Shifting Emotions: Grief, Sorrow and Delight in Medieval Iberian Historical Narratives

Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo
(University of Lincoln, UK)

1. *Introduction*

"What seemed to be the beginning of woe and the confirmation of evil was the end of evil and the beginning of joy and consolation."[1] This is how the thirteenth-century royal *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae* (henceforth *CLRC*)[2], describes in terms of shifting emotions some of the dramatic events (which will be discussed later) that determined the fate of the Castilian-Leonese crown and royal family. Such references to the inconsistency and variability of emotional states were widely recognised by medieval contemporaries and were often framed through physiological, theological, and philosophical perspectives to justify and explain human behaviour. Particularly relevant is the use of emotions and their variability in the construction of medieval historical narratives. Emotions contributed to shaping political messages and frame ideas of 'belonging' and alterity by attributing certain emotional reactions to specific individuals and communities. While research has more extensively focused on literary, philosophical, and religious texts, a more systematic analysis of the use of emotional norms in historical narratives is needed. Focusing on some of the historiographical production of thirteenth- and fourteenth-centuries Castile and Aragon, this study explores representations of grief, sorrow, and delight to offer new insights into the wider spectrum of emotional resources used by historians of their times to present and reflect the complexities of human nature while constructing individual and collective memories. These texts are treated not as objective accounts, but as interpretative narratives in which emotions help reinforce legitimacy, providential readings, and moral order.

First, this study offers an overview of emotional rhetoric and language in medieval history-writing, examining how such strategies reflected established emotional norms which were set and recognised by secular and religious authorities, and informed by socio-political agendas and gender-based constructs. Second, it will investigate a range of emotions and their shifting dynamics (from grief to delight) which have been less systematically studied than others—such as anger and fear (Rosenwein 2020, 1998; Scott and Kosso 2002)—at least within the medieval Iberian context. Moreover, the comparison of Christian and Muslim sources reveals interconnected emotional norms, although they were often presented differently depending on authorial perspectives. Alongside grief, conceptualised and understood as a transformative force, special attention is given to parental bereavement, of which gender-based and cultural expectations shaped contrasting expressions: from restrain and stoic endurance to public displays and physical demise. Third, this study examines joy and delight, which rather than opposing grief, often followed and coexisted with it, marking moments of reconciliation, victory, and divine favour. Tears, laughter, and other bodily expressions were frequently associated with different emotional states and adopted as culturally coded markers of sincerity, while also being central discursive tools, which reflected multidimensional socio-political and cultural intersections. Finally, this study helps uncover whose emotions are described in the historical narratives under consideration and whose voices are instead silenced. The use of contrasting and often shifting emotions in specific contexts makes us question the extent to which these references were used strategically to generate an emotional response in those exposed to such narratives, or they reflected genuine individual and collective ambiguous

[1] Brea 1984, 26 "Que uidebantur inicia dolorum et confirmatio malorum, ipsa fuerunt finis malorum et inicium gaudii et consolationum."

[2] References to the *CLRC* throughout this study are to Brea's edition (1984). Other editions and translations include Brea 1997 and O'Callaghan 2002.

reactions to complex situations. The perspective of the history of emotions helps enhance our understanding of the multidimensional impact of human experience on history-writing, but also of the normative frameworks and contemporary views that shaped emotional expressions, as well as their physical and behavioural signs, hence reflecting broader socio-political and cultural phenomena.

2. *Emotions in Medieval Thought and History-Writing*

The 'emotional turn' has shaped new directions in medieval studies and is growing in popularity beyond the Anglophone and French academic contexts that pioneered it, drawing upon interdisciplinary methodologies from history, literary studies, sociology, anthropology, and affect theory, among others (Rodríguez et al. 2022; Atturo 2015; Casagrande and Vecchio 2015). Scholars such as Barbara H. Rosenwein (2015, 2017, 2021) have been foundational in challenging and nuancing the notion of emotions as universal constructs, proposing instead culturally and socially constructed frameworks, such as that of 'emotional communities' (Rosenwein 2006), to investigate and contextualize emotional expressions, understandings, and representations within the symbolic and discursive systems of their time. The work by Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy (2015) emphasizes the key role of the body and the senses in understanding the performative nature of emotions alongside the theological and philosophical frameworks that shaped medieval understandings of the passions. Medievalists are exploring emotions—an eighteenth-century definition which we used conventionally to refer to a wide range of feelings, passions, affects, and impulses (Dixon 2012)—across different types of sources: from theological and philosophical treaties, literary and medical texts, to various types of legal documents and narrative accounts, as well as material and visual culture.

For instance, legal records and in particular court cases have received renewed attention, especially since understanding legal documents as highly narrativized pieces of historical evidence (Gilbert and White 2018). As Bailey argued when examining the case study of medieval and early modern London "Emotions were not systematically incorporated into medieval legal doctrine, nor was their place in explaining motivations fully or consistently understood by courts. Yet emotions were cited across common law and equity jurisdictions" (Bailey 2019, 4). This was a widespread phenomenon across medieval law. Thirteenth-century Iberian legislation, informed by similar philosophical and cultural conceptions, supports this point, as no singular and coherent theoretical framework about emotions appears across different legal cases. Yet, emotions feature prominently to explain, understand, and often determine individual causes and punishments associated with the infringement of both secular and religious laws. This was the case with the *Usatges of Barcelona* (Kagay 1994, 42), a twelfth-century code compiled by Ramon Berenguer I, Count of Barcelona (1035–1076), which remained at the core of the thirteenth-century legislative developments imposed by James I of Aragon (r. 1213-1276). Similarly, the Castilian vernacular legal code of the *Siete Partidas* (ed. 1807; trans. 2001) defined by O'Callaghan "a monument of wisdom literature" (2019, 245), composed under the patronage of King Alfonso X (r. 1252-84), assigns forms of punishment to individuals acting under the power of emotional outbursts differently from those led by pre-meditated intentions. The *Siete Partidas* also clarifies how fear (*metus*) of death, physical torment, the loss of freedom or honour can affect anyone: "For through such fear not only weak men, but also those who are strong are induced to action […]."[3] Nonetheless, "[…] fear which is not of this nature, by which is called unreal, cannot be alleged as an excuse by a

[3] References to the *Siete Partidas* (henceforth *SP*) are to book, title and chapter numbers, which are the same across the Spanish edition and English translation. *SP* VII: XXXIII: VII "ca por tal miedo no tal solamente se mueven … los homes que son flacos, mas aun los fuertes et los poderosos".

party who binds himself by reason of it."[4] The recognition of the impact of emotions on human behaviour features in other laws across the same code, for example when describing the punishments for those who accuse others without evidence. The law exempts those acting out of pain and sorrow for the loss of someone dear to them, such as a husband or a wife: "[…] because parties of this kind are induced to make such accusations for a lawful reason, and on account of their grief, and not through malice."[5]

Emotions are also abundantly embedded in narrative texts, shaping and framing the construction of individual and collective memories of events through different perspectives and agendas. Shaped by theological, political, and social frameworks, these narratives were often produced within religious and secular *scriptoria* and learned entourages, including monasteries and courts, to provide moral instruction, reinforce political legitimacy, and interpret events through a providential lens. History-writing could take varied and multilingual forms, of which the thirteenth-century Latin and vernacular Iberian royal chronicles are prominent examples. The preservation of memory aligned with carefully crafted constructions of the past through a variety of written records, including genealogies, annals, chronicles, biographies, hagiographies, and autobiographies. However, the boundaries between literature and history across Western Europe, especially in the central and late Middle Ages, were fluid. Therefore, medieval historical narratives are best understood as culturally situated interpretations of the past that reflect the values, interests, and power structures of their own time. As Staunton argued in his study of the Angevin chronicles (2017), unlike their predecessors, the historians of the central Middle Ages were often writing about contemporary events, which must have had a strong impact on readers and listeners. The emotions adopted to construct such contemporary narratives reflect the emotional styles, communities, and *habita* of the chroniclers' own world, more than the standards from the past that they were describing. It is therefore not surprising that the use of emotions in historical writings is prevalent in the narratives of relatively close (chronologically and geographically) episodes, such as some of the contemporary accounts of the Crusades and other highly impactful events.

