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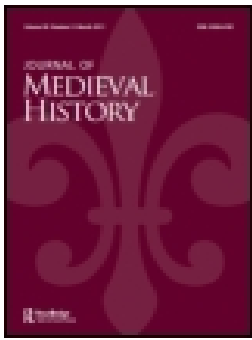
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Sorrow, masculinity and papal authority in the writing of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) and his curia

Kirsty Day 

School of History, Classics, and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK

ABSTRACT

This article examines how Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) and his curia used emotions to communicate the supreme authority of the pope through a gendered order of knowledge and feeling in letters. Innocent and his curia worked codes of masculinity into an emotional regime of excellence and spiritual possibility, one that excluded women and femininity and enabled the derogation of feminised forms of spiritual authority. Focusing on Innocent and his curia's use of sorrowful emotions, it traces how Innocent interpreted emotions evoked by earthly frustrations as feminine, and a threat to papal primacy and the authority of the exclusively male, clerical hierarchy on which it stood. Understanding how the pope did so helps us to make sense of how he guarded the papal office as the exclusive preserve of men, as well as how the practice of emotion shaped the communication of hegemonic masculine power in the Middle Ages.

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Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) and his curia articulated and reinforced a coherent emotional regime, one which incorporated normative assumptions of masculine excellence and superiority into a theological schema for papal authority.¹ Innocent's letters are particularly privileged sources for this process, as they enable us to trace how Innocent imagined papal authority along these lines in its relational and negotiated

CONTACT Kirsty Day  kirsty.day@ed.ac.uk  School of History, Classics, and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, William Robertson Wing, Old Medical School, Teviot Place, Edinburgh EH8 9YL, UK

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this paper: Andrea: Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*. The Medieval Mediterranean 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Cheney and Semple: C.R. Cheney and W.H. Semple, *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III Concerning England (1198–1216)* (London: T. Nelson, 1953); *Die Register Innocenz*: Othmar Hageneder and others, eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III*. 14 vols (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1964–2018), with translation adapted from Andrea.

The concept of an 'emotional regime' is taken from William Reddy's *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). As he defines it, an emotional regime is the 'set of normative emotions and the rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them; a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime' (129). The concept applies well to Innocent's curia, bearing in mind Barbara Rosenwein's prescriptive caution over the application of the term to societies which were not organised around the nation state. See Barbara Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: International Journal for the History and Theory of Emotions* 1 (2010): 22–3. My reason for preferring Reddy's emotional regime over other models, such as Rosenwein's emotional communities, is that it offers more scope for analysing how emotions were used as a tool of government by ruling structures, and how such usage operates beyond the rhetorical and narrative.

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development. Innocent worked codes of masculinity drawn from lay and clerical contexts into a regime of excellence and spiritual possibility, one that implicitly excluded women and femininity, and which also enabled or produced the derogation of feminised forms of spiritual *auctoritas*. This article is the first to examine how Innocent and his curia communicated the supreme authority of the pope through a gendered order of knowledge and feeling, and it demonstrates that our understanding both of Innocent's authority and of how masculinity structured the operation of elite ecclesiastical institutions is enriched by tracing how they did so.

Innocent assumed the papal throne during a time at which the papacy had become one of the most influential institutions in Latin Christendom.² The pope's authority changed, and did so with relative rapidity, over the century prior to Innocent's pontificate.³ Over the course of the twelfth century, a number of reforms established the Church as one centred on the Roman pontiff, with a strong hierarchy and a new perception of the pope's role regarding secular rulers. During Innocent's pontificate, the papacy made ambitious statements about the universality of the Latin Church and the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. Innocent styled the papacy as a vicariate not only of St Peter but of Christ. His tenure of the papacy culminated in one of the largest and most radical ecumenical councils in the history of Christianity: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Investigation into Innocent and his curia's conceptualisation of the papacy as an exclusively male office is a significant omission in scholarship on how Innocent imagined and performed papal authority; moreover, Constance M. Rousseau is the only historian to have given any extended consideration at all to Innocent's ideas on gender.⁴ In almost three decades of scholarship on the construction and performance of medieval masculinities, there has never been an extended analysis of papal masculinity.⁵

Focusing on how the papacy treated sorrow and its cognates in curial letters, I argue that identifying how Innocent and his curia's emotional regime operates reveals much about the way in which they guarded the office of the pope as an exclusively masculine preserve. This regime consigned feeling for temporal things to a lesser state or lower bodily faculty than feeling for, or knowledge of, the eternal. For Innocent and his curia, direction of feeling towards the temporal challenged papal primacy and the authority of the clerical hierarchy on which it stood. Emotions evoked by earthly frustrations

² On Innocent's conceptualisation of papal authority, see especially Michele Maccarone, *Chiesa e stato nella dottrina di Innocenzo III* (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1940); Helene Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, trans. Walter Sax, Europe in the Middle Ages 12 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980); Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: Study of the Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Brenda Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care*, Variorum Collected Studies series 490 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995); John C. Moore, ed., *Pope Innocent III and His World* (Brookfield VT: Ashgate, 1999); idem, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To Root Up and To Plant* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

³ The clearest narration of the transformation that took place in this period is I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁴ Constance M. Rousseau, 'Gender Difference and Indifference in the Writings of Pope Innocent III', in *Gender and Religion*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, in *Studies in Church History* 34 (1998), 105–17; eadem, "'Pater urbis et orbis". Innocent III and His Perspectives on Fatherhood', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 37 (1999): 25–37; and idem, 'Pregnant with Meaning: Pope Innocent III's Construction of Motherhood', in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. Moore, 101–12.

⁵ I take the following collection as an unofficial 'starting point': Clare A. Lees, ed., *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*. Medieval Cultures 7 (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). Katherine Lewis has observed this trend also in histories of medieval kingship. Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late-Medieval England* (London: Routledge, 2013), 2–3.

tended to be gendered by the pope either as broadly emasculate or specifically feminine. This kind of feeling posed a threat to the interpretative role of the male cleric, whose authority derived from his monopoly over knowledge of the truth of Christ. It also led the laity to elevate temporal concerns over the fate of their own souls. Both posed threats to the authoritative remit of the supreme pontiff. In articulating these putative errors in feeling or seeking to correct them once they had been committed, Innocent established a correct emotional order and himself as the architect of this order. In so doing, he instantiated the embodied practice of feeling into an ideological schema.⁶ Becoming familiar with how he did so and how he imagined these orders as gendered allows us to see how they became a central part of the way in which the pope imagined and asserted the papal office as a distinctly masculine authority.

Women were positioned in these orders as especially temporal.⁷ Feeling for the temporal was, consequently, emasculate. This was informed by, and reinscribed, the normalisation of the idea that a renewed and reinvigorated ecclesiastical ministry ought to be male. Profitable approaches to clerical masculinity which emphasise honour and, in the case of elite churchmen, the negotiation of secular and spiritual duties over sexual abstinence have nonetheless downplayed the effects both of the discourse that women were a pollutive danger to churchmen and the exclusion of women from clerical ministry on the masculine authority of the clergy.⁸ The idea that women posed a risk to the purity of the clerical hierarchy has long been examined and has clear relevance for an examination of the masculinity of papal authority.⁹ Part of the formation of a celibate clergy as, in Simon Yarrow's terms, an 'iconic' masculine type over the course of the eleventh- and twelfth-century reform period was the clergy's harnessing of misogyny as a tool with which to direct morally the masculinity of non-clerical men.¹⁰ Abstinence from reproduction or marriage – both of which were important to the masculinity of lay noblemen, and both of which, in the normative configuration of elite ecclesiasts, were reliant upon women – provided the grounds for the elite clergy's exercise of hegemony over the elite laity. In turn, this hegemonic ideal informed the model of supreme authority that the papacy felt it was able to exert over secular institutions by Innocent III's time. The

⁶ In addition to Reddy's *Navigation of Feeling*, I follow Monique Scheer's proposal that emotions are a form of habituated, embodied practice. See Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51 (2012): 193–220. I have chosen not to repeat the debate between 'universalism' – which is grounded in neurobiological essentialism and emphasises the immutability of emotions – and 'social constructivism' – which stresses the plasticity of emotions and their situated nature – in order to focus on approaches, like Scheer's, which have aimed to transcend this, often limiting, binary. As Rob Boddice has argued, choosing an either/or position requires holding the dissatisfying viewpoint 'either [that] the cultural construction of reality obliterates any reference to a reality beyond culture, or else the figural realism of historical actors is a simple gloss on an external reality that can be investigated separately'; Rob Boddice, 'The History of Emotions: Past, Present, Future', *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 62 (2017): 14.

⁷ Dyan Elliott has argued that women were viewed by thirteenth-century churchmen as 'quintessential laypersons': *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 48.

⁸ Christopher Fletcher, 'The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity? Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood', in *What Is Masculinity?*, eds. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (London: Palgrave, 2011), 57–75; Matthew M. Mesley, 'Beyond Celibacy: Medieval Bishops, Power and Masculinity in the Middle Ages', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe*, eds. Christopher Fletcher and others (London: Palgrave, 2018), 133–60 (137).

⁹ Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Maureen C. Miller, 'Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian Era', *Church History* 72 (2003): 25–52 (28).

¹⁰ Simon Yarrow, 'Masculinity as a World Historical Category of Analysis', in *What Is Masculinity?*, eds. Arnold and Brady, 130.

process through which the priesthood became a normatively male hierarchy has, however, been examined far less often as an important constituent of clerical masculinity.¹¹ By situating Innocent's use of emotion within the context of the – if not always conscious on the papacy's part then still significant – exclusion of women from clerical ministry and, importantly, spiritual *auctoritas* was fundamental to how Innocent and his curia imagined the office of the supreme pontiff, because it governed the pope's ideal schema for clerical and lay masculinities, which was in turn folded into the emotional regime that supported the supreme authority of the papal office.

Mutually constitutive of this exclusion was, as Clare Monagle has argued, the rise of the male-only space of the university and establishment of intellectual *auctoritas* as the exclusive domain of men.¹² It would be unhelpful to position the inside and outside of the university in a binary, not least because the boundary between the two is not clear, and far too much of a stretch to suggest that gender fluidity thrived outside of the context of the university. The attempts made by some who operated in the universities to detach thought from flawed human bodies, however, were formed against a backdrop of intense cultures of body-centred affective piety. Particularly with respect to gender, we see the tension between these two cultures in Innocent's writing. Women might sense but they could not know, and the shared suffering in Christ encouraged by the pope among his male pastorate and male flock was, accordingly, predicated on male relational models.

