MINNE, TRANSLATED: EMBODYING LITURGY, LOVE, AND PANDEMIC TRAUMA IN THE DIEPENVEEN SISTER-BOOK AND A REVELATION FROM FACONS

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ABSTRACT

This article traces how individual and collective trauma interplay in pandemic trauma by anatomizing the aftershocks of plague in two late medieval vernacular texts produced by Devotio Moderna communities of Augustinian canonesses regular, a sister-book from Diepenveen (northeastern Low Countries; present-day Netherlands) and a visionary text from the convent of Facons in Antwerp (present-day Belgium), *Visioen en exempel* by Jacomijne Costers (d. 1503). It scrutinizes how trauma intervenes in the liturgy and vice versa in each text, mapping how trauma inflects mutual charity (*minne*), prescribed as protection against plague. Allowing medieval trauma to interrogate modern trauma theory, this discussion participates in debates about the ethics of the weaponization of trauma.

KEYWORDS: Devotio Moderna, trauma, sister-books, visionary writing, liturgy

Between July 1503 and April 1504, thirty-one members of a Devotio Moderna community of Augustinian canonesses regular in the northeastern Low Countries village of Diepenveen (in the present-day Netherlands) succumb to an epidemic. The unknown disease presents itself as sore chests and painful sides in the sisters afflicted, and manifests itself as stiff necks in the deceased.[1] The vernacular text recounting the lives of the sisters in the community, a sister-book, is at pains to stress that this illness is not plague (the disease caused by *Yersinia pestis*), despite descriptions of earlier waves of that pandemic suggesting this particular epidemic may have constituted another wave of this disease,[2] perhaps in its pneumonic manifestation. It then assures readers (alive after this tragedy) that it was revealed to a holy woman, Lidwina of Schiedam (1380–1433), that this disease would not

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enter the convent again, provided the sisters maintain enclosure, cherish one another in mutual charity (*minne*), and devoutly celebrate their offices (387r). Ostensibly, this prophecy calls for reform, as Wybren Scheepsma and Anne Bollman posit.[3] The sister-book threatens divine retribution if the sisters do not mend their uncharitable and impious liturgical ways. However, in the fear of the epidemic returning, the double enclosure in love and in convent walls, the reluctance or incapacity to name the disease, and the prophecy of a visionary long deceased being applied to later events, this exhortation also resonates with modern demarcations of "trauma" as well as with medieval contemplative engagement with Christ's suffering body. These discourses converge in the past erupting into the present and in complex narrativization. The prophecy also gestures toward a particular interplay between individual and collective trauma that I propose is unique to pandemic trauma. Two texts produced by female Devotio Moderna communities, both bearing the scars of plague, will allow us to disentangle the interaction between individual and collective trauma, especially as they affect one another in pandemic trauma.

Individual trauma and collective trauma participate in one another. Pandemics traumatize both individuals and societies. Nevertheless, the distinctiveness of how individual and collective trauma interplay in pandemic trauma remains underexplored. To unravel this interlocking effect, this essay interrogates the final part of the sister-book's augury, the promise that God will deliver the convent if, and only if, "wi onse ghetijde devoetlicke betalen" [we p(r)ay our hours devoutly] (387v; own translation), as the text declares. In a word, it charts how the liturgy precariously protects the community. I contend that in these texts by Devotio Moderna sisters, trauma intervenes in liturgical memories, inflecting charity and enclosure, but liturgical memories also intervene in trauma.

Derived from Greek τραῦμα (wound), trauma refers to a psychic wound sustained by a past event or series or events endangering either individual or collective life or the individual or collective body. This psychic wound manifests itself somatically and psychologically in the present. Trauma, thus, comprises emotional aftershocks in which the original disaster continues painfully to break out into the present. Dominick LaCapra insists that "trauma is a disruptive experience that disarticulates the self and creates holes in existence."[4] Historian Ruth Leys similarly declares that "the experience of the trauma, fixed or frozen in time, refuses to be represented *as* past, but is perpetually reexperienced in a painful, disassociated, traumatic present."[5] Trauma theorists hold diverging positions on trauma and literary

(re)presentation and memory. Trauma has been theorized by Ruth Leys as inviting critics' oscillation between trauma as an unintegrated, unmemorable shattering of the self involving embodied reenactment and trauma as a wholly external event ultimately available to recall and narrativization (an orientation Leys ultimately favors, but with reservations).[6] Cathy Caruth, in contrast, situates trauma between the conscious and the unconscious in language and behavior, with the unconscious erupting in trauma.[7] Whether defying narrativization and memory, allowing narrative representation of a discrete historical event, or comprising a spectral imprint of the Real, trauma is both "psychic and/or embodied marker of disruptive experience" *and* a sociocultural product.[8] Sonja Kerth, for instance, has demonstrated how medieval trauma narratives are filtered through genre, content, and plot.[9] This discussion historicizes the interlocking individual and collective trauma of plague by anatomizing these shocks as they reverberate through medieval religious communities. In particular, it pores over the psychic wounds consisting of the sisters' collective and individual trauma of seeing their spiritual siblings lethally ill because of this epidemic.

This essay revolves around the sister-books already mentioned and a visionary text from the community of Augustinian canonesses regular of Facons, in Antwerp (present-day Belgium), which has been given the title *Visioen en exempel* [Vision and exemplum] by editor Wybren Scheepsma.[10] According to this visionary text, in 1489, on either July 24 or August 3, plague seeps into this convent.[11] Four sisters die, and two other professed sisters fall ill, including twenty-seven-year-old Jacomijne (IV). The text chronicles Jacomijne's attendant visions during her "near-death experience."[12] *Visioen en exempel*, too, associates a lack of liturgical order with this pandemic and identifies charity as both antidote and divine motive. At an early point in the visions, Christ rebukes the community for their negligence in their celebration of the offices, which they also perform at the incorrect moment and without devotion (18r, lines 554–58). As regards charity, Jacomijne's visionary account casts the pandemic as springing from Christ's "voorsichticheijt en goedertierenheijt . . . meer dan uut rechtveerdichheit" [providence and mercy rather than justice], his desire to "om de sommige . . . meer te trecken totter minnen godts" [draw some towards more love of God], and an attempt to reform the convent (1r, lines 8–12). Plague is an expression of a divine attitude of charity directing the community toward the ameliorative celebration of the liturgy.

To examine how the liturgy is believed to protect these communities, the analysis in this discussion "centralizes" these two texts.[13] It recognizes

that the texts operate under the assumptions of the prophecy attributed to Lidwina of Schiedam (namely, that the liturgy vitally supports the community's continued existence), but also tracks how these convictions demand constant bolstering, ever at risk of collapsing under the weight of trauma. That is, I trace how the liturgy also fails to protect the community. After a brief introduction to the texts and central concerns, each text is considered in turn. I chart how the liturgy attempts to intervene in pandemic trauma, both in the clinical and the critical sense of the word *intervene*, by narrativizing it as memory. The narrative fragment of the Gospels' women at the foot of the cross supplies a particularly generative intertext in this process. I also trace how pandemic trauma, in turn, intervenes in liturgical memories, erupting into enclosure and the sisters' love for one another. The texts being at pains to present such mutual charity as remedy and remediation, I home in on one element of the art of memory, the *intentio*, which constitutes the affective tone of the narrativization and, consequently, the emotional attitude of the memories that the text crafts.[14] The analysis in this discussion plots how trauma seeps into the *intentio* of charity. Finally, after surveying how individual and collective trauma intertwine through these texts, I consider how these female-authored works weaponize pandemic trauma to bolster the community's continued existence, and the fraught ethics of this enterprise.

This discussion therefore scrutinizes these two vernacular texts by women through new historicism–indebted literary analysis of memory and trauma. Memory has been seen as ontologically constitutive of the self from Augustine's notion of the self as a consistent narrative across time to neuroscientists' claims about the twinned development of autobiographical memory and narrative capacity. Medieval memorial practices, for instance, forge individual and collective identity, with "identity and character [being] understood as rhetorical inventions, employing the art of memory;"[15] communal memory inventories furnished repositories and filters for individual memory inventories.[16] In the context of medieval women's literature, medieval nuns' writings frequently are the product of an "in-house memorial culture," as John Van Engen observes,[17] crafting communal memory, as Bollman shows.[18] Memory, then, fashions the individual and the communal self. In these memorial practices or *memoria* (the art of memory), *intentio* constitutes a key element, denoting a mnemonic image's emotional filter or "emotional coloration" with which the remembering individual imbues the memory image.[19] In the present context, it denotes the affective tone of the narrative and, by extension, of the memory impressed on the reader. A

fraught concern with instilling an *intentio* of charity galvanizes these texts, as I shall show. These texts expressly clamor for remembering. (Sister-books urge the sisters reading them to remember an idealized "community composed solely of exemplary women," as Rebecca L. R. Garber notes, alive in an imagined past.)[20]

Trauma, however, resists remembering as well as narrativization. In her work on intergenerational trauma, Gabriele Schwab asserts that "trauma as a mode of being . . . punctures memory and language."[21] Trauma not only defies remembering; it also resists the verbal narrativization essential to memory. Poststructuralist and psychoanalytical readings, as Joshua Pederson surveys, have presented trauma and language as converging in absence, deferral, and silence, with language and trauma being defined by gaps and discontinuities, which both signal and obscure traumatic experience: "There is silence where story should be."[22] Memory and story veil trauma in silence. Nevertheless, trauma also generates persistent attempts at narrativization. As Andrew Barnaby proposes in a Freudian genealogy of literary trauma studies, the narrative produced by trauma constitutes an "expression of a ceaseless and obsessive return to the site of the trauma that forever eluded the mind's grasp" by means of trauma's reiteration of past events in the present. However, this reiteration also offers a vital strategy by which "the mind attempt[s] to move beyond the trauma by mastering it via the production of what we might call salutary anxiety."[23] Cycling back allows for a spiraling upward and beyond. This discussion therefore attends to the fragments of other narratives with which the texts circle back to the inexpressible traumatic event. In so doing, it examines how texts from medieval female religious communities anxiously try to harmonize liturgical echoes and the shriek of trauma in a single communal voice, singing.

