

**“Masculinities in the Premodern World:
Continuities, Change, and Contradictions”**

**Victoria College, University of Toronto
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ABSTRACTS

(In alphabetical order by presenter)

(Updated: 14 September 2020)

Ronda ARAB (Simon Fraser U)

“Sexual Violence and Interclass Masculine Competition in Early Modern English Drama”

I propose to consider how the intersection of male sexual violence with class relationships and class conflict is represented in early modern literature and particularly in early modern drama, where rape and other forms of sexual violence are frequent motifs. Understanding sexual violence as primarily a crime of power rather than a crime of passion, I examine how a number of dramatic representations of sexual violence against women reveal violence or threat of violence as an act masculinist assertion aimed at another man and deployed to level class distinctions between men and/or to seize power, authority, or masculine status within the male competitions structuring the social hierarchy of patriarchal society.

Uta AYALA (Northwestern U)

“I am other than who I was’: Doing Trans in *Le Roman de Silence*”

I offer an analysis of one late thirteenth-century romance in which a young noble hero flees his home in search of adventure and a new life of his own making. Unlike so many that can claim this synopsis for their own, *Le Roman de Silence* presents us with an unlikely hero: a boy who begins his life as a girl. Much of the scholarship on this romance has relied on terms such as “transvestite” and “cross-dressing” to describe its eponymous hero, comparing “her” to the many holy cross-dressers of hagiography, such as Saint Marina and Euphrosyne. This paper offers an alternative interpretation of Silence’s adventures as a “li vallés mescine”, or boy-maiden. Extracted from a larger project that investigates the way transformation can signify the self’s capacity to change in response to trauma and violence, I argue that Silence’s gender journey (from female infant to boy to man to female woman) represents a more substantive and somatic change than a mere change of clothes. Following Jay Prosser’s assertion that “transitioning is what transsexuals *do*,” I mobilize trans* as a heuristic for reading *Le Roman de Silence*, advancing the theory that Silence is not merely disguised, but in fact transformed. I argue that discarding terms like “transvestite” or “cross-dresser” is not merely a response to current political or semantic exigencies, but rather a necessary heuristic for laying bare the iterative and non-binary transformations that take place at every turn in the romance.

Adriana BENZAQUÉN (Mount Saint Vincent U)

“These small sumptomes of my obediense”: Negotiating Masculinity and Father-Son Conflict through Letter-Writing”

Drawing on recent insights from the history of youth, masculinity, the emotions, and letter-writing, this paper explores the fraught relationship between an English adolescent, Edward Clarke, and his father through analysis of about two hundred letters written between 1667 and 1672, while Edward—who would grow up to be John Locke’s closest friend and a whig MP—was a student at Oxford and the Inner Temple. I show how, in the letters, father and son negotiated the terms of their relationship and how distance and time gave rise to and intensified, but also diffused, the conflicts between them. Despite Edward’s undoubtedly sincere commitment to being an obedient and humble son, on some occasions he could not help displaying a streak of impatience and even resentment at his father’s strictures and demands when they seemed excessive or unreasonable. I focus on two central topics, money and health, to trace the tension between expressions of affection, deference, and gratitude on the one hand and a growing desire for manly assertiveness and autonomy on the other.

Jodi BILINKOFF (U of North Carolina at Greensboro)

“Fathers, Friars, Sons, and Saint-Makers: John of the Cross and His Earliest *Discípulos*”

Today the Spanish saint John of the Cross (1542-91) is esteemed as a mystic and a poet. Less known is his role as the founder and administrator of monastic houses. In 1567, the future St. Teresa of Avila charged John with establishing the male branch of the Discalced Carmelite Order she had founded five years earlier. Accordingly, John recruited and mentored younger men as friars, especially when he served as the prior of houses in Granada and Segovia. After his death, several of these *discípulos* would, in turn, actively promote his canonization as a saint. In this paper, I explore John’s relationships with his spiritual sons and their interventions as deponents at beatification hearings, editors, and biographers. The resulting texts, I suggest, shed light on male friendships, shared emotional lives, models of clerical masculinity, and the construction of memory in early modern Catholic Europe.

Elena BRIZIO (Georgetown U, Fiesole Campus)

“If my sons will have no male heirs’: Legal and Social Solutions to a Patriarchal Dread.”