The observation that the papacy was a male office might seem too obvious to lend insight into how papal notions of masculinity informed Innocent and his curia's concept of papal authority. But Innocent's ideas about papal authority and its gendered foundations were formed within a specific set of contexts which arose as part of the creation of a distinctly Latin *ecclesia*. Like any other patriarchal form of authority, papal authority was mutable and had to be re-rehearsed and maintained in response to major shifts in society and thought.

The papacy's use of sorrow, as an emotion usually understood by medieval commentators to be deeply felt, is a productive angle from which to examine the masculinity of papal authority. Sorrow could be a volatile or dangerous emotion; it may indicate shared suffering with Christ, but was also conceptualised in some forms as a deadly sin and closely linked with demons.¹³ I examine how the curia used sorrow in letters to reinforce its authority at times during which its authority was tested, and what this reveals about the masculinity of papal authority. By 'used sorrow', I mean the ways in which the curia employed words that expressed the emotion which we might now translate broadly as 'sorrow' – the most common in papal letters being *dolor*, followed by *tristitia* and *meror* – as particularly strong expressions of emotion during times of triumph and crisis, and how this usage acted in tandem with other emotional language and the papacy's use of emotive allegories.

¹¹ Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹² Clare Monagle, 'Christ's Masculinity: *Homo* and *Vir* in Peter Lombard's Sentences', in *Ordering Emotions in Europe, 1100–1800*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 32–47; eadem, *Scholastic Affect: Gender, Maternity and the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

¹³ Stanley W. Jackson, 'Acedia the Sin and Its Relationship to Sorrow and Melancholia in Medieval Times', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 55 (1981): 172–85; Juanita Feros Ruys, "'Tears Such as Angels Weep": The Evolution of Sadness in Demons', in *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe*, eds. Michael W. Champion and Andrew Lynch. *Early European Research* 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 51–71.

The collaborative and highly rhetorical nature of papal letters poses a specific set of methodological challenges to a reading of emotion. The letters examined here are what scholars of papal diplomatic often refer to as ‘curial letters’. Papal letters have been categorised and ordered in a number of different ways; this article follows the broad distinction made between ‘common’ and ‘curial’ letters.¹⁴ Where so-called common letters were most often produced in response to petitions and, as such, reflected the language of the petitioner, curial letters were usually written by the papal curia on its own initiative.¹⁵ With important exceptions, where additional language added by the papal curia to common letters tended to be formulaic, curial letters often displayed greater originality. If favourite biblical verses were re-used by the curia, the specific collages created from them constituted a unique response to a particular set of circumstances.

Considering briefly the structure of Innocent’s chancery allows us to appreciate the authoritative weight of papal letters. Innocent did not appoint a chancellor, a post which had been vacant since 1187, to preside over the papal chancery until 1205; perhaps, as Patrick Zutshi has suggested, so that the pope could exercise greater influence over the chancery in the early years of his pontificate.¹⁶ The chancellor and the papal notaries were senior members of the curia who were authorised to issue letters. The pope did not deal personally with petitions of a routine nature that were presented to the chancery, which were instead addressed by notaries, though some were likely read to the pope for final approval.¹⁷ The available sources for Innocent’s pontificate suggest the presence at the curia of a scribal college, a *corrector* and an *abbreviator* who was responsible for the draft of the letter’s text.¹⁸ Innocent implemented a number of reforms during his pontificate to prevent forgery or corruption, including the stipulation that petitioners must deliver petitions at a particular time and place, or to an authorised notary, and that petitioners must only receive letters directly from the pope or from those who had been deputised for their issue.¹⁹

Though we might reasonably assume that the pope took some part in the composition of curial letters, particularly where these dealt with the high-profile events discussed here, a papal letter clearly passed through several hands and several processes of ratification. The letter itself was a carefully guarded document which was held to have great authoritative weight. This reminds us to read in Innocent’s use of emotions not the outpouring of a lone man’s thoughts but, instead, the work of an authoritative body which governed through letters. The collaborative nature of composition does, however, make it very difficult to discern the hand of the pope himself outside of a small number of letters which offer evidence of dictation and correction, as Zutshi has shown.²⁰ I treat the pope and his curia, therefore, as a

¹⁴ Patrick Zutshi, ‘The Personal Role of the Pope in the Production of Papal Letters in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries’, in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, eds. Walter Pohl and Paul A. Herold. Denkschriften Der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse 306 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2002), 230.

¹⁵ Zutshi, ‘Personal Role of the Pope’, 225–6.

¹⁶ Patrick Zutshi, ‘Innocent III and the Reform of the Papal Chancery’, in *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis: atti del congresso internazionale (Roma, 9–15 Settembre 1998)*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner. 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 2003), 1: 85.

¹⁷ Zutshi, ‘Personal Role of the Pope’, 226–7, 229–30.

¹⁸ Zutshi, ‘Innocent III and the Reform of the Papal Chancery’, 98–9.

¹⁹ Zutshi, ‘Innocent III and the Reform of the Papal Chancery’, 92.

²⁰ Zutshi, ‘Personal Role of the Pope’, 225–36.

collective, but speculate on where Innocent's own theological education may have shaped the curia's communication of papal authority.²¹

To illustrate Innocent's own contribution to the curia's gendered order of knowledge and emotion, and how this was used to police an ideal masculine clerical type, I explore how he draws on this order in an ambitious statement on the primacy of the pope and the Latin clerical hierarchy; namely, in his homiletic letter to the clerical contingent of the Fourth Crusade following the Latin capture of Constantinople (*Legimus in Daniele*, 13 November 1204). I then situate the role that the gendering of deep feeling played in Innocent's conception of papal primacy within the social and intellectual ecclesiastical cultures of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and how Innocent's curia employed sorrow terms in its letters. Finally, I analyse in depth letters produced by Innocent in response to two significant crises: the sack of Zara by participants in the Fourth Crusade (*Dolemus non modicum*, second half of December 1202; *Tacti sumus*, February 1203), and the refusal of King John of England (1166–1216) to confirm Stephen Langton as the archbishop of Canterbury (*Super negotio Cantuariensis*, 1209).

In these two scenarios, Innocent and his curia employ similar sorrowful refrains to communicate and repair the breakdown of papal authority. Innocent's letters would, of course, not have been received in the same way in the English court as they would have in the camps of the crusaders, and the papacy's narration of the evolution of its sorrow accordingly reads differently from one context to the next. That the pope used sorrow as readily against errant crusaders as disobedient kings, however, suggests adherence to a coherent emotional regime which could be violated by, and reinforced in response to, direct threats posed to papal authority and Christendom by extension. Noticing sorrow in these two different fraught episodes enables us to trace some critical contours of this regime.

Where we might be inclined to dismiss the emotive language of papal letters as too formulaic, florid, or insincere, when we establish a pattern of use and read the papacy's deployment of this language within the context of this use it becomes clear that the papacy thought very carefully about what this language would signify.²² Innocent's rhetorical usage of emotion was not only ever representational and separate from the real meaning or action of papal letters. The papacy outlined and sought to repair its authority through methods of emotional regulation and mobilisation that were intended to move its letter's recipients to penance and reintegration into communion. The point of the papacy's rhetoric was to guard papal authority and its exclusive masculinity as something obvious and inconspicuous. It is only in treating this rhetoric as such that we are able to see the telling seams that enable us in turn to deconstruct the operation of this particular patriarchy.

Masculine *intellectus*/feminine *sensus*

On 13 November 1204, following the capture of Constantinople by Latin *crucesignati*, Innocent III issued a letter to the clerical contingent of the pilgrimage, a letter that

²¹ Christoph Egger has made a convincing case for treating many of Innocent's longer and more sermon-like letters as the product of a 'theologian at work', in 'A Theologian at Work: Some Remarks on Methods and Sources in Innocent III's Writings', in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. Moore, 25–33.

²² Thomas W. Smith has argued against dismissing the *arengae* of papal letters as merely decorative preamble in 'Preambles to Crusading: The *Arengae* of Crusade Letters Issued by Innocent III and Honorius III', in *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Jessalynn Bird (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 63–78.

illustrates well the gendered order of emotion and knowledge that guided Innocent's thought on papal authority. Owing to the sermon-like quality of the letter, Christoph Egger has suggested that the pope himself had a significant hand in the letter's composition.²³ The text instructed the clerics that they were to preach to the new emperor, Baldwin, and other members of the Latin army the importance of inculcating obedience to the Apostolic See among the Greek subjects of their new dominion. The letter is a dense anagogic exegesis in which Innocent expounds upon the Resurrection to demonstrate the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff, by way of St Peter, over the Church, and to establish acceptance of the Latin rite as the only route to salvation. The truth of the *filioque* and the eschatological logic of papal supremacy are unveiled by Innocent through a homiletic exposition of the Christian miracle in light of God's transfer 'of Constantinople from the proud to the humble, from the disobedient to the devout, from schismatics to Catholics; namely, from the Greeks to the Latins'.²⁴

One passage of the letter stands out for the way in which its intellectual mysticism rubs up against the cultures of affective bodily piety in which Innocent and his readers were steeped.²⁵ Describing Mary Magdalene's desperate grief upon finding Christ's tomb empty, Innocent wrote of how the Magdalene would discover the truth in the end times: that her Lord was not dead but living and consubstantial with the Father, and, additionally, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from both Father and Son. Because she had not yet had that revelation, however, she wailed 'as if starving because, while she chews the outer husk, in no way is the marrow within eaten, and one who pursues external things does not catch things that are internal'.²⁶ Two angels would mock her for this: 'Why do you search for the living among the dead?' (Luke 24:5). He explained to the addressees of his letter that because she was unable to understand what had happened, the angels 'call her "woman", as one who thinks not with a manly *intellectu* but with feminine *sensu*, and therefore she says to them: "They have taken away my Lord and I do not know where they have put Him"' (John 20:13).²⁷

There is much to unpack here. As Egger has explained, Innocent's reading borrowed heavily from the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* of Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202), the theologian and abbot of the community of San Giovanni in Fiore.²⁸ In the *Expositio*, Joachim outlined how the coming of the Antichrist would usher in the third and final age of history, the Age of the Holy Spirit. In Joachim's concordist reading of Christ's resurrection, for which he uses the Gospel of John as textual basis, Mary Magdalene represented the Jews, who did not know the nature of Christ but who would convert at the end of

²³ Christoph Egger, 'Joachim von Fiore, Rainer von Ponza und die römische Kurie', in *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III: atti del 5. congresso internazionale di studi gioachimiti, San Giovanni in Fiore, 16–21 Settembre 1999*, ed. Roberto Rusconi (Rome: Viella, 2001), 148.