Twinning individual and communal voices, these texts supply a fertile ground for tracing how individual and collective trauma interrelate in pandemic trauma. Both texts are communally produced yet associate themselves with individual women who experienced the pandemic firsthand. The most extensive manuscript witness of the Diepenveen sister-book, DV, ascribes itself to copyist and compiler Sister Griet Essincghes, the "writing sister" or "scribe-compiler."[24] The text implies that she joined the convent several years before the pandemic. Yet the sister-book is also a communal composition, drawing on the convent's oral tradition.[25] Although the first-person plural dominates in the text, the first-person singular also occasionally makes its presence felt. Similarly, Jacomijne's section in the surviving manuscript witness, in which a large part of the community falls

victim to plague, may be a copy of an autograph,[26] yet the entire compilation is a communal product, originating from that selfsame community that lived through this epidemic. In this fashion, individual and collective trauma dovetail in these works, which are shot through with the silences of pandemic trauma. This interrelationship anticipates trauma theorists' claims about trauma twinning the private and the communal. For instance, Schwab contends that story resides where recollection and imagination (and therefore collective and individual trauma) meet.[27] Maintaining a distinction between collective and individual trauma is nevertheless both analytically fruitful and necessary to chart their exchange. This essay adopts Kai Erikson's delineation of collective trauma, which was first applied in 1976 to the effects of a flood on migrant farm workers in South Florida in 1972 but resonates powerfully with the modern pandemic age and twenty-first-century natural disasters. For Erikson, individual trauma comprises "a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's defenses so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively."[28] Collective trauma, in contrast, springs from repeated instances of private trauma, consisting of "a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality."[29] Yet, it also produces a communal "ethos" that is "different from (and more than) the sum of the private wounds that make it up."[30] Individual and collective trauma thus are distinct but inevitably affect, inflect, and refract one another.

CALVARY AND THE WOUND OF MEMORY

Two points of analogy between modern constructions of trauma and medieval passion meditation encourage an encounter between medieval women's writing and modern trauma theory. Such a conversation extends trauma studies and textures our understanding of medieval remembering bodies.

One convergence consists of disturbances to or fissures in normative time. Trauma defies and disrupts the present, and constantly re-presents the past in that porous present. Analogously, affective meditation upon Christ's wounds imaginatively renders them present once more.[31] In her triangulation of French philosopher Georges Bataille (1897–1962) and Franciscan mystic Angela of Foligno (1248–1309) with trauma theory, Amy Hollywood contends that medieval passion meditation reverses the

therapeutic process of trauma narrativization and meaning making. It works backward through traumatic recollection (or rather, the atomization of memory that trauma entails) to arrive at visceral participation in the traumatizing event (a psychosomatic identification sometimes termed compassion or co-passion).[32] Medieval meditation, as Hollywood contends, "induce[s] something like traumatic memory—or perhaps better, make[s] visceral the catastrophe of God's death on the cross, only in order to relocate and redeploy that bodily response within the terms of salvation history." In this fashion, the psychic wound that constitutes trauma, inflicted by meditation, becomes an entry point to Christ's somatic wounds. The meditating believer constantly crawls back to Calvary. Christ's wounds fracture time, and with time, memory.

A second point of analogy can be found in the defiance of silenced bodies in trauma and passion meditation. At the foot of the cross, one finds "the women," as the gospels group them. The Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalen, Mary Cleopas, and anonymous other women gaze upon a wounded, dying body, keeping watch for what must have seemed an eternity. In this gendered, communal subject position,[33] the women on Calvary furnish a collective model for Hollywood's continuous return (through recollection) to this single traumatizing event. Their bodies are silenced: earlier, Christ has commanded them not to weep. On the cross, Christ addresses his mother but no gospel records her reply. Medieval iconography further deprives the Virgin of speech, as she swoons in sympathetic pain with her Son. The Magdalen only speaks after the resurrection. Their traumatized, silenced bodies epitomize how the retraumatizing process delineated by Hollywood (ultimately premised upon Caroline Walker Bynum's foundational thesis) functions within what David Aers has termed "specific discursive regimes with specific technologies of power" crisscrossed painfully onto the flesh of the meditating community by that community itself in its collective role of hagiographer.[34] Such a reading aligns with modern feminist inquiries about trauma being weaponized as an instrument of power. Medieval women may be invited to identify with the trauma of the women at the foot of the cross, but these women at Calvary sustain this trauma by seeing a man whose "flesh did womanly things" die of physical trauma.[35] If trauma can furnish a "tool of [patriarchal] dominance," as feminist approaches to trauma contend,[36] we should attend to what is at stake, for whom, in attempts to force these religious communities' pandemic trauma to speak. (And can it speak?)[37] However, the trauma of the women on Calvary can also brim with queer resistance,[38] and thus form a communal analogue to

Christ's wound as vivisected for instance by Sophie Sexon.[39] Reading medieval texts for trauma as such a "tool of dominance" therefore enriches our understanding of how the regime of the liturgy enfleshes power, and how medieval women negotiated these power structures.

This biblical scene provided medieval religious communities with a narrative fragment, shot through with other temporalities and silences, which could nonetheless be harnessed in attempts to narrativize trauma. A major part of the liturgy (from the elevation of the host through material crucifixes to the Hours of the Cross) insistently loops believers back to Calvary in a ritual analepsis to keep watch with the women. This fragmented reiteration anticipates Caruth's position that trauma narratives demand "a double telling . . . between the story of the unbearable nature of an event and the story of the unbearable nature of its survival," which requires listening to "the story of the way in which one's own trauma is tied up with the trauma of another."[40] Trauma defies any single act of being told as a single story; rather it can only be told through and by the aftershocks in other narratives, such as the liturgical narrative fragment of the women at the foot of the cross.

Charting trauma, then, allows for adumbrating a position between historicizing medieval bodies and for identifying queer resistance to the heterosexual matrix within which these associations function. In sum, reading these texts for pandemic trauma elucidates how texts by medieval women immure trauma in songs, prayers, and gestures, both protecting and confining these women and their communities, but also locates potential resilience in these texts and unpacks the many meanings that cluster around medieval trauma.

DEVOTIO MODERNA VISIONS OF LIFE AND DEATH

The sister-book that this article dissects originates from the convent of Saint Mary and Saint Agnes, home to a community of Augustinian canonesses regular. Founded in 1400 and destroyed in 1578, this convent was located in Diepenveen, a village in the northeastern Low Countries in close vicinity to the Hanse city of Deventer. DV was finished in 1524, according to "scribe-compiler" Griet Essincghes.[41] Sister-books (from German *Schwesternbücher*) compile biographies of female members of a convent or semireligious house, supplying blueprints for communal life as well as exemplars for individual emulation of particular spiritual virtues, which

the text aims to imprint on readers' minds.[42] These "'in-house' productions"[43] are written, compiled, copied, and edited by that community, for the spiritual benefit of that selfsame community.[44] Nearly always written in the vernacular, and characterized by a distinctly intimate collective narration, sister-books recount the convent's foundation, evolution, and (earlier) sisters' lives in a deceptively unadorned style, in which historiography, hagiography, and mysticism intertwine.[45] Written in a variety of Middle Low German,[46] the Diepenveen sister-book's *viten* (lives) follow the characteristic tripartite structure of sister-books from the Low Countries.[47] First, the *vite* recounts the sister's preconversion life and conversion. Then, it details how she joins the convent, relating both her exemplary devotion and spiritual struggles. Finally, it concludes with the sister's spiritually edifying death, occasionally bookended by a long illness patiently borne and an apparition as a soul in transit from purgatory to heaven.

