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GENDER, EMOTIONS, AND THEIR MANIFESTATIONS IN THE ANNALES BY JAN DŁUGOSZ*

Abstract

The article examines the intersection of gender and the manifestation of emotions in Jan Długosz's late medieval historical work, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. The text explores how similarities and differences between genders are portrayed in Długosz's narrative across three key aspects. The first aspect is the depiction of grief. On the one hand, collective emotions associated with the death of a monarch played a significant role in the social life of the Kingdom of Poland. On the other hand, mourning the deaths of other individuals is often represented as a deeply personal and tragic experience, primarily experienced by women. Secondly, the significance of emotions in parenthood and marriage demonstrates that they were more important to women and closely tied to their social position. While emotions could also be important for men, their understanding of fatherhood was broader than that of motherhood. This allowed men to express parental emotions toward their subjects or followers, but they rarely directed those feelings toward their own children. In the third part, the text examines the expressions of emotions related to governance. Despite the long tradition of *ira regis*, which welcomed the king's anger, Długosz treated this emotion as marginal when it came to the role in governing and much more favoured in weeping. Anger was even less significant within the repertoire of women's emotions, and it seemed that Długosz rarely imagined them as capable of manifesting this emotion. Ultimately, the article argues that emotions were primarily associated with the social roles of men and women, and the differences in emotionality were not perceived as part of a fundamental gender distinction.

Keywords: gender, emotions, historiography, Jan Długosz, power relations

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I

INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY, SOURCE,
AND STATE OF THE ART

“Most of the concepts associated with emotion, including particularly irrationality, are implied by the statement that ‘women are more emotional than men’. When women are said to be emotional, their inferiority is also generally asserted, given the general cultural devaluation of the concept of emotion”, as Catherine Lutz, an anthropologist, has written about emotions as a cultural category.¹ This statement broadly refers to contemporary Western culture, although it does not necessarily apply to different cultural and historical contexts. Studies on emotions in anthropology, from its very inception, have been closely connected to gender. Lutz professed the belief that examining the conceptualisation of emotions in other cultures may help deconstruct the relationship between emotionality, femininity, and the private sphere, as opposed to rationality, masculinity, and the public sphere, which ultimately serves as a tool to diminish women and their competences to participate actively in public life.²

When it comes to the significance of studies on emotions in the Middle Ages, what I find crucial is the observation of Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, who claim that Christian anthropology is bound to emotions. Many key questions of medieval Christianity often revolve around emotions, such as God’s love and anger, regret and shame associated with sinfulness, or emotions linked to the deadly sins (among which anger is most frequently cited).³ Therefore, it is justified to examine emotions in a society that considers itself a Christian one and is based on Christian principles. As Boquet and Didier Lett pointed out, the intersection of discourse on emotions and gender has been present in European culture since Antiquity.

¹ Catherine Lutz, ‘Emotion, Thought, and Estrangement: Emotion as a Cultural Category’, *Cultural Anthropology*, i, 3 (1986), 300.

² *Ead.*, *Unnatural Emotions. Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll & Their Challenger to Western Theory* (Chicago–London, 1988), 3–5; *ead.*, *Engendered emotion: gender, power, and the rhetoric of emotional control in American discourse*, in *ead.* and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds), *Language and the politics of emotion* (Cambridge, 1990), 69–70; Catherine Lutz, ‘Emotion and Feminist Theories’, *Querelles: Jahrbuch für Frauenforschung*, vii (2002), 104–7.

³ Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities. A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, trans. Robert Shaw (Cambridge, 2018), 7–8.

It has manifested itself, for example, in humoral theory.⁴ Moreover, Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod argued that discourse on emotions could ultimately be read as a discourse of power. At the same time, Joan W. Scott stated that relations of gender are inherently relations of power.⁵ Building on that, I propose examining the relationships between images of emotions and gender in one of the most significant narrative pieces of the Middle Ages in Poland, namely, Jan Długosz's (1415–1480) chronicle, entitled *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*.⁶

The *Annales* is an extensive body of Latin text, spanning over 500 years, that aims to recount the history of Poland from its legendary beginnings to contemporary times, specifically the second half of the fifteenth century. The scale of his work is difficult to overstate, not only in comparison to other Polish chronicles but also in medieval Europe as a whole.⁷ For example, let us compare it with the work of Jean Froissart, who, at the end of the fourteenth century, penned one of the most important chronicles of medieval France. He wrote about Western European countries (mainly France and England) between 1327 and 1400.⁸ The work of Długosz not only encompasses a much broader time horizon but is also more voluminous. Długosz employs diverse sources to achieve his goal, but he does not use them uncritically. He also turned to oral testimonies, frequently improved parts that did not fit his narrative and completed the missing descriptions with his knowledge of the world.⁹ For example, he almost always (unlike Gallus Anonymus) attempted to give women names, even

⁴ Damien Boquet and Didier Lett, 'Emotions and the concept of gender', *Clio. Women, Gender, History*, xlvii (2018), 7.

⁵ Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, xci, 5 (1986), 1072–5.

⁶ Ioannis Dlugossii, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. by I. Dąbrowski et al. (Varsaviae–Cracoviae, 1964–2005) (hereinafter: *Annales*). The first Roman number denotes the book (or Book/Part), followed by the year in the Arabic numerals and then the page number.

⁷ Norbert Kerksen, 'High and Late Medieval National Historiography', in Deborah Manskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden–Boston, 2012), 211.

⁸ Patricia Victorin, *Froissart après Froissart. La réception des Chroniques en France du XV^e siècle au XIX^e siècle* (Rennes, 2022), 26–9.

⁹ Maria Koczarska, 'Jan Długosz devant ses sources et leurs silences', in Jean-Philippe Genet (ed.), *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe* (Paris, 1991), 91–5.

when he was unsure of their actual cognomina.¹⁰ There is a significant difference – both in terms of quality and quantity – between *Annales* and earlier historiographical works written in Poland when it comes to descriptions of both emotions and women, which allows for a wider comparison of discrepancies and similarities in descriptions of men and women, as well as various emotional states. Długosz aimed to present the history of Poland in great detail, using numerous anecdotes that were enriched by a varied emotional vocabulary, thereby conveying a vision of the world in which emotions and their manifestations are meaningful. Moreover, he is not only a historian but also a moralist, and the story, as he tells it, aims to present examples of appropriate and inappropriate conduct, as well as how unbecoming behaviour is punished.¹¹ The *Annales* are also tales of power in the most obvious sense of the word – the annals are concerned mostly with elites holding the highest political positions. Thus, it provides access to descriptions of the relationships between emotions, gender, and power.

However, in the *Annales*, as in many other medieval historiographical works, men are the prevailing figures. Partly because of the focus on political and military events, in which women's participation was limited, and partly, most likely, due to the blind spots of Długosz himself. He was part of communities consisting mainly or only of men, such as a cathedral chapter or the university milieu. As homosocial groups were his most important point of reference in adult life, they could have influenced which actions and emotions he considered worthy of attention. Another issue is that many of his sources paid little attention to women, as Grzegorz Pac points out in his analysis of the social roles of daughters and wives in the Piast dynasty, as described in the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus. Pac concluded that the little

¹⁰ For example, Długosz names one of the wives of the king, Bolesław the Brave, Judyta. The same person has been identified in modern historiography as Emnilda, which was the actual name of one of the monarch's wives, as known from other sources; however, it is absent from the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus, hence Długosz independently names her Judyta. Cf. Grzegorz Pac, *Women in the Piast Dynasty. A Comparative Study of Piast Wives and Daughters* (c. 965 – c. 1144) (Leiden–Boston, 2022), 94–6.

¹¹ Maria Koczerska, 'Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, xv (1970), 117–27; Adam Talarowski, 'Dzieje w rękach Opatrzności. Elementy historiozofii Jana Długosza i jej uwarunkowania', *Roczniki Historyczne*, lxxxiv (2018), 200–5.

attention Gallus gave to women was due to his conviction that their influence on events in question was limited.¹²

The framework for this research is primarily based on the concept of emotional communities proposed by Barbara H. Rosenwein. Therefore, I assume the existence of groups of people (often many such groups at the same time) who name, value, conceptualise, and express emotions similarly.¹³ As Rosenwein does, I looked in the source for phrases that convey emotional meanings, as well as descriptions of various means of manifesting emotions, such as tone of voice, gestures, facial expressions, crying, laughter, and sometimes the choice of clothing.¹⁴ In this analysis, I will examine the discursive relationship between emotions and gender. It is not my aim in any way to correct Długosz, prove him wrong or judge whether emotions presented by him were authentic or not, or whether they were experienced or expressed in the particular situation presented in the chronicle. Like many other medievalists, I am aware of the difficulty in finding appropriate definitions of emotions for medieval studies, as the word was not used in its contemporary meaning at the time.¹⁵ Medieval vocabulary referred to *passiones anime* or *affectus*,¹⁶ which is most accurately (though also generally) captured in Rosenwein's definition as "affective reactions of all sorts, intensities, and durations".¹⁷

The issue of the relationship between gender and emotion may raise questions about the contribution of neuroscience to studying differences between genders. Whether significant differences exist has been a crucial question in studies both on human and non-human

¹² Pac, *Women*, 14–16. Cf. Marzena Matla-Kozłowska, 'Czy kobieta zasługiwała na zainteresowanie rocznikarzy? Rozważania na podstawie najstarszej annalistyki polskiej i czeskiej', in Stanisław Rosik and Przemysław Wiszewski (eds), *Hominem quaerere. Człowiek w źródle historycznym* (Wrocław, 2008), 399–400.

¹³ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca–London, 2006), 23.

¹⁴ *Ead.*, *Emotional Communities*, 26–7; Rüdiger Schnell, *Haben Gefühle eine Geschichte? Aporien einer History of Emotions*, 1 (Göttingen, 2015), 81–5.