²⁴ 'Hoc autem in regno Grecorum temporibus nostris videmus et gaudemus impleri, quoniam is, qui dominatur in regno hominum et, cui voluerit, dabit illud, Constantinopolitanum imperium a superbis ad humiles, ab inobedientibus ad devotos, a scismaticis ad catholicos, a Grecis videlicet transtulit ad Latinos.' *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 7: 264; English translation adapted from Andrea, 116–17.

²⁵ On intellectual vision and its gendering, see Rosalynn Voaden, 'Mysticism and the Body', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 399.

²⁶ 'Et ideo quasi famelica plorat, quia dum exteriorem corticem masticat, nequaquam reficitur interiori medulla et, que externa sectatur, non apprehendit interna.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 7: 268; translation adapted from Andrea, 124.

²⁷ "Quid queris viventum cum mortuis?" Quocirca mulierem illam appellant, que non intellectu virili sed sensu femineo meditatatur et ideo dicit eis: "Tulerunt Dominum meum et nescio, ubi posuerunt eum." *Die Register Innocenz*, 7: 268–9. Translation adapted from Andrea, 124, my emphasis.

²⁸ Egger, 'Joachim von Fiore'.

days.²⁹ John the Apostle represented the Greek Church, the members of which had learned of the Old Testament prophecy first – because, in the Gospel, John reached Christ’s tomb before Peter after they were both told by Mary that Christ’s body had disappeared – but who did not yet comprehend the full nature of Christ’s divinity. The Apostle Peter represented the Latin Church, the members of which understood the truth. Innocent, as Egger points out, altered Joachim’s line of thinking slightly, to elevate Peter distinctly over John.³⁰ In Joachim’s text, while Peter – and Latin theologians by extension – received the credit for understanding the truth, Joachim does not place the apostles in a hierarchy. Innocent, on the other hand, read Peter’s recognition of the true nature of Christ, especially in the light of the sack of Constantinople, as an endorsement of papal primacy and of the Latin Church as the only route to salvation.³¹ He wrote the supreme authority of the pontiff and the Latin Church directly into Joachim’s apocalyptic narrative.

Nowhere in his text did Joachim juxtapose *intellectus* with *sensus* or impose a gendered order on this binary. The opposition drawn by Innocent is the pope’s own invention, and is considerably less subtle than the way that the pope and his curia ordinarily communicated orders of knowledge or gender; this particular compound does not appear elsewhere in the pope’s corpus of writing, and neither does the stark binary opposition of *intellectus/sensus* or *virilis/femineus*.³² This observation was not, however, incongruous but reflected a gendered order of knowledge that in turn underpinned the clerical hierarchy and, ultimately, papal authority in Innocent’s imagination.

It is worth beginning with the meanings of *intellectus* and *sensus*, which I have left untranslated, in this context. *Intellectus* – for which ‘intellect’ is a perfectly reasonable translation – most commonly means a subject’s capacity for understanding. In Innocent’s corpus it is used much in the same way; for instance in the commonly used phrase *plenius intellectis*, or ‘in full understanding’, used to describe the state of opposing parties who had brought disputes to the curia. Opposed to *sensus*, it takes on an elevated meaning. *Sensus* can mean, simply, ‘sense’, or ‘perception’, or ‘feeling’; it can also indicate a combination of any of these. In Innocent’s writing, *sensus* is most often used comparatively. Two ways in which Innocent’s curia uses *sensus* help us to understand how Innocent might have meant to use it in this letter. One of the most common ways in which *sensus* is used by Innocent’s curia is in the phrase *in reprobum sensum datus* – ‘having been given over to a base sense/feeling’ – in cases where the curia describes a person, or group of people, who has committed a severe sin such as heresy. Here ‘sense’ clearly has a pejorative connotation of being out of control and letting one’s feelings

²⁹ Bernard McGinn has explained concordist reading as the act of ‘discerning the literal match-ups, or agreements, between events of the Old and New Testaments that would enable believers, if not to predict the future, at least to have a good sense of what is to come in the light of God’s ultimate sovereignty over time as revealed in the Bible’. Bernard McGinn, ‘Apocalypticism and Mysticism in Joachim of Fiore’s Expositio in Apocalypsim’, in *The End of the World in Medieval Thought and Spirituality*, eds. Eric Knibbs, Jessica A. Boon and Erica Gelsler (London: Palgrave, 2019), 166.

³⁰ Egger, ‘Joachim von Fiore’, 143.

³¹ Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in apocalypsim* (Venice: F. Bindoni and M. Passini, 1527), ff. 143rb–144va (facsimile – Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964). Modern edition in progress: Joachim abbas Florentis, *Expositio super Apocalypsim et opuscula adiacentia*, eds. Alexander Patschovsky and Kurt-Victor Selge (Rome: Nella sede dell’Istituto, Palazzo Borromini, 2020–).

³² Although see Constance Rousseau on Innocent’s depiction of the rational soul as masculine in his *De miseria conditionis humane*, which he composed before becoming pope: Rousseau, ‘Gender Difference and Indifference’, 110.

govern one's judgement. Another singular but indicative use of a cognate word – *sensualitas* – appears in the curia's instructions to the archbishop of Trnovo on the ordination of bishops, outlined in a letter of February 1204. The curia explained that, in contrast with kings, bishops were to be anointed on their head and their shoulders. This is because 'per caput intelligitur mens, iuxta quod legitur: "Oculi sapientis in capite ejus"; cujus superior pars est ratio, et inferior sensualitas' ('by the head is understood the mind, just as it reads: "The eyes of a wise man are in his head" [Eccl. 2:14], of whom reason is the upper part and *sensualitas* the lower part').³³ *Ratio*, the domain of elite clerics, distinguished them from other members of society, over whom they are elevated through their association with the 'upper part'.

Innocent therefore created a taxonomy in which intellect in certain, important, contexts became associated with a superior bodily faculty and a greater knowledge. Mary Magdalene's inability to grasp the fullness of the truth of Christ represented the idea then current in the circles of Latin theologians that Jews were only able to understand Scripture in a superficial way and were unable to comprehend the deeper meaning of Christ's divinity; they were only able to understand through *sensus* and not *intellectus*. Mary was only able to chew the *cortex* – a play on words; *cortex* could also mean 'superficial meaning' – of the bone and not the *medulla*. But why also address this distinction as a defining feature of Mary as a woman? It is because of whom he addresses in the letter. The powerful and detailed statement of the nature of Latin and papal supremacy was addressed to clergymen. He distinguished the interpretative role of the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy by creating a gendered order of knowledge, promoting simultaneously the male clerical hierarchy as the Church in its superior form. Through outlining this ideal, he established *intellectus* as the preserve of a male ministry and policed the masculinity of this ministry by making it clear that feminine *sensus* could not bring it to the truth of Christ, only *intellectus* could.

Paired with the visceral image of a grief-stricken Mary howling and unable to sate her spiritual hunger, it is evident that Innocent wanted to make clear that the exclusion of feminine feeling – strong, bodily, 'irrational' feeling – from the clerical hierarchy was a central component of the triumphant Latin Church. The picture of grief painted by Innocent is not sympathetic but was meant to stand for the pain caused by caring too much for the earthly, when 'life' was found not in the temporal but in the eternal. Feeling, in the context of the interpretative role of the Latin clergy, is not masculine, and the concern over the earthly that feeling engenders will not aid their role. The definition of *intellectus* as a masculine quality is also central to the supreme authority of the pope outlined by Innocent. Peter was able to recognise the truth because he was the singular head of the apostles. But, from Innocent's interpretation of the Magdalene, the intended readership can infer that Peter was able to do so because he was a man. Otherwise put, the rock on which the Church was built was formed from a masculine intellect. Feeling played no role in this important stage in the formation of the universal *ecclesia*, and neither did women.

What is interesting about this passage is not that its sentiment would appear to stand in contrast with the expressions of deep feeling in the remainder of the pope's corpus of letters. The curia is cautious in its use of emotions but, so long as they are directed

³³ *Die Register Innocenz 7: 12.*

heavenwards, it uses emotions when emotions are needed. It is more interesting that Innocent cannot imagine or explain the interpretative role or the superiority of the clerical order without recourse to a gendered order of knowledge and feeling, one which circumscribes the feelings with which women are associated to a lower form of 'knowing'. Innocent's model for the interpretative role of clerics, and papal authority by extension, as well as the *contemptus mundi* is formed on the protection of a masculine *intellectus* from deep feeling. The protection of *intellectus* from 'woman' clearly informed Innocent's conceptualisation of the interpretative authority of the pope and the clerical hierarchy on which it stood. The constrictive ideal for clerical masculinity that Innocent outlines here is a striking one, and demonstrates the importance of a normatively male priesthood to clerical and papal authority.