Written in Middle Dutch and found in a single mid-seventeenth-century manuscript witness compiled and edited by a seventeenth-century sister,[48] *Visioen en exempel* constitutes the longest section of a collectively produced "spiritual chronicle of the Antwerp convent" that encompasses the writings and oral reports of several Devotio Moderna sisters, Jacomijne Costers (d. 1503), Mechthild van Rieviren (d. 1497), and others.[49] This compilation pairs visions with spiritual exhortations in the form of brief treatises. (Like many medieval texts, the cluster of texts making up the manuscript resists categorization into clearly delineated genres, or even into separate works.)[50] *Visioen en exempel* professes itself to be composed by the holy woman herself, yet is written in the third person; it thus offers a Middle Dutch parallel to *The Book of Margery Kempe*'s mode of narration. Indebted to Tundale's visions of the afterlife,[51] it chronicles Jacomijne's visionary journey through hell and purgatory after she has faced the wrath of Christ the Judge but has been snatched from damnation by the passionate intercession of the Virgin Mary. According to a later section, after this pilgrimage, Jacomijne's life is wholly transformed to an exemplary yet reclusive existence.[52] Tragically, historical records reveal that in 1503, another wave of plague claimed her life.[53] The "dual genre" of a visionary and exemplary text, one mode equally as didactic as the other, reflects a careful negotiation of the Devotio Moderna prohibition in 1455 of sisters' visionary writings, as Scheepsma hypothesizes.[54] It also makes the text conform to the Devotio Moderna *vite* pattern.

Facons and Diepenveen both belonged to the Devotio Moderna congregation of Windesheim. The Devotio Moderna was a reform movement of

both professed religious and semireligious that flourished between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century in the Low Countries and bordering regions, including northern Germany. Female communities made up more than two thirds of Devotio Moderna religious houses.[55] Scholarship and popular conceptions have long presented cultivation of interiority as a defining feature of the Devotio Moderna.[56] However, the Devotio Moderna also externalized devotion, interiorized the outer world, and understood union with God and union with one's community as interdependent, in which way it overlapped with other late-medieval religious movements.[57] The resulting concern with conforming to God's likeness and to that of the community inflects the texts' trauma. I now turn to liturgy's narrativizing interventions in trauma and trauma's interventions in the liturgy, starting with the Diepenveen sister-book.

HEALING LITURGIES AT DIEPENVEEN

The liturgy, in the form of the narrative fragment, narrativizes individual trauma into collective trauma. Thus, it intervenes in pandemic trauma. Pandemic trauma suffuses the sisters' physical space in a characteristically intimate dying scene. In 1500, dying of a fever and old age, eighty-six-year-old Sister Beatrix van Beek is given the final rites and awaits her passing over in the close presence of her niece, likely "writing sister" Griet Essinchghes:[58]

> Ende doe sie dat hillige amt hadde, doe lach sie in enen bidden, nacht ende dach: "Hal over, lieve heer, hal over! Educ de carsere animam meam! In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum." Ende mede lach sie ende hechede als een die den geest uut wolde blasen. Ende sie had ene nichte, die sie hier bij hoer hadde ende had sie uterlicke lief ende die lach voer hoer. Ende als sie dan dus lach "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum" ende "Educk de carcere animam meam," soe ghenc sie voer hoer sitten ende sede: "Myn lieve moyken, weest doch stille. Myn harte doet mi soe zeer. Ic en kan niet slapen." Soe sede sie: "Och kint, ic wolde den geest soe gherne uutblasen, dat ic bij onsen lieven heren mochte comen. Daer sal ic soe volle vrende vinden." (342r–342v)
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> [And when she had been given the holy sacrament, she lay there, praying, both day and night, "Deliver me, dear Lord, deliver me! Bring

> my soul out of prison! Into thy hands I commend my spirit." And at that moment as she lay there she panted like one who would exhale her soul. She had a niece who lay there at her side and who loved her dearly, and as she (i.e., Griet) lay there . . . she cried out "Into thy hands I commend my spirit" and "Bring my soul out of prison." This niece sat down at her side and said, "My dear aunt, please lie still. It hurts my heart so. I cannot sleep." To this she replied, "Oh child, I am so eager to exhale my spirit, so that I may the sooner be with our dear Lord. There I shall find so many friends and family."]

Despite predating the plague epidemic by four years, this scene throbs with pandemic trauma, both individual and collective. On an individual level, Beatrix's anguished cries reenact (or bodily prefigure) the respiratory effect of the specific variant of plague described in the opening narrative. This reiterative, haunting quality is bolstered by other forms of acting out of trauma: Beatrix re-performs both the psalmist's cry for deliverance of the soul (Psalm 142:7 in the modern numbering; 141:8 in the Vulgate) and Christ's surrender of his final breath (Luke 23:46, referencing Psalm 31:6 [30:5]), dovetailing in the traditional metaphorization of soul as breath. In this insistent reenacting of the bodily effects of plague, the text's individual trauma aligns with the "mimetic paradigm" in Leys's genealogy of theorizations of trauma. In this paradigm, rather than being prompted by a discrete event, trauma is marked by the radical disintegration of the boundaries between self and other, so-called "mimetic identification," an aggressive mutual consumption beyond language and memory.[59] Modeled on the mimetic identification of psychoanalytical hypnosis, this psychic invasive imitation gives rise to traumatic (non)memories being reperformed as bodily actions. Due to the total dissolution of ego boundaries, such reenactment defies memory and narrativization, as does trauma as mimesis generally. Both Beatrix's bodily reconfigurations of the liturgy and plague, as well as the temporal ambiguity of the scene, parallel such a mimetic reaction.

However, narrated by Griet and the community alike, the text is also pervaded by collective trauma, which is both fashioned from individual trauma and overwrites it through narrativization by means of the liturgical narrative fragment of the women of Calvary. The text situates Beatrix's actions and cries in a temporal framework suggestive of Christ's Passion. Beatrix's first cry excerpts Psalm responsories from several Sundays in Lent and Passion Sunday,[60] while the second one cites a responsory commonly sung at Compline,[61] reiterating Christ's dying words from the cross. The doubling

of these cries invokes the cyclical repetition of the Passion events in the liturgy. (After all, each year the community of believers revisits Calvary.) The text underscores the familial bonds between Griet and her aunt. Afflicted emotionally by her aunt's physical afflictions, positioned close to her dying relative, Beatrix's niece stands in for the women on Calvary, who emotionally share in Christ's bodily pain. She experiences cosuffering with Beatrix akin to that of Christ's female relatives and followers and thus personifies the religious community. By placing Beatrix's scattered actions in time and by imposing order and a particular communal perspective, the text weaves a narrative out of individual trauma. This resulting narrativization also conveys collective trauma, as Griet's request to her aunt to be silent signals, indicative of their bond being affected. In a word, the text narrativizes individual trauma as collective trauma.

This collective narrativization spun out of individual trauma maps onto the "anti-mimetic" orientation in Leys's genealogy, which prizes apart self and other and assumes "a strict dichotomy between the autonomous subject and the external trauma."[62] In this paradigm, trauma *can* be accessed by memory and language. Antimimetic engagement with trauma therefore allows "a verbalization and diegesis in which the patient recounts and recollects the traumatic scene in full consciousness."[63] The distance between Beatrix and the community (personified here by Griet) accords with the distinction between self and other. The liturgy scaffolds the text's recounting of the events, while the implied cross furnishes the external cause. More insidiously, the text's enfolding of individual trauma into collective trauma anticipates, how "antimimetic narratives" can be harnessed to "substitute for, and thus displace, their opposite, a mimetic reexperience of the traumatic event," as Patricia Grace Ingham explicates in her encounter between Chaucer, Leys, and Caruth.[64] Priming insistent, traumatic revisiting of these events through the Calvary context,[65] the sister-book thus draws the upper room and Calvary into the infirmary, a space palpitating with readers' individual and communal trauma, in order to crowd out these individual (non)memories. The text silences individual trauma for the benefit of the community in their trauma.

Pandemic trauma, in turn, breaks open into the liturgy by inflecting the *intentio* of charity of this liturgical narrativization. In the *vite* scene, an *intentio* of charity characterizes Griet's attitude toward and address to her aunt. The love referred to in the narration is enacted in Griet's "lieve" and the intimacy of the diminutive suffix *-ken*, making Beatrix her "dear auntie." The text's insistence on the compassionate transference of Beatrix's

pain to Griet, too, assumes love between these fellow sisters and relatives, modeling such charity to the readers and imprinting this *intentio*. For most medieval readers, and for medieval religious in particular, this *intentio* would have activated a model of selfhood in which each person inhabits the other and the individual inhabits the group. Van Engen describes Devotio Moderna collective living as demanding a becoming permeable to allow the community to pour into the individual and vice versa.[66] Barbara Newman perceives such coinherence in a wide range of medieval contexts, contending regarding the medieval "permeable self" in an eponymous book-length meditation: "On this model, the essence of personhood is the capacity to be permeated by other selves, other persons, without being fractured by them. . . . If this reciprocal indwelling is an ontological fact, it also is an ethical demand, calling for a kind of love that transcends what we normally perceive as the boundaries of the ego."[67] Charity is a verb—namely, to co-indwell. However, the text complicates these ostensibly positive framings of this mutual self-giving. The niece's pained words intimate that this coinherence can be invasive and painful. Similarly, although Beatrix's anguished breathing translates the surrender of her breath of life into God's care, and points to a wish to depart the present life, she is incapable of passing over, still dwelling within her fellow sisters. The comparative clause "als een die" [like one who] enacts this paradox. The prison referenced in the Latin psalm verse could signify both the body and the convent, which Beatrix is equally incapable of leaving behind. Her strict enclosure within her fellow sisters anchors her to the present life. This double bind in this *vite* maps onto An-Katrien Hanselaer and Jeroen Deploige's claims about fear and distress inspiring obedience and thus supporting a communal life in constant fear of God.[68] The sisters' mutual indwelling therefore uncannily parallels the mimetic identification of the mimetic response, a "devouring, incorporative identification that readily turns into the hostile desire to rid oneself of the other, or enemy with whom one has just merged," in Leys's reading of Freud.[69] Their coinherence becomes freighted with fragmented memories and invasive quality of the disease, turning their coinherence in love into one in pandemic trauma. Returning to the liturgy's *intentio* and untraumatized coinherence, the liturgy both crafts and requires such indwelling in love. By definition a collective celebration, it informs not only how the individual relates to other individuals but also how the individual relates to the community as a whole and vice versa.[70] Being contained within a convent, daily celebrating the liturgy, each sister also contains the other and the convent. Accordingly, mimetic identification is upheld by the liturgy, and

by association, by such narrative fragments as that of the women at Calvary. Mimetic identification, as it were, haunts the mutual indwelling on which the liturgy relies by affecting this particular *intentio* of love. In a numinous consideration of affective wounds in medieval English anchoritic literature, Ayoush Lazikani illustrates how these emotional wounds serve as near entrances and the gateway to communion and cosuffering: "The images form the borderline between penetration and sensation—between weapon and agony—yet also correspond with the weapon itself."[71] Accordingly, the *intentio* of the narrativization distorts into an open wound, through which the sisters share in one another's trauma. The liturgy, too, upholds such trauma, even as it intervenes in it.