¹⁵ Nicole Hochner, 'Le corps social à l'origine de l'invention du mot "émotion"', *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, xvi (2016), <https://doi.org/10.4000/acrh.7357> [Accessed: 2 Dec. 2024]; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 3–5; Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, 6.

¹⁶ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 4; Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford, 2004), 3.

¹⁷ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 4.

brains.¹⁸ However, as historians, we have severely limited competencies to evaluate the quality and methodology of neuroscientific research.¹⁹ I also believe that a query for assumed “natural” differences in emotional expression between genders defies the goals of historical research on emotions. Thus, I intend to study perceived differences between genders in terms of emotionality.²⁰

The main questions I will ask are whether Długosz differentiates emotional expression based on gender, and if that expression is valued differently when the gender of characters differs, and how it relates to power dynamics. As the issue is multidimensional, this research paper attempts to present preliminary conclusions. I will also be unable to answer all the other questions that may arise, such as linguistic differences in descriptions of emotions between men and women, as well as the exact relationship of those descriptions to Western European sources (though I partly refer to them based on secondary literature). The article is divided thematically into three sections: the first discusses social and individual aspects of mourning, the second examines maternity, paternity, and marriage, and the third explores the role of anger and crying in governance. Those are the themes that, in my view, most clearly illustrate the relationship between gender and emotions. As regards these topics, it is possible to find descriptions of women’s emotions and compare them with those of men. Even though I do recognise that different types of masculinities exist at the same time in relation to each other, they also exist in relation to femininity.²¹ Thus, I consider this comparison a vital aspect that could enable further research.

Providing a clear definition of Jan Długosz’s emotional community is not an easy task. He was born into a noble family of moderate means and received his education at the parish school in Nowe Miasto Korczyn, followed by the University of Kraków; however, he never obtained

¹⁸ Cordelia Fine, ‘His brain, her brain? Research exploring sex differences in the human brain must overcome “neurosexist” interpretations’, *Science*, cccixvi, 6212 (2014), 915–6.

¹⁹ Katie Barclay, ‘The Practice and Ethics of the History of Emotions’, in *ead.*, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, and Peter N. Stearns (eds), *Sources for the History of Emotions. A Guide* (Abingdon-on-Thames, 2020), 27–30.

²⁰ Scott, ‘Gender’, 1067–70; Boquet and Lett, ‘Emotions’, 11–4.

²¹ Raewyn Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, ‘Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept’, *Gender and Society*, xix, 6 (2005), 847–8.

a degree. Thanks to his personal merits and family connections, he began work at the court of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, a bishop of Kraków, who was one of the most influential figures on the fifteenth-century Polish political scene. He later became secretary to Oleśnicki and one of the people closest to him.²² He was also a canon at the Cathedral of Kraków, a diplomat, and the teacher to the sons of King Kazimierz the Jagiellon (despite being in an open conflict with the monarch earlier).²³ Hence, Długosz was undoubtedly a member of the political and intellectual elite of late medieval Poland, especially of Kraków and Lesser Poland, commitment to which he had professed many times in his works.²⁴

There has been a long discussion in Polish historiography about whether Długosz is a typical member of his social group (or groups). To summarise this debate, on the one hand, some scholars do not consider him an extraordinary intellectual. Maria Koczerska claimed that his interest in theology was superficial, and Marian Plezia thought that his accomplishments were primarily due to his hard work rather than intellectual qualities.²⁵ On the other hand, some point out that composing *Annales*, which was not the only literary work of Długosz, was an extraordinary accomplishment in itself and never had an equally robust continuation.²⁶ Although the chronicler did not hold an academic degree, he maintained contacts with the university after leaving it.²⁷ He also never became a bishop, which would be a logical career development for him. Długosz was offered the position of the

²² Maria Koczerska, 'Długosz jako sekretarz Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego', in Feliks Kiryk (ed.), *Jan Długosz w pięćsetną rocznicę śmierci: materiały z sesji (Sandomierz 24–25 maja 1980 r.)* (Olsztyn, 1983), 53–63; Piotr Węcowski, 'Jan Długosz – Life and Work', in Miłosz Sosnowski (ed.), *The First/The Oldest in the Collections of the National Library in Poland* (Warszawa, 2019), 65–9.

²³ Węcowski, 'Jan Długosz', 66–9.

²⁴ *Id.*, 'Historical Memory and Local Identity: Jan Długosz and the Church of Cracow', in Pavlína Rychterová (ed.), *Historiography and Identity VI: Competing Narratives of the Past in Central and Eastern Europe, c. 1200 – c. 1600* (Turnhout, 2021), 357–60.

²⁵ Koczerska, 'Mentalność', 110–14. Marian Plezia, 'Jan Długosz', in Stanisław Grzeszczuk (ed.), *Pisarze staropolscy. Sylwetki*, 1 (Warszawa, 1991), 170.

²⁶ Węcowski, 'Jan Długosz', 64; Hanna Rajfura, 'Warsztat pisarski Jana Długosza w świetle *Żywotu św. Stanisława*', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, lvi (2018), 71–3.

²⁷ Krzysztof Ożóg, 'Kontakty personalne i instytucjonalne Jana Długosza z krakowskim środowiskiem uniwersyteckim. Uwagi o stanie i perspektywach badań', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, lv (2017), 163–72.

bishop of Prague; however, he refused due to his fear of Hussitism. Later, he was proposed for the bishopric of Lvov, but he declined to accept it before his death.²⁸

As Hanna Rajfura rightfully pointed out, Długosz was well aware of the expectations of his audience and conventions of medieval storytelling.²⁹ Due to his education, contacts with the university and the most important Polish intellectuals of his era, and considering to whom his other works were dedicated (e.g. Sędziwój of Czechel, an intellectual who studied both in Kraków and Paris, canon and vicar in Gniezno, or Jakub of Sienno, bishop of Kraków and Włocławek, archbishop of Gniezno³⁰) as well as the appeal to the adepts of the University of Kraków to continue his work,³¹ I would like to put forward a hypothesis: that the emotional community he aims to reflect and shape in his work is made up mostly of intellectuals of late medieval Poland and members of ecclesiastical elite (as indicated by Koczerska, he mainly was ideologically aligned with Polish clergy).³²

The question of emotions in Jan Długosz's works has been previously studied, although not in detail. Agnieszka Kuś has analysed the image of the emotional relationship between King Władysław II Jagiełło and his brothers, pointing out their vehemence; she concluded that Długosz aimed to present the Jagiellons as having trouble managing emotions.³³ Anna Musialik focused on how Długosz presented mourning, and she observed that he valued lowly ways of grieving that were at odds with his idea of correct grief.³⁴ In her seminal article

²⁸ Węcowski, 'Jan Długosz', 69; Fryderyk Papée, 'Jan Długosz h. Wieniawa', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 5, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jan-dlugosz-h-wieniawa-1415-1480-kanonik-krakowski-historyk> [Accessed: 13 Dec. 2024].

²⁹ Rajfura, 'Warsztat pisarski', 40, 54–5, 71–3.

³⁰ Jan Długosz, 'Vita Sanctissimi Stanislai cracoviensis episcopi', in *Joannis Dlugossii senioris canonici cracoviensis Opera*, ed. by Ignacy Polkowski and Zegota Pauli (Cracoviae, 1887), 1–4; Jan Długosz, 'Vita Beata Kunegundis' in *Joannis Dlugossii*, 183–9.

³¹ Węcowski, 'Jan Długosz', 64.

³² Koczerska, 'Mentalność', 130–1.

³³ Agnieszka Kuś, 'Między nienawiścią a miłością – namiętności w życiu pokolenia braci rodzonych i stryjecznych Władysława Jagiełły w ujęciu Jana Długosza', in Stanisław Rosik and Przemysław Wiszewski (eds), *Cor hominis: wielkie namiętności w dziejach źródlach i studiach nad przeszłością* (Wrocław, 2007), 177–82.

³⁴ Anna Musialik, 'Śmierć i żałoba w „Rocznikach” Jana Długosza', in Katarzyna Janus, Beata Łukarska, and Elżbieta Hak (eds), *Odczytywanie Długosza* (Częstochowa, 2016), 101–8.

about Długosz's mentality, Koczerska briefly referred to emotions and concluded that, in general, he was distanced from expressive medieval emotionality.³⁵ All of those statements, in my view, call for more detailed analysis and evaluation of the image of emotions in the *Annales*.

It is significantly more challenging to evaluate the state of the art in gender research based on the works of Długosz. Some studies analyse both images of women as a group and selected female characters.³⁶ More scholarship has been devoted to descriptions of men and groups mainly or exclusively consisting of men (such as clergy or dynasty).³⁷ I am not familiar with any work that frames this subject in gender categories and analyses the image of kings or clergy from the perspective of creating models of masculinity/masculinities. In examining the portrayals of the given characters, their femininity is a much more visible category, while masculinity remains mainly transparent. Partly, it is because Długosz himself highlighted qualities of women as a group, while the qualities of men are generally seen as a part of human nature. It is also due to the dynamics of contemporary historiography, where studies of the construction of femininity have a longer tradition. At the same time, the question of masculinity has emerged much later,³⁸ and it is almost entirely absent from Polish historiography.³⁹

It seems that Długosz's view of society as a whole was rather simplistic. He did not despise people of low estates, but also did not pay them much attention.⁴⁰ He tended to present society as composed

³⁵ Koczerska, 'Mentalność', 112.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 128–9. Agnieszka Pilichowska, *Arystokratka i święta. Wzorce dobrej władczyni w Annales... Długosza* (Warszawa, 2007), 101–219; Katarzyna Szafer, *Wizerunek złej i dobrej władczyni w Rocznikach Jana Długosza*, in Antoni Gąsiorowski (ed.), *Kobieta w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy* (Poznań, 1999), 89–94.

