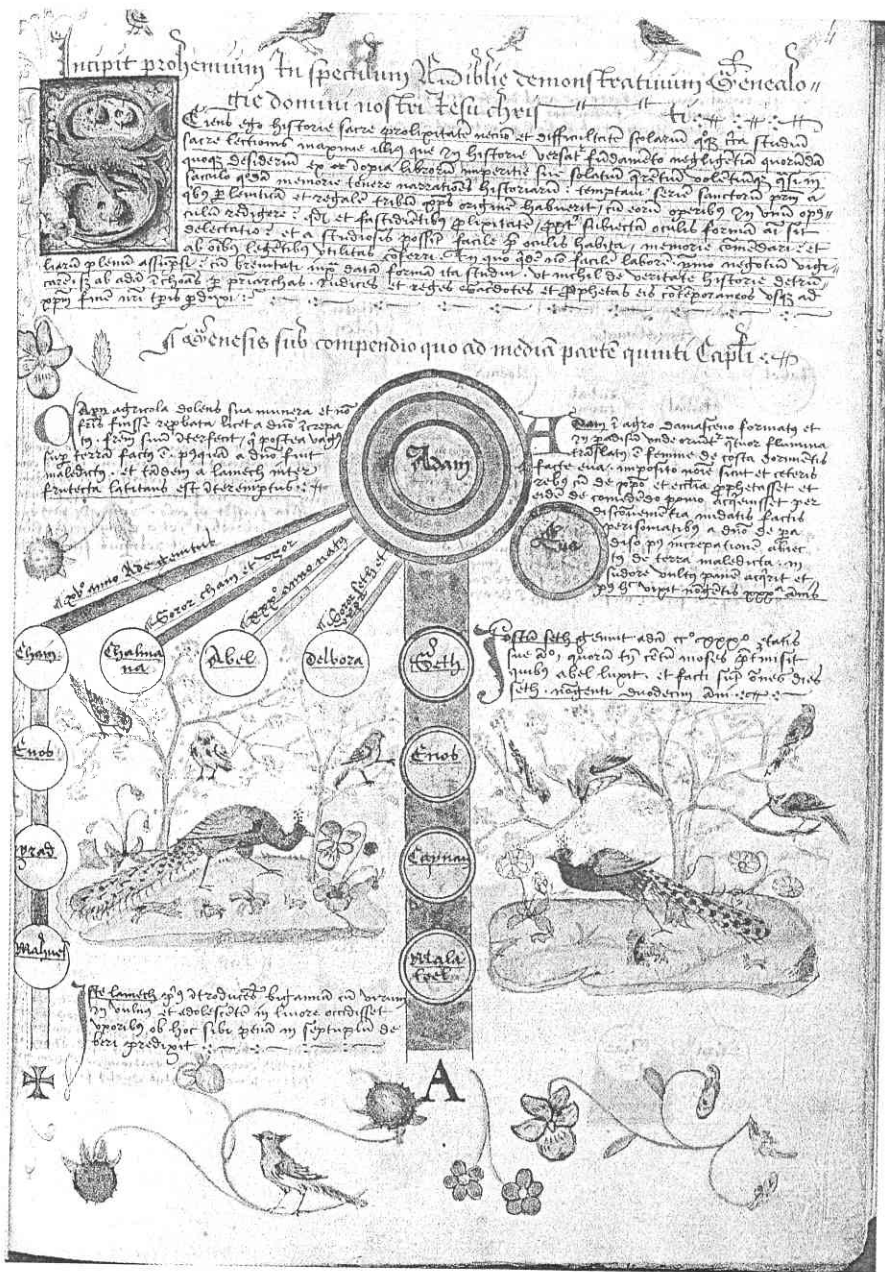


Figure 5.1 Genealogy of Christ from Adam, in *Speculum biblie demonstrativum genealogie domini nostri Iesu Christi*

Source: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 15003-48, 4r, reproduced with permission.

three years: 'because of the difficulty of the business, he feared that [the house] would not prosper; but no-one is able to resist the divine will; for he who has difficulty in the beginning, through the grace of God will have in the future a better end'.¹² The texture of narration here shifts around the central clause: 'sed voluntati divine nemo resistere potest'. God's will is consistent and provides a ground for hope: what begins in hardship will have a better end.

Hardship continues in Vekenstijl's account of the arrival of the monastery's first monks. Parachuted in to sing the divine office within the period required by Egidius's will, the brothers are met 'with joy and great happiness'.¹³ Yet joy swiftly turns to a catalogue of the trials endured by the monastery's first monks:

O how small was the foundation of this house! The next day we came to the place where we were to build the new monastery. And there a farmer was waiting for us, with his wife and manservant and maid, who cooked our food for us in their kitchen with their utensils. We didn't even have a seat, or a pot in which we could cook soup. We kept ourselves warm in their kitchen, where the family was sitting. We celebrated Mass in the hospital, and sometimes in the chapel of the Holy Cross. On the feast of Simon and Jude we sang the first Mass over a wooden box, which stood in a hall resembling a barn, where the wind and rain were so forceful that we could not keep a candle burning.¹⁴

Affective responses are evoked and maintained here through detailed narration that allows readerly identification with the monastery's plight. The particular practices of the Carthusian order, intimately familiar to the chronicle's first readers, intensify the brothers' ordeal. Carthusian monks were enclosed, devoted to a contemplative life removed from the world. Yet here they must sit, eat, and warm themselves in the presence not simply of the laity, but of women. The fireside was a site of particular anxiety for reformed religious houses in the fifteenth century. The 1466 Ghent convocation of the newly reformed Dominican congregation of Holland, for example, explicitly enjoined silence

¹² *Carthusian Chronicle*, 233: 'Timuit enim propter arduitatem negocii, quod non haberet prosperum successum; sed voluntati divine nemo resistere potest; licet haberet in principio difficile principium, per gratiam Dei habebit in futuro meliorem finem'.