In the sister-book, then, collective and individual trauma impact one another. Both are presented as the gateway to the communion in love (*minne*) believed to prevent plague from returning. The sisters reside within and on the surface of each other's psychic wounds, whether they wish to or not. Enclosed in trauma and love, they forever remind one another of how they saw each other in pain. Paradoxically, and problematically, the sister-book thus instrumentalizes trauma for its social project. Similar attempts to narrativize plague by framing it through an *intentio* of *minne* (nuptial love between the community and Christ, in this case) can be found in other traumatic veiled allusions to plague in the Diepenveen sister-book, for instance, as a "alten langhen sconen brulft" [a long and beautiful wedding] (80r) to refer to the 1452 epidemic of plague.[72] In a fashion, for the sisters, their pandemic trauma is a figure of Christ's *minne*, and of him (and by extension them) loving the community more than the individual, the former's trauma being prioritized over the latter's.

The sister-book nevertheless hopes against hope the liturgy will ultimately facilitate a communal working through of pandemic trauma, restore the community's charity, and redeem its trauma-marked mutual indwelling. The text chronicles the Diepenveen sisters' attempts to reform the convent of Hilwartshausen (Lower Saxony) by sending three women to this community, including Sister Daya or Daye Dyerkens (d. 1491), the Diepenveen convent's teacher. Although these events predate the plague epidemic of 1504, the text's account of this reform immediately follows the description of plague and an ostensible *explicit* or coda seemingly marking the end of the manuscript, and therefore gestures toward a postpandemic future. In this collective *vite*, Daye chastises her young Hilwartshausen pupils for their lack of attention in choir by blindfolding them whenever

their eyes wander during the Divine Office (408r).[73] One pupil takes this advice especially to heart:

> Ende sunderlinghe een kint, dat plach na toe segghen doe suster Daye al en wech was: "Wat sie mi dede, ic en conde myn oghen niet waren. Meer als ic inden choer stont ende sanck die tercie, als ic dan quam an dat vers 'Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem etcetera,' soe waert ic ghedunghen uutten anxte gades myn oghen toe waren." Het is in dussche: "Afkier myn oghen, dat sie niet en sien enighe ydelheit." Suster Daye dwanck hoer kinder alte wal mit mannigherleye offeninghe ende penitencien. (408v–409r)
>
> [One child in particular used to say, once sister Daye had left, "No matter what she did, I could not keep my eyes from wandering. But when I stood in the choir and sang terce and I got to the verse '*Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem etcetera*', I was compelled to keep my eyes from wandering out of fear of God." That is in Dutch, "*Afkier myn oghen, dat sie niet en sien enighe ydelheit*" (Turn away my eyes that they may not behold vanity). Sister Daye disciplined her children well with all manner of exercises and penances.]

The young girl embodies the sister-book's dual conviction of reform toward *minne* being both possible and urgent. Firstly, her gaze ostensibly literalizes the psalmist's request (Psalm 119 (118)) of a gaze being directed away from sin and enacts the analogy in the Psalm between the direction of one's heart and the orientation of one's gaze (verse 36–37), while she also internalizes the psalmist's respect for the Godhead (verse 38). The text then goes on to attribute a similar ocular control to Daye, who, when in choir, is wont to close her eyes, rapt in a mystical trance and oblivious to the world around her (409r). It is important to note here that, in a medieval monastic context, sacred texts ought to be read with an *intentio* of charity, a requirement originating from Augustine and foundational to medieval exegesis. The attitude for which Augustine clamors entails a particular emotional stance toward not only the matter remembered but also toward the divinity and one's fellow human beings: "By love I mean the impulse (*motium*) of one's mind to enjoy God on his own account and to enjoy oneself and one's neighbour on account of God."[74] Carruthers recommends translating "motium" as "movement of the mind,"[75] rendering it partially synonymous with *intentio*. The anonymous girl, then, imitates the orientation of Daye's

mind to the same degree as she imitates the psalmist's. In continuing to emulate her teacher after her return to Diepenveen, the girl carries forward Daye's *intentio* of love toward the divinity (indicated by her trance) and the other sisters (expressed by her "tough love" toward her pupils). By reenacting it in the same location (the choir), which possibly supplies a mnemonic cue as its didactic effect on her suggests, the girl imprints that *intentio* on others' minds. Secondly, the text deploys an iterative strategy, consonant with trauma being marked by, as Caruth declares, "the repetition at the heart of catastrophe . . . the unwitting reenactment of an event that one cannot simply leave behind."[76] It chronicles the reform of a different convent, as if imagining a future improved version (a "fresh start," as it were) of the Diepenveen convent. Moreover, this collective vite follows on the heels of a false ending. In so doing, the text engages in a maneuver similar to what Ingham observes in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, in which "the poet's famous inability to end suggests that incessant words may be one response to trauma."[77] What is more, the repetition of the verse (in its vernacular translation) figures the cyclical quality of the liturgy and its repetitive, synchronized movements, implying that these embodied repetitions will allow for working through of collective trauma. Aligning with Barnaby's claims cited earlier about "salutary anxiety" propelling the mind beyond trauma, the text looks toward a postpandemic time with both hope and fear, insisting that both liturgy and love will nonetheless recover. In uniting in love the co-indwelling sisters, the text strives to reassemble the "permeable self" and to stitch together the gaps in the community. In a word, charity recollects the community scattered by collective and individual trauma. The liturgy is love, translated; it is love translated into enclosed bodies.

Although the text promises that coinherence will be recovered across time, the boundaries of this enclosure in love and trauma are also policed by the text, creating a sharp distinction between "us" and "them," since this promise of more charitable sisters in the future logically signals a distrust of the sisters in the text. What is more, despite this devout example set by the young girl, the Hilwartshausen convent descends rapidly into a lack of discipline after the Diepenveen sisters have left, which the text laments (411v). According to the *vite*, this deterioration springs from the community's failure to mentally retain their sisterly reformers' teachings. It is as though the *intentio* of love has failed to imprint itself on their memories. Accordingly, these women are implicitly excluded from the sister-book's "we," pointing to a suspicion of individual trauma and testifying to how enclosure and exclusion are both etymologically and logically related. In the

sister-book, enclosure is predicated on exclusion. Here we see pandemic trauma pitting collective and individual trauma against one another. In the Diepenveen sister-book, collective trauma elides individual trauma, with the text gesturing to distrust of individual trauma. The remainder of this essay will focus on *Visioen en exempel*'s liturgical negotiations of trauma, which, in contrast, displays such distrust toward collective trauma but also understands individual and collective trauma to be in conflict.

TRAUMATIZED LITURGIES AT FACONS

At Facons, the liturgy, too, attempts to narrativize individual trauma into collective trauma.

