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A Penitent Prepares: Affect, Contrition, and Tears

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In his poem *La Trivagia*, Juan del Encina wrote about his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the company of the Marquis Fadrique Enriquez de Ribera and others Spanish noblemen. The form of Encina's account broke from traditional pilgrimage poetry by infusing the verse with particularly personal and uncharacteristically emotional language. Encina's eyewitness narrative of penitential procession in Jerusalem gave readers of Castilian a textual touchstone for creating an imaginative pilgrimage in the Holy Land:

> Oh how many sobs, moans, and tears,  
> from devout people, then sounded;  
> from one mystery to another they walked barefoot,  
> praying and weeping with sorrow and grief.  

*La Trivagia* received multiple printings alongside Enriquez de Ribera's *Viaje de Jerusalem*, a prose account of the Marquis's trip to Jerusalem. *Viaje* was the basis for the establishment of the *Via Crucis* (Way of the Cross) in Seville, a procession route that duplicated Jerusalem's *Via Dolorosa* by following measurements taken by Enriquez de Ribera. In effect, *La Trivagia* and *Viaje de Jerusalem* provided late medieval penitents with a guidebook for the transposition of the Holy City onto the cityscape of Seville. Following the Stations of the Cross, the route became the locus of penitential self-flagellation that took place during Holy Week. Within the physical narrative of the suffering of Christ, penitential scourging was a ritual frame that combined acts of weeping and self-inflicted pain. To varying degrees, bodies of penitents were stripped bare, and the tips of scourges wiped with wax in order to draw blood. The pain felt by flagellants had the power to bring forth tears, and it is likely that sweat and tears would have soaked their white, linen hoods.

The Seville *Via Crucis* began in the chapel of the palace of Enriquez de Ribera and concluded at a location outside the city walls known as Cruz del Campo. Along the way, existing religious structures served to mark the Stations of the Cross: the Convent of San Agustin stood for the place...
where Christ encounters the Virgin Mary and a hermitage near Cruz del Campo indicated the location for celebrants to contemplate the Deposition of Christ. The eighth station of the cross, “las hijas de Sion, llorando a Cristo” (the daughters of Zion, crying for Christ), offered the most obvious opportunity for the observers of the procession to enter into the historical narrative with tearful enactments of pity. At this moment, Encina’s lyrical report of “devout people . . . weeping with sorrow and grief” would have provided a suggestive space for enjoining historical narrative with actualization of the Passion in perpetual, ritual time.4

Preparation for public displays of sorrow and contrition in late medieval penitential procession, a phenomenon that was prevalent in Spain, would likely have been aided by the reading of texts like Encina’s poem, in addition to theological tracts from the patristic period through the sixteenth century.2 Evidence suggests that public weeping—whether provoked by impassioned preaching, infused into mortification rituals, or responding to a crisis—was something that could be learned, practiced, and repeated by the lay community.5 Prepared crying was also likely aided by a myriad of liturgical and devotional practices imbued with narratives of sacrifice and forgiveness.6

Since the production of tears in either the context of the confessional or public rituals of penance did not always arise spontaneously in response to chance misfortune, our understanding of theatrical affect and cognitive study of emotion suggests new paths of research into medieval practices. I juxtapose late medieval public penance and crying on the modern stage—admittedly an unlikely pair—not to provide analogical evidence of medieval methods for manufacturing and reading tears; certainly attitudes towards, and paradigms of, the body are historically contingent. Nor is it my intention to inscribe penitential practices within a “ritual/theater” binary. However, unlike culturally bound styles of habit and ways of reading subjects, certain biological parameters dictate limits on, and blueprints of, expression and reception, which may persist across historical boundaries.

Since the 1980s, when the social constructionist view of emotions was most influential, new psychological studies on evolutionary and genetic components of emotion provide information on the existence of a substratum of emotional structures that exist across culture and time.10 Within basic cognitive and evolutionary parameters, communities and individuals rehearse common emotions in ways that meet the horizon of expectation within a specific culture. It follows, then, that in order to realize these social expectations, individuals must develop specific methods of integrating basic human feelings with legible corporal and vocal signs to be read not only by the community, but also by social actors themselves as they physiologically process their feelings.11 It is my observation that there appears to be some correspondence between emotive methods of late medieval penitents and early twentieth-century stage performers, in particular the compelling congruities between medieval practices of sorrowful affect and Constantin Stanislavsky’s concepts of affective cognition and memory.
An advantage of entering medieval penitential tears into a theatrical conversation is that it puts into question the assumption of a perfect, incorruptible link between institutional forgiveness and contrite behavior in sacramental practices. Certainly not all acts of absolution responded to complete sincerity and feelings of contrition on the part of the penitent. Additionally, the expectation for tears doubtlessly bore heavily on the penitent, and even if the penitent deeply felt the weight of her or his own sin and willingly expressed the need for absolution, tears and other signs of sentiment may have been difficult to summon at the moment of confession. Public and private scenes of contrition and sorrow presented occasions where the shame, fear, and anxiety of a penitent contemplating her or his sins would interrupt the process of sincere expressions of contrition, or encourage deceitful representations of inner feelings, regardless of their depth. For example, in the Carolingian period, commentators understood blushing (a manifestation of inner shame) as an outward sign of a penitent’s unwillingness to “uncover the sore” that was their sin.

Throughout the Middle Ages, confessors were given detailed instructions on ways to coax meaningful and sincere expressions of repentance. It follows that despite the scarcity of literature testifying to the experience of laypeople during confession and other acts of contrition, they also contemplated the challenge of physical becoming, and devised means of their own for accessing emotive spirituality. As Karen Wagner argues, we must consider physical and emotional encounters of the lay community with sacramental and public acts of contrition if we are to better understand changes and developments in the liturgies and institutionalized methods that responded to these encounters. I would add that there is value in investigating lay devotional practices for the sake of better understanding the corporal and mental practices of the ritual performer.

Finally, recontextualizing penitential devotion in theatrical terms is especially relevant in the late medieval period because although a penitent may have had experiences of true remorse in confession and private devotional practices, performative penance in public arenas presented an entirely different frame of experience. When private rituals of tearful confession expanded into public performance in the later Middle Ages, expressions of emotional contrition garnered social prerogatives in the presentation and reception of affective play. For example, during tearful petitioning of God for relief from famine or plague, emotive devotional displays were mediated by networks of communal and interpersonal expectancy. In this case, the true expressions of remorse were not only crucial for the individual remission of sin, but, more importantly, for the salvation of the entire community.