In this study, I will focus on the analysis of some of the historical narratives produced in Castile and Aragon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This is a broad category of sources, which include chronicles, but also accounts relating both personal and historical events as experienced and described from a first-person perspective, conventionally defined as autobiographies and *memoirs*, among other formats (Aurell 2025; Fleming 2014). The study of emotions has extensively focused on texts representing, narrating, and constructing the authorial 'self' (Brandsma 2024; Palmer et al. 2022; Zac 2012;), but this does not exclude the possibility of deepening this line of analysis by adopting a comparative perspective that includes a more varied range of historical sources.

3. Understanding Conflicting Emotions: Grief and Sorrow

Medieval approaches to, understandings, and representations of sorrow and grief were deeply embedded within the religious, social, and cultural frameworks that shaped both personal experiences and communal expressions of suffering. Often linked and explained through the lens of Christian theology and philosophy, at least in a Western European context, physical and emotional suffering were also interpreted in legal, medical, and physiological terms (as humoral imbalances, and pain regarded as a diagnostic tool), as means of spiritual redemption and self-improvement, and as signs of divine punishment. Within the context of Latin Christendom in the High Middle Ages, interpretations of grief were often connected to

[4] *SP* VII:XXXIII: VII "otro miedo que no fuese de tal natura, á que dicen vano non excusarie al que se obligase por él."

[5] *SP* VII:I:XXVI "[…] porque estos atales se mueven por derecha razon et con dolor á facer estos acusamientos, et non maliciosamente."

consolation and its resolution presented as a moral objective (Mowbray 2009). Nonetheless, across different sources from the period there is not a standard definition, as grief could take various forms. In some cases, consolation was not the end point, not even within ecclesiastical contexts. As Emily Winkler (2002) argued in her analysis of the work by three twelfth-century Latin writers from England, grieving is sometimes associated with ecclesiastical writing in monastic and clerical contexts, but one should not assume that the same interpretations satisfied all members of a religious community. This is a complex phenomenon to untangle and as Mowbray argued "Understanding the reasons for pain and suffering went right to the core of medieval theological explanations of Christology, penance, death and the afterlife." (2009, 2)

The Masters of Theology at the University of Paris between c.1230 and c.1300 developed a shared terminology and conceptual framework to understand pain and suffering while addressing other theological debates. Conceptualisations of the suffering of Christ, alongside mystical and devotional experiences (especially of women) in the later medieval period enriched such debates (Bynum 1992; Rubin 1991; Constable 1982). Esther Cohen examined how changing attitudes towards pain aligned with late medieval devotional shifts associated with a new emphasis on Christ's passion (2010). Moreover, grief and sorrow, especially in response to death, were often public and ritualized emotions (despite the legal and theological calls for emotional restrain), within which unconstrained physical expressions—including tears—were common practice and not always gender-restricted (Anca 2025; Karras 2003).

For the Iberian context, emotions and their perceived or constructed inconsistency have become central in historical research in the past few years. My own research has focused mostly on the changing language and rhetoric of emotions in autobiographical writing, as well as in political and diplomatic communication (Liuzzo Scorpo 2023a; 2019). Insightful recent contributions include Núria Silleras Fernández's research on the emotional politics of love, grief, and madness with a focus on Iberian royal women (2024a), as well as the work by Berlin (2021) and Sabaté (2025). Moreover, Simon Doubleday delved into the emotional dissonance associated with war, grief, and suffering in the thirteenth-century Castilian royally promoted collection of Marian poems, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (2023). Another significant contribution, focusing on representations of masculine grief in some of the royal chronicles from late medieval Castile, is Kim Bergqvist's study (2021) which argues that following courtly emotional regimes of the time, disruptive emotions, such as excessive grief, were transformed into righteous anger. This was a positive message for the Castilian ruling elites that furthered the political and military agendas of the monarchy.

As the seed of revenge, grief prominently features also in the chronicles of Aragon. In the thirteenth-century chronicle-autobiography of James I of Aragon, the *Llibre dels fets* (henceforth *LDF*)[6], this idea recurs frequently across several episodes. In the description of the conquest of Majorca, for instance, when notified about the death of some of his most trustworthy men, James I's immediate and perhaps most natural reaction was to weep, although according to the chronicle, this was immediately followed by a reminder of self-restrain and practical actions (*LDF* 66). The account delves first into a very poetic description of Majorca ("the most beautiful we had ever seen") to then focus on the practicalities of what followed. James I fulfilled his physical need of food and only afterwards went to visit the dead:

[6] References are to chapter numbers, as they coincide across both the Catalan edition (Soldevila 2007) and English translation (Smith and Buffery 2003).

> […] taking torches and candles. There we found Don Guillem de Montcada lying upon a mattress, and he had a cover over him. And we stayed there a little while crying and afterwards we did the same over Ramon.[7]

The words attributed to James I when addressing his nobles reflect a recognisable 'emotional regime' (Reddy 2001) of restrain of grief: "though our sorrow may be great, we should not show it" and "nobody shall weep."[8] Yet, as demonstrated by his own actions, this attempt did not always correspond to unconstrained and unfiltered emotional experiences (Liuzzo Scorpo 2018). Moreover, the royal speech that follows, includes an explicit statement about how such emotional excesses should be channelled into practical actions:

> Do you know what form grief should take? That we with you, and you with us, make the Saracens pay dearly for their deaths […] After we had said those words, they left off their weeping and they buried them.[9]

The fourteenth-century chronicle by the Catalan historian Ramon Muntaner (1265-1336), who was closely linked to the royal House of Aragon for both his military and political service, presents similar ideas of both restraint of public displays of emotions and of grief as the seed of anger and righteous revenge (henceforth *CRM*).[10] This avoidance of public display of emotions, especially when they are perceived as negative or demeaning of those experiencing them, is attributed to both men and women. In Muntaner's account, Mary of Montpellier's (Jame I's mother) reaction to the fact that her husband, Peter II of Aragon (r. 1196-1213) whom she married in 1204, was refusing to fulfil his marital commitments (also mentioned in the *LDF*, but with no reference to the emotional impact this had on the queen) is described as follows "And the said Lady Queen goes about like a virtuous lady and does not let it appear that it is grief to her, but for us it is an injury […]."[11] In this case injury refers to the risk in terms of succession and to the dishonour that it would have led to.