³⁷ Jerzy Sperka, 'Jan Długosz o doradcach Władysława Jagiełły', in Tomisław Giergiel (ed.), *Jan Długosz – w kręgu badań historyków i literaturoznawców* (Sandomierz, 2017), 109–21; Patrycja Szewdo, 'Sub bandero cruciatae – Władysław III Jagiellończyk jako średniowieczny rycerz idealny. Wizerunek na podstawie Roczników Jana Długosza', *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, ix (2017), 186–210. Urszula Borkowska, *Treści ideowe w dziełach Jana Długosza. Kościół i świat poza Kościołem* (Lublin, 1983), 82–6.

³⁸ Allen J. Frantzen, 'When Women Aren't Enough', *Speculum*, lxxviii (1993), 448–51.

³⁹ For recent reflection of gender of monks, see Karolina Białas, *Ideal mnicha czy ideal człowieka? Myśl antropologiczna w Occupatio Odona z Cluny* (Kraków, 2020), 303–5.

⁴⁰ Sławomir Gawlas, 'Świadomość narodowa Jana Długosza', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, xxvii (1983), 56; Koczerska, 'Mentalność', 131.

of binary groups such as clergy and laypeople, nobility and common folk, and finally, men and women.⁴¹ He expresses this binarism in the formula *sexus uterque* (literally: “both sexes”),⁴² which is noteworthy in light of the reflection on gender fluidity and non-binary identities in medieval studies.⁴³ When Długosz aims to highlight that a specific phenomenon was common, he does it by recalling the groups mentioned above. He did it for example in the description of death and funeral of Kazimierz the Great (Wielki): “When they [their banners] were destroyed, immoderate weeping and moaning of knights, the people and all commoners has begun, among old and young, men and women, so there was no one, even cold hearted, that would not give into tears and lamentation”.⁴⁴

II

GRIEF: SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL EMOTIONS

Death, as the medieval motif of the *Danse Macabre* reminds us, is a great equaliser. However, even though everyone dies, not everyone is equally dignified with remembrance and grief. In that sense, death not only does not make all people equal, but also burial rites and ways of expressing mourning make this unequal status as visible after death as it is during lifetime. As Musialik pointed out, in the *Annales*, Długosz wrote about death mostly in general terms and paid little attention to descriptions of emotions.⁴⁵ Hence, we should pay special attention to those rare instances when he did.

In the passage mentioned above, Długosz employs imagery of social emotions to portray the greatness of the deceased monarch, whom

⁴¹ E.g. “nobilitas wlgusque” [!], *Annales*, I, 123; “clero populoque”: *ibid.*, IX, 1342, 224; “maris et femine”: *ibid.*, XII/3, 1471, 263.

⁴² *Ibid.*, VII, 1279, p. 207; XI/2, 1428, p. 233; XII/2, 1455, p. 233.

⁴³ Jacqueline Murray, ‘One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?’, in Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (eds), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe. New Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 2008), 34–51; Mathilde von Dijk, ‘Beyond Binaries: A Reflection of the (Trans)Gender(s) of Saint’, in Alicia Spencer-Hall and Blake Gutt (eds), *Trans and Genderqueer Subjects in Medieval Hagiography* (Amsterdam, 2021), 270–6.

⁴⁴ “Ex quorum fragore tam ingens militarium et popularium univarseque plebis planctus et gemitus coortus, ut nemo, quantumcunque duri cordis, inter senes et iuvenes, mares et feminas reperiebatur, qui fletibu et lamenti non indulgeret [...]”, *Annales*, X, 1370, 20.

⁴⁵ Musialik, ‘Śmierć i żałoba’, 108.

he considered exceptional (despite acknowledging some character flaws).⁴⁶ He wrote in a very similar vein about events from the distant past, specifically the death of Bolesław the Brave (Chrobry). There, he also composed an image of great sadness and weeping throughout the entire society, while highlighting (as he did in the case of Kazimierz the Great) the authenticity of the tears shed by the subjects.⁴⁷ The only element of mourning characteristic of women he mentioned was giving up clothing ornaments, a description different from that provided by Gallus Anonymus, whose account Długosz used in composing this narrative.⁴⁸ According to Gallus, neither men nor women wore any ornaments.⁴⁹ Apparently, Długosz considered it more fitting for the social standards of his time that women used ornaments.

Clothes, however, seem to be a vital part of grief regardless of gender or social strata. Długosz mentioned that the servants wore mourning attire after the death of Kazimierz the Great. When Anna of Cilli (Cylejska), the second wife of Władysław Jagiełło, passed away, the chronicler noted the black mourning robe worn by the king.⁵⁰ Clothing matters also in a cheerful situation, as depicted by Długosz in the passage about the death of Elisabeth of Pilcza. Many members of the elites close to the king, including Długosz himself, disliked the third wife of Władysław Jagiełło. The historian reported that the entire society was pleased about the queen's death, and everyone, regardless of social status, wore decorative robes.⁵¹ As Anna Adamska noted, clothing constituted a vital means of social communication in medieval societies; it signified, among other things, social class, and the colour in iconography is one of the key instruments in identifying good and evil characters.⁵² Emotions certainly should be added to the catalogue of messages conveyed by clothing.

⁴⁶ Koczerska, 'Mentalność', 119.

⁴⁷ *Annales*, II, 1025, 295–6; X, 1370, 21.

⁴⁸ Stanisław Gawęda *et al.* (eds), *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza z lat 1385–1444*, vol. 1 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1961), xxiii–xxiv.

⁴⁹ 'Galli Chronicon', in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 1, ed. by August Bielowski (Lwów, 1864), 412.

⁵⁰ *Annales*, X, 1370, 19; XI/2, 1416, 59–60.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1420, 131.

⁵² Anna Adamska, 'Czy Pan wie, kto ja jestem? Kilka uwag o mechanizmach percepcji wzrokowej i skuteczności kodów westymalnych w późnośredniowiecznej Europie', in Ewa Wólkiewicz, Monika Saczyńska, and Marcin Pauk (eds), *Habitus*

In Długosz's narrative, intense and prolonged grief following the death of a good monarch was an unambiguously positive thing. The matter is much more complicated in cases involving the grief of others. The issue of gender is mentioned in the description of reaction of Elisabeth Szilágyi, the wife of John Hunyady, when she has heard the message about the death of one of her sons and imprisonment of the other: "Mother of sons of the governor, struck down by this information, did not resort to the feminine weeping, in a single day almost deprived of sons, but to the weapon".⁵³ It can be interpreted in two ways. First, that weeping is a feminine behaviour, as it was directly defined. It would be confirmed also by other descriptions, in which Długosz primarily focused on women's laments, for example, when he wrote about the troubles of war and presented the female gender as weaker and especially prone to victimisation.⁵⁴ Another possibility is that Długosz considered grief after the death of an offspring as particularly feminine. However, when he described the death of Jadwiga the Jagiellon, a daughter of Władysław Jagiełło, he pointed out that the king did not cry during the funeral; Długosz seemed surprised that the monarch did not display any sadness otherwise.⁵⁵ Whereas, when Margaret, the queen of Naples, reacted with tears to the death of her husband, Długosz called it a "feminine custom".⁵⁶ Margaret, unlike Elisabeth, who herself used weapons, asked her son to avenge his father, which probably had less to do with emotions and more with the connection between using weapons and masculinity. Stand-alone revenge or protection is thus seen as unfeminine, but persuading someone else to do that is seen as a typically feminine behaviour.

Coming back to grief itself: the wife of Bolesław the Generous (Szczodry), called Wyszęsława by Długosz, after the death of her son

facit hominem. Społeczne funkcje ubioru w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej (Warszawa, 2016), 21–7.

⁵³ "Qua novitate mater filiorum gubernatoris percussa, non ad muliebres recurrit fletus, duobus pene dic uno orbata filiis, sed ad arma [...]", *Annales*, XII/2, 1457, 273.

⁵⁴ E.g. *ibid.*, XI/1, 1410, 72, 150; XII/3, 1477, 392–3 (here Długosz calls women "imbellis sexus", which means "sex unfit to fight" but also "powerless", "weak"; see 'imbellis', in *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*, vol. 1 (Warszawa–Wrocław–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1978), 83.

⁵⁵ *Annales*, XI/3, 1431, 52.

⁵⁶ "pro muliebri more", *ibid.*, X, 1385, 148.

Mieszko, supposedly did not listen to any consolations and remained sorrowful until the end of her life. While her husband remained in exile, she died overwhelmed by all the tragedy.⁵⁷ Her case illustrates that a persistent sadness can have tragic consequences. Grief of the Duke Bolesław the Curly (Kędzierzawy) after the death of his son is presented similarly. He is described as experiencing intense pain, which was manifested by weeping and lamenting, despite being offered sound advice.⁵⁸ Those cases call for setting aside emotional communities and paying closer attention to another framework, namely the emotional regimes proposed by William M. Reddy, which is defined as a normative way of emotional expression established in every political regime.⁵⁹ To regulate emotions following a given regime, people have emotives at their disposal, i.e., emotional statements that are both self-regulating and self-exploring, and as such, can change one's emotional state or that of someone else.⁶⁰ In both cases, it is heavily implied that people around Wyszęsława and Bolesław the Curly used such emotional influence to alter their feelings and behaviour in line with an emotional regime, of course, the one that Długosz found relevant. In Długosz's narration, prolonged grief is a flaw, and it is apparent that he viewed other people as responsible for trying to alter the emotional state of a person who grieves longer or in a more pronounced fashion than is commonly established. Ideologically, it may be connected to the idea of St Augustine, who claimed that prolonged mourning can cause people to forget God's love.⁶¹ Another angle is humoral theory, which strongly connected emotional states with physical well-being, specifically linking excessive mourning with madness,⁶² which is evident in the case of Wyszęsława,

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 1089, 166.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 1172, 96–7.