Like the art of a stage actor, penitential behavior and sincere expressions of sorrow could be cognitively, emotionally, and physically rehearsed in advance. In some cases—as in the sacrament of confession—penitents of public rituals were obligated to weep on cue. Sánchez Gordillo reported
many instances where penitential processions began in silent reverence and culminated in coordinated, clamorous expressions of sorrow later in the ritual. Weeping upon command, sometimes at the precise moment the behavior was summoned (as part of the narrative recreation of the Passion of Christ, for instance), is similar to the experience of an actor who develops deep faith in the imaginative world of the drama by relying on texts, memories, and mental images in order to produce believable emotion on cue. With this in mind, I would like to instigate new consideration of public weeping in medieval ritual and penitential acts with the following two questions: how did the lay community of late medieval Spain conceive of affective contrition, and what tools were available to penitents in order to prepare themselves for public weeping?

THEORIZING MEDIEVAL CONTRITION

For a medieval penitent, demonstrating sincere contrition was a crucial step towards receiving forgiveness from God. In light of the fact that contrition denoted “a corporeal passion,” honest, purposeful contrition and sorrow required outward, somatic signs and gestures, and one of the most effective was the expression of tears. Penitential weeping can be traced to the early medieval period through the sacrament of confession, where priests were instructed to encourage lachrymose practices. In *ordines* from the end of the Carolingian period, Wagner writes, the “expectation of tears and other physical manifestations of internal remorse is commonplace.” The following instructions from a tenth-century manuscript from Fulda were to be carried out after oral confession:

> [W]hen [the penitent] has said this, he should completely prostrate himself on the ground and bring forth from the depth of his heart groans and signs and tears just as God should give them. The priest should allow him to lie prostrate for a few moments, until he sees that he is contrite through divine inspiration. Then the priest should order him to get up.

As Wagner points out, the church fathers were aware of the potential for false expressions of remorse, and so in many of these *ordines*, the confessor is expected to both *induce* and *participate* in the penitent’s feelings of remorse during the ritual. Priests were encouraged to bring about these feelings by providing gestures meant for mimetic duplication by the penitent, as well as subsequently mimicking the penitent’s own expressions of remorse and sadness. The idea of communicating recognizable and true emotions between penitential actor and clerical audience through sympathetic responses of the sensorial systems of the body is not at all unlike Stanislavsky’s concept of spiritual identification with the inner creative state, as detailed below.
Changes in confessional theology and practice were occurring in the High Middle Ages, and by the twelfth century, contrition—a state of sorrow for one's sins that justified grace—was front and center in the discussion of penance. Acts of visible remorse during confession lay the groundwork for contrition. In developing the concept, theologians depended on early Christian writers for their authority. Cyprian wrote: "[d]o penance in full, give proof of the sorrow that comes from a grieving and lamenting soul. . . . [T]hey who do away with repentance for sin, close the door to satisfaction." In De Paenitentia, Tertullian expounds on the particularly performative "exomologesis," physical acts of contrition that elicit a sympathetic response from an audience of priests and devotees:

Exomologesis is a discipline for man's prostration and humiliation, enjoining a demeanor calculated to move mercy. With regard also to the very dress and food, it commands [the penitent] to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to cover his body in mourning, to lay his spirit low in sorrows, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed . . . , to feed prayers on fasting, to groan, to weep and make outcries unto the Lord your God; to bow before the feet of the presbyters, and kneel to God's dear ones; to enjoin on all the brethren to be ambassadors to bear his deprecatory supplication (before God).24

During the Scholastic period there was greater recognition of the need for the priest-confessor to supervise the process of confession in order to steer penitents away from feigned remorse and fully enunciate an emotional action.25 In order for a confession to be valid, and to justify absolution and increase in grace, clerics were instructed to seek from the penitent demonstrations of sufficient contrition, which often meant the display of tears.26 Expressions of remorse arising from fear rather than profound humility were provided a distinct—less potent—sacramental category called attrition: "Attrition denotes approach to perfect contrition... In spiritual matters, attrition signifies a certain but not perfect displeasure for sins committed, whereas contrition denotes perfect displeasure."27 Aquinas suggests that physical and verbal signs presented by an attrite person did not include sorrow or grief, or at least that expressive remorse was overshadowed by confessions motivated by fear of damnation; moreover, contrition and attrition required different interventions by the priest during the sacramental ritual.

Scholastic theologians carefully parsed these definitions, and opinions varied on the intercessory role of the priest and the necessity for contrition for absolution of sin.28 The scrupulous attention paid to this issue by medieval theologians speaks to the importance of inner emotion in activating spiritual transformation, but it also reflects the lack of clarity in the communication of emotions during practices of expressing and identifying penitential affect. The combination of a new appreciation of an inner spiritual life to account for God's grace during this period, and the prerequisites
of priests to maintain their necessary role in the sacramental ritual, created a conundrum for theologians. What were the recognizable qualities of, and relationships between, interior feelings of attrition and contrition and exterior signs and acts that would satisfy the sacrament? How does one determine if there exists a cause-and-effect connection between the two—or are they merely coincidental? The following passage from Peter Lombard’s Four Books of Sentences fairly illustrates the type of gnarled reasoning employed to engage with the complexity of the issue:

And as in the sacrament of the Body, so also in this sacrament, they say that one thing, namely the outward penance, is the sacrament alone, another the sacrament and the “res” [the thing of the sacrament of penance] namely the inward penance, and still another the “res” and not the sacrament, namely, the remission of sins. For the inward Penance is also the “res” of the sacrament, that is, of the outward Penance, and the sacrament of the remission of sin which it symbolizes and causes. The outward Penance is also the sign of the inward and of the remission of sins.

By reasoning that interior penance and exterior penance are two sides of a single sacramental coin, each a “sign” and the “thing signified,” Lombard provisionally resolves conflicts between the two.