¹³ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 233: 'cum gaudio et ingenti letitia'.

¹⁴ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 233-4: 'O quam parvam fundationem habuit domus ista! Altera die accessimus ad locum, ubi construendum esset novum monasterium. Et ibidem morabatur colonus, cum uxore et famulo et ancilla, qui coxerunt nobis escas nostras in coquina eorum cum utensilibus eorum. Nec sedem, nec ollam, in qua coqueremus potagium, minime habuimus. Calefacimus nos in coquina eorum, ubi familia sedebat. Celebravimus missas in hospitali infirmorum, et in capella aliquando sancte Crucis. In die Symonis et Jude cantavimus primam missam supra cistam ligneam, que stetit in aula instar horrei, ubi venti et pluvie vehementes erant, quod non potuimus candelam ardentem tenere'.

on brothers gathering around the fire.¹⁵ The highly problematic warm, enclosed (though not enclosed) intimacy of the kitchen is then sharply contrasted with the celebration of the Mass in a very unenclosed barn, as the elements break through roof and walls and extinguish the candles.

This passage inhabits at least two time frames. The historical time of the house's foundation is characterised by the brothers' hardships and their uncertain future. A monastic reader of the chronicle living after the monastery's successful foundation knows its 'better end', and can read each ordeal within a longer narrative arc of divine providence. This second temporality, designed to evoke gratitude for past events, and compassion with sufferings already endured and overcome, evokes the temporalities of the liturgy, which represented Christ's sufferings as real sufferings to be undergone by his followers, yet as sufferings overcome in his resurrection. It comes as no surprise, then, that a liturgical voice breaks into the narrative at this episode's conclusion: 'O how greatly is God to be praised, who does not abandon those who hope in him, as says the Psalmist: God is the protector of all who hope in him.'¹⁶ In this moment, the first and second temporalities are fused as the monastic readers of the chronicle join their voices with those pioneering brothers who placed their trust in God, his super-temporal protection enduring through past, present, and future; a community is constructed that inhabits the affective narratives of the monastery's history and joins its history to the trans-temporal community of the liturgy.

The keynote of this affective relation to time was hope. Hope was also a foundation of the monastery's affective architecture in the construction of its first cells.¹⁷ Jan Overhof, a citizen of Antwerp, donated land for the first cell, which became entangled in an ownership dispute with the Duke of Nassau.¹⁸ Perhaps the monastery would not have been founded without hope of this now-disputed income.¹⁹ Because of this very hope, God does not abandon his people – indeed this initial poverty is seen as a gift from God to foster the affective virtue of *caritas* (charity/love). Here the literal economy of the foundation is transformed into an affective economy where (citing Augustine) the diminution of disorderly greed is the growth of charity.²⁰ Once again, this transformation is marked by a liturgical invocation: the transformative clause is 'nevertheless, God did not abandon his people', echoing Psalm 37:28.²¹ The suffering of poverty

¹⁵ A. de Meyer, *La Congrégation de Hollande ou la réforme dominicaine en territoire bourguignon* (Liège: Imprimerie Soledi, 1946), 17.

¹⁶ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 234: 'O quantum laudandus est Deus, qui non deserit sperantes in se, sicut ait psalmista: Deus protector est omnium sperantium in se.'

¹⁷ Further evidence of attention to hope appears in BL, MS Harley 3591, fol. 2v.

¹⁸ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235.

¹⁹ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235.

²⁰ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235: 'Augmentum charitatis est diminutio cupiditatis.'

²¹ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 235: 'Nichilominus deus non derelinquet suos.'

becomes a redemptive process that transforms hope into love. The virtue and wound of poverty is an ordering concept here, mobilised in the history of the house to structure the pious, biblical, emotional narratives experienced by the founding monks.

This episode draws into focus the immense importance of donations for the new monastery. Traces of the role played by affective relationships in generating donations appear throughout the chronicle. Among the most obvious emotions are fear or love of God and solicitude for the soul, often portrayed as the donor's motivations.²² Sometimes, however, thicker affective descriptions emerge. The richest of these narratives concerns the monastery's chief benefactor, the merchant Walter Zielens. By detailing Walter's story, the chronicle participates in forming an emotional memory of the monastery's chief donor, combining *memoria* for his soul with the monastic disciplines of *caritas* and compassion.²³

The episode begins by outlining Walter's character as charitable, just, and fearful.²⁴ Then, surprisingly, the chronicler inserts himself into the narrative, drawing the reader more closely into the relationship described, and memorialising his own actions in providing for the monastery's future: 'I, brother Jan of Louvain, being procurator in this new plantation, on account of necessity and poverty determined to visit Walter in Antwerp, where the merchant was staying in a house called *in Ethiope*. And I revealed our need to him.'²⁵ Walter promises to visit the house in Louvain within a year but is kept from his journey by cares and anxieties. This problematic affective state – worldly cares impeding a pious intention – is reversed, perhaps by divine will, through a sudden illness.²⁶ Walter promises, if he is able to rise from his bed, to visit the house at Louvain. The visit is finally made, 'and on seeing [Jan], his old friend, he was delighted.'²⁷ This visit, made in person, is repeated each time the chronicle was read, making the donor present again, rejoicing at meeting his old friend.

²² For example, *Carthusian Chronicle*, 237, 239, 240. On *timor Dei*, see also BL, MS Harley, fols 2r, 3r.

²³ For a classic article in the densely forested field of *memoria*, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Die Gegenwart der Toten', in *Death in the Middle Ages*, eds Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 19–77.

²⁴ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 239: 'Hic erat elemosinarius, et justus et timoratus.'

²⁵ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 239: '[Walterum] ego frater Joannes de Lovanio, procurator existens in nova plantatione, propter necessitatem et penuriam consuevi visitare in Antwerpia in hospitio suo, ubi manebat praefatus mercator Walterus in hospitio, quod vocatur in Ethiope. Et aperui ei necessitatem nostram.'