When Jacomijne pilgrimages through hell and purgatory, her body is in a liminal state of paralysis; her fellow sisters, believing her to be on the brink of death, have gathered around her bed to pray. In purgatory, the very moment Jacomijne briefly loses sight of her guardian angel, two devils seize her, casting her into the place where souls who have broken their vows are tormented. Wishing to signal that Jacomijne is yet alive, her guardian angel moves her tongue to make her participate in the sisters' recital of the seven penitential Psalms (most likely in Geert Grote's vernacular translation).[78] It is important to note here that the seven penitential Psalms are not only used to express remorse but also to facilitate the passing over of souls,[79] and that these death bed moments are highly codified.[80] The sisters and the angel strive to return Jacomijne to the liturgy's fraught narrative and its temporal framework:

> En doen moest sij aenschouwen die leelijke eijschelijckheit der duvelen, dat haer de meeste pijne was, want haer docht datse liever in een gloeijende forneijs soude sitten totden dach des oordeels toe dan nog eenen oogenblick die verveirelijcke duvelen te aenschouwen. En als de siel haer selven alsoo in dese pijn vont, soo lanck alsmen eenen seven psalm met de letanie lesen soude, soo docht haer nochtans dat sij daer wel een jaer geweest hadde. En op eenen ogenblick vont sij haer weder uutter pijnen bij haren engel and seijde: "Och, waerom hebdij mij soo lanck gelaten inder pijnen, want mij dunckt dat ick daer wel een jaer in geweest ben." Doen seijde den engel dat sij daer maer enen seven psalm tijt daer in geweest en had "want u medeusteren die bij u lichaem waren ter wijlen gij inder pijnen waert, meijnden dat gij doot waert en lasen ter wijlen den seven psalm met de

letanie, maar door de gehecknisse godts soo heb ick u tonge somtijts eens geroert, doot welck sij bekennen dat gij noch niet doot en sijt; sij souden u anders begraven hebben." (24v; lines 750–64)

[And she was made to observe the ugly terror of the devils, which seemed to her to be the most pain, because she would have preferred being in a glowing furnace until the Day of Judgment to observing those terrifying devils for one more moment. And while the soul was in these torments for the length of the penitential Psalms and the litany being read, it did seem to her that she had been there for a year. Suddenly she had left behind these pains, standing close to her guardian angel, and said "Oh, why did you leave me to suffer pain for so long, because it seemed to me that I spent a year in these torments?" Then her angel said that she had been there only for the duration of one recital of the seven penitential Psalms. "Since your fellow sisters who were standing near your body while you were in these torments believed you to be dead, and read the seven psalms with the litany, I moved your tongue every now and then with God's permission, through which they would understand that you are not dead yet, because otherwise they would have buried you."]

Once again, the text aims to situate a dying woman's body in a temporal framework suggestive of Christ's passion and narrativize individual trauma as collective trauma. Jacomijne's despair at being abandoned by her angel alludes to Christ's anguished cry of abandonment to his Father. The women around Jacomijne's bed once more stand in for the women on Calvary. Jacomijne's metaphorical paralysis in her inability to leave the torments and to move her tongue doubles as a traumatic reexperiencing of the bodily rigor of plague victims and a reenactment of Christ's confinement to the cross as well as of Mary's swoon. Embedded in the liturgical context of the seven penitential Psalms chanted around Jacomijne's bed, the angel's intervention of repeatedly moving Jacomijne's tongue also is subtly liturgical: it weaves her back into the temporal fabric of the liturgy, and in so doing, stitches her back into the narrative within which the liturgy places believers. (The text's metonymical term for the Divine Office, "hours," also signals its function as a timekeeping device and omnipresent temporal structure.) Once more, the text seeks to compile a narrative out of a series of scattered actions by furnishing a temporal framework and a collective perspective (dramatized by the clarification of the two time frames

by both the angel and the narrator). This narrativization also ostensibly parallels an antimimetic response to trauma. The angel's gesture and the sudden release from the torments reincorporate Jacomijne in her earthly community, disentangling her from the implied community of religious who have broken their vows as well as separating her literal psyche (soul) from trauma. Diegesis is furnished by the angel's ventriloquizing use of Jacomijne's tongue to communicate to the sisters her being alive, while the insistence on the sisters' liturgical time being the "correct" one points to collective rather than individual trauma. The text, in short, attempts to re-enclose Jacomijne and her community in pretraumatic time, anxiously endeavoring to ensure the continued existence of the community defined by that rhythm of the liturgy.

Pandemic trauma, however, intervenes in this narrativizing process by unmooring these liturgical rhythms. In these purgatorial torments, associated with plague, time is doubly out of joint, connoting both individual and collective trauma. These temporal disturbances separate the sisters from one another. From Jacomijne's purgatorial perspective, which encodes individual trauma, the duration of the seven penitential Psalms and the litany (roughly three-quarters of an hour) becomes plastic, stretching to encompass a year as well as to the end of time. The text's explicit contrasting of Jacomijne's purgatorial time and the sisters' liturgical time reveals that even Jacomijne's internalized liturgical time has shattered. These disturbances in time resonate with the temporal ruptures of trauma. Schwab maintains that trauma "violently halts the flow of time."[81] Trauma stops the clock or even demolishes it, and, by extension, the liturgy as well, which vitally scaffolds religious communities' time. From the other sisters' earthly perspective, moreover, the future of Jacomijne's death, four years later, erupts into the sisters' liturgy and the present by means of the sisters' possible conviction that she has passed. In the litany and the penitential Psalms, moreover, a part of the liturgy for Jacomijne's death has already been sung. Past and present coalesce in the Facons sisters' collective trauma; their liturgical time is torn.[82] Read together, the holy woman and the convent are immured in different temporalities, that of individual and collective trauma. Consequently, because of its diverging temporalities, pandemic trauma scatters the community and separates individuals in time, and, as a result, unravels the liturgy, its rhythms, and therefore its narrativizing process as well.

This resistance to narrativization is evinced by how, although the angel moves her tongue, Jacomijne remains mute and unconscious, unable to

participate in the liturgy's communal verbalizing process or even to note the disjuncture between her temporality and that of the other sisters. The resultant *intentio* of despair (thematized in Jacomijne's response to her guardian angel) also fails to adhere to the normative *intentio* of charity. In this case, the text's collective and individual trauma do not easily align with the mimetic orientation. Rather, in affecting both the collective in the self and the self in the collective, and in simultaneously imposing and unmaking the liturgy's temporal structure, trauma in *Visioen en exempel* more closely parallels Caruth's work. In her exegesis of Freud, expounding Freud's account of the "incubation period" between an event and traumatic symptoms, Caruth contends that "the experience of trauma, the fact of latency, would thus seem to consist, not in the forgetting of a reality that can hence never be fully known, but in an inherent latency within the experience itself."[83] Following this line of logic, by allowing the latency of trauma to intervene in the narrativizing process of the liturgy, the text's pandemic trauma compounds attempts to salvage time and reinstill *minne*. Pandemic trauma reveals the clock to have come to a halt during the plague epidemic already.

Pandemic trauma also erupts into the liturgy as sensory chaos, defying narrativization and reinscribing pandemic disorder onto the present liturgy. After Jacomijne has fallen ill and has received the last rites, but before the onset of her visionary journey, the devil appears twice, once in the likeness of a loathsome toad and once in the form of a horrifying dragon; he accuses her of a range of sins, having brought a book recording these transgressions (2r–3r, lines 46–76). His accusations inspire such despair in Jacomijne that her inner behavior disrupts the others' attempts to facilitate her passing over. Noticing her despair, the other sisters, crowding around her bed, attempt to comfort her and remind her of God's mercy, yet she "keerden haer daer van af" [mentally turned away from this] by calling out "van binnen met een verveirelijck gerucht, soo dat haer docht dat de werelt vervult wert met haer geluijt" (3v, lines 85–87) [inwardly with a horrifying noise, so that it seemed to her that the entire world was filled with her sound]. Her inner voice disturbs her participation in the liturgy and the communal life of the convent generally. Later, at the onset of Jacomijne's journey through the afterlife, as she has pilgrimaged through hell for a brief period, hell assaults Jacomijne's hearing in near-identical fashion, as well as her sense of smell: "Daar was eenen stanck die de siel onverdrachelijck scheen te wesen. En als sij noch voorder quamen soo hoorden sij alsoo eijschelijkcken geluijt al oft al dat inder hellen en op den aerden is,

duevelen en menschen en alle ander instrumenten, te samen een stemme hadden uut gegeven die grouwelijck was te hooren." (19v, lines 605–8) [And there was a stench which seemed unbearable to the soul. And when they had gone a little further, they heard a terrible sound, as if all that is in heaven and on earth, devils, humans, and all other instruments jointly produced a single voice, dreadful to hear.] A literal pandemonium perversely aping the sisters' singing as one, hell and its inhabitants make up an infernal choir, both in the denotation of a liturgical space in a chapel and in the sense of a group of singers. The text's choice of "instruments" enhances this sense of disarray. This sensory tumult is resonant with a mimetic understanding of both individual and collective trauma, in that Jacomijne experiences anew plague in the general sensory cacophony of the scene and its intrusive quality. The loud cries hark back to her earlier cries. The stench reinstantiates the corrupted air that some medical understandings believed to be the cause of plague. The noise invokes the transgressions for which Christ has rebuked the sisters at an earlier point in the revelation, and that, Christ claims, prompted him to send the plague. These errors include offices performed negligently, at the wrong moment, and without the correct *intentio*. Jacomijne's experience of hell recalls this chaos. Fragmented, edged with fear, these visionary traumatic sensations resist narrativization. Collective trauma resounds in this noise as well. In its assimilation of all creatures capable of sound to the uncanny loud screech that these creatures produce, ("devils, humans . . . [in] a single voice"), the text conveys intimations of a collective body crumbling, as if remembering the disorder of liturgy performed when many sisters have fallen ill. The medieval Divine Office was highly regulated, with strict stipulations concerning who should recite what and how, but the epidemic in all likelihood disrupted this order. (Sisters too ill to join were exempt from their obligation to celebrate the Divine Office.)[84] Moreover, when the pandemic ripped several individual voices from the aural fabric of the choir, this collective—the whole, which is always more than the sum of its parts—would have been irreparably changed. In hell, Jacomijne hears the voice of plague-afflicted community; she carries the internalized sound of the community's voice (indelibly imprinted on her mind by the liturgy) into hell before reencoding it in her text.