These complexities were likely of less concern to penitents themselves, who, in late medieval Spain, pursued forms of ecstatic, tearful remorse and sadness, especially in public devotional events. Public weeping during festivals of the Christian calendar and rogation processions from the fifteenth century and into the early modern period occurred side by side with the rise in public acts of imitatio Christi by confraternities across Spain. The Cofradía del Santo Entierro of Seville, for example, was known for incorporating weeping into their penitential rituals of Holy Thursday. Congruent with these developments, the doctrinal and experiential discourses within public penitential rituals were linked to the sacrament of confession, which was a prerequisite for communal acts of penance. Another significant aspect of late medieval communal penance was the expanded ecclesiastical and theological focus on intention. Doubtlessly, the increased surveillance of intention and inner affect by the Church, as can be seen in inquisitorial activities, was integrated into the general structure of feeling in Spain at the time. This added a layer of consequence to the display of sincere contrition, including the necessity for penitents to enjoin inner remorse with an outward, corporal transcript of sorrow within the sightlines of the general public.

Penance, Affect, and Pain

The idea of an inner spiritual life counterpoised with an outer body capable of expressing spiritual/emotional truths and corporeal misinformation can be traced back to Aristotle. Karen Bassi writes:
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From the point of view of Aristotle's analysis of dramatic impersonation, then, there exists an interdependence between the apprehension of internal feelings and thoughts and the apprehension of external acts and speech. We might say that this interdependence is a first principle of Aristotle's understanding of dramatic mimesis.23

Aristotle's theatrical trope was rehearsed by Augustine and then reified in Christian confessional practices, as discussed earlier. Confession was a process that mapped, to quote Michael Mendelson, "transformation of affect from its 'inner' sensory life (Augustine's 'sensible world' of intangible objects) to outward, public expression in orality and corporal language (Augustine's 'intelligible world' of atemporal, eternal truths')."33 In the later Middle Ages, mind/body duality was explored in a number of ways, and affectus was understood as a physiological state that operated within spheres of intellectual, spiritual, and somatic grounds. Firmly constituted in the ambivalent Christian attitudes and discourses of the body, as Mary Carruthers writes, "'[a]ffection' and 'emotion' are both words that must be understood physiologically."34 The particular Iberian concept afección or afección speaks to the confluence of mutable emotions, physical infirmity, and emotional-sensory spiritual status.35 The Cicero concept affectio was available in Castilian translation by the first quarter of the fifteenth century: "[a]fección is called that change that occurs in the heart or in the body in some time for some reason, such as joy, lust, fear, sadness, illness, weakness or other such things."36 Galenic medical philosophy confirms the responsive link between perturbations of the soul and physical effects, and this concept was rehearsed by the twelfth-century scholar-physician Moses Maimonides: "passions of the psyche produce changes in the body that are great, evident and manifest to all . . . [C]oncern and care should always be given to the movements of the psyche; these should be kept in balance in the state of health as well as in disease, and no other regimen should be given precedence in any wise."37

Conceptual afección was meted out and given form in late medieval Spanish communal penance, characterized especially by mortification of the flesh and public weeping. The theology of tearful contrition was promulgated by the fifteenth-century revivalist preacher Vincent Ferrer, whose sermons were well known for provoking tears. Ferrer was also at least partly responsible for bringing public practices of self-mortification—rituals already established in Germany and Italy—to Spain. Don Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga documents disciplinary activities among members of Seville confraternities from 1408, crediting Ferrer's presence in the city for the institution of public forms of disciplinary penance.38 In the following century, Jesuits incorporated self-mortification and weeping into their catalogue of practices.39 The Spanish devotional experience was profoundly influenced by Franciscan presence on the Peninsula, and it is believed that the preaching and teachings of friars was one of the causes for the dramatic rise in rituals of
public penance, especially self-mortification rites during Holy Week. And for Franciscans, tears were cleansing.

Prior to the early modern period when confraternities monopolized the practice and scourging became an organized, calendar event, late medieval public penance was practiced by men, women, and children from a cross-section of society. The following vivid description by Henri Ghéon is illustrative:

[With faces veiled, backs and shoulders bared ... the men and women Flagellants came to the church behind the friar and his assistants. All intoned the chant that [Ferrer] had composed for the Confraternity ... And the voice of supplication repeated the word "mercy" again and again and again. Then the voices died away, the Flagellants knelt down before the porch; the moment had come. There was no longer a cry to be heard or a word. No sound in the air save the noise as of heavy rain produced by the blows of scourges upon flesh ... Often the people, swept on by example, would tear off their clothes to imitate the scourgers. Men and women joined in, and children little more than babies.]

Ghéon's narrative testifies to spontaneous penitential acts that arose out of ritual, suggesting that the boundaries between spectators and disciplinantes (penitents partaking in self-mortification) often broke down, if ever a clear line existed at all. Importantly for our concerns here, the structural division between moments of crying and scourging speaks to aspects of the ritual that also required emotional, psychophysical planning.

Manifestations of petitionary and rogation flagellant processions are documented on the Iberian Peninsula from the turn of the fourteenth century, and the Brotherhood of the True Cross existed in Toledo, Seville, and Zamora in the fifteenth century. Confraternity of *La Preciosa Sangre de Cristo* (the Precious Blood of Christ) and other confraternities of the Passion and Penitence were active from the fifteenth century in Seville, while less organized forms of Passion devotion are documented from the fourteenth century. The Vera Cruz, the first known confraternity to officially incorporate self-flagellation into their Holy Week processional activities, was founded in 1448. Although it wasn't until 1538 that an indulgence from Rome sanctioned formalized Holy Week self-mortification rites, penitential practices in public were already an established tradition in Seville and elsewhere.

Within a few years, several Seville penitential confraternities adopted Enriquez de Ribera's *Vía Crucis* for their processional route, using it as a site for engaging in acts of flagellation and reciting prayers. Spectators of these, and many other occasions for performative penance, insinuated themselves into ritual theater with fearful demonstrations, as described in Encina's poem. By the early sixteenth century, both male and female confraternity members participated in penitential processions, and although women were later banned from flagellant activities by the Church, they played a part
in the procession in other ways. Women entered the procession carrying candles, tending to penitents’ wounds, wiping their brows, and offering water; these merciful interventions into the processional flow were mimetic of Veronica’s legendary role in the Passion.48 Women also partook in public weeping, which during Holy Week would have strongly suggested an imitation of the Virgin Mary, who, from the central Middle Ages in Spain, was the primary focal point for devotion in the constellation of Saints. In other words, it would be a mistake to suggest that spectators at the edges of the processional were in some way excluded from the ritual action, physically or otherwise. Members of the community who did not shed their own blood performing self-mortification rituals had many opportunities to participate actively in the dramatic narrative, perhaps most concretely by interfacing with the temporal-spatial narrative of Christ’s journey to Golgotha and assuming the biblical roles of witnesses.