Emotional norms of restrain appear throughout Muntaner's account, especially when referring to debilitating or demeaning emotions attributed to members of the elite. An example is that of Charles of Anjou's reaction to the news that his friend and ally the Count of Alençon, alongside other knights and followers, were dead. First, the chronicle states that "he was so full of grief that no man could describe it; and especially when he knew that foot soldiers had done this deed."[12] This was a matter of honour and shame, as they were defeated by the lowest ranks of the army, but also of grief and anger, which legitimised subsequent military attacks based on revenge. Channelling grief into revenge is here presented as the emotional strategy adopted by Charles to frame and present his real and deep-felt emotions publicly: "And so he showed himself comforted before his people, yet other thoughts were in his heart."[13] Another example from the same chronicle narrates the expedition to Jerba dispatched by Frederick III (son of Peter III of Aragon and King of Sicily r. 1295-1337), who entrusted the mission to Muntaner,

---

[7] *LDF* 67 "[…] e semblà'ns la pus bella vila que anc haguéssem vista […]" "[…] e haguem tortes e candeles, e trobam-lo que jaïa en almatracs, e un cobertor que tenia dessús. E estiguem aquí una peça, ploram e pius sobre En Ramon atre tal."

[8] *LDF* 68 "E jassia que el pesar sia gran, no ho façam semblant defora" "que nengun no en plor."

[9] *LDF* 68 "Mas sabets qual sia el plorar? Que nós ab vós e vós ab nós carvenam bé la llur mort […] E, aquestes paraules dites, sofriren-se del dol, que no el faeren, e soterrarenlos."

[10] References to the *CRM* are to chapter numbers as appearing in the edition by Soldevila 2011.

[11] *CRM* 3 "E dita madona reina passa-s'ho així com a bona dona, que no en fa res semblant que greu li sia; mas a nós torna lo dan […]."

[12] *CRM* 71 "[…] hac gran dolor, tan gran que null hom no la poria escriure; e majorment con sabe que gent de peu ho hac fet."

[13] *CRM* 71 "E així mostrava's molt confortat davant ses gents; mas, emperò, alter havia en son cor."

justifying it as righteous revenge that naturally followed grief: "Muntaner, you know the great damage and the great grief and disgrace that we have suffered in the island of Jerba, and We feel it much that we have not been able to take vengeance for it."[14]

Righteous revenge legitimised by the pain and sorrows inflicted by an enemy also appears in contemporary Arabic accounts of military attacks, such as the thirteenth-century *Kitāb Tāriḫ Mayūrqa* (*Book of the history of Mayorca*, henceforth KTM)[15] by the Andalusian scholar, bureaucrat, and later refugee Abū l-Muṭarrif Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn alḤusayn ibn ʿAmīra al-Maḫzūmī (582-658/1186-1260), who flee to North Africa in 1239. His chronicle, likely written between 1239 and 1248, of which only one manuscript survives, offers a powerful counternarrative to the Christian accounts of the conquest of Majorca, reflecting the views of subjugated individuals and communities (Velázquez Basanta 2009; Liuzzo Scorpo 2024). The internal divisions that affected the Muslim community of Majorca (following the income of expelled Almohad groups from al-Andalus) are described in the chronicle as caused by the emotion-driven actions and reactions of those individuals and groups. In other words, the chronicle presents inclusion or exclusion from a group not automatically determined by religious affiliation, but by the power of emotional burdens that influenced sectarian division:

> […] these people were hard-hearted and hated and despised anyone who was not part of their group. They were people who had seen their loved ones murdered without being able to prevent it. They bit their fingertips out of grief and saw revenge against the islanders as just retribution. Because of these feelings, they began to plot to achieve this goal. (*KTM*, 69)

Revenge was therefore linked to powerful and often shifting emotions, which served to justify and legitimise its violent and unconditional implementations. Grief was often presented as one of the main motors of such dynamics and it could have different manifestations, performances, and representations, often reflecting the cultural standards and expectations of the time in which these texts were written. Alongside military losses, which feature prominently in most of the aforementioned examples, the case study of parental bereavement is also revealing, as it encapsulates and helps explain some of these interconnected rhetorical and culturally accepted emotional dynamics further.

4. Parental Bereavement: Emotional and Physical Reactions to Grief and Sorrow

Biblical, literary, theological, and iconographic models of grief and suffering in the Western Christian tradition have been studied extensively, also for the Iberian context (Silleras-Fernández 2024; on the rituals of death performed by women, with a focus on Jewish women's ritual laments: Sautter 2016). In particular, grief associated with death has been explored from different disciplinary perspectives, including that of gender (Templeton 2022; Jornet-Benito and Silleras-Fernández 2024b). Nonetheless, one aspect that deserves more attention when explored from the perspective of the history of emotions is the experience and representation of parental grief in the Middle Ages. Parental bereavement, outwardly expressed through tears and the embodiment of sadness (often leading to decay and even illness of those experiencing it), appears in different types of sources. The fourth-century Eastern Roman thinker Gregory of Nyssa had already expressed vivid, yet contradictory, views on motherhood, virginity and reproduction in his writing, arguing that "Children born and not born, living and dying, are

[14] *CRM* 251 "En Muntaner, vós sabets lo gran dan e gran greuge e deshonor que nós havem pres en l'illa de Gerba, e va'ns molt lo cor que nós ne puscam a ver venjança."

[15] References are to page numbers from the Spanish translation of the *KTM* by ben Ma'Mar (2008). The English translations are mine.

alike the source of pain." (Gregory of Nyssa 1966, 19) The monastery provided a safe space for women to escape such physical and emotional sorrows, while dedicating their lives to contemplation instead. By the early Middle Ages, 'spiritual motherhood' (embodied in the hierarchical relationships established within the cloister, which resembled metaphorically the family bonds that women left behind) replaced physiological ties in Christian ideology with broader and more positive meanings (Atkinson 2019, 64-100).

Late medieval representations of the sorrow of the Virgin Mary for Christ's death informed emotional categories of understanding, which sometimes differed depending on context. For instance, as discussed by Jessica Boon, the tradition of Marian lament in Iberia was influenced by the wide dissemination of the early thirteenth-century text *Quis dabit*, authored by the Italian Cistercian abbot Ogier of Locedio (d. 1214). Through words attributed directly to the Virgin Mary, the text depicts her involvement in Christ's Passion with a strong focus on the emotional and physical dimensions of her grief. In thirteenth-century Castile and León, however, this portrayal of Mary's sorrow was received in two distinct ways. One of them emphasized Mary's anger and presented her as a powerful, militant queen, aligning with the era's broader crusading ideals; the other view, instead, highlighted her deep, active sorrow without any expression of rage. Together, these contrasting interpretations reveal how Mary's suffering was adapted to fit both local devotional practices and political agendas (Boon 2024).

These sometimes contrasting models of parental grief were recognised and applied across class and gender, in line with widespread traditions of public display of sorrow, which included mourning, tears, and even self-harm, such as the tearing of cheeks (Muñoz Fernández 2009, 130; Welsh 2018). For example, in miracle stories, the loss of a child was often framed through the experience of parents relying on the consolation of religion through prayers and the invocation of a miracle. Viktor Aldrin, focusing on miracle stories from medieval Sweden, argued that parental emotional reactions were equally strong and expressive, and that gendered emotions were not detectable unlike the examples appearing in similar collections from Continental Europe and the British Isles (2015). This last statement needs nuancing, at least in the representation of mourning practices across the medieval Mediterranean and through different types of sources. It would be more accurate to suggest that devotional and religious texts emphasise the emotional presence, effects, influence and impact of women (not just through the image of the Virgin Mary, but also that of Eve, who brought up her children in sorrow) in such public displays. However, there are other types of sources, such as historical writings, that offer a wider range of parental experiences of grief in which gender-based emotional expectations also appear.