In the patriarchal society of the Italian Renaissance, it was considered fundamental to have as many sons as possible so as to pass on to them the family goods and titles, and to ensure that the family name might continue—according to the expectations—forever. The high death rate, in fact, could put at risk this 'natural' continuation and thus legal expedients were set to manage this risk. One recurrent solution was to substitute a deceased son with a surviving son in order to prevent the possibility of loss of the family assets. But what if there were no surviving males to continue the bloodline? What if only the female children survived? Using legal and archival documentation as a point of departure this paper will describe and analyze the legal and social solutions that families created (especially in Siena) to limit the adverse effects of what was perceived as something to be avoided, and thereby to elude forever any possibility of the disappearance of the family’s name and wealth.

Joanna BUKOWSKA (Adam Mickiewicz U, Poland)

“The Silhouettes of Men in Selected Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Texts”

The paper explores the representation of late medieval male characters, and by extension the changes affecting the medieval ideal of masculinity, in a peculiar context, that is in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century English texts, which give particular emphasis to female agency, such as *The Flower and the Leaf*, *The Assembly of Ladies*, *The Isle of the Ladies*. Although all these texts are anonymous and their potential female authorship remains a matter of speculation, they all present the relationships between man and women from the perspectives of their female narrators and characters. The focus on female concerns creates, thus, narrative space for both the representation of the traditional patterns of medieval manliness and for their renegotiation, which is shown as potentially beneficial for both sexes. The aggressive assertion of power rooted in the chivalric tradition and the dominance of men over women originating in the patriarchal structure of the medieval society are exposed in these poems as responsible for female suffering and male estrangement. The subtle alterations in these patterns that these late medieval texts call for involve the necessity of taking the voices of both sexes into consideration and of replacing the imposition of the will of one sex over the other with the peaceful negotiation of power positions and mutual respect.

Erin J. CAMPBELL (U of Victoria, BC)

“At Home with Men: Place and the Making of Masculinities in the Early Modern Domestic Interior”

Approaching early modern masculinities as fluid, unstable, and contradictory, this paper examines the role of space, place, and materiality in the making of masculine identities, using the elite Bolognese domestic interior as a case study. The late-sixteenth century in Bologna is a period of dynamic social change with elite families jockeying for position and power through the family palazzo. Focusing on selected examples of painted narrative friezes by the Carracci and others in the Palazzo Magnani and Palazzo Fava, the paper will show how masculinities are always *emplaced*: enfolded with architecture, artworks, and furnishings throughout the home. Place and the processes of placemaking are rarely considered in studies of masculinities; yet, place, and the spatial and material forms that constitute it, is the medium through which social processes happen. To approach masculinities as emplaced allows us to scrutinize how they are created through location, material form, and the senses.

Emilio Giovanni CAPUTO (Prince George, BC)

“And In Their Image, Man Made God: Masculinity, Hierarchy, and Obedience in the Medieval Spanish Military Orders”

Sexuality and war occupied much of the discussions surrounding the new knighthood that originated in the Holy Land in the twelfth century. Seemingly antithetical to Christianity, these soldiers of Christ blended monasticism with a secular tradition of violence. Together, these incongruous worlds formed a masculinity known only to the military orders. While Gender Studies is not new to the military orders, few scholars have addressed what it was to be a man in a world almost entirely devoid of women. Further, distinct regionalism in Spain offers scholars a new view of how the orders were shaped by the places they inhabited. The unwashed Templars are the ideal, living in chastity and obedience to God. Yet in Spain, a land dominated by frontier

society, masculinity in the military orders was more pragmatic, inducting children and married men. My talk will challenge established academia about a crusading masculinity by using the Templars and the Order of Santiago as a case study of how frontier life altered an established tradition, creating a new regional knighthood that more closely resembled secular masculinity.

Lisa CELOVSKY (Suffolk U, Boston)

“Gendering Courtiership: The Case of Philip Sidney”

Philip Sidney is an iconic courtier of the premodern era, but his experience is due for fresh assessment in light of recent scholarship on masculinities. This paper will consider how Sidney, as both consumer and creator of the mores of courtesy, designed his own models of masculine courtiership, particularly in the chivalric works that he both wrote and participated in. Sidneian masculinity was inflected by class: without lineage and inheritance to confer aristocratic status at court, Sidney strove to further familial traditions of courtiership that included language acquisition, military sensibility, and masculine prowess and display in courtly sports and entertainments. Ultimately, this paper places Sidney’s example in dialogue with the scholarship on female courtiership produced in the past couple of decades. Given what we now know of women’s networking within patronage systems and their facility with self-fashioning and self-advocacy, what, if anything, distinguishes masculine from feminine courtiership?