The way in which the priesthood came to be imagined as exclusively male has, for the most part, not been considered as an important factor in the development of clerical masculinity or the conceptualisation of clerical and papal authority. An exception is found in the study of clerical masculinity in the context of the university. The expectation that clerics would abstain not only from sex and marriage but break free of family ties was intensified in the context of the university, where the scholarly mind and its claims to universal *auctoritas* were valued above all else. The 'reform period' was coterminous with the establishment and development of the cathedral *scholae*, which later became the university, and, as others have argued before, it is necessary to view the development of Innocent's thought in the context of his time in Paris, and in particular as part of the thought on penance and pastoral care which came out of the circle which formed around the theologian Peter the Chanter (d. 1197).³⁴ Universities, which grew out of cathedral *scholae* established for training clerics, increasingly became spaces in which the Latin Christian elite learned their craft and were socialised into their roles in high office. Though not hermetically sealed environments, universities were spaces in which only men were permitted to study. Monagle, who has demonstrated the importance of understanding the development of the university *auctoritas* as a masculine preserve, begins her study of Peter Lombard's argument for Christ's masculinity with Ruth Karras' observation on the masculine space of the university:

That medieval universities were exclusively masculine is so obvious as to be hardly worthy of comment. This very obviousness has meant that scholars have not seen the need to look more closely at the complex ways in which these universities were gendered institutions.³⁵

Monagle has argued that in addition to contemplating the university as a gendered space, we 'also ought to consider how its thought was itself gendered in countless, unspoken

³⁴ John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970); John W. Baldwin, 'Paris et Rome en 1215: les réformes du IV^e Concile de Latran', *Journal des Savants* 1 (1997): 99–124; P.D. Clarke, 'Peter the Chanter, Innocent III and Theological Views on Collective Guilt and Punishment', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (2001): 1–20; Jessalynn Bird, 'Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation and Aftermath', in *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis*, ed. Sommerlechner, 1: 503–24; Clare Monagle and Constant Mews, 'Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore, and the Fourth Lateran Council', *Medioevo* 35 (2010): 81–122; Clare Monagle, 'Theology, Practice, and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century: The Papacy and Peter Lombard', *Journal of Religious History* 37 (2013): 441–56.

³⁵ Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Sharing Wine, Women, and Song: Masculine Identity Formation in the Medieval European Universities', in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Routledge, 2000), 189; Monagle, 'Christ's Masculinity'. See also chapter one of Clare Monagle, *The Scholastic Project* (Kalamazoo, MI: Arc Humanities Press, 2017), 19–38.

ways'.³⁶ *Scholae* were schools for training clerics and hence excluded women. Scholastic theology – in which Innocent was trained – aimed to prove the logic of Christian doctrine through dialectic method. While the *auctor* – the voice of scholastic writing – aspired to an impersonal detachment from human qualities in his navigation of the work of existing authorities in order to be able to claim to speak universally, the voice could only have been male because women did not have access to scholastic training. Rationality, therefore, in turn took on a male gender.³⁷ Monagle uses the example of the theologian Peter Lombard (1096–1160), who, in his *Sentences* – a foundational text for the study of theology in the Middle Ages and a major influence on Innocent's thought – asked whether God could have taken on the female sex (Lombard concluded that no, he could not have and that such a proposition was preposterous, to be considered only for the sake of argument).³⁸ The discussion takes place within his dialogue on Christ's humanity. He outlines the qualities which Christ possessed in human form alongside a sexed body. He was capable, according to Lombard, of experiencing a full range of bodily feeling but was not able to sin. In other aspects of the *Sentences* in which he explains sin and volition, he notes that the serpent chose to tempt Eve because she was a woman and so less rational and more susceptible to error. Lombard's logic indicates, then, that Christ was less like a woman because he was incapable of sin.³⁹

Monagle's analysis of Lombard enables us to understand better Innocent's conceptualisation of the papal office as a masculine institution, as well as his imagination and use of a gendered order of knowledge and emotions to illustrate this interpretative authority. The scholastic method in which Innocent was trained was developed in an environment in which only men could claim access to 'universal' rationality. As well as being an exclusively male preserve, this concept of universal rationality was defined against an unproductive emotional state that was gendered female. We already have seen how Innocent used this notion to police the masculinity of clerics. It lends weight also to papal authority and voice; if Innocent employed emotive language in his letters, he did so from a position of absolute rationality. Innocent's claim to the supreme authority of the papacy within the Church was also underlined by this imaginary of intellectual authority. The Christ whose powers Innocent claimed to exercise vicariously was gendered as male and even the idea that he might have been a woman was ridiculous. These subtle influences upon Innocent's thought also manifested themselves in much less subtle ways in how Innocent played on masculine relationships to communicate the severity of his addressees' sins in the letters examined below.

Gendering emotions

Questions of gendered access to spiritual authority and the use of women 'to think with' have also organised discussions on how emotions were gendered in the central to late Middle Ages.⁴⁰ Tears and grief have dominated this cross-field and while they act

³⁶ Monagle, 'Christ's Masculinity', 36.

³⁷ Monagle, 'Christ's Masculinity', 37.

³⁸ Monagle, 'Christ's Masculinity', 44.

³⁹ Monagle, 'Christ's Masculinity', 45.

⁴⁰ There is a large body of literature on weeping and grief, and I have focused here only on that which pertains to the reform period and the thirteenth century, and, of these, which consider a gendered perspective. Other important works and collected studies which have enriched this discourse include Gerd Althoff, 'Der König weint. Rituelle

quite differently to sorrow in medieval texts, they provide a useful point of comparison for how scholars have treated the gendering of a strong emotion. Their examination also brings out how gendered cultures of affective piety, drawn from lay and monastic contexts, informed Innocent's thought.

On weeping, Kimberley-Joy Knight has argued that in France, Italy and the Low Countries, hagiographic *vitae* of holy women depicted these women's desire to achieve the gift of tears as central to their devotion. One example, the *vita* of Umiliana de' Cerchi (1219–46) describes how the protagonist would rub quicklime into her eyes to induce tears after the gift had been removed from her. This impetus was more strongly felt by women such as Umiliana, not because men were not also depicted as striving for the gift of tears, but because women had a more limited range of options to pursue their devotion than men and, when performed outside of the convent, the spiritual practices of lay religious women often lacked legitimacy that might be gained through receipt of the gift of tears.⁴¹ For male ecclesiasts and their hagiographic avatars, weeping and tears had a broader range of symbolism. Bishops, for instance, had to negotiate a religious identity which had become increasingly complex in the wake of reforms which prohibited clerical marriage and sought to free the Church from secular interference. There was a tension in episcopal *vitae* between the need to demonstrate contempt for the world and the courtly aspects of episcopal life, so bishops were often portrayed weeping in private, sometimes until they went blind, as a form of bodily mortification performed in shared suffering with Christ. Quite often they were used in a militaristic sense, which might take the form of weeping over threats posed to ecclesiastical liberties but more often were framed as a battle against the temptations of the body, which were sometimes personified in the form of demons.⁴²

If it was not unusual for men to be portrayed as weeping or exhibiting violent displays of grief, it is useful to examine where this behaviour was curbed and what informed these restrictions. Stephen Spencer argues that weeping and other somatic gestures of grief were common in crusading literature and only on rare occasions were men criticised by chroniclers for dramatic displays of emotion. Male crusaders, he demonstrates, wept on their departure to the Holy Land. Following the *planctus*, or lament, tradition of *chanson* culture, displays of grief over the death of an important leader or companion were often effusive and violent.⁴³

Focusing on secular legislation and its implementation, Carol Lansing traces an interesting trajectory in how grief was gendered in the thirteenth-century Italian communes. As part of the process of creating a 'civil society', civic officials became increasingly anxious about the disruptive effect of violent displays of grief from around the middle

Tränen in öffentlicher Kommunikation', in 'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996), 239–52; Piroška Nagy, 'Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West', *Social Analysis* 48 (2004): 119–37; Santha Bhattacharji, 'Tears and Screaming: Weeping in the Spirituality of Margery Kempe', in *Holy Tears: Weeping in the Religious Imagination*, eds. Kimberley Christine Patton and John Stratton Hawley (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 229–41; Elina Gertsman, ed., *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History* (London: Routledge, 2012).

⁴¹ Kimberley-Joy Knight, "'Si puose calcina a' propi occhi": The Importance of the Gift of Tears for Thirteenth-Century Religious Women and Their Hagiographers', in *Crying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Gertsman, 136–55.

⁴² William Aird, 'The Tears of Bishop Gundulf: Gender, Religion, and Emotion in the Late Eleventh Century', in *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Cordelia Beattie and Kirsten Fenton (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), 62–84.

⁴³ Stephen J. Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095–1291* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 164.

of the thirteenth century and imposed sumptuary laws to circumscribe mourning practices. Although these laws associated intense grieving – the tearing of clothes and hair; excessive weeping – with women, they were most often enforced against men, including the lawmakers themselves.⁴⁴ Lansing attributes this to the growing influence of Stoicism on civic thought from around the mid thirteenth century; in using Stoic thought to reflect critically upon their own emotional order and its relationship with societal cohesion, these civic officials also fixated on and reproduced in the sumptuary laws the negative association in Stoic philosophy of women with fierce emotional outbursts.⁴⁵ The disproportionate number of men who were punished in the communes for passionate forms of mourning, then, reflected a perceived transgression of rules surrounding appropriate gendered behaviour. This, however, stood in contradistinction to the preaching of clerics on atonement for sin, which encouraged the faithful to emulate the women who grieved over Christ's crucifixion.⁴⁶

Though based on evidence produced outwith the papal curia, these insights provide a useful starting point from which to think through Innocent's sense of emotional order, or emotional logic 'in practice'. The seeming ubiquity of weeping in sources on other elite male clerics makes Innocent and his curia appear especially austere. They portray the pope as having wept very few times.⁴⁷ The author of the *Gesta Innocentii*, a biography of Innocent likely written by a member of his curia, describes how the pope received his consecration 'with much remorse in his heart and a shedding of tears'.⁴⁸ The *Gesta* author, here, employs a humility topos that hagiographic authors also often used to mark a liminal stage in their protagonist's life, such as the kind of conversion that we witness here. Tears marked the pope's humble protest at receiving high office and signified a change in his status. In a letter sent in June 1203 to the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, the leader of the Fourth Crusade, Innocent expressed anxiety at the potential for the crusade to deviate and the close association of the crusaders with the Venetian doge: 'For ourselves, [we grieve] because ... we believed we would reap in exaltation what we have sown in tears.'⁴⁹ In a letter of June 1206, Innocent's curia admonished 'with tears' the archbishop of Cologne, Adolf of Atena, to perform penance and return to the bosom of the Church following his excommunication.⁵⁰ A lone example of particularly dramatic weeping, as Stefan Weinfurter has demonstrated, appears in the letter *Vineam Domini*, in which the pope invited the Latin emperors, monarchs and princes, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and the heads of religious houses to the Fourth

⁴⁴ Carol Lansing, *Passion and Order: Restraint of Grief in the Medieval Italian Communes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

⁴⁵ Lansing, *Passion and Order*, especially 99–122, 187–202.

⁴⁶ Lansing, *Passion and Order*, 123–52.