The vivid description of Leonor Plantagenet, second daughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, who married Alfonso VIII of Castile in 1169 (Lincoln 2013; Cerda Costabal 2012) and her reaction to the death of her son, the infante Fernando, in 1211, is a case in point. According to the *CLRC*, written between 1223 and 1239, and attributed to Juan de Soria, Bishop de Osma (d. 1246), chancellor of Fernando III (Ayala Martínez 2014):

> The noble queen Eleanor, upon hearing of her son's death, wished to die with him and got into the bed in which her son lay and, putting her mouth to his mount and folding his hands in her hands, she tried to revive him. As those who saw it affirm, never was grief like it ever seen.[16]

While embodying a model of queenship and gendered grief that resembles the Marian sorrow described in the thirteenth-century lament tradition, this episode is also revealing for two more

[16] *CLRC* 26 "Nobilissima regina Alienor, audita morte filii, morí cum eo uoluit, et intrauit Iectum, in quo iacebat filius et, supponens os ori et manus manibus complicans, nitebatur uel eum uiuificarc uel cum eo mori. Sicut asserunt qui uiderunt, nunquam dolor illi similis uisus fuit." See also Henry 2020, 34

reasons (Henry and Klinck 2010). First, it shows how the normative restrictions on expressions of grief, including those imposed by law, were nor even recognised and embedded in narrative constructions about royal expressions of sorrow, which are here viewed and presented with sympathy rather than criticism. Second, it is particularly significant when compared with the emotional reactions attributed to her husband, Alfonso VIII, for which parental sorrow is instead channelled into anger that led to revenge, followed by the joy of miliary conquest against the enemy (Bergqvist 2021, 28-30). As Rosenwein argued (2006), this is also part of how different emotional communities experienced and expected shifting emotions in certain contexts. In fact, according to the *CLRC,* as mentioned in the introduction of this study, what first appeared the beginning of sorrow, led to the delight and comfort of revenge caused by military success. Alfonso VIII, having signed an agreement of mutual support with Peter II of Aragon (r. 1196-1213) moved south to conquer the castle of Jorquera, as well as the fortresses of Alcalá and the Cuevas de Garadén. These military advances "were the beginning of joy" ("*Inicia gaudii hec fuerunt*") and the chronicle explains in terms of shifting emotions attributed to God's will how this occurred:

> All those who, at the capture of Salvatierra and the death of the king's son, had become despondent due to grief and anguish, were comforted in the Lord and in the power of his goodness, so that from then on the greatest desire of all, both nobles and commoners, was to provoke war with the Moroccan king. Truly, the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is true God and man, was at work in a latent way, for it was able to change the hearts of men so suddenly from fear to boldness, from despair to great confidence.[17]

The same chronicle narrates that the King of Castile sent the Archbishop of Toledo to the King of France and his magnates to gain their support, but "no one of them could be moved".[18] Alfonso VIII also sent to Poitou and Gascony "an astute man, Master Amaldo, his physician, to stir up the spirits of the powerful by promising them many things on behalf of the king for the future war."[19] The chronicle describes how emotional politics operated in practice and who was entrusted to entice feelings of compassion, sympathy, and empathy to engage in practical and military support, especially when justified by revenge caused by parental grief and sorrow (Liuzzo Scorpo 2023, 95-122).

Parental grief attributed to members of religious and ethnic communities other than the Christian elites are also essential to consider in this context. In recent years, progressively more scholars have called for the need to decentre the history of emotions from mere Eurocentric views, embracing instead more holistic, connected, and global perspectives (Ifft Decker 2024; Blatherwick and Julia Bray 2019; Osborne 2019; Bray 2017, 2-4). This has been particularly the case for the field of Islamic studies, as Coppens (2022, 171) and others have argued. Significantly, the variety and range of emotional discourses, communities, and norms, appearing in the premodern Islamic tradition "offer a vast reservoir of emotions and ambiguities, despite, or perhaps even due to, the very pious milieu from which they emerged" (Coppens, 168). Some of these complexities are mentioned by Julia Bray in her analysis of Arabic literary sources, within which "One level of emotion is situated in the narratives and

[17] *CLRC* 27 "Omnes qui in captione Salve Terre et in morte filii regis pre dolore et angustia defecerant animis, confortan sunt in Domino et in potencia bonitatis eius, adeo quod ex tune omnium. tam nobilium quam ignobilium, desiderium summum erat bello lacessere regem Marroquitanum. Vere uirtus Do- mini nostri Iesu Christi, qui uere Deus est et homo, latenter opera- batur, quia tam súbito corda hominum potuit inmutare de timore in audaciam, de desperatione in confidenciam suam."

[18] *CLRC* 27, "nec unum ex eis mouere potuit."

[19] *CLRC* 27 "uirum industrium magistrum Amaldum, fisicum suum, qui concitaret ánimos potentum, multa promictens ex parte regis ad bellum futurum."

the protagonists. Another is in the poems and what they say. A third is located in us, the readers: in how *we* identify the emotions in the story, the effect they have on us, and how we judge them" (Bray 2023, 151). To these layers of interpretations, we should add the impact and influence that processes of acculturation might have had on authors and readers in the widest Islamicate world, such as that of medieval Iberia. An example that helps contextualise these aspects appears in the aforementioned thirteenth-century Christian and Muslim historical accounts of the conquest of Majorca, especially in the description of the emotional impact that the violent loss of his son had onto the Muslim *wali*, to the point that, according to these accounts, he died of grief.[20] The *KTM* emphasises the stoic attitude of the *wali*, as a father in mourning, but also as a master of public self-restrain:

> Then they returned him to the city, where he remained under torment that no one could remain unmoved by [...]. He behaved with a perseverance that reached extraordinary heights. So much so that those who witnessed it were able to praise the beautiful patience with which he endured everything. He died under torture and went to join the One who preserves with Him the archetype of the Book. (*KTM*, 117)

By contrast, in the Christian chronicles, powerful, unrestrained, and negative emotions, regarded as signs of moral weakness, are frequently attributed to individuals and communities presented as 'other' in those narratives. In the *CLRC*, the *wali* of Majorca is stripped of any steadfastness and nearly heroic endurance of parental grief (as he was presented instead in the *KTM*) and is described as someone led astray by strong emotions that caused his own demise and death: "The Mallorcan king died a few days later, after his son, whom he loved dearly, was beheaded. It is believed that he died of excessive grief."[21] Significantly, these events are presented very differently in the historiography from the Crown of Aragon and especially in the *LDF*, which omits this episode completely and claims that the young boy was given to James I as hostage during the negotiations with the Muslims of Mallorca (Liuzzo Scorpo 2024, 264-65).