²⁶ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 240: 'Under accidit forsitan divina voluntate, quod egrotare cepit acriter.'

²⁷ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 240: 'Qui videns me fratrem Johannem, antiquum suum amicum, gavisus est.'

The story is not, however, simply about making the monastery 'feel good' about its donor. Constructing a loving relationship also helped to maintain good relations with those administering Walter's will, chiefly his brother Gisbert, who would become (again after initial obstacles) another great benefactor. This Gisbert

who earlier was not well-inclined towards the house, through the grace of God was so turned and to such an extent, that he gave liberally of his goods and money, and he did not wish to stop or to withdraw his hand, until the church was complete, so that the brothers could sing the divine praises there. May God be praised, who inclined his heart toward us, and raised it, and gave him that good will. Protect him, God, in life from all evil, and in death from the snares of invisible enemies, and after death grant him eternal life, amen.²⁸

Gisbert's change of heart embodies the narrative pattern already traced in Vekenstijl's chronicle. Providence transforms Gisbert's reluctance into liberality. Gisbert's charity is directed towards the possibility of performing the liturgy, mirroring the narrative of the house's foundation. At a discursive level, the passage performs the institution of the liturgy following Gisbert's benefaction, by shifting into a liturgical and doxological mode even as Gisbert's newly transformed heart is aligned with the turning of God's heart towards the Carthusian house. The final transformation in register is from the doxological to the intercessory, as the chronicle takes up the social function of the Carthusian house as a community of pious *memoria*. Gratitude (doxology) leads to solicitude (intercession). Complementing the movement from affliction to redemption, this narrative structure encapsulates the monastery's function and *modus operandi*, a *modus* enacted each time the chronicle is read, as the reader joined the narrator in a trans-temporal memorial, liturgical, and emotional community.²⁹

Liturgy was, of course, a crucial site for shaping affective norms across early modern Europe. Carthusians performed much of the daily liturgy alone in their cells.³⁰ Read in this setting, the chronicle could be a further way of drawing together the community, which, like the text itself, was divided

²⁸ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 242: 'qui antea non erat inclinatus ad locum. Iam per gratiam Dei ita inclinatus erat et adhuc, quod de suo et de sua pecunia liberaliter contulit, et non vult cessare nec retrahere manum suam, donec ecclesia completa fuerit ut fratres potuerunt ibidem divinas laudes cantare. Laudetur Deus, qui cor ejus inclinavit ad nos, et suscitavit et dedit voluntatem istam bonam. Conservet eum Dominus in vita ab omni malo, et in morte ab insidiis invisibilium inimicorum, et post mortem sibi conferat vitam sempiternam, amen.'

²⁹ On emotional communities, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

³⁰ Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London: Longmans, 1955), 1–61; Anne D. Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion and Carthusian

into cells yet strove for unity. In forging affective regularity within Louvain's Carthusian house, liturgy and history were joined by images, prominent among them the extraordinary stained-glass windows installed in the great cloister and monastery church. One key figure in this rich array of glass was Mary Magdalene. Magdalene was important to the Carthusian order. By the fifteenth century, her identification with the *vita contemplativa*, in contrast to the *vita activa* of her (supposed) sister Martha, had been widely established.³¹ Her particular importance within a Burgundian Carthusian milieu is indicated by her appearance as the sole figure beneath the crucifix that surmounted Claus Sluter's remarkable Well of Moses, at the Charterhouse at Champmol, the centre of Burgundian dynastic *memoria*.³² More locally, Magdalene's importance is demonstrated by images like *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee* (1445–50) by the Louvain artist Dieric Bouts (Figure 5.2). In this vivid image of devotion, Mary anoints Christ's feet with her tears, providing a model of affective penitence and piety for a Carthusian monk kneeling in prayer.³³

Louvain's Carthusian house was itself dedicated to Mary Magdalene as the 'house of blessed Mary Magdalene beneath the cross on the mount of Calvary.'³⁴ This name mirrored the physical setting of the monastery: Vekenstijl's chronicle identifies the land bought by Walter Waterlet as being in the parish of St James, near the chapel of the Holy Cross.³⁵ Louvain's Carthusians also gathered material on Magdalene beyond her standard legend from the Dominican Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio's *Aurea Rosa* and Petrarch's devotional poem *Dulcis amica Dei*.³⁶ Petrarch's poem commences with a brief imprecation to Magdalene to

Devotional Practices', in *The Sacred Image East and West*, eds Robert G. Ousterhout and Leslie Brubaker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 192.

³¹ Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 116–42. In the Carthusian context, see Susie Nash, 'Claus Sluter's "Well of Moses" for the Chartreuse de Champmol Reconsidered: Part III', *Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008): 730.

³² On the well, see Nash's tripartite study: 'Claus Sluter's "Well of Moses" for the Chartreuse de Champmol Reconsidered: Parts I, II and III', *Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005); 148 (2006); 150 (2008). The literature on Champmol is extensive. The most recent monograph is Sherry C.M. Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

³³ Catheline Périer-d'Ieteren, Paul Philippot, and Valentine Henderiks, *Dieric Bouts: The Complete Works* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2006), 230–46.

³⁴ Delvaux, 'Chartreuse', 1457; *Carthusian Chronicle*, 251: 'domus beate Marie Magdalene sub cruce in monte Calvarie'.

³⁵ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 230.

³⁶ KBR, MS 15003–48, fols 384r–387v. On Silvestro and Magdalene, see Michael Tavuzzi, *Prierias: The Life and Works of Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio, 1456–1527* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 32–4. For an English translation, see Francis Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age*, trans A.S. Bernardo, S. Levin, and R.A. Bernardo (Baltimore: Johns



Figure 5.2 Dieric Bouts, *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, 40.5 x 60cm, Oil on Wood, c. 1445–50

Source: Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, reproduced with permission.