⁵⁹ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feelings. A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 124.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 100–8; *id.*, 'Sentimentalism and Its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *Journal of Modern History*, lxxii, 1 (2000), 113–7.

⁶¹ Emily A. Winkler, 'Grief, Grieving, and Loss in High Medieval Historical Thought', *Traditio*, lxxvii (2022), 133.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 171; Drew Maxwell, "Sorrow wil meng a mans blode and make him for-to wax wode". Representations of Male and Female Grief-Madness in Middle English Arthurian Romance', in Lee Templeton (ed.), *Grief, Gender, and Identity in the Middle Ages. Knowing Sorrow* (Leiden–Boston, 2021), 191–2; Timo Joutsivuo,

whose never-ending grieving resulted in her death. Those views sustain the idea that prolonged grief brings an unwelcome imbalance, and that is precisely what Długosz described there. In Reddy's evaluation, the emotional regime presented here would be rather a strict one, as clearly people under its influence who fail to regulate their emotions in accordance with normative rules were not necessarily viewed as deviants, but were definitely being punished (though not necessarily by society).⁶³

Gordon D. Reaburn pointed to the studies on miracles that show strong emotional reactions from both mothers and fathers faced with the death of a child. This view refutes the thesis of Philippe Ariès, who argued that people in the Middle Ages and early modern times did not care about the death of a child at the early stages of life as much as we do nowadays.⁶⁴ The studies conducted by Tomasz Wiślicz on early modern miracles in Poland also concluded that people exhibited strong emotional reactions in connection with their children.⁶⁵ In the *Annales*, descriptions of grief after the death of an adult offspring are found more commonly, and they differ significantly from depictions of mourning a little child. This difference manifested itself in an account of lack of sadness after the death of Jadwiga the Jagiellon, who was 23 years old when she passed away, in comparison to grief after the early death of the second son of King Władysław Jagiełło and his fourth wife, Sophia of Halshany (Holszańska); as Długosz claimed, they were mourning their infant child too intensely.⁶⁶ In this case, the thesis postulated by Ariès could be modified: the death of little children was not supposed to evoke excessively intense emotions in late medieval Polish elites. Grief after the death

'How to Get a Melancholy Marquess to Sleep? Melancholy in Scholastic Medicine', in Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Susanna Niiranen (eds), *Mental (Dis)Order in Later Medieval Europe* (Leiden–Boston, 2014), 26–32.

⁶³ Reddy, *The Navigation*, 125–6.

⁶⁴ Gordon D. Reaburn, 'Death and Dying', in Andrew Lynch and Susan Broomhall (eds), *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100–1700* (London – New York, 2020), 206–7.

⁶⁵ Tomasz Wiślicz, 'Dziwne, przypadkowe i nadzwyczajne. Zbiory miraculów z XVII i XVIII wieku jako źródło do badań kulturowych', in Joanna Partyka and Iwona M. Dacka-Górzyńska (eds), *Staropolska literatura dewocyjna: gatunki, tematy, funkcje* (Warszawa, 2015), 228–34.

⁶⁶ *Annales*, XI/2, 1427, 226.

of a child (either an adult or an infant) was not a personal experience of Długosz, as not only did he live in celibacy, but also surrounded himself mostly by other members of the clergy. His understanding of those reactions could thus come from literature.

Medieval literature knew an excellent example of a mother going through grief (where the father is absent): the Virgin Mary. Maybe that is the reason why Długosz was more apt to cast women in the grieving roles. Even though Mary's grief is not presented in any of the Gospels, ever since late Antiquity, there have been numerous attempts to depict her reaction to the death of her son, including her emotions.⁶⁷ One example of such an approach from Poland is the "Lamentation of the Holy Cross" [*Lament świętokrzyski*], which was written in Old Polish in Długosz's time, i.e., the 1470s.⁶⁸ It is a poem that expresses Mary's suffering and powerlessness in the presence of the Cross.⁶⁹ Representation of Marian emotions are aimed primarily towards compassion, as evidenced by fourteenth-century preacher Peregryn of Opole in the following *Sermon on Good Friday*, where he referred to weeping and suffering of Mary: "Because today we celebrate the suffering of Christ, we should have part in His suffering, weeping His agony, because there are many that bring us to tears today. Indeed, today Christ cried because he could not console his Mother".⁷⁰ Even though Długosz could have built his understanding of mothers' grief (and, as the case of Bolesław the Curly showed, sometimes that of fathers as well), it seems that his main goal was not to evoke compassion, but rather to present "better" and "worse" types of grief.

In her analysis of images of grief in Scandinavian literature, Kristen Mills adopted the framework of the "hierarchy of grief" presented

⁶⁷ Winkler, 'Grief, Grieving', 136. Kisha G. Tracy, 'Maternal Lament and Misremembering in Dispute between Mary and the Cross', in Templeton (ed.), *Grief, Gender*, 42–4.

⁶⁸ 'Posłuchajcie bracia miła...', in *Chrestomatia staropolska. Teksty do roku 1543*, ed. by Wiesław Wydra and Wojciech Ryszard Rzepka (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1984), 245–6.

⁶⁹ 'Posłuchajcie, bracia miła...', in Teresa Michałowska, *Literatura polskiego średniowiecza* (Warszawa, 2011), 701–3.

⁷⁰ "Et quia hodie recolimus Christi passionem, debemus eum iuvare portare passionem suam, deflere, quia multa sunt, quæ nos hodie inducunt ad fletum. Hodie enim flevit Christus, quia Matrem consolari non poterat...", 'In parasceue', in Peregrini de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, ed. by Richardus Tatarzyński (Warszawa, 1997), 567–8.

by Judith Butler, noting that, in her source base, grief following the death of important individuals, such as kings, is often more significant than other types of grief. Only people whose death causes danger to social consistency are worthy of highly developed and ritualised grief.⁷¹ In the *Annales*, such a hierarchy can also be observed – less important grief is individual as it affects women more often, and in many cases has devastating effects on the life of a mourner, while more important grief, mainly expressed after the death of kings, is a social, widely accepted phenomenon.

III

FATHERHOOD, MOTHERHOOD AND MARRIAGE

While the intense mourning after the loss of a child could be expressed by both parents, as narrated by Długosz, various other emotions of women were much more connected to motherhood and women's attitude towards children. Długosz indeed assigned joy to men when they heard about their wives' pregnancy. Because of the birth, but this elation was very often not an individual emotion, but a group one: when a child is born into a royal family, the whole nobility rejoices.⁷² The case of Władysław Jagiełło stands out for an interesting reason: the king, upon hearing about the birth of his first son, cried all night and expressed his gratitude to God.⁷³ Of course, it is hard to assume much about the emotionality of Władysław Jagiełło; however, it seems that Długosz tried to express the atmosphere of waiting for the male descendant of the king, the atmosphere which he knew either from the accounts of witnesses or from the observation of life at the court of Kazimierz Jagiellon, the son of Władysław Jagiełło. Very detailed descriptions of Władysław Jagiełło's emotionality could be a result of the king being exceptional in that sense, or at least Długosz tried to present him that way.

Problems with fertility were more often assigned to women, and Christian tradition knows a lot of examples of women who got

⁷¹ Kristen Mills, 'Gender and Death from Grief in Medieval Scandinavian Texts', in Templeton (ed.), *Grief, Gender*, 140–1.

⁷² E.g. *Annales*, III, 1042, 43; 1069, 99; V, 1160, 69. Cf. Piechowska, *Arystokratka i święta*, 171.

⁷³ *Annales*, XI/2, 1424, 207.

pregnant despite their advanced age.⁷⁴ The Polish historian Paweł Żmudzki pointed to the case of Prince Leszek the Black (Czarny), whose wife accused him of impotence, yet both spouses had to undergo treatment.⁷⁵ Infertility is not the same as impotence, but this example shows that in the sphere of sexuality, closely connected to procreation, much more stress was placed on women's responsibility. Pointing out the emotions of Władysław Jagiełło flipped this pattern, just as the implication that he might be unable to sire an heir.

Fatherhood in Długosz's narration can be read, for example, when he mentions the land of the father or the heritage of the father.⁷⁶ Długosz wrote about the feelings of fathers towards their children; for example, he claimed that Olgierd loved Jagiełło with exceptional fatherly love.⁷⁷ Paternal feelings, however, were also applied to the attitude of bishops towards monarchs, which Długosz associated with benevolence and compassion, as well as with scolding. When the chronicler wrote about admonitions of the bishop Stanisław of Szczepanów towards King Bolesław the Generous, he claimed that the former "rebuked and admonished the king in a fatherly manner"⁷⁸; then Długosz mentioned that the bishop met with the king in private and spoke to him "gently and paternally" with tears in his eyes caused by the compassion.⁷⁹ He wrote in a similar tone about the admonishing of Mieszko the Old (Stary) by Bishop Gedko.⁸⁰ Paternity thus seems to have two dimensions: it is associated with good intentions, gentleness, and benevolence, but also with hierarchy – a bishop is allowed to, just as a father, to exhort the king. And more so, that is his responsibility because, in this framework, he is responsible for the king and his piety.⁸¹ Thus, although paternity

⁷⁴ Elizabeth L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood. Gender, Dynasty and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2016), 12.

⁷⁵ Paweł Żmudzki, *Dux fabulosus. O tradycji historiograficznej osnutej wokół postaci Leszka Czarnego od "Gesta Lestkonis" do dzieł Bartosza Paprockiego* (Warszawa, 2023), 82–8.

⁷⁶ E.g. *Annales*, II, 993, 208; VI, 1194, 158.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, X, 1382, 93–4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 1074, 134; "regem paternis monitis corripuisse", *ibid.*, III, 1074, 114.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 1077, 149–50; "blande prius et pierate paterna", *ibid.*, III, 1077, 127.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 1175, 102.