⁴⁷ On weeping in the writing of Innocent III and Innocent IV, see Stefan Weinfurter, 'Der Papst weint. Argument und rituelle Emotion von Innocenz III. bis Innocenz IV.', in *Spielregeln der Mächtigen. Mittelalterliche Politik zwischen Gewohnheit und Konvention*, eds. Claudia Garner and Hermann Kamp (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010), 121–32 (123).

⁴⁸ David Gress-Wright, ed., 'The *Gesta Innocentii*: Text, Introduction and Commentary' (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1981), 3; James M. Powell, trans., *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 5.

⁴⁹ 'Dolimus autem, sicut praemisimus, et dolemus pro nobis pariter et pro vobis et pro universo populo christiano: pro nobis, quia, dum quod seminaveramus in lacrimis ... credebamus nos in exultatione messuros.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 6: 163–4. Translation adapted from Andrea, 61.

⁵⁰ 'Monemus ergo te, frater, cum lacrimis, ex exhortamur in Christo Jesu, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos, quatenus, nostris salubribus monitis acquiescens, per poenitentiae medicinam de morte resurgas ad vitam, et ad ubera matris Ecclesiae revertaris.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 9: 179.

Lateran Council and urged preparations for a new crusade. For the retrieval of the Holy Land and the reform of the Universal Church, Innocent had

often poured forth [his] tears and supplications before God, humbly beseeching him that in these matters he would reveal to us his good pleasure, and would inspire affection, kindle desire, and strengthen purpose by granting an opportunity and occasion to achieve these objects with success.⁵¹

From such a large corpus of letters and writings, this small number of examples might point to a conscious or unconscious agreement among the curia to restrict weeping or strong displays of emotion only to the gravest of circumstances. We should not take from this, however, that Innocent deplored all forms of effusive emotion in all people; the weeping of Mary Magdalene is used in a number of the sermons that Innocent wrote for the laity as a penitential exemplar. As I discuss with reference to Innocent's letters, strong bonds of familial love between Christian kin were central to how Innocent imagined a body of the faithful. The pope's policing of clerical masculinity through the denigration and restriction of sorrowful outbursts in *Legimus in Daniele*, for instance, did not, then, derive from an adversity to emotion but rather reflected how Innocent imagined an ideal clerical order and its role in society: a hierarchy of educated men who did not obstruct their quest for – and interpretation for others of – the truth with worldly, feminine feeling. Otherwise put, Innocent's lack of tears in comparison to writings on and by other high-ranking ecclesiasts does not reflect a 'boys don't cry' masculine refusal to weep, but instead illustrates the pope's understanding and implementation of an emotional order, one into which gender factored and was constituent of the way in which he imagined and communicated papal authority.

Dolor in Innocent's writing

Examining the curia's use of *dolor* can help us to understand how he did so. *Dolor* ('sorrow'; 'pain'; 'grief') usually signified a deep disappointment and a sense of being aggrieved or pained, although, as we might expect, what Innocent and his curia intended to signify by using sorrow terms and the intensity of these terms differs from context to context. There is, however, a general pattern in how Innocent uses the term. The intensity and sense of the papacy's attachment to the emotion – in other words, the extent to which the curia states that it has been moved 'personally' by a particular emotion as opposed to employing emotive language in a detached or abstract way – is dependent on the severity of the situation.

To illustrate this: of 296 uses of *dolor/doleo* in Innocent's letters, of which there have been approximately 5000 edited in some form, 167 of these are used in a way that is meant to convey the papacy's strength of feeling.⁵² This usage typically takes two forms: 'we [speak/hear/have read your letter/bring into effect/etc.] with sorrow

⁵¹ 'Unde supplicationes et lacrymas frequenter effudimus coram deo, humiliter obsecrantes quatinus super hiis suum nobis beneplacitum revelaret, inspiraret affectum, accenderet desiderium, et propositum confirmaret, facultatem et opportunitatem prestando ad ea salubriter exequenda.' Innocent III, *Opera omnia*, vol. 3, ed., J.P. Migne. *Patrologiae cursus completus series latina* 216 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1855), col. 824a; translation in Cheney and Semple, 144; Weinfurter, 'Der Papst weint', 123.

⁵² These figures are meant to give a general picture of how Innocent and his curia employed *dolor* in the letter collection and are unlikely to be completely accurate. They are based on a *Patrologia Latina* database search, using the root of the word. The estimate of 5000 is taken from Cheney, who in turn takes this number from the then available

(*dolor*); and ‘we sorrow’ (*dolemus*). The former is most often used in the context of an otherwise unemotive letter; to underline the pope’s sincerity or to reflect the severity of the misdeed against which the pope had been moved to intervene. In most of these cases, the recipient of the letter is not the perpetrator of the error but someone who may have exercised authority over the perpetrator. For instance, Innocent used this when he wrote to the archbishop of Bourges in 1198 to inform him that a canon of Étrépany, William, had made it known to the curia his abbot’s wrongdoing.⁵³ In this kind of letter, perhaps because ‘sorrow’ is a response to the alleged behaviour of a person who is not the recipient of the letter, the emotion is not the focus of the letter, which otherwise details the extent of the abbot’s ostensible sin and the initial action to be taken against the abbot.

This seems to have been its most common usage, but it is sometimes also included as a formula in letters that treated high-profile cases and which were more emotive in tone. Innocent’s 1198 letter to Philip of France, in which he ordered him to make peace with King John of England and to take back his wife is a useful example of this. Innocent begins the *narratio* of the letter with *dolentes referimus*.⁵⁴ The phrase is mostly, then, used in less serious letters, but might take on a more serious meaning in letters that addressed graver situations. *Dolemus*, on the other hand, was used solely in serious and emotive letters: Innocent uses it in letters addressing heresy, the need for the immediate reform of an institution, threats posed to ecclesiastical liberties, violation of the peace between regions, and disobedient or otherwise sinful prelates.

A third way in which the papacy employs sorrow is in its use of the phrase ‘tacti sumus dolore cordis intrinsecus’ (‘we are touched inwardly with sorrow of heart’). It is a reference to Genesis 6:6, in which God repents having created humans and other living creatures. Having been touched inwardly with sorrow of heart, God declares that he will ‘destroy man from the face of the earth’. There is some overlap with *dolemus* in how *tacti sumus* is used as a marker of severity, but it is normally reserved for particularly severe situations in which the recipient of the letter is the perpetrator of the wrongdoing (and usually a high-ranking prelate or secular ruler), and in cases where ecclesiastical censure – such as excommunication – is threatened.

Innocent’s use of Genesis 6:6–7

The phrase ‘tacti sumus dolore cordis intrinsecus’ opens the *arengae* both of Innocent’s 1203 letter to the participants of the Fourth Crusade in response to their apology for the sack of Zara (*Tacti sumus*) and of his 1209 letter containing the letter to John (*Super negotio Cantuarensis*), which exhorted the king to return to the fold of the Church on pain of excommunication. Both of these ‘opening statements’ read as follows: ‘Tacti sumus dolore cordis intrinsecus et non modico merore turbati’ (‘We are touched inwardly with sorrow of heart and not a little troubled by grief’).⁵⁵ Innocent’s curia employed this phrase only when addressing the most serious of circumstances. In the extant correspondence of Innocent’s curia, the phrase appears only 14 times in full

calendars of Innocent’s letters. See CR. Cheney, ‘The Letters of Pope Innocent III’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1953): 23.

⁵³ *Die Register Innocenz*, 1: 410.

⁵⁴ *Die Register Innocenz*, 1: 519.

⁵⁵ *Die Register Innocenz*, 5: 318; 11: 340.

and five additional times in partial form. The phrase appears in partial form also in the extant correspondence of two of Innocent's predecessors, Alexander III (1159–81) and Celestine III (1191–8). Celestine also added 'and not a little troubled by grief' onto his fragmented usage. Although a greater number of Innocent's letters have been preserved in comparison with previous popes, this at least suggests that the verse was already in use by the curia – the make-up of which would likely have had at least some overlap with Innocent's curia – as a way of expressing discontent with the letter's recipient. On all occasions in Innocent's correspondence, the curia employs this phrase in contexts in which it chastises the letter's recipient for a serious error – for allowing an ecclesiastical institution to fall into a state of moral laxity; for threatening ecclesiastical liberties, particularly in the context of episcopal or imperial elections; for harming fellow Christians – and is often used to set the tone for the threat or prescription of an ecclesiastical sanction. As well as being a means of communicating the severity of a particular sin or betrayal, in the context of a letter this emotive statement was meant to mobilise its recipient to feel the shame, remorse, or sorrow necessary to perform penance, and to rejoin communion.⁵⁶

The phrase, as noted above, is a reference to Genesis 6:6–7, in which God 'repents' having created humans and other living creatures. After seeing the evil that humans had brought about and 'being touched inwardly with sorrow of heart', God vows to obliterate all living creatures:

Delebo, inquit, hominem, quem creavi, a facie terrae, ab homine usque ad animantia, a reptili usque ad volucres caeli: poenitet enim me fecisse eos. ('I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the earth, from man even to beasts, from the creeping thing even to the fowls of the air, for it repents me that I have made them.')

God then tells Noah of his plans to flood the earth. The recipient of the letter – likely familiar with this bible story – would presumably have been left in little doubt as to the tenor of the letter's contents, and certainly may have read Innocent's analogy simply as a signal that they had upset the curia. The infrequency with which the curia used the verse and the way that the verse relates to the specifics of the respective letters suggests, however, that Innocent intended the analogy to do more than indicate that his correspondent was in dire trouble. It also reveals something of the environment in which Innocent and his curia had developed their ideas on papal authority.

Innocent's *dolor* and his *dolor cordis* are in and of themselves instructive on Innocent's thought. *Dolor* in the central to late Middle Ages was used most often to mean the kind of sorrow that was associated with grief or pain; it is often translated as 'grief' or 'pain'. To put this in the context of other sorrow words, *meror* is usually translated as 'sorrow' or 'grief' and *tristitia* as 'sorrow' or 'sadness'.⁵⁷ From here onwards, I refer to the Latin terminology so as not to elide the functional meanings of the individual words. In his translation of the same letter of Innocent's to the participants in the Fourth Crusade, for

⁵⁶ On mobilising practices of emotion, see Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Form of Practice?', 209–12.