I do not believe the simultaneity of the phenomena of tearful lamentations and bloodshed during Holy Week flagellant processions were at all coincidental in Spain. Disclosure of human blood resonated metonymically with the expelling of fluid tears. The Spanish Passion procession was a gateway for the mobilization of afectación; it was a path for the tortured body to accomplish affective empathy and engage performative memory, not as a representation of the past, but rather as a “perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present.”49 Passion performances—infused with the Franciscan image of Christ as a visceral, porous god—were ways for people to mediate competing demands on the social subject, between imitative and doctrinal mediums. These dichotomies were bridged by the technical and kinesthetic accomplishment of performing bodies to imitate the divine, fetishizing the sensuality and openness of the body in pain. The suffering flesh was conceived of as open and malleable, and the present experience of a bleeding, tearful body coalesced around a nexus of emotional and athletic engagement with sacred narrative. The corporeal technique of recalling the divine into being depended on the human subject effectuating a union of contrition with imitation, and the degree to which this juncture was possible was directly connected to the degree of commitment, imagination, and concentration of the ritual participant. One is reminded of Antonin Artaud’s call for a theater that “operates by exaltation and force, making it capable of “a sense of life in which man fearlessly makes himself master of what does not yet exist, and brings it into being.”

THE SCIENCES OF CRYING AND ACTING

For both medieval penitents and theatrical practitioners, affective processes suggest more than ephemeral emotionality or miraculous spiritual transformation: forethought, emotion, and memory are embedded into the human physical frame, which includes interconnected neuropathic systems of
communication. As Carolyn Larrington has pointed out, recent research on cognition and emotion suggests that a repertory of elemental, cross-cultural emotional states are stock materials for moral and social behavior that play out in specific ways and in specific cultural settings.\(^{81}\) In other words, basic human feelings like guilt, sorrow, and anger are methods all humans use to prepare for action in social life, and the manifestation of these affects methods (blushing, tears, and screaming) are accessed when particular social preconditions and systems of communication elicit appropriate means. While the texts of the medieval and early modern poets, commentators, and priests examined here do acknowledge links between inner and outer affect, more recent sciences of acting and cognition—not available to these writers—reinforce and give meaningful texture to the theories and idioms of Juan del Encina, Juan de Ávila, and other late medieval Spanish writers.

In addition to Encina’s poem discussed earlier, late medieval poetic and devotional culture in Spain provided a number of texts establishing models of behaviors for the nation to understand contrition and tears. The translation of Ludolph of Saxony’s Vita Christi was widely available in late medieval Spain and influenced the theology of Ignatius Loyola. In the Vita, Ludolph recommends that the penitent “try as hard as he can to have tears” while pondering the Passion.\(^{12}\) The apostolic preacher Juan de Ávila, who spent most of his professional life as a priest in Seville and Granada performed sermons linking the blood of Christ (and by inference the blood of self-flagellants) with the shedding of tears. His sermons were so popular, people thronged churches to hear him preach.\(^{11}\) The prose of his impassioned sermon was clearly designed to emotionally engage his audience:

The blood of Christ, pour it and take it in your soul; I know for certain it will penetrate your soul, will make the non-religious devout, and make the remiss ardent in their love of God, and make the peevish tender and loving. Pour it into your soul; there is no balm that penetrates as much. If not, tell me, when you stop to think about the passion of Christ, do you not feel that you are affected with new love and new devotion? Did it not soften the soul? Do you not gain strength? Do you not ask forgiveness for your sins? Do you not shed tears? Oh delicious tears that spill out for the passion of Christ, they do melt in his love!\(^{14}\)

The use of the liquid metaphor was no doubt intentional. By establishing the highly sensual image in their minds, Ávila fashioned an imaginative domain for his listeners to enter into with tears of their own. In his famous spiritual treatise the Audi Filia, Ávila suggests that the proper devotional attitude, afectos, can be obtained by moving one’s attention away from outward affect and back on the inner devotional image:

[If with your quiet thought, the Lord gives you tears, compassion and other devout feelings, you should take them, on the condition that the]
excess with which they overcome you is not so great as to notably harm your health, or to leave you so weak in resisting them that they make you cry out and make other exterior signs to show what you feel; because if you become accustomed to such things, you will eventually do them in public, and with great notoriety, just as in your room, without being able to resist; for which it is reasonable that you flee; and for this you have to accept these feelings or tears; of such art, do not follow too far behind, lest you lose the thought or spiritual affection (afición espiritual) that caused them. Take care that the thought endures, but, as to the exterior and sensual thing, pay no attention. . . . [T]he feeling of the sensitive or corporeal part does not last, nor does it allow the spiritual sentiment to last, it only has if it doesn’t follow the corporal.  

Embedded in this text is evidence for weeping in public, and the notoriety brought to the penitent through tearful display, an activity Avila clearly opposes.

Aligning with the inner image of remorse, devotional paintings and objects were available for contemplation and preparation for tearful penitential performances. In Audi Filia, Avila documents the tradition of adorning images for use in ritual devotion in order to obtain states of intense sorrow and contrition: “And when they want to take a statue, in order to cause weeping, they dress it in mourning and put on it everything that encourages sadness.” Perhaps the most evocative representations in Seville’s Holy Week procession were statues of weeping Virgin Marys transported in litters, devotional objects that grew in popularity through the early modern period and remain the main focal point of sacred devotion in Seville to this day. These statues—and many others like them—encouraged empathetic association with the sorrows of the Virgin Mary and “loving contemplation of the tortured Christ” through the navigation of one’s own physiological and emotional apparatus.