Kirsty DAY (Aalborg U, Denmark)

“Masculinity, Emotions and Authority at the Curia of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216)”

Research into clerical masculinity is a rich and inspiring sub-field of medieval masculinity studies. In addition to illuminating the complex relationships between masculinity and sexuality in the context of the high-medieval clergy, it also enabled us to see how the restructuring of the gender system provoked a radical re-imagining of how the church acted as a body of governance within medieval society. No-one has yet used these important insights to create a framework for understanding papal masculinity and its relationship with authority, even though they helpfully disrupt the idea that the pope’s maleness is an accepted norm and remind us that it was continuously performed and tested. As Katherine Harvey has shown, using methods from history of emotions scholarship can also help to make legible hidden codes of masculinity in texts produced by and on high-ranking ecclesiasts. Focussing on the curia of Pope Innocent III, my proposed paper will examine how the emotional rhetoric employed by Innocent and his curia contributed to the curial construction and maintenance of an exclusively masculine authority.

Jennifer Mara DESILVA (Ball State U)

“Provision to Office and Clerical Masculinity”

Recently historians have explored the practical advantages offered by nepotism, revealing its widespread acceptance. For clergy, nepotism had complementary aims: as a way to fill offices with loyal assistants, and to disseminate ecclesiastical wealth and responsibility to unemployed men. While the mechanics of office resignation and regression are well known, little has been said about how this enhanced clerical masculinity. In the same way that a lay patriarch sought appropriate marriage partners for his children, a clerical patriarch sought to provide worthy relatives and clients to offices. This action would introduce junior clergy to new responsibilities,

while vouching for their skills, deliver new income streams, and launch new mini-patriarchs who could enhance the larger family's status. This presentation begins with Pope Martin V's bull *Etsi prudens paterfamilias* (1427) to show how elite Catholic clergy understood provision office as part of the dominant model of early modern clerical masculinity.

Kelly DEVRIES (Loyola U Maryland)

“How ‘Manly’ were Medieval Soldiers?”

Around 635 a 55-year-old Avaro-Lombard horse-archer received a blunt-force blow to his head, penetrating the skull and brain membrane, yet his body tells us that this was not the cause of death; it was already healing when an arrow later killed him. In 1403 Henry V was shot by an arrow that penetrated his face next to the nose and lodged in the back of his skull, yet he continued to lead his men in a maneuver that would win the battle of Shrewsbury. And in 1522 at the Ottoman siege of Rhodes eyewitness Jacques de Bourbon refuses to say anything about his own wound because on the same day their engineer, Gabriel Tadini di Martinengo, was shot through the eye while siting artillery positions. Tadini would return to the fighting 6 weeks later. Drawn from archaeological and written work, this paper will give several examples of medieval soldiers who exceeded “normal” pain and endurance thresholds. It will suggest that definitions of masculinity need to be broadened to include these superhuman men who all too frequently appear throughout medieval history.

Sara E. DÍAZ (Fairfield U, CT)

“The *Bella Donna* and the *Zerbino*: Female Authorship and Effeminate Masculinity in Margherita Costa's 1639 *Lettere amoroze*”

Margherita Costa was the most prolific secular female author of early modern Italy. Her 1639 *Lettere amoroze* is a unique foray by a woman into the male-dominated world of ludic letters. Reprinted several times during her own life time, her letter book alternates prose and poetry, male and female voices, conventional and exceptional lovers. Among its parodic letters are exchanges featuring two effeminate *zerbini*, or dandies, who are sharply rebuked by the women they attempt to woo. These risible masculine types, openly mocked for their feminine clothing, mannerisms, and vanities, are familiar whipping posts for Costa. They appear in two of her early verse collection, *La chitarra* and *Lo stipo*, marking Costa's early experiments with comic forms, and anticipate the preening paramour of her 1641 comedy, *Li buffoni*. This paper will trace Costa's repeated efforts to police marginal masculinity, and consider the intersections of female authorship and effeminacy in her satirical works.

Hilary DODA (Dalhousie U)

“Spurs and Negotiations of Masculinity in Late Medieval and Early Modern England”

Shifts in the masculine ideal in the late medieval and early modern periods changed the ways in which gender was performed. The spur, alternately riding equipment and fashion item, was entangled with concepts of elite performative masculinity that centred around control over both others and the self. The physicality of the spur reshaped performances of manhood in dress, movement, and engagement with the environment, extending from the body and helping to define the masculine as constrictive bodices defined the feminine. Examination of artifacts,

literary references, language use, and the appearance of the spur in both popular and formal art exposes the important role the spur played in the construction of gendered identity in late pre-modern England. The transitive properties that the spur embodied opened spaces for men of the middling classes and for elite women to engage with spur-wearing as part of their negotiations with gender and identity.