'look kindly' on the speakers' tears'.³⁷ These tears mirror Magdalene's tears, which 'bathe[d] [Christ's] holy feet'.³⁸ Christ's memory of these tears, her clinging to the foot of the cross, and her 'tears soaking his wounds', are the cause for his appearance to her first after his resurrection.³⁹ The final lines turn to Mary's life as a contemplative hermit.⁴⁰ In her cave, Magdalene's 'hunger, cold, and hard bed of stone | were sweetened by [her] love and hope', and she is 'seven hours of the day upward borne, to hear responsive hymns of heavenly choirs'.⁴¹ The poem constructs Mary both as a patron and an exemplum of piety, whose penitence and grief are transformed through the liturgical ordering of time into heavenly joys, nurtured by the virtues of love and hope. In dedicating themselves

Hopkins University Press, 1992), 597–8; for links with Carthusian spirituality, see Eva Duperray, *Le Carmen de Beata Maria Magdalena*. Mari-Madeleine dans l'oeuvre de François Pétrarque: image emblématique de la Belle Laure; in *Marie Magdalene dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, ed. Eva Duperray (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989).

³⁷ Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 1–3, from KBR, MS 15003–48, fol. 387v.

³⁸ Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, line 4.

³⁹ Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 7–20.

⁴⁰ Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 21–36.

⁴¹ Petrarch, *Dulcis amica Dei*, lines 31–2, 34–6.

to Magdalene, Louvain's Carthusians knit themselves into a single body – the body of the devout, contemplative, penitential disciple – standing sorrowfully beneath the cross and praying the liturgical hours. This body is a gendered and affective body, transfused with deep compassion and love for her crucified saviour. Late medieval Christians were accustomed to such cross-gendered identifications: believers were Christian by virtue of their incorporation into both the masculine body of Christ (especially in the Eucharist), and the feminine body of Mary (the Church, the Bride of Christ).⁴² Identification with the penitent and celibate Magdalene was particularly apposite within monastic orders like the Carthusians. This identification finds a startling visual expression in one of the monastery's windows (Figure 5.3).

Magdalene kneels with arms upraised in a gesture of grief common in her iconography from the thirteenth century onwards, as the mendicant orders increasingly emphasised her sorrow and love for Christ.⁴³ For Carthusians, Magdalene's pose might have held more particular resonances. In their rite, the celebrant performed the Canon of the Mass with arms extended *in modum crucifixi*.⁴⁴ Devoutly viewing Magdalene in the stained-glass window, the Carthusian monk is strongly invited to mirror the actions of the house's patron, as she mirrors the form of the crucified Christ with arms uplifted on the cross.⁴⁵ This kind of visual compassion – the sharing of Christ's bodily form as a way of participating in his Passion – had a venerable tradition in late medieval piety, in the Carthusian tradition, and beyond.⁴⁶ The Carthusian viewer's double identification with Christ and Magdalene through a liturgical gesture familiar to his own body suggests how the Carthusian Mass itself belonged to a cross-temporal web of affective *imitatio*.⁴⁷

⁴² This generalisation is not meant to efface possible genderings of Christ's body as feminine or Mary's body as masculine.

⁴³ See Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalene: Myth and Metaphor* (London: HarperCollins, 1993); Jansen, *Making of the Magdalene*, 91–3.

⁴⁴ Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion', 196.

⁴⁵ Mary Magdalene is likewise given particular prominence as a model for affective piety in two panels of the life of Christ – the raising of Lazarus, and the anointing of Christ's feet at the house of Simon the Pharisee – now in the Church of St Gwenllwyfo, Llanwenllwyfo. For the church and its windows, see the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies' online Stained Glass in Wales catalogue: <http://stainedglass.llgc.org.uk/site/324> [accessed 15 May 2014].

⁴⁶ Otto G. von Simson, 'Compassio and Co-redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*', *The Art Bulletin* 35, no. 1 (1953): 9–16. For a parallel reading of a van der Weyden Crucifixion within a Carthusian milieu, see Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion'.

⁴⁷ See also Hedeman, 'Roger van der Weyden's Escorial Crucifixion', 197.