Texts, sermons, and artifacts are enticing suggestions of expressive affect in late medieval Spain, but we can also rely on certain biological parameters, and, as a consequence, late nineteenth-century approaches to stage acting to explore penitential tears further. The biological function of crying, a universal mechanism among humans, is physiologically bound to the infantile auditory distress signal for the mother. Silvan Tomkins—one of the main proponents of the evolutionary theory of emotion—theorized that the translation of the distress of hunger into grief expressed at a loss of a loved one, for example, takes place within the overall affect of “distress-anguish.” Although due to the different assemblies of neurological information the experiences of the two affects are quite different, the neurological responses of both are contained within the universal affect of distress-anguish that materializes in tearful wailing. In addition to being communicative, crying is a complex combination of an appraisal of one’s own affective state, information gathered from one’s environment, and
manifold physiological processes. According to Tomkins, affect is intrinsic
to motivation because it stems from the need for humans to prepare for
action; crying is performed in order to elicit a response. 60

This suggests that Holy Week penitents had the capacity to equip them-

selves with emotional response mechanisms prior to, and during, the
re-enactment of Christ's Passion. As Jonathan Cricht and Stacy Marsella
demonstrate in their study of emotional and cognitive reciprocity, "purely
mental 'events' can evoke strong emotions," and these events are con-
structed around planning for future tasks and desired outcomes:

[Bly maintaining an explicit representation of an agent's plans one can
easily reason about future possible outcomes—essential for modeling
emotions like hope and fear that involve future expectations. Explicit
representations allow one to recognize how the plans or actions of an
agent facilitate or hinder the goals of others—essential for modeling emo-
tions like anger or reproach which typically involve multiple actors. 61

Perhaps not so coincidentally, tears are among a number of signs that
obtain a privileged status in many Western performance traditions by their
power to transcend theatricality and express something "true." The par-
ticular involuntary sensorial response mechanisms and bodily functions
that fall into this category include tears, goose pimples, blushing, sweating,
sneezing, coughing, yawning, "corpsing" (unintentional stage laughter),
fainting, bleeding, spitting, and urinating, among others. A number of
actors in theater history—from Sarah Siddons to Meryl Streep—have
gained renown for their ability to produce wet tears. The nineteenth-cen-
tury French actress Marie Dorval produced "cries of poignant truthfulness,
heartbreaking sobs, intonations so natural and tears so sincere that one
forgot it was the theatre." 62 The nineteenth-century Russian actor Pavel
Mochalov was so adept at bringing audiences to tears that even his fellow
actors on stage would cry in response to his performances. 63 The theatrical
archive contains prolific examples of other body effects on stage. In Sam
Shepherd's Curse of the Starving Class, the character of Wesley is required
to urinate on Emma's homework, and some actors have performed the act
in full view of the audience. 64 Experimental performers Ron Athey, Annie
Sprinkle, Karen Finley, and Ernst Fisher have confronted the "Abjact" in
their art by performing, "those aspects of corporeality—e.g. menstrual
blood, saliva, faeces, urine—which the body must excrete and separate
from in order to survive, but which are simultaneous reminders of our own
inevitable decadence and mortality." 65 In medieval reenactments of the
Passion during Corpus Christi, performers were known to spit and urinate on
the actor playing Jesus. 66 Many critics (and patrons of the theater) have
attested to unintentional spitting by actors during speeches of particularly
heightened emotional content. Occurrences like corpsing, sneezing, and
stumbling over stage furniture have the potential to be read by audiences as
spontaneous or accidental, and are therefore particularly compelling; other acts like spitting, profligate sobbing, and bloodletting tend to incite more visceral responses.67

These phenomena are understood as unmediated physiological responses to stage events that occur either in response to, or in spite of, the conscious, pedestrian work of the actor beneath the veil of a character. From the point of view of audiences, auto-mechanical physical responses may trigger a sense of the Real emerging from the contrivance of the stage, and are thus of particular interest to scholars of performance and phenomenology. David Saltz argues that as much as audiences are cognizant of the fictional aspect of theater, they attend the theater to experience “a real event, to see real, flesh-and-blood actors perform real actions.”68 The denouement of unmediated somatic effects fulfills this need. Marvin Carlson goes further by suggesting that witnessing an actor “give way to a kind of possession” that oscillates between the theatrical and the real, between “life and death, art and life, the thing itself and its double” provides the audience with a sense of the eternal and sacred.69 Expressions of what might be called “physiognomic apliorisms” occurring on the body of the actor often outflank volitional stage signs, gestures, and languages in the minds of an audience, and have the potential to create the moments of epiphany Carlson describes. Read by the audience as an indication of an actor completely subsumed by the life of her character, tears often provoke an empathetic response, and both actors and audiences experience moments of immediacy and temporal transcendence that exceed the constructed-ness of the drama. In the late medieval penitential procession, such a boundary between actor and audience barely existed; every member of the Christian community had opportunities to enter the ritual scene. In order to effectively facilitate the act of becoming protagonists in the drama of contrition, these social actors relied on cognitive and physical tools to incorporate suggestive cultural texts into the domain of the inner emotions.

Throughout history, theater practitioners have exercised and refined physical and cognitive responsiveness in order to foster connections between mental processes and bodily phenomena, and to stimulate specific physiological triggers and neurosynthetic responses that pattern and release body effects.70 In the modern era, Constantin Stanislavsky’s research and writing on acting technique, including the highly influential practitioner’s guide to the production of physiological effects—An Actor Prepares—may serve as a metonymic text for reflecting on late medieval penitential weeping.71 Stanislavsky’s theories of the stage arts are neither definitive nor universal; however, since the ontology of Stanislavsky’s System is founded on the principle of unity of inner and outer truths, it is useful for our purposes here. Stanislavsky, like late medieval commentators who were concerned with honest expressions of contrition, responded to contrived acting (in his case, the artifice of nineteenth-century melodrama, as he understood it).72 Also, Stanislavsky’s abiding interest in spirituality offers a potent ground for
a comparative study to ritual performance. Recent research into Stanislavsky's own theatrical laboratory and writings has revealed a strong undercurrent of spiritual seeking that, like *imitatio Christi* and contrition, attempts to unite the individual with a sacred presence or practice. The so-called progenitor of modern psychological realism emphasized the importance of external, physical commitment by the actor as a means of attaining an "inner, spiritual life" on stage.