⁵⁷ These definitions are in part based simply on the most common way in which the terms are translated in modern scholarship and the context of their usage in Innocent's letters. Although Innocent predates Thomas Aquinas, Barbara H. Rosenwein's list of passions and their modern cognates based on Aquinas' use of passions is also helpful as a point of reference, and I broadly follow her logic when identifying modern cognates for emotion words in medieval Latin. See Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 156–7.

example, Alfred Andrea translates *dolor* as pain, which is an equally appropriate translation, especially as, in Innocent's wording, *dolor* is felt in the heart.⁵⁸ And, in the central to late Middle Ages, to feel something in the heart was to do just that; even if communicated on a symbolic level, the recipient would likely know that the author was using a penetrative, physical, pain of the chest as a frame of reference. Heather Webb has written extensively on the heart in the late medieval period, and argues that to understand what medieval authors meant when they discussed the heart, Western readers today need to shed their idea of the heart as the centre of the circulatory system.⁵⁹ For Webb, William Harvey's discovery of the circulatory function of the heart marked the separation of the heart into two distinct types in Western thought: the muscle which pumps blood around the body, and the metaphorical heart which feels emotion such as love. 'The medieval heart', as Webb writes, 'was a considerably more complex, and more vulnerable, organ.'⁶⁰ It was porous and limitless; open to sensation and the entrance of spirits, demons and Christ, as the spirit also emanated from the heart into the world.⁶¹ In thirteenth-century thought the heart began to be theorised by some as the most important life-giving organ, even more important than the brain, which would, post Innocent, lead theologians and political thinkers to elaborate on a cardio-centric configuration of power; a body politic centred on the heart as the seat of government rather than the head.⁶² The heart could physically feel spiritual and emotive pain.

In other words, in telling its recipients that it was touched inwardly *dolore cordis*, the curia accused the recipient of its letters of committing an act so sinful that it felt as if something had reached through its chest and caused pain to its heart, an organ of central importance to how the body processed affect. Moreover, *dolor*, along with *meror* and *tristitia* were understood as particularly strong feelings. *Tristitia* was often closely linked with, or described as a symptom of, the deadly sin of *acedia*, which in twelfth- and thirteenth-century thought was conceptualised as a combination of, in modern English terms, 'weariness, disgust, lack of fervour, [and] sorrow'.⁶³ Juanita Feros Ruys has discussed how theologians in the high Middle Ages theorised the capacity for demons to feel *tristitia* and *dolor*, which shaped how these feelings were understood by the Latin Christian elite and influenced debate over whether, in comparison with demons, God could feel the passions.⁶⁴ Demons were thought in general to have been barred from repentance and, as an incorporeal entity like God or the angels, could not feel passions such as sorrow or sadness.⁶⁵ There were exceptions to this. Sadness, along with anger, was theorised as a reactive response to sources of agitation or frustration; therefore, demons could feel *dolor* or *tristitia* when, for instance, they did not succeed in tempting a human.⁶⁶ God was not supposed to feel anything, but even if

⁵⁸ Andrea, 46.

⁵⁹ Heather Webb, *The Medieval Heart* (New Haven. CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁶⁰ Webb, *Medieval Heart*, 2.

⁶¹ Webb, *Medieval Heart*, 2. See also Nancy Caciola, 'Breath, Heart, Guts: The Body and Spirits in the Middle Ages', in *Demons, Spirits, Witches I: Communicating with the Spirits*, eds. Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005), 24–7.

⁶² Webb, *Medieval Heart*, 10–49; Takashi Shogimen, "'Head or Heart?'" Revisited: Physiology and Political Thought in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *History of Political Thought* 28 (2007): 208–29.

⁶³ Jackson, 'Acedia the Sin', 178.

⁶⁴ Feros Ruys, 'Tears Such as Angels Weep', 51–71.

⁶⁵ Feros Ruys, 'Tears Such as Angels Weep', 52–3.

⁶⁶ Feros Ruys, 'Tears Such as Angels Weep', 56–60.

some theologians attributed to him the capacity to feel compassion, he was not able to feel *dolor* or *tristitia* because they indicated irritation owing to frustrated desire.⁶⁷ It is unclear what the scholastics would have made of Innocent's use of Genesis 6:6–7, which attributes the capacity to be affected by *dolor* to God. Innocent uses it not only to convey the severity of the crusaders' and John's sins, but also so that his communication of a strong feeling might be justified through his close identification with a vengeful God.

In both letters, the basis for the pope's authority rests upon the role of the pope as the ultimate arbiter of the penance which would be granted by God. Both letters concern the excommunication of the letters' recipients: Innocent's letter to the crusaders deals with how the excommunicated *crucesignati* were to make amends, and his letter to John threatens the king with excommunication if he did not refrain from interfering with the election of the archbishop of Canterbury. The error addressed by Innocent was not only that the crusaders and John had committed significant sins, but that they had also neglected the fate of their souls and ignored the papacy as the sole body on earth which could exercise authority over the fate of souls. Innocent communicated this in a figurative sense – as in the letter to John in which Innocent likened John's refusal to comply with Innocent's demands to a sick patient's refusal to take medicine from his physician – but also directly.⁶⁸ In the second letter to the crusaders, he makes it clear that the bishops who had lifted the excommunication against the crusaders had no authority to do so. In the individuals' progression from sin to reconciliation they had forgotten who was able to offer such reconciliation, and so Innocent's reminder also acted as an assertion of authority. In both cases, the papacy's authority is linked closely with the sin of the individual and the fate of their soul.

The allusion to Genesis 6:6–7 set the tone for this exchange, and closer analysis reveals something of the way in which this particular imagining of papal authority was gendered and how emotive language cemented the penitential relationship on which papal authority rested. Fletcher's observation that a medieval subject's masculinity was predicated on the extent to which he adhered to codes of honour might be also employed usefully to interpret how the papacy tried to maintain an exclusively masculine authority and how they drew on ideals of correct masculine behaviour in order to assert their authority over other powerful men.⁶⁹ The operation of honour is rendered legible through the papacy's mobilising of emotional practices. The papacy's claim that it was 'touched inwardly with sorrow of heart' was meant to underpin the dishonourable nature of the action performed by the men in question, as well as making these men feel the shame that it was necessary to feel in order to compel their reintegration into communion. In both sets of correspondence, Innocent attempts to induce shame, or a self-recognition of sin, and positioned the pope as the legitimate body of authority for the correction of sin as a way of reasserting Innocent's authority over the recipient of the letter. Identifying with the vengeful God of Genesis directly from the outset of each letter aligned the pope with he who ultimately granted clemency. This was a God who could not take the female gender in Christ, his human form, and who, consequently, had to be male.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁷ Feros Ruys, 'Tears Such as Angels Weep', 61.

⁶⁸ *Die Register Innocenz*, 11: 341, discussed further below.

⁶⁹ Fletcher, 'Whig Interpretation of Masculinity?', especially 62.

⁷⁰ Monagle, 'Christ's Masculinity', 32–47.

following section details the ways in which this initial expression of sorrow sets the tone of each letter are explored, along with the ways emotions are practised by the curia to try to encourage the recipient to take steps toward their restitution, thereby also re-establishing the authority of the papacy as the administer of absolution. I also contend that the papacy's usage of gendered models of correct behaviour to re-establish its authority over the letter's recipient is particularly apparent in the practices of emotional regulation present in the letters.

The letters on the sack of Zara

The letter sent by Innocent to the participants of the Fourth Crusade in February 1203 (*Tacti sumus*) to chastise them for sacking Zara was not the curia's first draft. The initial letter, which was written at some point in the second half of December 1202 (*Dolemus non modicum*), excommunicated the crusaders; the 1203 letter discusses how the crusaders, who by this point sought restitution, might find their way back into communion.⁷¹ Although the first version of the letter may not have been sent to the crusaders, or was at least superseded by the second version, it is worth examining in some detail before turning to the analysis of the second letter.⁷² Charting the letter's development gives us a better insight into how the curia employed emotive language – and, in particular, how it may have intended the reference to Genesis 6:6–7 to function – and the introductory comments of the *Gesta* author, which function as additional commentary on the letter by another member of the curia, also give us additional hints as to what particular kinds of emotional rhetoric were meant to signify.

Dolemus non modicum, the original letter, is much more forceful than *Tacti sumus*. Innocent announced in the letter that all who had participated in the sack of Zara had been excommunicated and would not receive the indulgence for their participation in the crusade. It also recounts in some depth the detail of the sack of Zara. The Holy See had prohibited the crusaders – made up of contingents drawn from Franks and Hungarians, who were working in collaboration with Venetian armies – from attacking Zara on pain of excommunication, but the crusaders had attacked Zara regardless of this threat. In Innocent's letter, he describes how the crusaders honed in on Zara and undermined its walls 'not without considerable bloodshed', before attacking the city and its inhabitants despite the fact that the citizens had hung images of the cross on their walls. The participants in the crusade then forced the Zarans to surrender, and the Venetians robbed the Zarans' churches and shared the spoils with the crusaders. The pope began the letter as follows:

We sorrow (*dolemus*) not a little and are disturbed (*movemur*) that in those matters in which we were accustomed to weigh out the grace of forgiveness and to promise an increase of eternal retribution, now that we do not speak without much grief (*meror*), we are forced to deny the encouragement of our salutation and the protection of Apostolic benediction.⁷³

⁷¹ On the genesis of the letter, see also Andrea, 40–8.

⁷² Andrea, 40; *Die Register Innocenz*, 5: 315.

⁷³ 'Dolemus non modicum et movemur quod iis quibus remissionis impendere gratiam solebamus et eterne polliceri retributionis augmentum, nunc quod sine merore multo non dicimus, nostre salutationis alloquium et apostolice benedictionis presidium cogimur denegare.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 5: 315; translation adapted from Andrea, 41.

The denial of the Apostolic blessing would have clearly signified the severity of the crusaders' wrongdoing and it is likely that the letter's recipients would have been drawn to this rather than the nuances of the emotional expression. But what is striking about this wording is how the papacy's emotional response provides the reason for their denial of the positive greeting and benediction that would usually have been included in the papal salutation. Owing to the crusaders' acts, the papacy did 'not speak without much sorrow' and was, consequently, 'forced' to deny its usual greeting. The kind of authority that the papacy asserts from the outset in its 'anti-salutation' is its authority over the absolution of sin and the bestowal of clemency, and the papacy took recourse to emotive language to bolster it at a time when it was being tested.