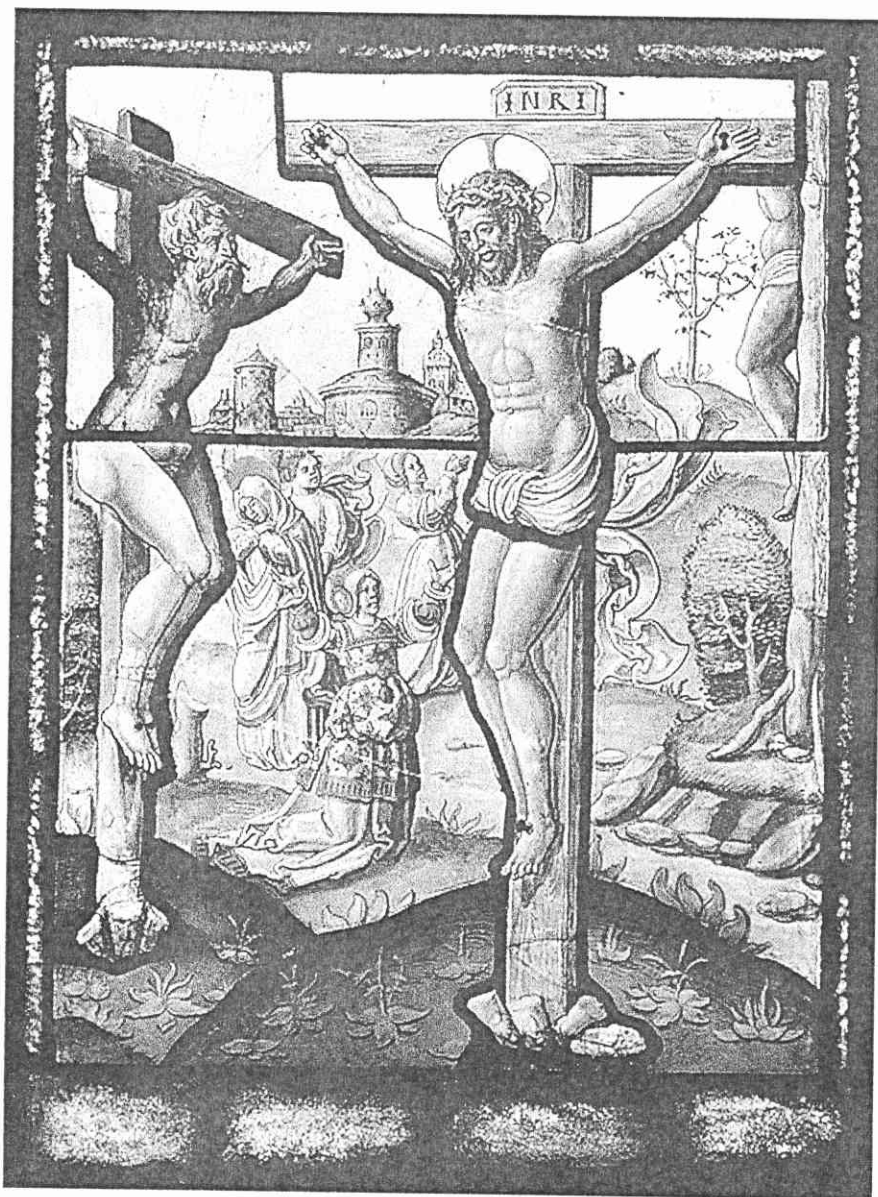


Figure 5.3 *Crucifixion* from the Carthusian Monastery of Louvain, Stained Glass, 66 x 49.5cm, c. 1525–1530

Source: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.metmuseum.org.

An unusual iconographical feature of the window heightens this sense of the devout Carthusian's substitution for Magdalene in the Passion scene.⁴⁸ In the sixteenth century, artists experimented with the iconography of the crucifixion, altering the depth of field, point of view, and perspective to create dramatic new visualisations of the events on Calvary.⁴⁹ In such images, the bad thief is sometimes marginalised, embodying his exclusion from Christ's gaze (and the community of the elect) as Christ turns towards the good thief.⁵⁰ The Louvain window removes the bad thief altogether, for the group of mourners are not at the foot of the central cross at all, but rather turn towards a partially obscured cross to the viewer's right. This cross appears to be a representation of the crucified Christ from another perspective. This split perspective allows the devout viewer to inhabit the same perspective on Christ as the devout Magdalene, while also gazing on her. The image thus explores the paradoxes of inhabiting biblical narratives through affective visionary piety. By disordering the quotidian possibilities of space and perspective, the window perhaps ordered and trained the affective dispositions of its viewer towards pity, repentance, and compassion.

One final figure warrants attention: the good thief. Both he and Magdalene were models of sin, penitence, and redemption.⁵¹ In a visual expression of their similarities, these figures appear on the same angled plane in the image, both with arms raised. By presenting the devout viewer with these analogous models of penitent virtue without the bad thief – a figure of unrepentant blasphemy and despair – the image perhaps provided a clean lens for perceiving the penitential virtues of the devout soul. A latent contrast between the virtue of hope (*spes*) and the vice of despair (*desperatio*) is certainly in operation. Yet the image might also challenge the Carthusian viewer about his perspective on the crucifixion: did the monk himself inhabit the position of the unrepentant thief, despairing of salvation and eternally damned? Or did he mirror those grave sinners who, through their penitent hope, love, and fellow suffering, would one day be with Christ in paradise? The devout Carthusian might thus inhabit a shifting space, encouraged by the unsettling image to move around the cross in an embodiment of the Carthusian motto *stat crux dum volvitur orbis* ('the cross stands still while the world turns').⁵²

⁴⁸ I have thus far been unable to discover a direct model.

⁴⁹ For example, Lucas Cranach the Elder's *Crucifixion* (1503), Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

⁵⁰ Luke 23:39–43.

⁵¹ On the mendicant foundations of this discourse, see Jansen, *Making of the Magdalene*, 199–244; Janet Robson, 'The Pilgrim's Progress: Reinterpreting the Trecento Fresco Programme in the Lower Church at Assisi', in *The Art of the Franciscan Order*, ed. William R. Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 54–60.

⁵² King, *Liturgies*, 2. Even more speculatively, we might read *orbis* as referring to the globes of the eyes, a secondary meaning of the word active for sixteenth-century readers

The revolving of the world, of course, evokes the movement of time. For Louvain's Carthusians, what remained stable within time was the redemptive action of God. Desiring to cling to this stable centre, like Magdalene in so many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century crucifixions, Louvain's Carthusian house, as we have seen, used histories, liturgies, and images to inhabit the affective narratives of Christian history.⁵³ Escaping time was not possible; making a still, ordered, enclosed space for performing and re-embodying virtuous affective relationships with time and God, however, might transform time into the stable patterns discerned in salvation history.

And yet stable narrative time could be disrupted, as the final section of Vekenstijl's chronicle startlingly shows. In 1500, a terrible flood struck Louvain, destroying gates, walls, and homes, and sweeping coffins out of St Gertrude's church.⁵⁴ Many fled to their roofs to escape the rising waters, and afterwards the town's inhabitants faced terrible famine.⁵⁵ The chronicle's account of this disaster follows the pattern already identified: communal sufferings are written into a structure of divine providence, this time through the language of God's refining anger.

Let us, the people of Louvain, praise our God, who scourges us in the present, that he might spare us in the future, and turn his anger from us and send forth his blessing on us. He strikes and heals, wounds and cures, kills and gives life. Therefore, let us be patient, awaiting God's blessing. For it is he who can restore all which has been lost in the twinkling of an eye.⁵⁶

The present thus becomes a time of divine scourging which unites the suffering town of Louvain with the suffering body of the scourged and crucified Christ.⁵⁷ Once again it is the entry of liturgical discourse, *Laudemus*, that performs the

through Ovid's *Amores* (1.8.16) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (12.670).