Stanislavsky's methodology of attaining true or spiritual emotion was psychophysiological. His term for an actor's quality of concentration, *obvestvennoe poznaniye* (affective cognition), relies on the definitional ambiguity of the Russian word *obvestsa* to denote both affective and sensorial processes. Grounded in the present sensory experience of the body, emotional truth and the corporal response system are intimately intertwined in the affective life of the actor. Another influential concept, *afektivnaya pamiat'* (affective memory), incorporates into the actor's technique the power of memory to produce stage emotions. Both of these concepts unite cognitive functions with the gestural and sensorial tools of the actor, much like Aquinas's theory of physical contrition: "just as inward joy redounds into the outward parts of the body, so does interior sorrow show itself in its exterior members." Stanislavsky also believed that external movements of the body could communicate the interior psycho-spiritual life of a person, and, like medieval clerics and theologians, he was suspicious of the body's aptitude to mechanically mimic life, without reproducing true experiences or feelings (what he called a "rubber stamp"). "For this there has been worked out a large assortment of picturesque effects which pretend to portray all sorts of feelings through external means." In the end, mechanical acting and false contrition lead to unsatisfactory performances that theatrical and ecclesiastic audiences were unwilling to believe.

The textual and spatial links that insinuate the human actor into the sacred narrative of Iberian penitence are not unlike Stanislavsky's "inner chain of circumstances which we ourselves have imagined in order to illustrate our parts." This second of the Russian director's main tenets for the establishment of theater as art—imagination—is crucial for the actor who cannot draw on personal experience to fill out her or his character, and must look to a text to excite the spirit of creative invention. Stanislavsky's third principle, concentration of attention, is akin to late medieval *recogimiento* (recollection), a meditative technique and form of prayer popularized by the Seville-born Franciscan, Francisco de Osuna. Practitioners of *recogimiento* believed inward concentration on one's emotional and intellectual energies induced spiritual weeping, which cleared the soul for the entrance of god's graces.

Ávila's *Audi Filia* resonates with the Stanislavskian System in a number of ways. Ávila's prescription to avoid making excessive (in essence, melodramatic) "exterior signs to show what you feel" and "to accept these feelings or tears; of such art, do not follow too far behind, lest you lose
the thought or spiritual affection that caused them" reminds one of advice given to lacrimal performers of other periods. Almost a century later in London, Hamlet's advice to Player to "not saw the air too much with your hand," and to "[s]uit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature" echoes the sentiment. Even closer to Ávila's point about spiritual honesty is Stanislavsky's advice that "all action in the theatre must have an inner justification, be logical, coherent, and real."

Other sections of *Audi Filia* align with the psychophysiological methods explored in the sixth chapter of *An Actor Prepares*, devoted to the "relaxation of muscles" in order to allow the actor to "naturally and unconsciously put nature to work." Likewise, Ávila cautions against too much strain or show while praying, and to "guard against affecting your heart with forced sadness in an effort to squeeze out a few tears." Ávila suggests that "you do not have to go by thought to contemplate the Lord in Jerusalem, where this happened; because this does much damage to the head and dries up devotion." Rather, the best way to prayerfully imitate the Passion is to "take into account that you have him present there; and place the eyes of your soul on the feet of him, or on the ground near him; and with total reverence watch what then was happening, as if you were present; and listen to what the Lord was saying, with complete attention." These remarkable instructions immediately conjure one of the most recognizable tropes of modern acting technique in the West, Stanislavsky's "magic if." This tool of the imagination allows the actor to expeditiously produce a single inner circumstance in order to effectuate a chain of occupational transformations. What is interesting about Ávila's advocacy is his distinction between thinking about a prior event in a far away location and calling God into the immediate and simultaneous presence of the devotee. Ávila, much like Stanislavsky in *An Actor Prepares*, provides a passageway for the penitent to move from metaphor and memory to the present experience and presence of the divine. Every penitent seeks in the liquid wounds of Christ a rebirth of the soul without sin, or in the words of Stanislavsky, "[o]ur type of creativeness is the conception and birth of a new being—the person in the part. It is a natural act similar to the birth of a human being."

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Practitioners of somatic affect—theatrical and devotional—have at their disposal similar apparatuses for producing physiognomic aphorisms. Although tears shed during penitential processions in late medieval Spain may have been conditioned on rehearsal with texts and art objects, memory techniques, and practiced concentration and relaxation in prayer, we should not be led to believe that their experience or understanding of the event was in any way insincere in its theatricality. Likewise, we should leave open the possibility that actors of many traditions who experience
the synchronous moment of concentration, relaxation, memory, and action may obtain a feel of the sacred. Most importantly, we should consider the possibility that the historical persistence of particular discourses of the body (su generis social rituals, in the Durkheimian sense) may also hold genealogical information about cognitive and biological processes. The actor’s craft and penitential behavior privilege the release of tears, and analogous features of each (and ways in which practices are interpreted by societies) may be a starting place for further research into the neurophysiological lives of historical subjects.

NOTES


2. “¡Oh cuántos sotolores, gemidos y llanto, de gentes de lo que sabían, reverentes sonaban; de un misterio a otro descíliz andaban, rezando y llorando con duelo y quebranto!” Juan de la Encina, Tribuniga, in Desde Sevilla a Jerusalén. Con versos de Juan de la Cienca y prosa del primer marqués de Tarifa, ed. Joaquín González Moreno, 214 (Seville: Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1974). Translations of Spanish texts into English are my own throughout, unless otherwise indicated.

3. Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, Viaje de Jerusalem (Lisbon, 1608; first published in Seville in 1521, again in 1608); see Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, Viaje de Jerusalem, in Desde Sevilla a Jerusalén. Con versos de Juan de la Encina y prosa del primer marqués de Tarifa, ed. Joaquín González Moreno (Seville: Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1974).


6. “En la octava Cruz, se considera, quando salieron las hijas de Sion, llorando a Cristo, y les respondió su divina Magestad: No lloréis hijas de Sion.” (At the eighth station, it is thought, when the daughters of Zion went weeping for Christ, and their divine Majesty answered them: Do not weep daughters of Zion.) Memoria muy devota y recuerdo muy precioso, del camino trabajoso que hizo Cristo Redentor Nuestro, para encaminarnos a la Gloria, y de los pasos que dio con la pesada Cruz sobre sus delicados ombros, desde la Casa de
Pilatus, hasta el Monte Calvario, donde fue crucificado y muerto, para darnos vida eterna. Cuyo trozo es el que comienza desde las Casas de los Excelentísimos Señores Duques de Alcalá, hasta la Cruz del Campo desta Ciudad de Sevilla (Seville: Institución Colombina, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 1633), 57–12, ff. 167v–168r.