The emotive language of the salutation is followed quickly by allusions to biblical metaphor which connote backwardness: in impeding the progress of the crusade, the crusaders had also hindered the penitential journey of their own souls. The crusaders' 'gold' had 'turned to base metal' (James 5:3); they had 'looked backward with Lot's wife' (Genesis 19:26); in fleeing Egypt, they had moved into the desert rather than towards the land of milk and honey. The crusaders' attack on their fellow Christians reminded the papacy of the serpent from the Fall who, 'because it was ineffective against the head, it lay in ambush against the heel' (Genesis 3:15). Biblical images of an order inverted provide the context for the crusaders' transgressions, the illustration of which Innocent uses to prescribe 'correct' feeling. Innocent writes of how the crusaders had been seduced by the Devil, who

is mindful of the fact that no one has greater love (*caritas*) than one who lays down his life for friends and who in order to deprive [them] of the reward and good will for such love caused them to 'make war against [their] brothers and to unfurl [their] battle standards initially against people of the faith, so that [they] might pay him the first fruits of [their] pilgrimage and pour out for demons both [their] own and [their] brothers' blood.⁷⁴

Emotions, here, illustrate the gravity of the crusaders' wrongdoing but Innocent also regulates how crusaders ought to feel. Love is something to aspire to and to exercise; it is demonstrated by self-sacrifice for one's brothers and oriented heavenwards. The Devil had taken advantage of this deep emotion by driving them to attack their own brothers rather than showing love towards them and, in doing so, to sabotage the progress of their own souls.

The emotional regime laid out by Innocent here is articulated also through the ideal masculine model of Christian brotherhood. By the thirteenth century, as Christoph Maier notes, crusade preachers addressed model crusade sermons to an imagined male audience because the Church had been trying to restrict physical participation in the crusade to those skilled in warfare, and men were perceived to have superior skills in this regard.⁷⁵ Innocent likely appealed to the crusaders' sense of Christian brotherhood

⁷⁴ 'Attendens siquidem ipse hostis antiquus, qui est diabolus et Sathanas, qui seducit universum orbem, quod maiorem caritatem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis, ut vos tante caritatis affectu et mercede privaret, contra fratres vestros bellum movere vos fecit et signa vestra primum contra fideles populos explicare, quatinus sic ei peregrinatos vestre solveretis primitias et tam vestrum quam fratrum vestrorum sanguinem demonibus funderetis.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 5: 316; translation adapted from Andrea, 42.

⁷⁵ Christoph T. Maier, 'Propaganda and Masculinity. Gendering the Crusades in Thirteenth-Century Sermons', in *Crusading and Masculinities*, eds. Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis and Matthew M. Mesley (London: Routledge, 2019), 21–35.

as a way of drawing upon the bonds that they had forged with other men in the crusading army to model how they ought to feel towards the Zarans. All one in Christ Jesus. In doing so, there is no sense that harming their sisters might stir in the recipients of his letter the feeling of a Christian body violated, and an unmanly display of dishonour. He was not alone in this; as Jonathan Riley-Smith argued in 'Crusading as an Act of Love', preachers used the love between brothers or friends as a vehicle for God's love, alongside God's love, to stir enthusiasm for the crusade.⁷⁶ In urging the crusaders towards penance and correct behaviour, Innocent produced an ideal model of the collective Christian faithful and an emotional regime that was based on the bonds of *caritas* between brothers.

Caritas is the correct feeling. Innocent opposes rightful feeling to wrongful motivation.⁷⁷ Their lack of correct feeling underlined their dishonourable act which was, in turn, unmanly. In order to remedy their souls and to restore the correct relationship between the pastor and his flock, the pope would have to induce a feeling of shame through the removal of the crusaders from the social body of the Church. The letter, accordingly, ends with the pope's announcement of the crusaders' excommunication.

How, then, did Innocent react when the crusaders had expressed remorse? The letter that the curia ultimately sent to the crusaders in 1203, *Tacti sumus*, read less harshly than its original draft but strong emotions still temper the papacy's admonition of the crusaders and reassertion of its own authority. Following the *tacti sumus* phrasing, the remainder of the *arenga* is quite similar to the *arenga* of the previous letter: Innocent similarly employs metaphors of backwardness – the crusaders had 'descended from Jerusalem into Egypt' and 'looked back, along with Lot's wife' – and states that they had been made 'minions of Satan'. Additionally, he laments that the crusaders had turned their arms against Christ: 'although you bore the Cross for Christ, you later turned your arms against Him, and you who should have attacked the lands of the Saracens invaded Christian Zara.'⁷⁸ To the idea of the violation of Christian brotherhood, which he copied from the previous letter, he also writes the body of believers onto the body of Christ; an attack on a fellow Christian was tantamount to an attack on Christ.

Innocent also kept the *narratio* of the previous letter. The core difference between *Tacti sumus* and its predecessor is that it deals with the prescribed procedure for the crusaders' reintegration into the communion of the Church, and, as such, is more practical in tone than its previous iteration, which had to justify the excommunication of the crusaders. Innocent notes that the curia had learned that the crusaders recognised their guilt and desired to perform penance in order to expunge it. He ordered them to return everything that they had stolen to the Zarans. He then explains that, other than 'at the point of

⁷⁶ Jonathan Riley Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980): 177–92.

⁷⁷ Megan Cassidy-Welch observes a similar usage in the letters of Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), bishop of Acre, on the Siege of Damietta, in which wrongful motivation is opposed to rightful feeling. See Cassidy-Welch 'Order, Emotion, and Gender in the Crusade Letters of Jacques de Vitry', in *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder*, ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2015), 35–49 (41).

⁷⁸ 'Sane cum crucem tuleritis propter Christum, in eum arma postmodum convertistis, et qui debueratis Saracenum provinciam expugnare, christianorum laderam occupastis.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 5: 318; translation adapted from Andrea, 45.

death', it was unheard of that anyone other than the pope might absolve anyone 'who the Roman Church has bound'.⁷⁹

Innocent's letters to the crusaders demonstrate how the pope attempted to re-establish authority and usher his readers towards penance through modelling an ideal masculinity grounded in Christian brotherhood which was also governed by certain emotional norms; in this case, love for one's brother. The production and policing of this exclusively masculine ideal was meant to motivate the reader to perform penance, and thereby seal the fissures in papal authority caused by the crusaders' disobedience. Moreover, it also provided – along with, in the second letter, Innocent's expression of *dolor* using a biblical passage – justification for the papacy's *dolor*, the expression of which reasserted papal authority based on close identification with the ultimate arbiter of penance.

The 1209 letter to John

By contrast even with the first letter addressed to the crusaders, the letter to King John of England regarding the election dispute is far more emotive in tone. The letter is one of many sent by the papacy to John over John's resistance to confirming Stephen Langton, Innocent's preferred candidate, as the archbishop of Canterbury.⁸⁰ This letter in particular draws heavily upon emotive language. Innocent threatened to excommunicate John if he did not stop interfering in the election. It is not clear when he sent this to John, but it is included in a letter that Innocent sent to the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester on 12 January 1209. Innocent's emotive appeal to masculine codes of honour to persuade John into the papacy's obedience are also much more apparent and easily traced. Innocent had long been locked in a battle with John over what Innocent perceived as John's continuous infringement of ecclesiastical liberties. The pope had already placed England under interdict in response to John's refusal to confirm Stephen Langton as the archbishop of Canterbury. We see, in this letter, Innocent's attempt to negotiate a desperate situation in which John repeatedly disregarded the supreme authority of the pontiff over ecclesiastical matters. In chastising John, he produces an ideal model of masculinity for a son in Christ and a ruler of people, one that is conveyed through prescription of emotional norms. The pope began the letter:

We are touched inwardly with sorrow of heart and deeply troubled that, since from the special privilege of love with which the Apostolic See loved you among all other princes we had hoped that you on your side would repay it with respect and honour, you return hatred (*odium*) for love (*dilectio*), and as if you are a conspirator against yourself, you will not spare your honour that you might prevail to disparage ours – indeed, further, neglecting your own reputation and salvation in the prejudice of both you rebel rashly against an ordinance from us and the Church, no, indeed, from God, never listening carefully to the fact that you struggle to invalidate this ordinance, since the outstretched hand of

⁷⁹ 'Quia vero sententiam sedis apostolice, quam pro facto proprio incurristis, preter auctoritatem nostram nullus valuit relaxare – cum inauditum sit hactenus, ut quisquam eos, quos ecclesia Romana ligasset, absolvere attemptaret, nisi forsan in mortis articulo constitutos, sicut ipsa permittit ...' *Die Register Innocenz*, 5: 319.

⁸⁰ On Langton and the election dispute in the context of the relationship between the papacy and the English Church, see C.R. Cheney, 'A Recent View of the General Interdict on England, 1208–1214', *Studies in Church History* 3 (1966): 159–68; J.W. Baldwin, 'Master Stephen Langton, Future Archbishop of Canterbury: The Paris Schools and Magna Carta', *English Historical Review* 123 (2008): 811–46; Elizabeth Gemmill, 'King John, Magna Carta and the Thirteenth-Century English Church', in *The Rights and Aspirations of the Magna Carta*, eds. Elizabeth Gibson-Morgan and Alexis Chommeloux (London: Palgrave, 2016), 1–19.

the most high no one may deflect and no one is able to change from this what he has decreed.⁸¹

From the very outset, Innocent's expression of sorrow is tied up closely with an appeal to John's honour. The pope aligns his response closely with the response of God to unruly people in the letter, both in expressing God's feeling as his own in the first part of this *arenga* and in his close identification with God's power. Like the crusaders, John had violated the set of emotional codes that governed the reciprocal bonds between the two men. In ignoring the pope's previous admonitions that the king ought to give his consent to Langton's appointment, John had exchanged the privileged form of *dilectio* that the Apostolic See held for John not with 'respect and honour' but with *odium*. John had conspired against himself because he had imperilled his own soul in disobeying the pope. Here, Innocent also makes a direct connection between the disregard John has shown for his own soul, and therefore the system of penance on which papal authority was based, and God, through the pope, as the arbiter of penance. To ignore the health of your soul was to ignore the authority of the pope, and, by extension, God.