⁵³ See, for example, Sandro Botticelli's *Crucifixion* (c. 1497), Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, MA.

⁵⁴ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243.

⁵⁵ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243.

⁵⁶ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243: 'Laudemus nos Lovanienses deum nostrum, qui nos flagellat in presenti, ut nobis parcat in futuro; et avertat iram suam a nobis, et immitat nobis suam benedictionem. Ipse percutit et sanat, vulnerat et medetur, mortificat et vivificat. Simus igitur patientes, expectantes Dei benedictionem. Ipse est, qui in ictu oculi possit omnia perdita restituere.'

⁵⁷ For an example of the scourge, time, and historiography, see Baron Kervyn De Lettenhove, ed., *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, 8 vols (Brussels: F. Heussner, 1863–66), I, 3–8. On its theological importance, see Matthew Champion, 'Scourging the Temple of God: Towards an Understanding of Nicolas Jacquier's *Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum* (1458)', *Parergon* 28, no. 1 (2011): 1–24, at 11–13.

application of this central Christian narrative to contemporary life. In this particular passage, the guarantee of hope amid suffering is located in God's mastery over time. Not only is God active in the vast stretch of time – in his foreknowledge scourging in the present so that he may show future mercy – he is also able to act in the swiftest and smallest measure of time: in the twinkling of an eye (*in ictu oculi*).⁵⁸ In this simple episode, then, a whole structure of experiencing and relating to time is revealed and, in its revelation, deployed to explain and ameliorate Louvain's present suffering, to reorder its disordered relationship with God.

This burst of hope is, however, followed by another catalogue of disturbing, violent events, triggered by a story of demonic possession: 'Item, in the year of the Lord, 1501, around Lent, a certain girl in Louvain was possessed, who was staying not far from the Chapel of St Margaret.'⁵⁹ After 1500, a Jubilee year, 1501 was a 'wretched year, for it contained many pitiable things.'⁶⁰ Around the feast of the Purification, a man fell into a boiling vat and broke his neck, and a young butcher killed his uncle, and was in turn gruesomely punished. There follow three short narratives recording the suicide of a young cleric, a secretary's attempted suicide, and the suicide of a woman.⁶¹

While these violent events can be read under the sign of a demonic scourge, the stories themselves are situated in a new temporality, one which breaks the chronological shape of the chronicle and its arrangement by the building of monastic cells: the temporality of the strange and wondrous event.

Item, in my time, around the middle of Lent in the year [14]95, a certain young cleric, around 22 years old, wished to kill himself either out of impatience or some discontent. He was, however, of honest life, as it is said, for he was not able to hear a dishonest word, and if he did, immediately, as if hit by a stone on his forehead, he would depart. He took counsel, and went to confession; and the lord *terminarius* of Louvain (from the Carmelite Order) said that he had placed him in peace and in serenity of conscience. When the Sunday in the middle of Lent had come, this man hung himself with a rope on a beam; and I marvelled greatly, for his feet were scarcely above the ground, and if he had stood erect he would not have been hung. And I put my hand between his neck and the noose, and indeed his neck was broken; and I marvelled, when I saw it. I hastened onto the roof and looked out. Item, in the year [14]98 there was a certain secretary ... master Bartholomeus de Ruysseche. He strove to die, and did not wish to live any

⁵⁸ Recalling I Corinthians 15:52.

⁵⁹ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243: 'Item, anno Domini m°v° primo, circa carnis privium, fuit quendam puella in Lovanio obsessa, que manebat non longe a capella sancte Margarete.'

⁶⁰ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 243: 'post annum gratie erat annus miserie, nam multe miserie contigerunt.'

⁶¹ For other suicides in Louvain, see Raymond van Uytven, *Het dagelijks leven in een middeleeuwse stad: Leuven anno 1448* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1998), 74.

longer. Thus he sought out every way of killing himself out of some despair or faintheartedness. He, receiving and hearing advice from everyone, was not able to free himself from such a temptation. At length he cast himself into a well, so that he might easily be drowned; but, with the protection of divine grace, he was not able to drown before help arrived and he, though unwilling, was pulled out. Afterwards he returned to himself and to his office, giving thanks to God, who had rescued him from such great danger. Item, in the year of our Lord [14]97 a certain woman in Louvain quarrelled with her neighbour, and she, out of excessive impatience or at the prompting of the Devil, threw herself into a well, and was drowned. She was pulled out by the servants of the bailiff and was hung on a fork.⁶² Oh, what an evil passion is anger! Humans ought to preserve themselves from anger, lest they be drawn back into the dominion of the Devil.⁶³

Here, the author breaks with standard chronology and shifts into a personalised time (*tempore meo*). The young cleric's suicide shifts time into a form not ordered by time's natural course, but skipping from 1501 to 1495, 1498, and 1497. This difficult passage admits a variety of interpretations. One takes its inspiration from theorisations of suicide as a moment of rupture: fringing on the non-narratable, the intentions and motivations of the suicide cannot be recovered.⁶⁴

⁶² On such forks, see Hannes Lowagie, "Bij desperatien". Zelfmoord in het graafschap Vlaanderen tijdens de Bourgondische periode (1384–1500), *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis* 11 (2008): 107–9.