⁸¹ Koczerska, 'Mentalność', 125; Borkowska, *Treści ideowe*, 108–11; Monika Suchan, *Machen und Regieren. Die Metapher des Hirten im früheren Mittelalter* (Berlin–Boston, 2015), 48–50.

is present in Długosz's narration, it often has a metaphorical meaning. Maternal feelings were presented as a significant motivation for women to take action to help their children advance. At the same time, paternity is more closely associated with caring and goodwill towards those lower in the hierarchy.

We find one example of actions motivated by maternal feelings in the description of the situation after the death of Władysław the Short (Łokietek), when the nobility elected his son Kazimierz, later the Great, as a successor, however Kazimierz's mother, Jadwiga of Kalisz objected to the coronation of Anna, the wife of Kazimierz, during her lifetime. Nonetheless, Kazimierz was able to convince her to step down because Jadwiga "loved Kazimierz with love more than maternal" and agreed to the coronation of Anna, happy to see her son elevated to the throne.⁸² According to Długosz, Elisabeth of Luxembourg pursued the coronation of her underage son Władysław the Posthumous (Pogrobowiec) as the king of Hungary in 1440, even though Władysław the Jagiellon was already elected to this position; she did that driven by "maternal feelings".⁸³ Długosz attributed a similar attitude to Sophia of Hashany, who tried to persuade Kazimierz the Jagiellon to take the Polish throne after the death of his brother, and then tearfully asked the Polish nobility to appoint her son as the next king.⁸⁴ She was also supposed to be motivated by "maternal concern" when she was asking her son not to go to war.⁸⁵ Hence, Długosz believed that women are often driven, broadly speaking, by maternal feelings. He connected the political motivations of women with motherhood and the desire to ensure positions of power for their sons. As Elizabeth L'Estrange pointed out in her research on the portrayal of holy mothers in the later Middle Ages, motherhood was an area where women could pursue higher status, and a sphere reserved for women not merely due to physiology, but also because of social conditions. L'Estrange demonstrated that in iconography depicting births and women with small children, women are often depicted alone (or in the company of other women) or in some way separated from men. Maternity is thus one of the areas of power for

⁸² "plus quam genitricis diligebat amore", *Annales*, IX, 1333, 181.

⁸³ "maternis affectibus", *ibid.*, XII/1, 1440, 229.

⁸⁴ "materno affectu", *ibid.*, XII/2, 1445, 19; 1446, 37.

⁸⁵ "solicitudine materna", *ibid.*, XII/2, 1446, 38.

women,⁸⁶ and ensuring proper positions for their children was a way of securing their social status.

Manifestations of affect also aimed to influence the emotions of other people. The above-mentioned Sophia of Halshany was begging with tears that her son would become the king after his older brother died, adding that she had already lost one son and she did not want to lose another.⁸⁷ This kind of behaviour was not necessarily specific to women – on the contrary, in multiple instances Długosz wrote how begging and persuading done by men was accompanied with tears, though the motivations were different. It shows in the scene of Polish deputies asking the pope to release Kazimierz the Restorer (Odnowiciel) from the monastic vows for him to become the king of Poland: "... deputies began, rather in pleading, sad moan than in words, to ask the Father of Christendom to help the miserable kingdom and return to it its prince Kazimierz who resides at the Cluny monastery even though he has already made monastic vows and obtained the rank of a deacon".⁸⁸ It is worth pointing out that here the pope is called the father and later on Długosz mentioned the "paternal benevolence" of the pope who took pity on the faith of Poland.⁸⁹ In both cases, Długosz referred to parental feelings, but their scale is different – Sophia of Halshany is the mother of the potential king, while the pope is the father of the entire Christian faith.

When Długosz wrote about the merchants of Kraków, who were crying while asking King Kazimierz Jagiellon for help, he indicated that the king became "appropriately moved" and started to cry himself, before ultimately granting their request.⁹⁰ The historian thus emphasised hierarchy and demonstrated that people from the lower rungs often had to use tears to influence the emotions of those in power to obtain help or achieve their other goals.

However, it is by necessity that women are often expected to influence the emotions of their spouses, because they, unlike their husbands,

⁸⁶ L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood*, 10–2.

⁸⁷ *Annales*, XII/2, 1446, 37.

⁸⁸ "... supplicii lugurique magis eiulatu quam voce orare legati ceperunt, ut regno calamitoso et perditio velint religionis Christiane parens consulat principemque illi suum Kazimirum in Cluniaciensi monasterio consistentem, non obstante quod monachum profbssus et gradus diaconatus adeptus sit, reddat", *ibid.*, III, 1040, 29.

⁸⁹ "benignitate paterna", *ibid.*, III, 1040, 27.

⁹⁰ "Motus, ut dignum erat", *ibid.*, XII/2, 1450, 88.

usually do not have direct access to power. We learn about Władysław the Exile's (Wygnaniec) wife, whom Długosz called Krystyna, who was angry with Piotr Włostowic due to accusations of unfaithfulness. Using advice, requests, and threats, she induced her husband to avenge her.⁹¹ In Długosz's view, she was mainly guilty of punishing the innocent man because, as the historian stressed, the wife is supposed to mitigate her husband's emotions.⁹² The guilt is only partly on the side of Władysław the Exile, whom Długosz called weak and too eager to listen to his wife's counsel. Elżbieta Granowska was supposed to incite Władysław Jagiełło's hatred towards Wojciech Jastrzębiec, with whom she was angry because he refused to bestow land on her son from her previous marriage. Długosz claims that she was persuading the king in the bedroom, without witnesses.⁹³ These women, as narrated by Długosz (and other chroniclers), form an anti-ideal of a queen. They were model examples of bad wives who coerced their husbands to do evil things. Very often, the figure of a bad wife accompanied that of a wicked ruler, who is a man presented as too submissive to the woman's influence. It is worth pointing out that the descriptions refer to emotions that are generally frowned upon in Christian morality, such as hatred and anger. That way, the actions of man are, in a way, excused because they are the effect of a bad influence, not an unaided decision, and even though the men are not flawless, it takes a woman's influence for them to become evil.⁹⁴

However, it does not mean that the emotional influence of wives on husbands was always judged negatively. An excellent example of the positive assessment of such actions is the wife of Bolesław the Brave, known as Judyta by Długosz. She was driven by compassion for a group of men sentenced to death, and thus she decided to hide them. Only then did she throw herself at her husband's feet and pleaded mercy for them until he began to regret his severe sentence. Długosz unquestionably praised Judyta, emphasising her virtue and

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, V, 1141, 15–6, 22–3.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 23. Szafer, 'Wizerunek złej', 90.

⁹³ *Annales*, XI/2, 1420, 130.

⁹⁴ Cf. Małgorzata Delimata, 'Żona Popiela oraz Ryczeza i Agnieszka jako przykłady złych małżonek władców. Uwagi w świetle polskich kronik (do początku XVI stulecia)', in Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski and Andrzej Maciej Wyrwa (eds), *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi* (Poznań–Warszawa, 2006), 251–8.

reason.⁹⁵ The fragment was undoubtedly written using the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus as source material. The analogous scene is described in the latter's *Gesta Principum Polonorum* in a pretty similar way, though with some notable differences. In Gallus's description, the focus is put on the physical contact between the king and the queen – the latter began to stroke her husband's chest gently and asked if he wished that the lives of people sentenced to death were restored.⁹⁶ Długosz did not incorporate the description into his narration; instead, he added the reaction of Bolesław to Judyta's begging and wrote that the king lifted the queen from the ground and embraced her while praising her.⁹⁷ Considering the meaning of both descriptions, the differences seem minute, but Długosz strongly emphasised the subordination of the queen and undermined the significance of physical touch and affection between the spouses.

The main question should be: Where does the difference in evaluation of actions of all women mentioned above come from, if their nature is fundamentally the same? Why, in some situations, is the influence on a husband valued positively, and in others, it serves as an example of the deceitful nature of women and their negative influence on men? There are several reasons. First, the connection between a bad wife and an evil ruler, and a good wife and a good ruler, is strongly built into medieval historiography. The evaluation of women's deeds is thus strongly correlated with the evaluation of their husbands as monarchs.⁹⁸ Therefore, if Bolesław the Brave was an ideal king, then his wife, according to his narrative scheme, also had to be a good person wielding positive influence.⁹⁹ Another popular motive is the influence of wives and mothers on the emotions of rulers, which, in some cases, was desired and in others not. As Długosz himself wrote, it is the task of a wife to temper the severity of a husband; thus, a negative influence means causing anger, while a positive one means tempering it.¹⁰⁰ The initial emotional state of the monarchs also appears to play a role. In the description of Judyta's influence

⁹⁵ *Annales*, II, 1017, 277–9. Cf. Pilichowska, *Arystokratka i święta*, 174–5.

⁹⁶ 'Galli Chronicon', 408–9.

⁹⁷ *Annales*, II, 1017, 279.

⁹⁸ Delimata, 'Żona Popiela', 252.

⁹⁹ Pac, *Women*, 106–10.

¹⁰⁰ *Annales*, V, 1141, 23.

on Bolesław the Brave, the king had already begun to regret his harsh conduct and wanted to have convicts brought back to life. And only then did his wife uplift those emotions and admit to hiding the prisoners.¹⁰¹ In a sense, she was acting following her husband's wishes from the very beginning. Długosz's description omits the suggestion of the intimate relationship between Judyta and her husband, which was implied by her touching his chest. At the same time, in the negative examples, the chronicler strongly hints that women used their sexuality to obtain their goals. Judyta's requests were also expressed in front of other people, not when she was alone with the king. Even though Długosz's description of Judyta's actions could be read as her attempt to seize power by influencing the king, the entire situation is framed narrowly. It is limited by emotions (such as mitigating anger as opposed to causing it), but also by the attitude of the royal husband. It is the opposite in the case of Władysław The Exile, who his wife coerced into revenge he had not planned. Finally, Koczerska had pointed out that Długosz very often judged similar actions differently, depending on who was responsible for the action.¹⁰² In this scheme, there are no evil deeds; only bad people exist. The descriptions presented above demonstrate the wives' ability to influence the emotions of their monarch husbands, an ability that resulted from their intimate relationships. This ability could be interpreted as a sign of the far-reaching power of women, which was difficult to control and was thus considered morally right only under specific circumstances.