Grief was often presented as generating, explaining, and enhancing physical decay and demise also in circumstances other than parental grief. Muntaner, for example, attributed the death of King Philip III of France in 1285 to the losses experienced during the siege of Gerona, when he was "so full of grief that his illness grew worse".[22] In the same narrative, the King of France, aware of his forthcoming death, repents his actions, encourages his son Philip to make peace with his brother Charles and reminds him that he should love him dearly as brothers from the same mother, Isabel, who herself came from an illustrious royal line being the daughter of Jaime II of Aragon. These promises (including that of reaching a steady peace among the houses of France, Aragon and Anjou) and the commitment to brotherly love were also performed and embodied in ritual gestures: "And upon this he held him and kissed him on the mouth and did the same to Charles and made them kiss each other."[23]

Further significant descriptions of parental bereavement appear in another late medieval Iberian source: this time a non-royal narrative text, although still reflecting the influence and impact of royal connections on the lives of the nobles associated with it. This is the first-person account attributed to the Castilian noblewoman Leonor López de Córdoba (c. 1362/1363-

[20] This account appears in *CLRC* 55 and *KTM*, 117, as well as in Alfonso X, *Estoria de Espanna*, ch. 798. The *LDF* offers a different version of these events, claiming that James I saved the boy's life and even welcomed him at court. See Liuzzo Scorpo 2024, 264-265.
[21] *CLRC* 79 "Rex Maiorice post paucosdies mortuusest, decapitato filio eius, quem tenerrime diligebat; unde pre dolore nimio creditur expirasse."
[22] *CRM* 138 "[…] fou tan dolent, que ab la malautia que havia, lo mal li entuixà."
[23] *CRM* 138 "E sobre açò pres-lo e besà-lo e féu atretal de Carles, e los féu besar ensems."

c.1430), which is regarded as one of the earliest examples of secular female autobiographies. Her life was marked by political turmoil from an early age and unfolded during the fourteenth-century civil war between King Peter I of Castile (r. 1350-66, 1367-1369) and his illegitimate brother Henry of Trastámara (r. 1366-1367, 1369-1379). Following the defeat of Peter, of whom Leonor's father, Martín López de Córdoba, was a political ally, she was imprisoned with her family for nearly a decade. Her tribulations to recover her social and economic status are recounted in her *memoirs*, which read as a legal document, but also as a narrative of self-construction, personal redemption, and legitimisation. Her account ends abruptly around 1396 or 1400–1401, before she became a close advisor to Queen Catherine of Lancaster, who ultimately banished her from court (Vozzo Mendia 2002; Gómez Sierra 1992; Ghassemi 1989; Juan Lovera 1989; Deyermond 1983). Throughout the text, religion is presented as the main source of consolation for Leonor, who regularly invokes the suffering of the Virgin Mary and draws parallels between their motherly tribulations and grief for the loss of their sons (López de Córdoba, ed. 2019, 6). In her *memoirs*, Leonor describes how the plague forced her to flee Córdoba with her children. Her "*criado*" (servant), an orphan described as "*moro*" (Moor) whom she had raised as an act of Christian charity—"so that he may be instructed in the faith, she had him baptised and raised him for the love of God"[24]—came back from Écija affected by the deadly disease, spreading it to the house in Aguilar where she and her children had been hosted: "[…] The pain that came into my heart, you can well understand, whoever hears this story, that I came running and bitter, and thinking that because of me such great sorrow had entered that house."[25] Many died as a result of caring for the sick man, who instead survived. Whether this is an implicit condemnation attributed to the original status of the *criado* as a non-believer of the Christian faith is open to interpretation. Leonor's eldest son was one among those who perished. In her prayers, Leonor had previously invoked God to take her eldest and ill son first, if divine mercy could not spare her and her family from human losses.[26] There is certainly no evidence or attempt of emotional restrain in Leonor's public display of sorrow and grief, including at the procession for the boy's burial. Not only does the account mention her motherly grief, but also how all those who witnessed it participated in her sorrow. Nonetheless, this was also done out of respect and vassalic duty, as most of those people had previously been her and her family's subjects:

> […] people came out screaming obscenities at me, saying, "Come out, gentlemen, and you will see the most unfortunate, helpless, and cursed woman in the world," with cries that pierced the heavens. And since all the people in that place were raised and trained by my father, even though they knew that their masters were grieving, they wept greatly with me as if I were their mistress.[27]

Death entices different reactions and often shifting emotions**:** from consolation and hope for the afterlife to fear and horror, often simultaneously present as part of a historically and culturally constructed range of emotional expressions (McNamara and McIlvenna 2014). Such representations were also informed by literary standards and authorial purposes, sharing constructions of an emotional self, especially in late medieval chronicles and autobiographies,

[24] López de Córdoba, 5 "para que fuse instruido en la fe, hicelo bautizar y crie por amor de Dios."
[25] López de Córdoba, 7 "[…] el dolor que en mi corazón llegó bien lo podéis entender, quien esta historia oyere, que yo venía corrida y amarga, y en pensar que por mi había entrado tan grande dolencia en aquella casa."
[26] López de Córdoba, 7 "[…] y si alguno hubiese de llevar, llevase el mayor, porque era muy doliente."
[27] López de Córdoba, 8 "[…] la gente salían dando alaridos amancillados de mí, y decían: 'Salid señores y veréis la más desventurada, desamparada, y más maldita mujer del mundo', con los gritos que los Cielos traspasaban; y como los de aquel lugar todos eran crianza y hechura del señor mi padre aunque sabían que les pesaba sus señores, hicieron grande llanto conmigo cono si fuera su señora."

within which individual attitudes and perspectives adapt, merge, and emphasise expected practices. Within such a plethora of forms, parental grief and expressions of sorrow are revealing of how such emotional expectations were also adapted and used to promote political messages and agendas.

5. E-motions: from Grief to Joy, Happiness, and Delight

While 'negative' (although they could also lead to positive moral outcomes) emotions, such as anger, sorrow, and fear, have received substantial scholarly attention, less directly so have done joy, happiness, and delight, which are often studied in conjunction with other phenomena and very often from the perspective of philosophy and theology (Contreras-Vejar at al. 2019; Steele 2018; Lobel 2017). According to Plato and Aristotle the highest form of perfection lies in reason and intellect, and it can be achieved through philosophical activity and moral behaviour. Its apogee consists of divine contemplation and the knowledge of God, regarded as the ultimate forms of happiness (Abrahamov 2024, 266; Lobel, 14-15). As discussed by Scott (2024) and Morrison (2001) among others, the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle also engage with the debate of how intellectual contemplation could contribute to the civic happiness of an ideal state. Later philosophical Hellenic currents, such as Epicureanism and Stoicism, focused more on virtues (rather than reason) as the main ways to achieve happiness through the detachment from worldly needs. In Boetius (480-524 A.D.)'s *Consolatio Philosophiae*, written while in prison following Theodoric's suspicion of his conspiracy with the Eastern Roman Emperor against the Ostrogothic power, striving for true happiness is described as a goal for this life, which can be achieved through philosophical consolation (Wiitala 2024). Boethius' ideas had a long-lasting impact on medieval Western thinkers and theologians, including Alcuin, Abelard, and Aquinas, among others (Klooster 2019; Davies 1993, 227-249).

Islamic thinkers, including the influential theologian, jurist, and mystic of Sunni Islam al-Ghazālī (c.1056–1111) also followed Plato and Aristotle in arguing that the ultimate happiness is attained in the next world and therefore ethical conduct and virtues (including the rejection of passions, such as anger) are essential for this human journey of preparation, alongside knowledge and belief, among other aspects (Abrahamov 2023, 271; 2015, 35-48). Contrastive views are also present within Islamic thought regarding happiness, especially about whether it could be achieved within society (Ibn Rushd (d. 594/1198) or only in isolation from it (Ibn Bājja (d. 334/1139) and Ibn Ṭufayl (d. 581/1185–1186)). By the thirteenth century, such debates continued thriving and circulating in the extended Islamicate world. Ibn al-ʿArabī (560–637/1165–1240; known as the Greatest Master), born in Murcia, in al-Andalus, and travelling across the Mediterranean before settling in Damascus, is an example. His ideas of happiness are scattered throughout his work and show the influence of both religion and philosophy in navigating contradictory views about the nature and achievement of happiness (Abrahamov 2023).