This rendering present again somewhat accords with the mimetic paradigm. In its situating of the community's voice within Jacomijne's voice and vice versa, however, this liturgical aftershock of the epidemic more closely aligns with Caruth's understanding of trauma as incorporating and

transmitting others' trauma. Expounding Freud's reading of the narrative of Tancred and Clorinda in Torquato Tasso's (1544–1595) epic poem *La Gerusalemme liberata*, in which Tancred wounds his beloved Clorinda twice, and in which her voice emanates from the tree in which her soul is trapped, Caruth contends: "The wound which speaks is not precisely Tancred's own but the wound, the trauma, of another. . . . That other voice, the voice of Clorinda . . . represent[s] the other within the self that retains the memory of the 'unwitting' traumatic events of the past."[85] In this sensory chaos, then, collective and individual trauma compound one another, constituting another interplay between collective and personal trauma in pandemic trauma. By parodying the liturgy performed daily by the readers, this sensory excess pervades their present. In the text's pandemic trauma, even postpandemic liturgy reminds readers of the pandemic and the past sins that purportedly provoked this literal act of God. Restoring the liturgy to its state before the epidemic and recovering *minne* seem out of reach. Analogous to Helen Hickey's "monarch whose corporeal body is unable to or reluctant to occupy the political body of kingship,"[86] due to their pandemic trauma, the sisters' physical bodies are unable to take up the position of the body politic of the convent and unable to reclaim *minne*.

To contain this failed narrativization concomitant failure to regain *minne* and restore the liturgy, the silence of individual apophasis floods the narration. Declarations about the ineffability of the horrors of hell punctuate the text. When recounting the beginning of Jacomijne's illness and her preparation for death, the narrator already proclaims: "Och, wat sal ick u veel seggen oft schrijven?" [Ah, what many things could I write or say about this?] (2r, line 37). The text both assumes readers' familiarity with such situations and denies it. Interrupting the narrative, the text's self-referential justification of its production refers to some readers being unable to spiritually grasp Jacomijne's sights (4r, lines 108, 109). Near-identical professions thread through Jacomijne's journey. When she perceives the torments of hell, shown to her as a fiery kettle with sulfur and tar in which souls bubble up, the narrator ponders out loud how to "seggen oft schrijven" [write or speak] about this sight, before stating it can neither be thought nor expressed in writing (20v, lines 636, 637). The text dramatizes this unspeakable quality by explicitly mentioning its elision of some of "eijschelijcke wegen en steden" [terrifying roads and places] that Jacomijne visits (20r, lines 618–19). The description of Jacomijne's ineffable fear when facing Christ, moreover, is calqued upon 1 Corinthians 2:9, an apophatic commonplace in medieval mysticism.[87] These expressions of ineffability

slide into apophaticism through their echoes of the vocabulary applied to Christ's suffering in the text; this vocabulary, in turn, draws on the Passion week readings stressing the incomparability of Christ's agony. The text demands discarding all memory of other written and spoken accounts of similarly terrifying sights. Instead, it enfolds readers in silence and imageless thinking. This maneuver, however, is an individualizing response, and therefore indicative of individual trauma. By insisting on Jacomijne's vision being incommunicable despite being encoded in a text, the text presents her experience of plague as uniquely inaccessible to others, setting her apart. The holy woman falls silent before the horrors of hell, the glory of heaven, and the trauma of the earthly horrors she has seen, unable to address others.

Such drowning out of collective trauma by individual trauma suggests distrust of collective trauma. In other words, by placing these mysteries beyond the limits of expression, the text prefers individual silence to a communal singing voice, ever wary of that voice, and, by implication, its lack of *minne*. In its silencing and the implicit rejection of the narrative conveyed by collective singing, the Facons text confesses itself to believe trauma to have entrenched itself too firmly in the sisters' bodies and liturgical practices for liturgy, and thus for community, to be fully recoverable. Their trauma violently opens up an abyss of silence in individual and communal language and the liturgy. Such a reading of *minne* and the liturgy as irretrievable is corroborated by Jacomijne's later behavior of turning away from the community after her revelatory experience.[88] Moreover, in presenting the liturgy as marred by pandemic chaos and silences, the text also prevents the sisters' collective singing from participating in the salvation narrative that the liturgy, forever cycling from Christ's birth through his death to his resurrection, recounts until the Last Day. Plague does not fit the narrative, nor can it constitute one. My more pessimistic reading of *Visioen en exempel* somewhat diverges from Rabia Gregory's, who in her juxtaposition of several Devotio Moderna visionaries, argues for *Visioen en exempel* as "promot[ing] heartfelt penitence and confessions made out of love rather than fear" and as optimistic about and conservative in its informal reformist project.[89] Even the very presence of plague in the context of the text's reformist project acts as an indictment of the community and its spiritual negligence. The presence of collective trauma indicates the urgency of reform. In this deferral to the traumatic logic that sees the pandemic as an expression of divine reformist intent, *Visioen en exempel*'s logic is inescapably fatalist, incapable of looking beyond the terror of the

pandemic, unable to look to any rebirth or resurrection for the community. Neither the community nor its liturgy can be redeemed. In its distrust of collective trauma and resultant silencing thereof, this text, too, brings collective and individual trauma into conflict in pandemic trauma.

In these ethical ramifications, *Visoen en exempel* can enter a generative conversation with modern trauma theory. Caruth conceives of trauma as a figure of "what is known, but also to what remains unknown in our language and our actions."[90] She thus links trauma to "language that defies, even as it claims, our understanding."[91] Silence veils and unveils trauma, like a scar. Paradoxically, for Caruth, this linguistic unconsciousness undergirds individuals' capacity for "listening to another's wound"—that is, sharing in one another's trauma.[92] While also linking traumatic language to the ineffable, the Facons text does not share this ethical confidence in the circulation of trauma, or even the assumption that the inexpressible in language is capable of being shared. Rather, it cloisters each sister in silent individual trauma, as also intimated by the critical response from contemporary readers at which the text hints. Not all is lost, however. In this silence, and in the text's resistance to narrativization, the text also parallels Ingham's critique of both Caruth and Leys. Both, Ingham asserts, "remain optimistic about the political and cultural gains whenever a victimized subject expresses the suffering wrought by wounding."[93] Jacomijne is engaged in a similar resistance to salvific recuperation of trauma as Ingham attributes to Chaucer; for Jacomijne, too, "the remembered wound speaks . . . but is not a figure for remediation."[94] Nevertheless, the text's silencing of the community (and, by extension, of Jacomijne) arguably also deprives that community of the capacity to interrogate the text's mesh of assumptions about redemption and suffering from within. Whenever the text attempts to ascend to spiritual or critical transcendence, trauma engulfs the text, its current pulling it back to silence.

CONCLUSION: PLACES OF HAUNTING AND HEALING

Reading both texts as pandemic trauma narratives reveals how both bear the scars of pandemic trauma, which they seek to immure (in the sense of contain and enclose) in the liturgy. Several points of convergence and divergence emerge. In both texts, the memory of the liturgy attempts to reinstill the *minne* required for the continued existence of the convent, bolsters enclosure, and recovers a liturgical way of being in time, thus seeking to

restore what is most lost. In both, pandemic trauma scatters collective ways of being in time, promotes individual silence over communal celebration, and raises stricter boundaries between "us" and "them."

The texts' negotiations of pandemic trauma also diverge. The memory of the liturgy anxiously protects the community against new waves of the pandemic, but the texts deviate in their confidence in this project. The Diepenveen sister-book presents recovery of pretraumatic liturgy and charity through liturgical memory as challenging yet urgently possible. The Facons text, in contrast, understands this project to be in vain, on account of a trauma-related lack of spiritual attention. In both texts, trauma refracts these efforts, breaking into the liturgy and enclosure. The Diepenveen sister-book nevertheless insists that the community will ultimately be delivered from the effects of the pandemic, whereas *Visioen en exempel* believes the terrors to have entrenched themselves too firmly in the sisters' bodies and liturgical practices. In the one text, the liturgy becomes self-transcendent, but in the other, the rhythm of the liturgy ultimately means that a return of the pandemic is as inevitable as the return of each of the Psalms.

Reading these texts for pandemic trauma shows a distinct interplay between individual and collective trauma. Pandemic trauma places collective and individual trauma in conflict, despite being inextricably intertwined, even amplifying or reinforcing one another. Caught in this double bind, these texts cannot help redeeming one form of trauma in order to condemn the other. In this fashion, pandemic trauma encloses these women and the readers of the texts as rigidly as their convent walls. These texts also furnish examples of attempts to work through pandemic trauma, both at collective and individual level. In these texts, therefore, collective and individual well-being are fully interdependent.