In contrast, the instance of influencing emotions that is seen as masculine was soothing the sorrow caused by wartime setbacks. Długosz mentioned it while describing atmosphere among troops during the Thirteen Years War against the Teutonic Order: "In the kings army, ears and hearts had been closed to jokes, laughter and military consolation, both because of recent unbecoming murder of Andrzej Tęczyński, and due to poorly managed ongoing war almost the entire army felt that nothing good will come to be under the command of the unlucky king".¹⁰³ It presented the way of dealing with difficulties

¹⁰¹ Pac, *Women*, 96.

¹⁰² Koczerska, 'Mentalność', 118.

¹⁰³ "Clause erant in regis exercitu ad iocos, ad risus, ad solacia militarium et ob indignam Andree Thanczinski recentem necem et ob belli, quod tunc gerebatur, parum sensatam administracionem, aures et corda tocius fere exercitus nutancia

of warfare through a sense of humour, which perhaps also served as a tool to build closer relations within the troops, consisting of men alone. At the same time, however, Długosz blamed the king for the troubles with the ongoing war. In other cases, men's emotions were also strongly connected to the outcomes of a war. Długosz claimed that King Bolesław the Wrymouth (Krzywousty) felt so guilty after the loss to the Ruthenian army that he suffered and became sombre, and was unable to listen to anyone who tried to offer consolation; this ultimately weakened the king and led to his death.¹⁰⁴ Here, again, it is possible to observe how Długosz perceived the influence on emotions and the consequences of not conforming to emotional norms. As he presented it, a sadness that was too intense – the feeling he also described in the case of Wyszesaława – is disastrous for one's health, and for that reason, he saw fit that the king's entourage should try to offer some consolation.

Just as we have seen with wives' influences on husbands' emotions, the same is true in the case of emotions linked to warfare. The narrative of Długosz demonstrates that effects and their management are closely intertwined with gendered social roles. He also emphasised the possibility of influencing other people's emotions, which is a complex phenomenon that cannot be valued as entirely positive or negative in itself, but instead must be put into context.

IV ROLE OF ANGER AND CRYING IN GOVERNING

The question of emotions in the execution of political power and governance is one of the topics that have been present in historiography devoted to affects from its very beginning. Primarily, Gerd Althoff directed attention towards anger, which, on the one hand, was considered sinful in the early Middle Ages, and on the other hand, displaying it was not only acceptable but even expected from the king when it was used as a tool for fighting injustice.¹⁰⁵ John E.A. Jolliffe also

singula sibi infeliciter proventura sub auspiciis parum felicitis regis ominabantur”, *Annales*, XII/2, 1461, 360.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 1139, 336.

¹⁰⁵ Gerd Althoff, 'Ira Regis: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger', in Barbara H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past. The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*

recognised the role of anger in the kingship of Angevin monarchs, but saw it as a much more personal matter, at times divorced from breaking the law, and having to do more with displeasing the king personally.¹⁰⁶ While Althoff stressed the importance of king's anger as a tool of power in the twelve century, Paul Hyams argued – referring to the idea of the civilizing process by Norbert Elias – that courtly culture born at the time was growing to detest anger and lack of self-control, and that by the thirteenth century, during the reign of Henry III Plantagenet in England, it mostly put the idea of *ira regis* to rest.¹⁰⁷ Jolliffe also pointed to the necessity of restraining emotions and considered violent outbursts their place in governing as gradually becoming a thing of the past.¹⁰⁸ Based on Norwegian source material, Hans Jacob Orning argued that it is possible to observe the shift in acceptable reasons for the king's anger. While towards the end of the twelfth century, anger due to personal reasons was still permissible, in the thirteenth century, the reason had to be a violation of the law. In Orning's interpretation, the ideal of *rex iustus* does not fundamentally change the nature of the king's anger but rebrands it so that monarchs would still have this powerful tool at their disposal.¹⁰⁹ Unlike Althoff, who interpreted emotions as an agreed-upon performance, Orning showed that anger allowed the king to enjoy a certain level of unpredictability.¹¹⁰ Paul Freedman furthermore highlighted the significance of social strata more broadly in the evaluation of anger, arguing that the anger of peasants was considered destructive and treated as evidence that someone had to rule over them because they could not control themselves.¹¹¹

(Ithaca–London, 1998), 59–74. Cf. Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, 165, 169–71; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Anger. The Conflicted History of an Emotion* (New Haven – London, 2020), 108–9.

¹⁰⁶ John E.A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (London 1970), 96–109.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Hyams, 'What Did Henry III of England Think in Bed and in French About Kingship and Anger', in Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past*, 103–12.

¹⁰⁸ Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, 96–100.

¹⁰⁹ Hans Jacob Orning, 'Royal Anger between Christian Doctrine and Practical Exigencies', *Collegium Medievale*, xxii (2009), 49–50; *id.*, *Unpredictability and presence: Norwegian kingship in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Alan Crozier (Leiden–Boston, 2008), 192–4.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 46–9.

¹¹¹ Paul Freedman, 'Peasant Anger in the Late Middle Ages', in Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past*, 171–2.

Crying was another politically significant way of displaying emotions. Althoff analysed the image of weeping kings, which he presented as part of rites dealing with death, sinfulness, asking for favours, showing sympathy, and goodbyes.¹¹² Nagy and Boquet argued that crying during political rites was considered a sign of honest intentions. They also stressed that men had a wider range of emotions at their disposal in comparison to women, who were judged more severely when displaying emotions considered manly, such as anger.¹¹³ Due to the popularity of humoral theory in the Middle Ages, in which women were considered colder and men hotter, anger, as Richard E. Burton argued, which was associated with yellow bile (also considered “hot”), came to be viewed as a masculine emotion.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, within anger, he observed a better, and thus more manly reaction to injustice among the aristocracy, called *ira*, and a lesser, more uncontrollable, and as such less masculine (though remaining within the spectrum of masculinity), called *furor*.¹¹⁵ While Althoff, in his analysis of anger and crying, paid attention mostly to kingship rather than gender (an approach he shared with many scholars), this is, as I would argue, only a part of the frame of social norms in which Długosz placed his evaluation of the monarch’s emotionality.

One of the most important factors in evaluating anger is the extent to which it is controlled. The example of unrestrained and rapid anger in the *Annales* is Świdrygiełło, brother of King Władysław Jagiełło and Grand Duke of Lithuania. Długosz, in multiple instances, pointed to the tendency of the duke to react with anger and compared his response to the loss of Podolia to insanity, also adding a description of the insults he used.¹¹⁶ In the *Clenodia*, an armorial compiled by Długosz, there is evidence that he considered quickness to anger as a family trait – he wrote about it when characterising families

¹¹² Gerd Althoff, ‘Der König weint. Rituelle Tränen in öffentlicher Kommunikation’, in Jan-Dirk Müller (ed.), *“Aufführung” und “Schrift” in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart-Weimar, 1996), 242–3.

¹¹³ Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, 179–80.

¹¹⁴ Richard E. Barton, ‘Gendering Anger. *Ira*, *Furor*, and Discourses of Power and Masculinity in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century’, in Richard Newhauser (ed.), *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Toronto, 2005), 378–82.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 389–91.

¹¹⁶ *Annales*, XI/2, 1430, 309.

that used a particular coat of arms.¹¹⁷ Despite that, in comparison to Świdrygiełło, he presented Władysław Jagiełło as a patient person who rarely got angry.¹¹⁸ The image of angry Świdrygiełło seems to correspond mostly with Długosz's dislike toward Lithuanians and his willingness to discredit them politically.¹¹⁹ Thus, he employed angry reactions as part of the characterisation of an evil ruler, exemplified by Świdrygiełło, and in contrast, presented control over anger as a trait of a good monarch. The outbursts of anger, accompanied by insults and physical violence, were also attributed to Bolesław the Generous in his conflict with the bishop of Kraków, Stanisław, an episode in history where Długosz aimed to portray the king in the worst possible light.¹²⁰

The only woman to whom Długosz attributed a tendency to fly into rage was Sophia of Halshany.¹²¹ There are also other women who became angry; however, in their case, unjustified anger is presented in a different way. The Krystyna mentioned above, the wife of Władysław the Exile, was described as still feeling anger, while her husband was not sufficiently outraged by the accusation of infidelity levelled against her; however, the emotion was not displayed directly. Instead, she was constantly thinking about revenge, which Długosz describes as a womanly custom.¹²² Elisabeth of Pilcza also did not manifest her anger physically, but by convincing her husband that revenge was necessary.¹²³ Description of Jadwiga of Anjou trying to open a gate with a hatchet because her fiancé, Wilhelm, was removed from the castle is a rare case when a woman is attributed to having used physical strength. Here, Długosz did not attribute anger to her, but he described her state as *moleste ferens*, the phrase characteristic of his prose and which could be understood, as Michał Rzepiela argued, as “taking something harshly” or “being

¹¹⁷ *Klejnoty Długoszowe*, ed. by Marjan Friedberg (Kraków, 1931), 68.

¹¹⁸ *Annales*, XI/2, 1430, 310.

¹¹⁹ Lidia Korczak, ‘Jan Długosz a Litwa – miejsca i ludzie’, in *ead.*, Marek Daniel Kowalski and Piotr Węcowski (eds), *Jan Długosz (1415–1480). Życie i dzieła* (Kraków, 2016), 189–90.

¹²⁰ *Annales*, III, 1074, 114; 1077, 127–8; 1078, 130.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, XII/2, 1461, 368.