The interconnectedness and fluctuation of emotions, including joy and sorrow, were philosophically, theologically, and physiologically explained, while being also culturally accepted and often constructed to legitimise, justify, and making sense of specific events. The narratives created by medieval writers often connected apparently opposite sets of emotions, in light of broader socio-cultural understandings of human reactions, reflecting authorial agendas and audiences' expectations. The request of mercy by Prince Peter to his father, James I of Aragon, as described in *LDF* 520 is an example. According to this account, Peter's request was welcomed "*alegrement*" (with happiness) by his father, who was also moved by the genuine sorrow expressed by Peter ("great sorrow in my heart if I have done anything to grieve you").[28] The emotional impact of this filial words of sorrow in a request of pardon are evident

[28] *LDF* 520 "muito gran dolor n'he en mon coraçón, quan jo feito he nenguna cosa que a vós pesa."

in the description of James I's reaction: "We were very moved, and we took pity on him, and we could not stop tears from coming into our eyes. And seeing his great devotion, we pardoned him."[29] Tears are one of the most common bodily expressions associated with different emotional states. They appear in different types of sources, and are attributed to men and women across social, religious and ethnic boundaries. Tears feature in both religious and secular accounts to define and characterise saintly endeavours, mystical experiences, physical and intellectual suffering, pain, fear, joy, hope, relief and empathy (Förnegård et al. 2017; Gertsman 2012). The embodiment of emotions, including tears, follows medieval medical theories and understandings of the Galenic principles of the humours, which entered Western European traditions through both Arabic and Latin translations, alongside original works. One such example is the Arabic medical encyclopaedia of 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Maǧūsī, partially translated into Latin in the late eleventh century, which included a discussion of emotions based on Galenic notions (Knuuttila 2016).

In medieval texts of different sorts, the interconnectedness of the rational and emotional sides of human behaviour are embodied by the images of heart and mind. However, especially by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there are numerous references to the heart as a symbolic centre of emotions, as "the heart momentarily took over the role as sovereign in political metaphor and in physiology" (Webb 2010, 12-13). In the late medieval Iberian chronicles, the heart is similarly described as the motor of political and miliary actions, which is also inconsistent, as it could be overturned by changes caused by external circumstances and events. In Muntaner's chronicle, for instance, there are numerous examples in which individual decisions, often leading to collective actions, are attributed to the heart or change of heart of those involved. The heart is described as the centre of unfiltered real emotions, even if they were sometimes channelled into more acceptable bodily expressions and actions. Muntaner, offers other explicit references when mentioning how revenge penetrated Peter III's heart against Charles of Anjou, who was responsible for King Manfred of Sicily's death, threatening also the rights of his daughter and Peter's wife, Constance:

> And when the Lord King heard the Queen sigh, it pierced his heart, wherefore he considered in his mind all the dangers and decided that revenge should be taken by him. And his mind was made up that he must arrange for the said revenge.[30]

Within Muntaner's extended account of the switching French-Aragonese relationships, there is another significant episode describing the abuses perpetuated by the French army on the Sicilian inhabitants of the island. The revenge of the Sicilians against such abuses, according to Muntaner, followed an incident in which local women and noblewomen were assaulted with a pretext:

> And at that point this clamour rose to God in such a way that He willed that these insults and many others which had been inflicted, should be avenged. Therefore, he inflamed with anger the hearts of those who, in this place, saw the outrage.[31]

According to the chronicle, this was the beginning of a widespread rebellion against King Charles which, on the one hand generated grief and pain for the human losses incurred during

[29] *LDF* 520 "E nós fom tor remogut, e pres-nos dolor d'ell, e no poguem estar que els vulls no ens vinguassen en llàgremes; e vim la gran devoció sua e perdonam-li."
[30] *CRM* 37 "Un plant de madona dins cor li cavava; per què, tots perills pensats, en son cor se pensà que la venjança se faés per ell."
[31] *CRM* 43 "E en aquel punt davant Déu vengren aquelles clamors en tal manera que volc que d'aquelles supèrbies e de moltes altres fos feta venjança. Sí que inflamà lo cor d'aquells qui en aquell lloc veïen la supèrbia […]."

the conflict, but on the other hand it led to the joy of rebellion against such deplorable wrongdoings and abuses.

Joy, happiness, and delight are aspects of pleasure which, as Naama Cohen (2018) argued, constitute part of personal, communal, and interactional experiences, hence they represent a tool to construct recognizable norms of behaviour among groups. Culturally constructed, conceived, and performed, pleasure (in its different expressions) could be also associated with events and emotions perceived as negative from a modern perspective. Yet, references to the joy caused by the outcomes of events such as war, conquest, and rebellion are numerous and co-exist with the descriptions of the traumatic and painful aspects of those same events. These are not always examples of switching emotions or emotional registers, but the juxtaposition of different and sometimes complementary perspectives. The grief and sorrow inflicted on one party could generate relief and therefore pleasure in another. This was the case even for events less contentious and extreme than those concerning war, human losses, and displacement. Muntaner's chronicle offers again another relevant example in the description of the contrasting emotional reactions caused by the formal delivery of the infant James (Prince Ferdinand's son, entrusted to Muntaner) to his grandmother Esclaramunda, widowed queen of Majorca (Vinyoles Vidal 2022). The chronicler recounts in detail the journey from Catania to Perpignan, where the queen received the child laughing and content. The embodiment of her joy includes embraces and kisses bestowed on the child over ten times.[32] However, at the immense joy of this familiar reunion is juxtaposed the grief of separation, which the author and co-protagonist of this episode, Muntaner experienced when leaving the child behind: "[…] that my grief was so great when I departed from him, that I didn't know what to do with myself."[33] Yet, an emotional shift occurred after his departure to Valencia, where he arrived healthy and cheerful ("*sa e alegre*").

The exploration of joy, happiness, and delight within medieval thought and narratives reveals a complex and deeply interwoven emotional landscape, where so-called 'positive' emotions are never detached from their opposite, but instead often coexist with sorrow, grief, and pain. Rather than being conceived as static and one-dimensional, these emotions and their narrative representations—shaped by philosophical, theological, medical, and cultural frameworks—contributed to describe human experience in all its contradictions. Joy and grief were not mutually exclusive, but rather part of a dynamic emotional spectrum.