⁶³ *Carthusian Chronicle*, 244: 'Item, tempore meo, circa mediam quadragesimam anno xcv, quidam clericus adolescens, habens annos circiter xxij, ex impatientia vel ex quadam displicitentia voluit seipsum occidere. Erat tamen honeste vite, prout dicebatur, nam non poterat audire verbum inhonestum, quin statim quasi lapide fronte percussus recessit. Habuit consilium, quod ivit ad confessionem; et dominus terminarius Lovaniensis de ordine Carmelitarum dixit quod posuerat eum in pace et serenitate conscientie. Qui, cum dominica medie quadragesime surrexisset, seipsum suspendit cum mappa ad trabem; et miror valde, vix erat per pedem supra terram, et si stetisset erectus non fuisset suspensus. Et misi manum meam inter collum eius et laqueum, et tamen collum erat confractum; de quo mirabar, cum vidissem. Perrexi super solarium et perspexi. Item, anno xcviij erat quidam secretarius ... magister Bartholomeus de Ruysseche. Hic mortem expetiit, et noluit diutius vivere. Unde omnem modum seipsum occidendi quesivit ex quadam desperatione vel pusillanimitate. Qui ab omnibus recipiens et audiens consilium a tali temptatione non poterat liberari. Tandem proiecit seipsum in puteo per dorsum, ut facilius submergeretur; sed divina gratia protegente, non potuit mergi, donec succurrerent, qui eum invitum extraherent. Postea rediit ad seipsum et ad officium suum, deo gratias agens, qui eum a tanto periculo eruit. Item, anno domini xcviij quedam mulier in Lovanio litigavit cum vicina sua, et illa ex nimia impatientia vel ex instigante dyabolo proiecit se in puteo, et submersa a clientibus villici extracta in furca est suspensa. Och, quam mala passio ira! Debent se homines servare ab ira, ne in dominium dyaboli redigantur.'

⁶⁴ Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–2000), I, 21–40.

This makes the meaning of the violent act ambiguous.⁶⁵ Narrative breakdown in the chronicle is suggested by the episode's mysterious ending – the chronicler rushing to the roof to look out. Intention, here, as with the suicide, is opaque: there is no narrative closure. In the other suicide-related episodes, the chronicler might be seen to 'work' on his experience, framing suicide within God's mercy in the second narrative, and the evils of the passions in the third. This developing reintegration of suicide into norms of divine protection and diabolic temptation is mapped onto the temporal plane as the dating of the episodes returns from *tempus meum* to *anno Domini* in the third episode.

Another approach to these unsettling stories would situate them alongside contemporary discussions of time and narrative. In late fifteenth-century Louvain, one such discussion arose in work on Gospel chronology undertaken by the eminent university theologian Peter de Rivo. A 1499 entry in the Carthusian chronicle records de Rivo's death and the donation of his canon law and theology books to the house. Among de Rivo's extensive literary output was a harmonisation of the four Gospels, the *Monotesseron evangelicum de verbo dei temporaliter incarnato* (Monotesseron of the Gospels concerning the Word of God Incarnate in Time).⁶⁶ The *Monotesseron's* introductory dialogue between a *discipulus* (Simon) and *magister* (Peter) explores how narratives organise time. Simon observes that historians often alter the arrangements of events, ceasing to follow the natural flow of time.⁶⁷ Peter responds, drawing on Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, to outline a taxonomy of narrative rearrangements of 'natural' time, including rearrangements for narrating doctrine and miracles.⁶⁸ This alteration in time's order explains differences between the Gospels, in passages like the Sermon on the Mount, interpreted by Peter as gathering together material from a variety of times within Jesus' ministry for doctrinal purposes. It also, crucially, accounts for variations between Gospels in the chronology of Christ's crucifixion.⁶⁹ In Matthew, the temple curtain is torn following Christ's death;⁷⁰ in Luke, it happens beforehand.⁷¹ Peter argues that Matthew's chronology is accurate, since Luke altered the order of narration

⁶⁵ Cf. Philippa C. Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422–1442* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 12–13.

⁶⁶ For discussion of the *Monotesseron*, see Matthew Champion, 'The Fullness of Time: Temporalities of the Fifteenth-Century Low Countries' (PhD diss., University of London, 2014), 204–64. Louvain's Carthusians may have known de Rivo's *Monotesseron*, but surviving book lists do not include significant information on the house's manuscripts. See Algemeen Rijksarchief, Comité de la Caisse de religion, 73/108.

⁶⁷ KBR, MS 129–30, fol. 13v.

⁶⁸ KBR, MS 129–30, fol. 13v.

⁶⁹ KBR, MS 129–30, fol. 14v.

⁷⁰ Matthew 27:50–51.

⁷¹ Luke 23:45–46.

to join the miracle of the darkened sun at the hour of Christ's death with the rending of the temple curtain.⁷² Read in this context, Vekenstijl's narration groups together violent events under the sign of a miraculous/doctrinal temporality, with the implication that these stories are partly organised to edify their readers. The violent narratives in this cluster become available for interpretation not as random events, but as ways of structuring the perception of time – the threshold of the new century – and shaping the affective norms of the surrounding community.⁷³

Edifying stories should not surprise us within a culture saturated with aural, visual, and personal *exempla*.⁷⁴ In the *exempla* tradition, short narratives concerning suicide (often involving members of religious orders) provided material on disciplining the passions and maintaining stable affective lives within monastic communities and beyond.⁷⁵ Read this way, the affective vocabulary within the chronicle's narratives arguably folds its traumatic events into recognised (though problematic) narrative structures. The suicide in the Carthusian house is attributed to *impatientia*, inability to endure *passio* (suffering) – so important to a Carthusian's *imitatio Christi* – or to *displacentia*, a discontentedness tied to lack of contentment with one's lot, a critical problem for an order founded on monastic stability. Similarly, Bartholomeus's attempted suicide is framed by possible despair (*desperatio*) and faintheartedness (*pusillanimitas*). Despair, in the *exempla* tradition and more widely, was tied to an inability to believe in the magnitude of God's mercy towards the sinful soul.⁷⁶ Bartholomeus's attempted suicide might thus exemplify a failure to correctly understand both penitence (hence the faintheartedness) and God's mercy. God's intervention to protect Bartholomeus becomes an exemplary sign of mercy towards even the most destitute sinner, one who comes closest to despair and yet is saved. The trope of despair might, indeed, be adumbrated in the cleric's suicide. Exemplary narratives and illustrations often depict a demon of despair fleeing the scene after a suicide.⁷⁷ Perhaps this is why the chronicler rushes to the

⁷² Cf. Augustine, *De consensu*, 3.19.