¹²² *Ibid.*, V, 1144, 23.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, XI/2, 1420, 130.

irritated".¹²⁴ It is thus reasonable to assume that the manifestation of uncontrolled anger differed depending on gender. In the case of men, Długosz usually described insults and violence that accompanied it, while for women, manifestations of anger through words and gestures were not necessarily condemned by Długosz. Still, they did not fit his horizon of expectations.

As Althoff and Orning point out, anger could be expected from a king, which is confirmed in the description of the anger of Bolesław the Brave, to whom Długosz ascribed the emotion, both because his enemy managed to escape and because of the harm done to his subjects during the invasion.¹²⁵ Another example of just anger was the reaction of Judyta, Władysław Herman's wife, stemming from the fact that the duke's first son was born out of an extramarital relationship. However, as Długosz claimed, Judyta was angry with the mistress and the illegitimate son of her husband, but not Władysław Herman himself.¹²⁶ The just anger was thus connected, regardless of gender, with sin and harm. However, taking into account favourable description of Władysław Jagiełło, who is presented as patient and merciful, sometimes even to a fault, and placing description of just anger mostly in the distant past,¹²⁷ another possible interpretation is that – partly following Hyams's way of thinking – Długosz did not want to deny that anger used to be an essential part of executing power, but also considered it as primarily belonging to the past.

Both just and unjust anger were associated with revenge, which was linked to an Aristotelian idea, widespread in the Middle Ages, of anger that consisted of a sense of injustice and a desire for revenge.¹²⁸ Women's anger appeared in the *Annales* much more rarely than man's,

¹²⁴ Michał Rzepiela, 'Rola frazeologii w narracji *Kroniki* Jana Długosza', in Korczak, Kowalski, and Węcowski (eds), *Jan Długosz*, 239.

¹²⁵ *Annales*, II, 1002, 242.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 1096, 187.

¹²⁷ Out of 23 mentions of *iusta ira* in the *Annales* only five are found in books XI and XII, which refer to the times contemporary to Długosz or people he knew personally: *Annales*, II, 1032, 307; III, 1043, 46; III, 1063, 86–7; III, 1077, 122; IV, 1096, 186; IV, 1096, 189–90; IV, 1114, 271; IV, 1125, 303; IV, 1134, 318; V, 1146, 35–6; V, 1147, 40; V, 1167, 82; VI, 1183, 131–2; IV, 1201, 179; VII, 1124, 240; IX, 1331, 169; IX, 1331, 172; IX, 1363, 314–5; XI/2, 1417, 80; XII/2, 1446, 25–6; XII/2, 1455, 152–3; XII/2, 1455, 242; XII/3, 1466, 156.

¹²⁸ Rosenwein, *Anger*, 34–5.

but regardless it is difficult to ascertain if the women were considered less prone to anger, which is entirely possible when one takes into account the way of thinking about anger adapted from humoral theory, or is it just because it appeared proportionally less frequently because Długosz wrote about women and their patterns of behaviour less.

The crying of the king is also treated with ambiguity, but for other reasons than anger. Here, the context of a description played a crucial role as well. Długosz claimed that before the Battle of Grunwald (1410), the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Ulrich von Jungingen, saw the Polish-Lithuanian army and turned away, starting to cry. One of his commanders then admonished him to stop behaving like a woman and set a manly example for his army. Von Jungingen then explained that his reaction was not one of fear, but he did not want to spill the Christian blood.¹²⁹ Based on the Długosz's explanation attributed to the Grand Master it is safe to say that there are at least two types of crying: one more womanly caused by fear and the other, more manly or at least not feminine, caused by the reluctance towards war, which probably would be connected with mercy and reluctance towards violence in general.

A similar type of crying, caused by sympathy towards the subjects, is valued positively. Kazimierz the Jagiellon (Jagiellończyk) is an example of such behaviour.¹³⁰ Althoff rightfully associates the manifestation of sympathy by weeping with the demonstration of the virtues of a Christian monarch.¹³¹ Sympathy could also be directed towards enemies, as seen in the case of Władysław Jagiełło, who cried after the Battle of Grunwald when he saw the corpses of Teutonic knights. Długosz approved of the king's emotions and wrote that "... flooding his face with tears, he felt sorry for their faith with pious clemency".¹³²

Tears were also acceptable in moments of religious or patriotic ecstasy, particularly when they accompanied prayer, requests to God, and acts of penance.¹³³ Once again turning to the events before the

¹²⁹ *Annales*, XI/1, 1410, 100.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, XII/2, 1461, 360.

¹³¹ Althoff, 'Der König', 249.

¹³² "... quin pocius lacrimis suffusus ora pia mansuetudine illorum casum miserabatur", *Annales*, XI/1, 1410, 120.

¹³³ Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'instituon (V^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Paris, 2000), 374-6; *ead.*, 'Lacrima quia doloris, suaves quia amoris. La dolcezza delle lacrime religiose nell'Occidente medievale', in Carla

Battle of Grunwald, according to Długosz, Władysław Jagiełło wept during the prayer before the battle, when the banners with symbols of the Kingdom of Poland were raised. He described knights crying at that moment as well. The king also cried when thanking God for the victory at Grunwald.¹³⁴

Monarchs were also crying due to military failures, but this expression of emotion was evaluated ambiguously. Długosz wrote about the weeping of Władysław Jagiełło and Witold (Vytautas) when they heard about the sentence in the Polish-Teutonic trial. Długosz wrote: “Whereas the announcement of the sentence mentioned above was painful and sad for the king and the duke to the degree that their crying and bellowing was heard like roaring of two lions from afar”.¹³⁵ Agnieszka Kuś suggested that, in the opinion of Długosz, the Jagiellons were generally incapable of controlling their emotions.¹³⁶ The description cited above is a perfect illustration of this hypothesis. Bernard Capp also pointed out that despite the general positive evaluation of weeping in Christianity, in early modern England, men’s tears became the humiliating evidence of their lack of control.¹³⁷ Furthermore, Katherine Harvey argued that in English hagiography, bishops were described as crying only in a religious context and apart from that, they seemed rather emotionally restrained.¹³⁸ So, is the crying of Władysław Jagiełło a testimony of the lack of control over emotions?

To answer this question more broadly, let us turn to two other kings who were long perceived in historiography as lacking emotional control and being quick to anger: William the Conqueror and Richard the Lionheart.¹³⁹ The opinions about two monarchs in medieval sources

Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio (eds.), *Piacere e dolore: materiali per una storia della passione nel Medioevo* (Firenze, 2009), 49–66; Althoff, ‘Der König’, 245–7.

¹³⁴ *Annales*, XI/1, 1410, 71, 156.

¹³⁵ “Adeo autem regi et duci erat sentencie predictae pronunciacio molesta et acerba, ut eorum fletus et rugitus non secus quam duorum leonum fremencium a longe exaudiretur”, *ibid.*, XI/2, 1420, 117.

¹³⁶ Kuś, ‘Między nienawiścią’, 179.

¹³⁷ Bernard Capp, ‘Jesus wept but did the English Men? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England’, *Past & Present*, ccxxiv (2014), 76–8.

¹³⁸ Katherine Harvey, ‘Episcopal Emotions: Tears in the Life of the Medieval Bishop’, *Historical Research*, lxxxvii, 283 (2014), 604.

¹³⁹ David Bates, ‘Anger, emotion and a biography of William the Conqueror’, in Janet L. Nelson, Susan Reynolds, and Susan M. Johns (eds), *Gender and Historiography. Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford* (London,

and secondary literature were examined by David Bates and Stephen J. Spencer, respectively. Both historians noted that what was often interpreted as a bad temper through a contemporary lens was, in fact, an acceptable and positively valued manifestation of royal anger. This does not necessarily mean that their rage was never criticised, but rather that its image was much more complex.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, both kings were, similarly to Władysław Jagiełło and Witold, compared to raging lions.¹⁴¹ This comparison entered medieval historiography from the Book of Proverbs, referring to both a king's anger and his mercy.¹⁴²

Circling back to Władysław Jagiełło, previous historians have pointed out that it is impossible to present a one-dimensional image of the monarch in Długosz's narrative.¹⁴³ Descriptions of Władysław Jagiełło in the *Annales* show many signs that Długosz was interested in the habits of the first Polish king of Lithuanian origin. For example, he described in detail his relationships with each of his wives,¹⁴⁴ but also paid attention to seemingly trivial details, such as his love of listening to the singing birds and a fondness for pears.¹⁴⁵ As I mentioned earlier, Długosz also painted a rather complex portrait of Władysław Jagiełło's emotional life. It is thus entirely possible to read the description of the king's crying as an illustration of an enormous tragedy, i.e. the unfavourable sentence from the point of view of both Władysław Jagiełło and Długosz, and not the lack of control. Moreover, the lion in medieval symbolism is generally associated with kingship and power; thus, the negative association is unlikely. Admittedly, as Spencer pointed out, it could also be linked with bestial triads and serve as a negative comparison; however, the scholar analysed it in connection with fury, not crying.¹⁴⁶

2012), 21–2; Stephen J. Spencer, “‘Like a Raging Lion’: Richard the Lionheart’s Anger during the Third Crusade in Medieval and Modern Historiography”, *English Historical Review*, cxxiii, 556 (2017), 496–8.

¹⁴⁰ Bates, ‘Anger, emotion’, 23–6; Spencer, “‘Like a raging’”, 503–18.

¹⁴¹ Bates, ‘Anger, emotion’, 30; Spencer, “‘Like a raging’”, 523–5.

¹⁴² Prov. 19:12.

¹⁴³ Adam Talarowski, ‘Od poganina do króla arcychrześcijańskiego. Wizerunek Władysława Jagiełły w Rocznikach Jana Długosza’, *Sredniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, ix (2017), 127–52.

¹⁴⁴ E.g. *Annales*, X/1, 1388, 172, 176–7; X/2, 1407, 17; XI/3, 1434, 123–4.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XI/3, 1434, 114, 125.