If this was a grave set of circumstances in and of itself, it was also a microcosm of a larger problem. John had not only placed his soul in danger, but had placed the souls of his subjects in danger by incurring the interdict. Innocent accused John, his 'dearly beloved son', of hardness:

What hardness stopped your hearing that you did not take in the salutary warnings we so often impressed upon you? What hardness crushed your understanding that often you did not observe the wise counsels we suggested to you?

John had become so hardened that he was unable to 'feel the immeasurably spreading sore of [his] wound'.⁸² Innocent draws here on the imagery of disease to communicate the nature and extent of John's severe sin. In explaining the reasoning behind its harsh treatment, Innocent goes beyond the father-son relationship, through which he normally articulated his authority over male prelates, to portray the papacy as a physician:

Though the fatherly affection, from which we tell you this, may perhaps be hateful to you, yet we urge you in the role of a wise and loving doctor, who sometimes cuts and burns an unwilling and improvident sick person who is struggling in order to restore their health. And so if we find your disease to be stubborn, Heaven forbid, you will compel us to insist on a more forceful remedy, which is necessary as the cure requires. Though perhaps at present you may flee from such hardness, when your health is recovered you will yet praise its results and bless the experienced physician. We are applying still the ointment of gentleness; if, perhaps, having been soothed by it, you do not expect harsher efforts, we beseech your serene majesty diligently and warn you in the name of he who will come to

⁸¹ 'Tacti sumus dolore cordis intrinsecus et vehementi merore turbati, quod, cum ex illa speciali dilectionis prerogativa, qua te sedes apostolica diligebat inter ceteros principes, speraverimus, ut versa vice rependeres ei reverentiam et honorem, odium ei pro dilectione retribuissis et, quasi coniuraveris in te ipsum, tuo non parcis honori, ut nostro valeas derogare, quinimmo tuam et famam negligens et salutem in predicium utriusque temere contra nostram et ecclesie, immo Dei, dispositionem erigeris non attendens, quod in vacuum eam evacuare moliris, cum extentam manum Altissimi nemo possit avertere, quodque fuerit ab ipso decretum, nullus valeat immutare.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 11: 340; translation adapted from Cheney and Semple, 110.

⁸² 'Heu que, karissime fili, durtia tuum opturavit auditum, ut salutaria monita tibi a nobis totiens inculcata non caperes; que durita tuum absorbit intellectum, ut discreta consilia tibi a nobis suggesta sepius non servares; iam sic induratus esse conspiceris, quod in immensum crescentum vulneris tui plagam non sentias.' *Die Register Innocenz*, 11: 341; translation adapted from Cheney and Semple, 111.

judge the living and the dead, entreating you earnestly, to take healthier counsel and to withdraw from such a great error ...⁸³

The physician, here, rather than the mother, is referenced as a complement to the father, continuing the purgative metaphor and imagining the pope as a physician of the soul, who, as Innocent would mandate in the twenty-second canon of Lateran IV, ought to take precedence over physicians of the body in such grave matters.⁸⁴ And as his father and physician, to love John meant to discipline him. As Rousseau has argued in her exploration of paternal authority in Innocent's writing, 'Innocent could disguise and rationalise his power in the language of paternal care and expected obedience as the suitable response.'⁸⁵ The idea of harming sin to save the sinner as an act of compassion was discussed at length by twelfth-century canonists who in most cases, to reference Riley-Smith again, came to the conclusion that 'the demands of love should mean that they could not allow others to sin with impunity.'⁸⁶ In order to explain precisely why, though it may not appear so, this was an act of love, Innocent also provided the analogy of a beloved companion. Although Innocent loved John and although John was likely to be resentful of the prescribed discipline, for Innocent, 'when a loved friend is chastised, the motive is a pious affection, love's blows having this peculiarity ... the more sharply laid on, the more friendly they are.'⁸⁷

Innocent faced a complex negotiation between disciplining John, which required the king to admit how badly his sore had spread, and not alienating him completely. His deep *dolor* is justified by John's lack of respect for honour and refusal to adhere to a correct set of emotional scripts, which Innocent prescribes just as he outlines where the script has been neglected. Innocent's expression of love is a fraught one, in which Innocent goes beyond the usual father-son imagery to imagine the pope as a doctor administering medicine to stem the pestiferous spread of John's sin. This is a relational model in which the pope aligns the papacy closely with God to make it clear to John that the relationship shared by the two men was a proxy for John's relationship with God. He grounds the relationship in the earthly bonds of family, but as a way of reorienting these ties towards Heaven. The significance was grounded not, or not only, in the constructed organic closeness of the earthly nuclear family, but in the renunciation of these ties; a component of reformed clerical identity which shored up, in turn, the basis on which clerics might claim to exert hegemony over the laity. The formulaic nature of the papacy's use of these terms occasionally forces us to miss what they signified in particular contexts. Innocent's reference to a father-son model would remind the king not

⁸³ 'Licet autem paterna caritas, ex qua ista tibi suggerimus, tibi sit forsitan odiosa, circa te tamen prudentis et amantis medici vices agimus, qui quandoque infirmum invitum et improvide reluctantem salubriter secat et urit. Ideoque si morbum tuum, quod absit, invenerimus induratum, violentiori nos coges insistere medicine, iuxta quod necessaria cura deponet. Cuius asperitatem etsi forsitan in presenti refugias, sanitate tamen recepta ipsius collaudabis effectum et peritum quoque medicum benedices. Ut autem adhuc lenitatis apponamus unguentum, si forsitan ipso mollitus asperiora molimina non expectes, serenitatem regiam rogamus attentius et monemus per eum, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos, obstantes, quatinus usus consilio saniori a tanto revoceris errore ...' *Die Register Innocenz*, 11: 341; translation adapted from Cheney and Semple, 112.

⁸⁴ On Innocent's rare use of feminine maternal imagery to describe the function of the Apostolic See, see Rousseau, 'Pater urbis et orbis', 34.

⁸⁵ Rousseau, 'Pater urbis et orbis', 33.

⁸⁶ Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', 189.

⁸⁷ 'Alioquin quantumcumque personam tuam sincere in Domino diligamus et canonicam disciplinam indignanter sis forsitan recepturus, quia tamen, cum is, qui diligitur, castigatur, tunc circa eum pietas exercetur, eo quod amor habeat plagas suas ...' *Die Register Innocenz*, 11: 341; translation adapted from Cheney and Semple, 112-14.

only of the pope's superiority in the matter of the Canterbury election but the supreme nature of his spiritual authority, and John's failure to recognise this authority would place his soul in deep peril. In coaxing John to imagine his soul in this way, the pope also worked to restore papal authority through re-establishing a correct set of emotional rules.

Concluding reflections

I would like to return by way of conclusion to the image of Mary Magdalene wailing with grief over the death of Christ. The grotesque imagery – of the Magdalene's famished gnawing at the outer bone, unable to taste the marrow – that Innocent employed to illustrate her desperation and the frivolity of her concern was intended to render feeling for the temporal ugly and uncondusive to interpreting the truth. This picture also associated these errors with 'woman'. It told clerics that to be guided by one's senses was not only a mark of intellectual deficiency, but also emasculine; or, rather, it was emasculine because a mark of intellectual deficiency. The interpretative ability of the papal office and clerical hierarchy provided the basis for their exercise of authority over other men, but so did the fact that they were not women; not only because they extricated themselves from the pollutive dangers of women, but because they were not women and did not think like them. Women, who thought with *sensus* and not *intellectus*, were unable to access this role. This order structured the ecclesiastical hierarchy and supported the authority of the pope. God's transformation of the world by transferring Constantinople from the Greeks to the Latins proved the superiority of this Church and the supremacy of the pontiff.

This is quite a vision for the order of the world and the kind of authority that the papacy sought to exercise over it. This was not (only) patriarchy as usual but a clear statement on what the ministry of the Church should look like, and how real churchmen ought to think and relate to society. We would be wrong to read the association of women with feeling as too mundane for comment or simply as an immutable constituent of patriarchy. Innocent's letter to the Latin clerics following the sack of Constantinople communicated how the pope saw the Latin Church at its most majestic. His vision was the product of a reform context which emphasised a hierarchical apostolate staffed by men, who in turn had exclusive access to elite education and, therefore, to a higher faculty of knowing. It indicated that care for the earthly in its imperfect disorder when the next world was more brilliant and beautiful was a bit trivial and not very manly. In protecting the truth over which clergymen exercised a monopoly through gendered emotional regulation, Innocent too protected the authority of the pope.

Gendered orders of emotion are also apparent at times during which the papal office may not have felt quite as magisterial and needed to assert its authority over those who had defied it. Innocent and his curia's careful, escalating use of *dolor* suggests that they reserved stronger or more elaborate emotional language for the direst of circumstances and, even then, supported this usage through close identification with God and lengthy emotive justification. In the letters to the crusaders and John, we see how this language functions to carve out and strengthen the fate of souls as the authoritative domain of the pope. Concern which elevated the earthly over one's own soul became tantamount to an attack on the papal office. In conveying deep feeling which was meant to mobilise the excommunicate or putative excommunicate to perform penance, it also sought to repair fissures in its authoritative reach by outlining the emotional norms that its

letters' recipients had violated and restoring a correct set of feeling rules. This type of regulation employed masculine codes of honour and relational models familiar to the would-be penitent – father and son; brotherhood; the physician and his patient – but subverted these models as it reoriented the penitent's feeling from the temporal to the eternal. Emotional language guided by a gendered order, then, was employed by Innocent and his curia as a way of shoring up the papacy's authority.

Finally, an examination of Innocent's emotional regime connects dialogues on medieval religious cultures that, at best, do not often speak to each other and, at worst, are often placed in opposition to one another. This article began with the divisions between histories of the papacy and histories of gender. The rise of affective piety has also been treated separately from the world of the papal curia, when it was clearly enmeshed within this realm and, in many respects, 'of' it. The implication of this is that the dramatic expression of deep feeling is often read in and of itself through the lens of resistance; feeling becomes innately resistant. But while affective piety may have been the more creative relative of regimes such as Innocent's, they were related nonetheless. Locating them within the same movement enables us to understand how emotional practices established dominance and imposed obedience as they simultaneously agitated devotional ingenuity.

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Notes on contributor

Kirsty Day is currently a Teaching Fellow in Medieval History at the University of Edinburgh. She previously held a Marie-Skłodowska Curie Fellowship at Aalborg University, Denmark.

ORCID

Kirsty Day  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9396-580X>