⁷³ A classic study of the role of violence in forming communal order is Maddern, *Violence and Social Order*.

⁷⁴ Visual and personal *exempla* appeared in the monastery's windows; visitations called for 'examples of true humility and true charity'; textual *exempla* appeared throughout KBR, MS 15003–48, and in other sermon collections. See BL, MS Harley 3591, fols 1v, 17r; Delvaux, 'Chartreuse', 1462.

⁷⁵ See Murray, *Suicide*, I, 331–47. For further *exempla*, see Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1969), nos 208, 454, 1192, 4664–72, 5212.

⁷⁶ Lowagie, "Bij desperatien", 114–17.

⁷⁷ Murray, *Suicide*, I, 334–5.

roof: to see the demon of despair that has caused the death of this young cleric. The final story could be read analogously as an exemplum of the dangers of *ira*.

In a remarkable reflection on the *exempla* tradition, Jacques Le Goff suggested that *exempla* were deeply entwined with the history of time.⁷⁸ Nestled within his reflection is the observation that 'the time of the exemplum drew upon and in turn nourished the time of private memory'.⁷⁹ In light of the foregoing reading of Louvain's Carthusian chronicle, we might add that exemplary time forms its readers through the constant reapplication of affective norms: the time of the *exemplum*, the time of the monastic chronicle as a whole, the time of the Carthusian liturgy, and the time of the devotional image, are shot through with emotion. Vekenstijl's personal memory seems shaped by the affective narrative plots of *exempla*. It can become, through its inscription in the chronicle – a public, shared memory within the community of monastic readers – a collective exemplary *memoria* sharing the contours of affective temporality, which we have already seen embodied in the chronicle's *memoria* of the community's history and benefactors, and in its liturgical and devotional *memoria* of Christ's passion.

Jan Vekenstijl's chronicle has a particular 'emotional style', a style that proved challenging for later readers. In an early sixteenth-century chronicle written at Louvain's house by Jan de Thimo, and drawing heavily on Vekenstijl's chronicle, references to Vekenstijl's personal experiences and relationships are removed. Was Jan's affective history perhaps seen as 'too emotional'? Do we see traces here of competing understandings of history, the subjective voice, and the deployment of emotions in Louvain's Carthusian house? Again, a seventeenth-century historical compilation by the Brussels Carthusian Pieter de Wal emends Vekenstijl's account to remove some of his personal material, and completely excises the material on wonders.⁸⁰ In these cases, the practice of history disciplines the personal and constructs a normative voice with a narrowed affective range. Was this transformation coloured by changing relationships between affective discipline and masculinity? By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Vekenstijl was read in a new temporal and affective register: no longer a subjective historian in need of discipline, he was celebrated for his 'style très naïf' and 'grande naïvité'.⁸¹ Such accounts of Vekenstijl's style appear alongside scholarly discourse on the 'Flemish primitives', and characterisations of the emotional childhood of the autumnal Middle Ages. By the early twenty-first century Vekenstijl is anything but naive – he appears now as an affective

⁷⁸ Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 78–80.

⁷⁹ Le Goff, *Medieval Imagination*, 80.

⁸⁰ KBR, MS 4051–68, fols 47r–58v; Delvaux, 'Chartreuse', 1460.

⁸¹ Reusens, 'Chronique', 229; Delvaux, 'Chartreuse', 1460.

historian engaged in emotional regulation and exploration, both for himself and his future readers. Through the pane of his text, we can see some of the ways that emotions and the social order of time were bound together in sixteenth-century Louvain.

Chapter 6

A Landscape of Ruins: Decay and Emotion in Late Medieval and Early Modern Antiquarian Narratives¹

Alicia Marchant

[The antiquary] is a man strangley thrifty of Time past ... he fetches out many things when they are now all rotten and stinking. Hee is one that hath that unnaturall disease to bee enamour'd of old age and wrinckles, and loves all things (as Dutchmen doe Cheese) the better for being mouldy and worme-eaten ... A great admirer he is of the rust of old Monuments, and reads only those Characters, where time hath eaten out the letters ... He never looks up on himself til he is gray-hair'd, and then he is pleased with his owne Antiquity.²

Antiquaries have a long history of bad press. In popular imagery and satire of the early modern era, such as John Earle's description of 1628, antiquaries are gendered and aged, frequently appearing as decrepit old men.³ The physical qualities of the antiquary match that of his subject; both are ancient and display outward signs of the processes of wear, aging, and decline. The material objects are rotten, mouldy, and rusty, the antiquary is 'gray-hair'd' and wrinkled. The emotional strength of the antiquary too has eroded; he is in his dotage, reminiscing, and most likely senile.

The popular perception, although it is a caricature, nonetheless reveals something of the relationship imagined in the early modern era between antiquaries and the material objects of their study. Their attitudes towards the

¹ This chapter was inspired by Philippa Maddern's work on chronicle narrative. My interest began as an undergraduate when I read Philippa's article 'Weather, War and Witches: Sign and Cause in Fifteenth-Century English Vernacular Chronicles', in *A World Explored: Essays in Honour of Laurie Gardiner*, ed. Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1993), 77–98. I thank her for sharing with me her great wealth of knowledge over many years. Her energy and love for her subject remain a constant source of inspiration.

² John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie. Or A peece of the World Discovered; in Essays and Characters* (London, 1628), sigs C1v–C2r.

³ For a detailed examination of the image of the antiquary see Daniel Woolf, 'Images of the Antiquary in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707–2007*, ed. Susan Pearce (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 11–43.