¹⁴⁶ Spencer, “‘Like a raging’”, 527.

In the further part of the narrative, Długosz claimed that after the night spent in sadness, Witold decided to admonish Władysław Jagiełło and told him that in such a situation, actions are better than focusing on emotions, which led them to send envoys to Sigismund of Luxembourg, who was supposed to pass the sentence.¹⁴⁷ Długosz, similarly to the case of mourning, allowed for a period of sadness and pain; however, it was important not to let it last too long and paralyse further actions. Boquet and Nagy pointed to the situations in which monarchs' emotions were the factor that drove their actions.¹⁴⁸ It is important to pay attention to the kinds of affects that could be such a driving factor. Sadness, in this case, is definitely an emotion that must cease to allow the king to act further.

It does not mean that Długosz always approved of Władysław Jagiełło's emotions. In the description of the king's council, during which Zbigniew Oleśnicki listed mistakes to the king, we read that in response to criticism, Jagiełło "left the council crying and lamenting",¹⁴⁹ which definitely could be construed as a humiliating loss of control on the part of the king. Capp argued that the early modern departure from an affirmative attitude towards crying men is derived from humanist reflections on ancient thinkers, such as Cicero, who recommended emotional control and regarded crying, associated with femininity, as a sign of its loss.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps the connection between tears and losing control in some contexts is related to Długosz's humanist interests; however, he was only partly influenced by them and usually presented a medieval view of emotionality, and thus, in most cases, did not condemn men who cried. The positive evaluation of crying in the medieval worldview was primarily a result of the concept of imitating Christ, who cried according to the Bible, as well as the widespread Galenic medicine, in which crying could be beneficial for maintaining the balance of humours.¹⁵¹ Another significant difference between crying after the sentence and crying during the council, as pointed out by Orning when analysing anger,

¹⁴⁷ *Annales*, XI/2, 1420, 117–8.

¹⁴⁸ Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, 172.

¹⁴⁹ "flens eiulansque e consilio discessit", *Annales*, XI/3, 1434, 113.

¹⁵⁰ Capp, 'Jesus wept', 78.

¹⁵¹ Nagy, *Le Don*, 46–7; Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, 136–7; Capp, 'Jesus wept', 76.

was that in the first case, Władysław Jagiełło felt pain for the country, as its king. In contrast, in the second case, it was about him. Długosz interpreted Władysław Jagiełło's behaviour as an expression of shame related to the failings pointed out by Zbigniew Oleśnicki.¹⁵² It is also very likely that Długosz adopts entirely the perspective of the bishop of Kraków, a person with whom he was very close and trusted, and who most probably told him about those events. Hence, he might have adopted his side of the story and the negative judgment of the king without many amendments.¹⁵³

When it comes to the more general question of the crying monarchs, we need to stress that the opinion on this matter again depended on the circumstances. In some situations, crying was completely acceptable, but it does not mean that it was always viewed positively. What is further important is that the negative view was gender-related, as explicitly stated in the case of the Teutonic Grand Master, and also, as we can deduce, in the case of Władysław Jagiełło during the council. When Długosz described the crying of women, he never interpreted it as out of place, which suggests that it was more often considered appropriate for them. Even though norms that allow men to cry seem broad, especially when it comes to monarchs, it does not mean that they are allowed to show their weakness and loss of control.

As a side note, it is worth noting that the image of laughter is mentioned less frequently by Długosz than the image of crying. Jacques Le Goff, in his biography of Louis IX of France, pointed to the motif of *rex facetus* that described a positive quality of the king: the ability not only to laugh but also to resolve situations in humorous ways.¹⁵⁴ In Długosz's narration, monarchs rarely laugh, and thus this motif is absent. The only exception is when Długosz described that Polish envoys made the Bohemian king Vaclav IV of Luxembourg laugh with a facetious remark on the differences between the Polish and Czech languages.¹⁵⁵ Apart from that, Długosz sometimes ascribed

¹⁵² *Annales*, XI/3, 1434, 112–3.

¹⁵³ Cf. Koczerska, 'Jan Długosz', 91.

¹⁵⁴ Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), 487–98; Jakub Lorenc, 'Średniowiecze chrześcijaństwo wobec śmiechu', in Agnieszka Bartoszewicz et al. (eds), *Świat średniowiecza. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi* (Warszawa, 2010), 601–2; Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, 167.

¹⁵⁵ *Annales*, XI/1, 1410, 51–2.

a *hilaris vultus* to the monarchs when they were hosting guests;¹⁵⁶ Julia Mrukówna translated the phrase as “a smile”,¹⁵⁷ but it could also be understood as a kind or cheerful facial expression.¹⁵⁸ A monarch in Długosz’s narration could be alternatively called *rex fletus*, the crying king.

V

CONCLUSION

It is almost impossible to summarise Długosz’s views on the intersection of gender and emotionality unequivocally. It is worth emphasising that his views on emotions and their manifestations are complex, and it is rarely possible to determine whether he perceived a specific affect as positive or negative, or whether its manifestation was always necessary. The norms of the emotional community, as represented by Długosz, regarding how emotions are experienced and expressed, are more complex. It is true not only of the *Annales*: the observation of nuanced depictions of emotions paved the way for broader studies on the history of emotions. Thus, it is much more productive to examine contexts in which emotions are used to appear.

In light of this preliminary study, it can be concluded that when it comes to emotions, Długosz did not perceive fundamental differences between genders. The differences that appear in his narration are mostly connected to gendered social roles and thus are not conditioned only by the view on emotions but also by social circumstances in which men and women functioned at the time. Masculinity in the *Annales* was primarily associated with warfare, and men’s sadness was often linked to battlefield failures. In the conditions of war, women (often alongside children or orphans) were seen as especially prone to victimisation and their emotions were connected to that assumption. Masculine emotions were also associated with taking care of people lower in hierarchy: it could be about the king caring about his army or subjects in general when they need his protection, or about the bishop who should look after the piousness of the monarch. The influence

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, XI/2, 1418, 85; *ibid.*, XII/2, 1457, 277; *ibid.*, XII/3, 1474, 345–6.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, XI/2, 1418, 88; *ibid.*, XII/3, 1474, 361.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Hilaris’, in *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*, vol. 4 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1975–1977), 761.

of a spouse on emotions is unambiguously related to femininity, both in positive and negative dimensions, with maternal feelings being the driving force behind women's actions. Their emotions are also more frequently connected to parenthood and marriage than in the case of a man, which supports the idea that in a woman's life, those issues were (or were supposed to be) more important. However, this does not mean that they did not matter to men.¹⁵⁹ In some cases, such as crying during mourning for the monarch, there are no significant differences in gender-related behaviour. Nonetheless, I should also point out that women are grieved publicly way less frequently than men, which indicates the lesser significance of their lives.¹⁶⁰

As the *Annales* constitute the history of people in power, emotions are also closely associated with it, as emotions align with gendered social roles, which also align with access to power. For women, they can be a means to access power through their husbands and children; for men, particularly monarchs, they are a way of manifesting, maintaining, and executing their authority. In Długosz's depiction, manifestations of emotions that are traditionally associated with femininity undermine a man's power or seriousness. Hence, appropriate emotions must be felt and displayed for an individual to act like a good king. Some emotions, such as anger, are also more helpful in governing, while others, like sadness, are less constructive, but it does not mean that there is no room for the latter. Anger, as an emotion closely associated with both governing and masculinity, was not as widely accessible to women who, unlike men, were rarely described as manifesting it openly.

It is not easy to draw further conclusions for several reasons. Długosz wrote about men much more than about women, and thus, the potential for comparison is limited. There are still very few studies on emotions in late medieval Poland (and in Central Europe more generally), so a scholar is hard-pressed to find points of reference

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Anna Dronzek, 'Gender Roles and the Marriage Market in Fifteenth-Century England: Ideal and Practices', in Isabel Davis, Miriam Muller, and Saraj Rees Jones (eds), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003), 65–76.

¹⁶⁰ Bożena Czwojdrak, 'Śmierć, pogrzeb i upamiętnienie polskich królowych w późnym średniowieczu', in Hanna Rajfura et al. (eds), *Śmierć, pogrzeb i upamiętnienie władców w dawnej Polsce* (Warszawa, 2020), 75–6.

and appropriate comparative background. Furthermore, the category of masculinity is often transparent, not only to contemporary scholars but also to Długosz; he referred to typically feminine behaviours, rather than writing about “typically masculine” conduct, he wrote about human nature in general. The absence of several fundamental differences in emotionality between genders is consistent with the idea that a woman, rather than being opposite to a man, is his subversion, and that a man is a universal human. This worldview is rooted in both Aristotelian and biblical traditions.¹⁶¹

The question of gender and emotions in such a complex work as the *Annales* warrants further study. The aspects that require additional consideration include the use of emotional language and potential gendered differences in the naming of emotions. I was also unable to address the topic of shame, which has already been explored as a gendered emotion in other sources.¹⁶² To elaborate on this issue, it would be fruitful to compare images of emotions in two hagiographical pieces written by Długosz – the lives of Saint Stanisław and Saint Kinga.

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¹⁶¹ Murray, ‘One Flesh’, 39–40.

¹⁶² Damien Boquet, ‘Rougir pour le Christ. La honte admirable des saintes femmes au XIII^e siècle’, in Bénédicte Sère and Jörg Wettlaufer (eds), *Shame Between Punishment and Penance* (Firenze, 2013), 139–55; Hugh M. Thomas, ‘Shame, Masculinity, and the Death of Thomas Becket’, *Speculum*, lxxxvii, 4 (2012), 1050–88; Emmanuel Bain, ‘Femininity, veil and shame in ecclesiastical discourse (twelfth–thirteenth century)’, trans. Caroline Mackenzie, *Clio. Women, Gender, History*, xlvii (2018), 45–66.

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