If trauma can be weaponized as a "tool of dominance," in Jennifer Griffiths's words,[95] this encounter between modern trauma theory and medieval trauma, between medieval women's voices and modern theory, also enhances our understanding of the liturgy and trauma as regimes. Firstly, the texts deploy trauma to demand praying the liturgy with an *intentio* of love, transfiguring all prayer into a prayer for the maintenance of the community. In this fashion, the texts weaponize the very trauma to which they attempt to witness, in order to impress upon the sisters the vital importance of dwelling within another in love, on which the translation of their liturgical practices into prayers for the maintenance of the community depends. In both texts, love, enclosure, and the community's continued existence become mutually constitutive. The sisters are ever within

that communal body and voice, ever enclosed. In this manner, the liturgy retraumatizes as much as it consoles. The liturgy engages in "voicing the wound" and thus "continue[s] rather than repair[s] the fact of wounding," as Ingham notes of *Troilus and Criseyde*. Secondly, trauma also forces the sisters to wear the rose-tinted glasses of *minne*. The angel's description of the sisters around Jacomijne's bed and the conversation between Beatrix and her niece emblematize a deliberate choice to see these events with an *intentio* of *minne*. For these texts to see charity as a protective antidote to the horrors of plague seems absurd to modern readers. How could they see love as expressing itself in the agonies they saw in their sisters? The texts intimate, however, that only when deliberately looking with an *intentio* of *minne*, of love, can they find themselves looking at love translated. Similarly, by prescribing such an *intentio* of charity, the trauma pervading the text exhorts the women to read enclosure (and its attendant exclusion of sisters who do not conform) as expressions of human and divine love rather than of painfully fraught control. In both cases, this utilizing of suffering maps onto Hollywood's assertions about medieval meditation, in which "the making visceral of Christ's suffering in the soul . . . is a means of inducing emotion only in order to redeploy that suffering towards certain narrative and salvific ends."[96] In a word, love recollects them and remembers them. The "voice from the wound" becomes the voice that prays for the maintenance of the community.

To conclude, reading these texts as pandemic trauma narratives alerts us to the work that pandemic trauma is made to perform, and raises questions concerning the ethical ramifications of such projects. The fact that the sisters hope against hope that the pandemic will never enter the convent again suggests that their pandemic trauma violently bursts its interpretative frames. The complexity of their response reminds us that reading pain as redemptive or irredeemable is a political act. To see God in trauma reveals as much, and possibly more, about the power enacted in this seeing as about the traumatized victim and the divinity. These texts thus draw our attention to how these texts deploy psychic wounds to scaffold the expectation that the traumatizing event and its personal and corporate aftermath are generative and redemptive. It also alerts us to how trauma is made to uphold fictions about particular constellations of identities being more resilient to trauma. In making these traumas speak, these texts risk silencing these women, even as they speak and sing. Love may dwell in and around their scars, but whether love can exalt and erase these psychic marks of injury, and whether it should, remains a question material and open today.

NOTES

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1. Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, Ms. 101 E 26 KL, 387v–387r. This manuscript is usually given the siglum DV. I am deeply grateful to Wybren Scheepsma for his scholarly generosity providing me with a transcript of DV, which will form the basis of his forthcoming edition and English translation (in collaboration with David F. Johnson): W.F. Scheepsma, ed., with Ingrid Biesheuvel, Erik Kwakkel, and Thom Mertens, *The Sisterbook of Diepenveen (Manuscript DV): An Edition and Translation of MS Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 E 26 KL*, trans. David F. Johnson (Brepols, forthcoming). Another, shorter manuscript witness ("D") constitutes a redaction of the sister-book (Zwolle, Collectie Overijssel, van Rhemen Collectie 0321 no. 1, Aanwinst 1941 | 5). An early twentieth-century edition is available: D. A. Brinkerink, ed., *Van den Doechden der Vuriger ende Stichtiger Susteren van Diepenveen*, Biblioteek van Middelnederlandsche letterkunde (J. B. Wolters, 1904). Quotations from the vernacular texts will be given in the original Middle Low German or Middle Dutch and in English. The English translations of sister-book are taken from David F. Johnson's translation in this edition (with the exception of the first translation). I follow Scheepsma for normalizations of names and dates of death. The English translations of *Visioen en exempel* are my own, drawing partially on Geertruida de Moor's modern Dutch translation (see footnote 10).

2. Ed. Scheepsma, "DV," n387v; Annette Maria (Anne) Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio Moderna: Volkssprachige Schwesternbücher in Literarhistorischer Perspektive" (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2004), 535n278.

3. Ed. Scheepsma, "DV," n387v; Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio Moderna," 539, 515n223.

4. Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 41.

5. Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (University of Chicago Press, 2000), 2.

6. Leys, *Trauma*. This essay's conversation between Leys and Cathy Caruth with reference to mimesis is partially indebted to Patricia Grace Ingham's approach in "Chaucer's Haunted Aesthetics: Mimesis and Trauma in *Troilus and Criseyde*," *College English* 72, no. 3 (2010): 226–247.

7. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

8. Eric Wertheimer and Monica J. Casper, "Within Trauma: An Introduction," in *Critical Trauma Studies: Understanding Violence, Conflict, and Memory in Everyday Life*, ed. Monica J. Casper and Eric Wertheimer (NYU Press, 2016), 1–16, at 5.

9. Sonja Kerth, "Narratives of Trauma in Medieval German Literature," in *Trauma in Medieval Society*, ed. Wendy J. Turner and Christina Lee (Brill, 2018), 274–97, at 297.

10. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Series Nova 12.827, 1r–102r; Wybren Scheepsma, ed. "De Helletocht van Jacomijne Costers († 1503)," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 70, no. 2 (1996): 157–85. A larger selection of the texts in this compilation has been transcribed in Geertruida de Moor, "Twee Vrouwen van de *Devotio Moderna*. De Geschriften en de Invloed van Jacomijne Costers en Mechtild van Rieviren" (Catholic University of America, 2011).

11. Scheepsma, "Helletocht," 162n4.

12. Scheepsma, "Helletocht," 157.

13. Paul Strohm, *Theory and the Premodern Text* (University of Minnesota Press, 2000), xiii.

14. Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 97; *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

15. Margaret Cotter-Lynch and Brad Herzog, introduction to *Reading Memory and Identity in the Texts of Medieval European Holy Women*, ed. Margaret Cotter-Lynch and Brad Herzog (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1–11, at 2.

16. Anne Bollmann, "Memoria für die Zukunft: Zur Gestaltung von Erinnerung in den Schwesternbüchern der Devotio moderna," *Medieval Low Countries* 2 (January 2015): 155–85; Cheryl Glenn, "Popular Literacy in the Middle Ages: *The Book of Margery Kempe*," in *Popular Literacy: Studies in Cultural Practices and Poetics*, ed. John Trimbur (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 56–73.

17. John Van Engen, "Communal Life: The Sister-Books," in *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Rosalynn Voaden and Alastair Minnis, Brepols Collected Essays in European Culture 1 (Brepols, 2010), 105–31, at 109.

18. Bollmann, "Memoria," 155–85; cf. Margarete Hubrath, "Monastische Memoria als Denkform in der Viten- und Offenbarungsliteratur aus Süddeutschen Frauenklöstern des Spätmittelalters." *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 27, no. 1 (1997): 22–38.

19. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 97; *Book of Memory*.

20. Rebecca R. L. Garber, *Feminine Figurae: Representations of Gender in Religious Texts by Medieval German Woman Writers, 1100–1375* (Routledge, 2003), 62.

21. Gabriele Schwab, *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma* (Columbia University Press, 2010), 42.

22. Joshua Pederson, "Trauma and Narrative," in *Trauma and Literature*, ed. J. Roger Kurtz (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 97–109, at 101.

23. Andrew Barnaby, "The Psychoanalytic Origins of Literary Trauma Studies," in *Trauma and Literature*, ed. J. Roger Kurtz (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 21–35, at 32.

24. Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur"; Van Engen, "Communal Life," 124.

25. Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The "Modern Devotion," the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings* (Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 139.

26. Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, 175.

27. Schwab, *Haunting Legacies*, 41.

28. Kai Erikson, *Everything in Its Path: Destruction of Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood* (Simon and Schuster, 1976), 153.

29. Erikson, *Everything in Its Path*, 154.

30. Kai Erikson, "Notes on Trauma and Community," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 183–99, at 187, 185.

31. For Devotio Moderna passion meditation, see, e.g., Anna Dlabačová, "Illustrated Incunabula as Material Objects: The Case of the Devout Hours on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ," in *Inwardness, Individualization, and Religious Agency in the Late Medieval Low Countries*, ed. Rijcklof Hofman et al., Medieval Church Studies 43 (Brepols, 2020), 181–221. For medieval passion meditation and imagination generally, see Michelle Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation, and Cognition in the Middle Ages* (University of Chicago Press, 2011).

32. Amy Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 77.

33. Cf. Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, Middle Ages Series (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

34. David Aers, "The Humanity of Christ: Reflections on Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Love*," in *Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture*, ed. David Aers and Lynn Staley (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 77–104, 35; Amy Hollywood, "Inside Out: Beatrice of Nazareth and Her Hagiographer," in *Acute Melancholia and Other Essays: Mysticism, History, and the Study of Religion* (Columbia University Press, 2016), 191–212; Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

35. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (Zone Books, 1991), 101.

36. Jennifer Griffiths, "Feminist Interventions in Trauma Studies," in *Trauma and Literature*, ed. J. Roger Kurtz (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 181–95.

37. For a critique of modern theory's tendency to transfigure trauma into an avenue for the inexpressible, see LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, 23, 24, 58, 59. For a vivisection of the problematics of ventriloquizing textual voices that draws on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's famed query, see Robert Mills, "Can the Virgin Martyr Speak?," in *Medieval Virginities*, ed. Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih (University of Toronto Press, 2003), 187–213.