7. For instance, Augustine’s well-known account of his conversion provided an evocative model for tearful lamentation: “Now when deep reflection had drawn up out of the secret depths of my soul all my misery and had heaped it up before the sight of my heart, there arose a mighty storm, accompanied by a mighty rain of tears. That I might give way fully to my tears and lamentations, I stole away from the Aloythus, for it seemed to me that solitude was more appropriate for the business of weeping. I lay myself down under a fig tree—how I know not—and gave free course to my tears. The streams of my eyes gushed out an acceptable sacrifice to thee”; see Augustine, Confessions book VIII, chap. XII, trans. and ed. Albert C. Outler, Medieval Sourcebook, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/aug-conf.html (accessed August 30, 2010).


9. There is extensive literature on private devotion; some of the notable, recent studies that discuss Passion narrative in private devotion practices include Rachel Fulton, From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Caroline Walker Bynum, Woman of the Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Jessica Brantly, Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), and Jill Stevenson, Performance, Cognitive Theory, and Devotional Culture: Sensual Piety in Late Medieval York (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2010).


11. “Choosing to express an emotion or cognitively rehearse it may intensify or even create the actual experience of that emotion” (Margaret S. Clark, “Historical Emotionology: Some Comments from a Social Psychologist’s Perspective,” in Social History and Issues in Human Consciousness, ed. Peter N. Stearns and Andrew E. Barnes, 266 (New York: New York University Press, 1989), quoted in Reddy, Navigation of Feeling, xii).

12. “The relative significance of intention, and whether the emphasis on intention had truly increased in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a contentious one. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that the historiography generally agrees that an anxiety about intention and interior motivations not only existed in the Reformation period but also was on the rise” (Gretchen Star-Lebeau, “Lay Piety and Community Identity in the Early Modern World,” in A New History of Penance, ed. Agha Ali Frey, 399 [Leiden: Brill, 2008]).

14. "If we assume that the Church had a purpose of ordaining penance for all Christians, and therefore an interest in securing their participation, it would have found itself responding to lay acceptance or rejection of the practice; therefore, what laypeople did or did not do, what they felt and how they reacted, would have helped shape—orally or not, consciously or not—the discipline of penance that emerged during this time" (Karen Wagner, "Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem: Penanceal Experience in the Central Middle Ages," in A New History of Penance, ed. Abigail Firey, 202 (Leiden: Brill, 2008)).

15. Alonso Sánchez Górriz, Religiosas Estaciones que Frecuenta la Religiosidad Sevilla (1737; rep., Seville: Consejo General de Hermanedades y Colegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1982), 167


24. St. Thomas of Aquinas, Summa Theologica, 103. “The distinction between constrictio and attributio was at first regarded as one not of kind but of degree; it was a question of the depth of the grief felt (the sorrow involved in constrictio being greater). But when the doctrine of gratia informans established itself in the course of the thirteenth century, the criterion became the relation of contrition to justifying grace. For high scholasticism, then (e.g., Thomas Aquinas), constrictio is the contrition that is given and characterized by grace itself, whereas attributio is attrition that is not given by grace” (Michael Schmaus, Dogma 5: The Church as Sacrament [Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1973], 228).

25. Bonaventure, for instance, asserted the power of contrition to remove sin, even without confession. Herbermann et al., Catholic Encyclopedia, 163.
Aquinas (and later the Council at Trent) made it clear that with the intercession of a priest, *attrito*—arising from fear of damnation rather than full remorse for one’s sins—was effective in progressing the penitent towards a state of grace.

26. Although the final arbiter of forgiveness was God, the priest’s ritual participation in confession was crucial for the efficacy of the sacrament, and, in the end, “the priest counted for more than the penitent’s interior self”; see Andrew James Johnston, “The Secret of the Sacred: Confession and the Self in Sir Gawan and the Green Knight,” in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring, 57 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005).


31. Ibid., 399–400. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain, distrust of the outer body to express inner intention and spiritual cleanliness was a template that would be pressed into service in *limpieza de sangre* (cleanliness of blood) statutes, methods for determining genealogical truths and falsehoods of the body.


41. “[S]t. Francis never ceased to clarify his soul in the rain of tears, aspiring after the purity of supernatural light and counting as little the loss of his bodily eyes.” Bonaventure, *Legendarum (maior) S. Francisci*, ed. a PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Ad Claras Aquas, 1898. Chapter 1, number 6 (from Hilariu
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Jelder, The Ideas of St. Francis of Assisi [New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1925], 250.


43. "Las calamidades que abrumaron Europa, no sólo la Gran Peste, durante el siglo XVII hicieron aparecer las andadas tropas de flagelantes, grupos de hombres y mujeres que recorrían en cortejo campos y ciudades ofreciendo el espectáculo de sus masequeras y el conceito de sus ligaduras carnosas"; see José Sánchez Herrero, "Las Cofradías Sevillañas. Los Comienzos," Las Cofradías de Sevilla: Historia, Antropología, Arte [Seville: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1985], 31; see also pages 9-11, 18-19.

44. José Sánchez Herrero, La Cofradía de la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo de Sevilla. La importancia de la devoción a la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo en la desarrolló en la devoción y la imaginería de la Semana Santa (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Historia Medieval, 1999), 1430.

45. Bermejo Carballo, Glorias Religiosas, 349.


47. Verdi Webster, Art and Ritual, 244.


53. Fame also brought unwanted attention. In 1534, Ávila was brought before the Seville inquisition and charged with exaggerating the harms of wealth, but the converso priest was quickly acquitted. Herbermann et al., Catholic Encyclopedia, 8:469.

54. "La sangre de Cristo échala y méntela en tu alma, que a cierto que pasará tu alma, y de indevota la hará devota, y de tibia la hará ardiente en el amor de Dios, y de dura la hará blanda y amorosa. Échala en tu alma; que no hay bálsamo que tanto pase. Si no, dime cuando te paras a pensar en la pasión de Cristo, ¿no sientes que te pega nuevo amor y nueva devoción? ¿No se te ablanda el ánima? ¿No recibes fuerza? ¿No pides perdón de tus pecados? ¿No damas lágrimas? Oh lágrimas sabrosas las que se derraman por la pasión de Cristo, que hacen derretir en amor suyo!" [Juan de Ávila, Obras completas del B. Mtro. Juan de Ávila: Edición Crítica, ed. Luis Sala Balust [Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1953], 711).