6. Conclusion

In the late medieval historical narratives produced in Iberia and beyond, emotions functioned as essential rhetorical and cultural instruments of social communication rather than mere reflections of individual feelings. Within a wide range of emotional states, performances and expressions, grief, sorrow, and joy often appear to articulate and legitimize political authority, make sense of complex and conflicting histories, and construct individual and collective identities. Deeply embedded within the theological, philosophical, medical, and legal frameworks of their times, they were also shaped by gender-related and cross-cultural norms. Moreover, far from operating as binary opposites, grief and joy formed a dynamic continuum through which writers interpreted loss, vengeance, reconciliation, and divine favour. Even when considering parental bereavement, as discussed in this study, expressions of sorrow aligned with cultural expectations, while being adapted to the specific purposed and agendas associated with the historical narratives within which they were embedded. This study has highlighted the strategic deployment of emotional discourse and its centrality in the narrative logic of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Castilian and Aragonese history-writing, offering a

[32] *CRM* 269. For the account of the entire journey *CRM* 266, 268 and 269.
[33] *CRM* 269 "[…] que tan gran enyorament n'haguí con me fui partit d'ell, que no sabia què me'n faés."

critical lens for understanding the interplay of power, culture, and affect in the medieval Mediterranean world. By showcasing the interdependence of grief and delight in medieval accounts, it also challenges modern binary notions of emotional experience and highlights the much more nuanced, socio-culturally constructed, and often strategic ways in which emotions were expressed, understood, and embodied in the medieval world.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807. Online at: https://www.boe.es/biblioteca_juridica/publicacion.php?id=PUB-LH-2021-217 [Last accessed 29/08/25]

Burns, Robert I. ed., Parson Scott, Samuel trans. *Las Siete Partidas.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. 5 vols.

Charlo Brea, Luis ed. *Chronica Latina de los reyes de Castilla*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1984.

---. *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*. In *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, LXXIII. *Chronica Hispana saeculi XIII*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997. 7-118.

Gregory of Nyssa. *Ascetical Works*. Trans. Virginia Woods Callahan. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1966.

Ibn Amira, Ahmad b. Abd Allah. *Kitāb Tā'riḫ Mayūrqa: crònica àrab de la conquista de Mallorca*. Edited by Muhammad ben Ma'Mar. Trans. Nicolau Roser Nebot and Guillem Rosselló Bordoy. Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2008.

Kagay, Donald J. ed. *Usatges de Barcelona: the Fundamental Law of Catalonia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

López de Córdoba, Leonor. *Relación que deja escrita para sus descendientes*. In *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*. Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1883. Vol. LXXXI, 33–43. Edited by Beatriz Domínguez Galindo (2019). Online at: https://www.bieses.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Relaci%C3%B3n_L%C3%B3pezdeC%C3%B3rdoba_1883.pdf [Last accessed 29/08/25]

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. trans. *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*. Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002.

Smith, Damian J. and Buffery, Helena trans. *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Llibre dels Fets*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2003.

Ward, Aengus ed. *Estoria de Espanna Digital v.1.0*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2016. Online at: estoria.bham.ac.uk [Last accessed 29/08/25]

Secondary Sources

Abrahamov, Binyamin. "Happiness (Saʿāda) in Ibn al-ʿArabī's Thought." In Sabine Schmidtke and Omer Michaelis eds. *Religious and Intellectual Diversity in the Islamicate World and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 2024. 266-287.

---. "Al-Ghazālī and the Rationalization of Sufism." In Georges Tamer ed. *Islam and Rationality: The Impact of al-Ghazālī*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. Vol. I. 35-48.

Aldrin, Viktor. "Parental Grief and Prayer in the Middle Ages: Religious Coping in Swedish Miracle Stories." *COLLeGIUM: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences* 18 (2015): 82–105.

Anca, Alexandru Ștefan. "When the King Shed Tears: Political Behaviour in the Crown of Aragon." In Flocel Sabaté ed. *The Emotional Expression of Authority and Power in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2025. 97–110.

Atkinson, Clarissa W. *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Medieval West*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019.

Atturo, Valentina. *Emozioni medievali. Bibliografia degli studi 1941–2014*. Rome: Bagatti Libri, 2015.

Aurell, Jaume. *Historians' Autobiographies as Historiographical Inquiry: A Global Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2025.

Ayala Martínez, Carlos de. "La realeza en la cronística castellano-leonesa del siglo xiii: la imagen de Fernando III." In Esteban Sarasa Sánchez ed. *Monarquía, crónicas, archivos y cancillerías en los reinos hispano-cristianos: siglos xiii–xv*. Zaragoza: Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza; Institución 'Fernando el Católico', 2014. 247-276.

Bailey, Merridee L. "'*Most Hevynesse and Sorowe*': The Presence of Emotions in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Court of Chancery." *Law and History Review* 37/1 (2019): 1-28.

Bergqvist, Kim. "'*Era omne de grant coraçón*': Gendered Grief, Sorrow, and Zeal in Medieval Castilian History Writing." In Lee Templeton ed. *Grief, Gender, and Identity in the Middle Ages: Knowing Sorrow*. Leiden: Brill, 2021, 15-36.

Berlin, Henry. *Alone Together: Poetics of the Passions in Late-Medieval Iberia.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021.

Blatherwick, Helen and Julia Bray eds. *Arabic Emotions: From the Qurʾan to the Popular Epic*. Special issue in *Cultural History*, 8/2 (2019).

Boon, J. A. "Mourning and Anger at the Foot of the Cross: Mary's Pain in Thirteenth-Century Castile and León." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 16/2 (2024): 161-188.

Brandsma, Frank, Larrington, Caeolyne, and Ríkharðsdóttir, Sif. "Emotion and the Medieval Self." *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* 8/1 (2024): 1-7.

Bray, Julia. "Feelings matter! Emotions in Medieval Arabic." *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 10/2 (2023): 143-158.

---. "Yaʿqūb b. al-Rabīʿ Read by al-Mutanabbī and al-Mubarrad: A Contribution to an Abbasid History of Emotions." *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 4 (2017): 1-24.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1992.

Casagrande, Carla and Silvana Vecchio. *Passioni dell'anima. Teorie e usi degli affetti nella cultura medievale*. Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015.

Cerda Costabal, Jose Manuel. "Leonor Plantagenet y la consolidación castellana en el reinado de Alfonso VIII." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42/2 (2012): 629-652.

Cohen, Esther. *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Cohen Hanegbi, Naama and Piroska Nagy eds. *Pleasure in the Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Constable, Giles. *Attitudes Toward Self-Inflicted Suffering in the Middle Ages*. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1982.

Contreras-Vejar, Yuri, Joanna Tice Jen, Bryan Turner, eds. *Regimes of Happiness: Comparative and Historical Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Coppens, Pieter. "Islamic *Ars Moriendi* and Ambiguous Deathbed Emotions: Narratives of Islamic Saints and Scholars at the End-of-Life." In Mohammed Ghaly ed. *End-of-Life Care, Dying and Death in the Islamic Moral Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2022, 152–171.

Davies, Brian. *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Deyermond, Alan. "Spain's First Women Writers." In Beth Miller ed. *Women in Hispanic Literature: Icons and Fallen Idols*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. 27–52.

Dixon, Thomas. "'Emotion': The History of a Keyword in Crisis." *Emotion Review* 4/4 (2012): 338–344.

Doubleday, Simon R. "A Peninsula in Flames: War and Emotions in the Cantigas de Santa María." In Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo ed. *A Plural Peninsula: Studies in Honour of Professor Simon Barton*. Leiden: Brill, 2013. 70-94.

Fleming, John V. "Medieval European Autobiography." In Maria DiBattista and Emily O. Wittman eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Autobiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 35–48.

Förnegård, Per, Kihlman, Erika, Åkestam, Mia, Engwall, Gunnel eds. *Tears, Sighs and Laughter: Expressions of Emotions in the Middle Ages*. Stockholm: Vitterhets Historie- och Antikvitets-Akademien, 2017.

Rodríguez, Gerardo F., Melo, Diego I., Jiménez, Juan Fco. Eds. *Sensología y emociones de la Edad Media*. Mar del Plata: Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2022.