38. Hollywood, *Acute Melancholia*, 171–81.

39. Sophie Sexon, "Gender-Querying Christ's Wounds: A Non-Binary Interpretation of Christ's Body in Late Medieval Imagery," in *Trans and Genderqueer Subjects in Medieval Hagiography*, ed. Alicia Spencer-Hall and Blake Gutt (Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 133–54.

40. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 7, 8.

41. Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur"; Van Engen, "Communal Life," 124.

42. Scheepsma refers to this exhortation to aim for spiritual virtue as *paraenesis*. Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, 146; Thom Mertens, "Het Diepenveense Zusterboek Als Exponent van Gemeenschapstichtende Kloosterliteratuur," in *Het Ootmoedig Fundament van*

Diepenveen: Zeshonderd Jaar Maria en Sint-Agneskloosterr, 1400–2000, ed. Wybren Scheepsma, IJsselacademie (Kampen: 2002), 77–94.

43. Van Engen, "Communal Life," 109; Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, for Women, about Women: The Sister-Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996), 32, 41–42; Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur," 223–28; Anton G. Weiler, "Het 'Oetmodighe Fondament van Dyepenven': Geestelijke Begeleiding in Een Windesheims Vrouwenklooster," in *Het Ootmoedig Fundament van Diepenveen: Zeshonderd Jaar Maria en Sint-Agneskloosterr, 1400–2000*, ed. Wybren Scheepsma (IJsselacademie, 2002), 113–28, at 126.

44. I follow Anne Bollmann and John Van Engen in grouping the sister-books from the German-speaking lands and the Low Countries into roughly a single textual family. Although critics also refer to this textual family as "convent chronicles" or "nuns' vitae," I deploy the term *sister-book* throughout to indicate that Middle Dutch sister-books chronicle the lives of canonesses regular as well as semireligious women (all "sisters"). Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur," 184; Van Engen, "Communal Life"; Garber, *Feminine Figurae*, 62; Lewis, *By Women*, 32–57.

45. Susanne Bürkle, *Literatur im Kloster: Historische Funktion und Rhetorische Legitimation Frauenmystischer Texte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Francke, 1999), 317; Lewis, *By Women*, 48–50, 56–57.

46. However, earlier scholars presented it as eastern Middle Dutch.

47. This discussion follows scholarly convention in referring to these Devotio Moderna biographies as *vite* (plural *viten*). Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, 142; Weiler, "Oetmodighe Fondament," 113–14. For Devotio Moderna sister-books' unique reconfiguration of medieval hagiography, see Mathilde van Dijk, "Ik Was Daar Meesteres in de Zonde: Heilige Zondaressen in Windesheimer Kring," in *"Een Boec Dat Men Te Latine Heet Aurea Legenda: Beiträge Zur Niederländische Übersetzung Der Legenda Aurea*, ed. Amand Berteloot, Hans van Dijk, and Jasmin Hlatky (Waxmann, 2003), 181–94.

48. Ms. Series Nova 12.827, 1r–102r; Scheepsma, "Helletocht," 159, 160.

49. Scheepsma, "Helletocht," 159, 160.

50. Geertruida de Moor distinguishes between "The Particular Judgment of Jacomijne Costers," (1r–45v) which contains the aforementioned vision of the afterlife, exhortation, several secondary visions, and an account of Jacomijne's life after her vision of purgatory and hell; "Christ's Revelations to Mechtild van Rieviren" (revelations shown to Jacomijne's close friend) (45v–57r); "Preparation for Receiving the Holy Sacrament" (63v–68r); "The Three Vows" (82v–88v); and "John the Evangelist" (89r–102r).

51. Scheepsma, "Helletocht"; Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, 177.

52. Ed. De Moor, "Twee Vrouwen," 36v.

53. She was one of the eleven sisters who fell victim to this pandemic in 1503, along with eight "women donates." Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, 175.

54. Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women*, 176.

55. Anna Dlabačová, Rijcklof Hofman, and Koen Goudriaan, "Wat is de Moderne Devotie?," in *De Moderne Devotie: Spiritualiteit en Cultuur vanaf de Late Middeleeuwen*, ed. Anna Dlabačová and Rijcklof Hofman (WBOOKS, 2018), 12–15, at 15.

56. For surveys, see, e.g., Rudolf van Dijk, "Het Vrouwenklooster Diepenveen in Zijn Historische Context," in *Het Ootmoedig Fundament van Diepenveen: Zeshonderd Jaar Maria en Sint-Agneskloosterr, 1400–2000*, ed. Wybren Scheepsma (IJsselacademie, 2002), 15–39; Koen Goudriaan, "Beeldvorming Tot Nu Toe," in *De Moderne Devotie: Spiritualiteit en Cultuur vanaf de Late Middeleeuwen*, ed. Anna Dlabačová and Rijcklof Hofman (WBOOKS, 2018), 22–23.

57. Van Engen, "Communal Life," 6; Mathilde van Dijk, "The Devotio Moderna, the Emotions and the Search for 'Dutchness,'" *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review* 129, no. 2 (2014): 20–42, at 40; Rijcklof Hofman, "Inwardness and Individualization in the Late Medieval Low Countries: An Introduction," in *Inwardness, Individualization, and Religious Agency in the Late Medieval Low Countries*, ed. Rijcklof Hofman et al. (Brepols, 2020), 1–34, at 12–15; Mertens, "Het Diepenveense Zusterboek als Exponent van Gemeenschapstichtende Kloosterliteratuur."

58. Ed. Scheepsma, "DV," n343r.

59. Leys, *Trauma*, 13, 30–35.

60. René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Responsoria, Versus, Hymni et Varia*, vol. 4 of *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta: Series maior, Fontes (Herder, 1963), no. 6622;

Cantus Index: Online Catalogue for Mass and Office Chants, no. 006622, accessed July 23, 2022, http://cantusindex.org/.

61. Cantus Index, no. 601142.
62. Leys, *Trauma*, 9.
63. Leys, *Trauma*, 37.
64. Ingham, "Chaucer's Haunted Aesthetics," 229.
65. Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy*, 78.
66. John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 186.
67. Barbara Newman, *The Permeable Self: Five Medieval Relationships* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 6.
68. An-Katrien Hanselaer and Jeroen Deploige, "'Van Groeter Bannicheit Hoers Herten': De Conditionering van de Alledaagse Gevoelswereld in Vrouwelijke Gemeenschappen uit de Laatmiddeleeuwse Moderne Devotie," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 126, no. 4 (2013): 480–99.
69. Leys, *Trauma*, 30.
70. Newman, *Permeable Self*, 87.
71. Ayoush Lazikani, "The Wounded Beloved: Affective Wounding in *Ancrene Wisse* and the Wooing Group," *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 47 (2016): 115–35, at 115.
72. I wish to thank Marit Scheepsma for alerting me to these instances of reticence or inability on the part of the Diepenveen sisters to speak directly about plague.
73. For the impact of the Devotio Moderna in the German-speaking lands, see Anne Bollmann, "The Influence of the Devotio Moderna in Northern Germany," in *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann, and Ann Simon, (Brill, 2014), 231–60.
74. Augustine of Hippo, *De Doctrina Christiana*, trans. and ed. R. P. H. Green, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford University Press, 1995), bk. 3.16.35, p. 16.
75. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 15–16.
76. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 2.
77. Ingham, "Chaucer's Haunted Aesthetics," 242.
78. Dirk de Man, ed., *Hier Beginnen Sommige Stichtige Punten van Onsen Oelden Zusteren* (Nijhoff, 1919), 121, note a.
79. Scheepsma, "Helletocht," 164n18; R. Th. M. (Rudolf) van Dijk, "De Constituties der Windesheimse Vrouwenkloosters vóór 1559: Bijdrage tot de Institutionele Geschiedenis van het Kapittel van Windesheim," (PhD diss., Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1986), 347, 762.
80. Hanselaer and Deploige, "Van Groeter Bannicheit Hoers Herten."
81. Schwab, *Haunting Legacies*, 42.
82. Mathilde van Dijk identifies similar disruptions in Devotio Moderna hagiography, but in queer resistance to gender boundaries rather than to time. M. van Dijk, "Heilige Zondaressen."
83. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 17.
84. R. Th. M. van Dijk, "Constituties," 390–402.
85. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 8.
86. Helen Hickey, "Royal Trauma and Traumatized Subjects in Late Medieval England and France," in *Trauma in Medieval Society*, ed. Wendy J. Turner and Christina Lee, (Brill, 2018), 341–59, at 358.
87. Scheepsma, "Helletocht," 165n22.
88. De Moor, "Twee Vrouwen," 36v.
89. Rabia Gregory, "Thinking of Their Sisters: Authority and Authorship in Late Medieval Women's Religious Communities," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 40, no. 1 (2014): 75–100, at 91, 92.
90. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 4.
91. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 5.
92. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 8.
93. Ingham, "Chaucer's Haunted Aesthetics," 228.
94. Ingham, "Chaucer's Haunted Aesthetics," 236.
95. Griffiths, "Feminist Interventions in Trauma Studies," 181.
96. Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy*, 78.