55. "si con vuestro pensar sosegado, el Señor os da lágrimas, compasión y otros sentimientos devotos, debéis tomar, con condición que no sea tanto el exceso que que se enseñoren de vos, que os dañen a la salud con daño notable, ó que quedéis tan flacos en los resistir, que os hagan con gritos, y con otras exteriores señales, dar muestra de lo que sentís; porque si á esto os asustabrais, vendrías á hacer entre gente, y con grande nota, lo mismo que en vuestros candal; sin lo poder resistir de lo grande razón que hayáis: y por esto habéis de tomar estos sentimientos, ó lágrimas; de tal arte, que no os vayáis mucho tras ellas, porque no perdáis, por seguirlas, aquel pensamiento.
ó aleccion espiritual que las causó. Mas tened mucha cuenta con que aquello dure; y de estorbo exterior y sensual sea lo que fuerse... no hace el de parte sensitiva ó corporal, ni aún dexa durar al espiritual, sino lo tiene, para que no se vaya tras el" (Juan de Avila, Obras: Audi Filia et Vidi [Madrid; n.p., 1792], 210–11).

56. "Y cuando quieren sacar una imagen, para hacer llocar, vistenla de luto y ponenle todo lo que incita a tristeza" (Juan de Avila, Aviso y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David: Audi, Filia [Barcelona: Flos, 1963], 2642. The Libro Vermell de Montserrat, a fourteenth-century songbook for the devotion of the Virgin Mary, contains a miniature showing a procession of partially nude penitents with sorrowful expressions. Illuminations in this manuscript may have been used by pilgrims to the Monastery of Montserrat in performative reading or as visual stimuli for acts of penance, confession, and praise. These, and additional examples, can be found in Gabriel Llompart, "Peritencias y penitentes."

57. Susan Verdi Webster's scholarship on this subject is exemplary. Sánchez Gordillo also documented a number of instances of "trumpetas dolorosas" and "los cantos... tristes y devotas" sung during penitential rites in Seville, music that would have further augmented sensory engagement with lacrimal and erotic feelings; Sánchez Gordillo, Religiosas Estaciones, 45, 158, 172.

58. Sarah Beckwith, Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings (London: Routledge, 1993), 53. "Franciscanism described the gestural techniques of affectus in its development of imitative and mediational schema for the production of emotion. Like Bernardine piety, Franciscanism was a decisive reinterpretation of the relations between sacred and profane" (ibid., 59).

59. Silvan S. Tomkins, Affect Imagery Consciousness: The Negative Affects (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1965), 3–7. "It should be noted that with distress-anguish, as with every other affect, there are radical differences in the total phenomenological experience of distress when the feedback of the distress cry enters into different central assembles of components of the nervous system. As an extreme instance, the cry of pain when I step on a tack with bare feet may be the same cry of distress I emit upon hearing of the loss of a loved one, yet the total experience of distress is quite different in these two cases. This is not because the affect is different but because the total central assembles and, consequently the total information being transmuted in the two cases, differ so much that the feeling of distress-anguish in each case is experienced differently" (ibid., 5).


67. Some modern audiences, critics, and government officials, of course, respond to acts in this category with revulsion. The denial of federal funding by the National Endowment of the Humanities to a number of US experimental performance artists in the 1980s (including Ron Athey and Karen Finley) is an example of a negative reaction to performances involving bodily functions and fluids.


73. Evidence that Stanislavsky explicitly distanced his own work from melodrama exists in a number of places. In his production notes for The Seagull, Stanislavsky wrote that in a scene of playing with Trigorin, the character of Arkadina (a professional actress of the contemporary stage) should speak "in the tone and with the sort of pathos usually employed in melodrama." S. D. Balakhny, ed. The Seagull Produced by Stanislavsky, trans. David Magarshack (New York: Theatre Arts, 1952), 235. In An Actor Prepares, he wrote that an exercise where the actors played an overweighted, tragic scene "stirred us with its melodrama and unexpectedness, and yet we accomplished nothing" (69).

77. St. Thomas of Aquinas, Summa Theologica, 132.
78. Stanislavsky, An Actor Prepares, 23.
79. Ibid., 60.
82. William Shakespeare, Hamlet, ed. Susanne L. Wolford (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994), 86. Significantly, throughout the play Hamlet pursues the objective of uncovering the truths hidden behind the visages of those who would betray him. In particular, Hamlet comments on the discontinuity between the display of tears and the inner conscience. After hearing the First Player perform Amras’s speech to Dido, Hamlet soliloquizes on the Player’s ability to produce tears without motive: “this player here / But in a fiction, in a dream of passion, / Could force his soul so to his own conceit, / That from her working all his visage wann’d, / Tears in his eyes, distraction in’s aspect, / A broken voice, and his whole function suit’d / With forms to his conceit? And all for nothing! / For Hecuba!” (II, ii). Hamlet also remarks on the “unrighteousness” of Gerrarde’s abbreviated period of mourning of her first husband (“Like Niobe, all tears”), suggesting him corruption and “traitry” (I, ii).
83. Stanislavsky, An Actor Prepares, 43.
84. Ibid., 101.
85. “[G]uardaos mucho de afligir vuestro corazon con tristezas forzadas, que suelen hacer echar alguna lagrimilla forzada” (Juan de Ávila, Obras, 10).
86. “[n]o habeis de ir con el pensamiento á contemplar al Señor á Jerusalen, donde esto aconteció; porque esto dañar mucho á la cabeza y secar la devoción; mas fadcielo cierta que lo teneis allí presente; y poned los ojos de vuestra alma en los pies de él, ó en el suelo cercano á él; y con toda reverencia mirad lo que entonces pasaba, como si á ello presente estuvierades; y escuchad lo que el Señor habla, con toda atencion” (Juan de Ávila, Obras, 9–10; emphasis mine).
88. Ibid., 294.
89. For Durkheim, the sui generis properties of a social system (social facts and collective representations) emerge from the association of individuals. Robert Keith Sawyer, Social Emergence: Societies as Complex Systems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105.