Gertsman, Elina ed. *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Ghassemi, R. "La 'crueldad de los vencidos': un estudio interpretativo de *Las memorias de doña Leonor López de Córdoba*." *La Corónica* 18/1 (1989): 19-31.

Gilbert, Kate and White, Stephen D. eds. *Emotion, Violence, Vengeance and Law in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of William Ian Miller*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Gómez Sierra, Esther. "La experiencia femenina de la amargura como sustento de un discurso histórico alternativo: Leonor López de Córdoba y sus Memorias." In Cristina Segura Graiño ed. *La voz del silencio: fuentes directas para la historia de las mujeres (siglos VIII-XVIII)*. Madrid: Laya, 1992. Vol. I., 111-129.

Henry, Emily. "'*Plange, Castella misera*': Meaning and Mourning at the Royal Abbey of Las Huelgas de Burgos in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 12/1 (2020): 28-43.

---. And Anne L. Klinck. "Singing a Song of Sorrow: Tropes of Lament." In Jane Tolmie and M.J. Toswell eds. *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010, 1-20.

Ifft Decker, Sarah. "The Widow and the Notary: Death, Gender, and Legal Culture in the Jewish and Christian Communities of Medieval Catalonia." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 16/1: 103–120.

Jornet-Benito, Núria, and Nuria Silleras-Fernández eds. *Performing Death: Gendering Grief, Ritual, and Memorialization in Late Medieval Iberia*. Special issue in *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 16/1 (2024).

Lovera, C. Juan. "Doña Leonor López de Córdoba (1362–1430). Relato autobiográfico de una mujer escrito hacia 1400." *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba* 117 (1989): 255-275.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Klooster, A. ten. "The Preaching of the Master: Thomas Aquinas's University Sermons on Happiness." *Medieval Sermon Studies* 63/1 (2019): 60-73.

Knuuttila, Simo. "On the History of the Tables in Taxonomy of Emotions." *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques* [Online 2016] at http://journals.openedition.org/acrh/7402 [Last accessed 29/08/25]

Lincoln, Kyle. "*Una cum uxore mea*: Alfonso VIII, Leonor Plantagenet, and marriage alliances at the court of Castile." *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales* 4 (2013): 11-32.

Liuzzo Scorpo, Antonella. "Beyond Epistolary Standards? The Language of Entreaty in Political and Diplomatic Communications from Thirteenth-Century Iberia." *The Medieval Globe* 9/2 (2023): 163-182.

---. "'*El mellor amigo que nos avemos*'. Friendship and Political Communication in Thirteenth-Century Iberia." *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* 42 (2019): 107-122.

---. "'Emotional Diplomacy': Trust and Political Communication in Thirteenth-Century Iberia." In Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo ed. *A Plural Peninsula: Studies in Honour of Professor Simon Barton*. Leiden: Brill, 2023, 95-122.

---. "Emotional Memory and Medieval Autobiography: King James I of Aragon (r. 1213–76)'s *Llibre dels Fets*." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10/1 (2018): 1-25.
---. "Intra- and Interconfessional Violence in the Historiographical Narratives of Thirteenth-Century Iberia." In Carlos de Ayala Martínez, J. Santiago Palacios and Javier Albarrán eds. *Violencia interconfesional. Modalidades y percepciones en la península ibérica, siglos VIII-XV*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2024. 253-280.
Lobel, Diana. *Philosophies of Happiness: A Comparative Introduction to the Flourishing Life*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.
McNamara, Rebecca F., McIlvenna, Una. "Medieval and Early Modern Emotional Responses to Death and Dying." *Parergon* 31/2 (2014): 1-10. Project MUSE, online at: https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/pgn.2014.0078 [Last accessed 29/08/25]
Morrison, D. "The happiness of the city and the happiness of the individual in Plato's Republic." *Ancient Philosophy* 21 (2001): 1-24.
Mowbray, Donald. *Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology: Academic Debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009.
Muñoz Fernández, Ángela. "Llanto, palabras y gestos. La muerte y el duelo en el mundo medieval hispánico (morfología ritual, agencias culturales y controversias)." *Cuadernos de historia de España* 83 (2009): 107-140.
Nagy, Piroska, Damien Boquet. *Sensible Moyen Âge: Une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2015.
O'Callaghan, Joseph. *Alfonso X, the Justinian of His Age: Law and Justice in Thirteenth-Century Castile*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019.
Osborne, Lauren E. "The *Qurʾan* and Affect: Introduction to Special Issue." *Body and Religion* 3/1 (2019): 1-4.
Palmer, R. Barton, Katharina Philipowski, and Julia Rüthemann eds. *Allegory and the Poetic Self: First-Person Narration in Late Medieval Literature*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2022.
Reddy, William M. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Anger: The Conflicted History of an Emotion*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020.
---. ed. *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
---. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006; paperback 2007.
---. *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
---. *Love: A History in Five Fantasies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2021.
---. and Riccardo Cristiani. *What Is the History of Emotions?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017.
Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Sabaté, Flocel ed. *Managing Emotions in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2025.
Sautter, Cia. "Women, Dance, Death, and Lament in Medieval Spain and the Mediterranean: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Examples." In Joëlle Rollo-Koster ed. *Death in Medieval Europe: Death Scripted and Death Choreographed*. London: Routledge, 2016.
Scott, Anne, Kosso, Cynthia eds. *Fear and its Representations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.
Scott, Dominic. *Contemplation and Civic Happiness in Plato and Aristotle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024.

Silleras-Fernández, Nuria. *The Politics of Emotion: Love, Grief, and Madness in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2024.

---. "Performing Death in Medieval Iberia: An Introduction to the End of Life." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 16/1 (2024): 1-14.

Staunton, Michael. *The Historians of Angevin England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Steele, Jeff. "Happiness." In Thomas Williams ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 127-149.

Templeton, Lee, ed. *Grief, Gender and Identity in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2022.

Tirosh-Samuelson, Hava. *Happiness in Premodern Judaism: Virtue, Knowledge, and Well-Being*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2003.

Velázquez Basanta, F. N. "Ibn ʿAmīra, Abū l-Muṭarrif." In Jorge Lirola Delgado and José Miguel Puerta Vílchez eds. *Biblioteca de al-Andalus: De Ibn Aḍḥà a Ibn Bušrà*, Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2009. vol. 2, 107-116, no. 291.

Vinyoles Vidal, Teresa. "Sabiduría, bondad, belleza, maternidad: las reinas y sus hijas en las crónicas catalanas." *e-Spania* (online) 2022. Online at: https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.44389 [Last accessed 29/08/25]

Vozzo Mendia, Lia. "Leonor López de Córdoba." In José Manuel Lucía Megías, Carlos Alvar Ezquerra eds. *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española. Textos y transmisión*. Madrid: Castalia, 2002. 750-753.

Webb, Heather. *The Medieval Heart*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Welsh, Rachel. "Tearing the Face in Grief and Rape: Cheek Rending in Medieval Iberia, c. 1100–1300." In Erin Connelly and Stefanie Künzel eds. *New Approaches to Disease, Disability, and Medicine in Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018. 43-61.

Wiitala, Michael. *Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy: A Critical Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024.

Winkler, Emily A. "Grief, Grieving, and Loss in High Medieval Historical Thought." *Traditio* 77 (2022): 129-183. Online at: https://doi.org/10.1017/tdo.2022.8 [Last accessed 29/08/25]

Zak, Gur. "Modes of Self-Writing from Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages". In Ralph Hexter, and David Townsend eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 485–505.