José R. DOMINICCI-BUZÓ (Boston U)

“Redefining Virility in the *Carajicomedia*: Female Perspectives to Male Sexual Problems in the Prostibulary Literature of Pre-Modern Spain”

The approximations around the construct of male virility in the Modern Age literature open an endless interrogative gap, which allows the reader of the 21st century to problematize masculinity in relation to the perspective of its antihero: femininity. In 1519 the figure of Diego Fajardo already implored the intervention of an old prostitute as a result of his impotence: «you are the one to ask for, I dare, / then you rise and make new / the dead, the old» (Co. VII). The *Carajicomedia*, unexplored and unknown, is the oasis of eroticism and the backwater of Hispanic prostibulary literature. As a story of a man who exasperatedly seeks to recover his sexual potency, the *Carajicomedia* is a crossbreed of verse and prose where we are allowed to analyze the symbolic death of a man in society at the same time as his penis also dies. Additionally, this presentation will examine the image of the prostitute as the cause of and remedy for the male problems.

Kate DRISCOLL (Freie Universität Berlin)

“Cries of Conquest in Early Opera: Men’s Wounded Song and the Gendered Politics of Lament”

This paper studies the early modern lament as a “boundary phenomenon” (Comay, 2014), subject to its own transcendence of boundaries by male speakers who complicate the genre’s history as a “feminine” form of expression. My key examples are historical figures represented in early Italian opera; namely, Nero, Hernán Cortés, and Moctezuma, whose manifestation of, and/or exposure to, “toxic masculinity” raise issues of political impotence and the (in)compatibility of silent rage and histrionic grief. Bringing literary analysis and masculinity studies together with the history of early modern performance, I investigate the following questions: how does male lament challenge the symbolic order that associates plaintive vocabulary, and its performance for live audiences, with women? As a “manhood act” (Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009), how might the gesture of male lamentation reverse structures of subordination between the sexes? To what degree is the stigmatization of men lamenting itself a fiction of misappropriation, shaped by critical histories of the gender politics that inform dramatic imaginations and productions? My presentation enters into theoretical dialogue with Butler, Koestenbaum, and Berlant, and studies examples from the musical-theatrical repertoires of Monteverdi and Vivaldi, which stage the transformations and “undoings” of male characters often defined as “robusto,” “atroce,” and “tanto sicuro.”

Ivana ELBL (Trent U)

“A 'Great Man' and a Virgin of Much Virtue: Prince Henry the 'Navigator' and Masculinity”

Prince Henry of Portugal (1394-1460), long after his death dubbed 'the Navigator', believed himself to be and assiduously had himself represented as a paragon of noble masculinity. His idea of princely *varonia* (masculinity, manliness) was quite conventional in its insistence of physical prowess, deeds of arms, and noble enterprises. Henry's panegyrics and surviving ego-documents agree he strove to be an embodiment of *varonia* and saw himself predestined to become one of the great men of history. He believed that he was the favourite of his father, the founder of the Avis Dynasty, because he best emulated the king as a personification of the ideal of a noble *varão*. This was not exactly true: whereas King Dom João I was very active sexually, Prince Henry eventually came to portray himself a life-long virgin, despite his father's best efforts to marry him off. The concept of noble *varonia* actually did not include sexual engagement and procreation. The shadow cast by the Church on sexuality both within and outside of marriage and the attendant celebration of celibacy, as well as the secular norms defining male and female roles, made it easy for Prince Henry to be a man without a wife. Historians have for centuries been fascinated by his claims to virginity, interpreting them alternatively as a proof of saintliness and of covert homosexuality. His reputation as a “great educator of boys” and his tendency to surround himself with young men gave fuel to the latter interpretation. Henry's sexuality is a matter of speculation – there is not enough evidence to substantiate an argument. However, Henry's passionate life-long commitment to the ideals of noble *varonia* is beyond dispute: his insistence – both for himself and his protégés – on physical prowess, deeds of arms, and need to engage in noble ventures, helped fuel the early Portuguese overseas expansion.

Martin Malcolm ELBL (Peterborough, ON)

“Official (In)discretion and Masculinity in Dual-Monarchy Lisbon and Madrid: Hans Khevenhüller, Miguel de Moura, Lourenço Pires de Távora and Pietro de' Medici”

Ego-literature has become an expansive field of study. Intricate debates have dissected 'ego-documents' ranging from dignified memoirs to tell-all court life gossip, simple family chronicles, various kinds of proto-autobiography, etc. Systematic epistolary copybooks stand in a category of their own, as does carefully culled correspondence relating to career-conscious ‘self-fashioning’, or ‘epistolary journalism’ as a tool of broader political perception management (e.g. Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach’s notorious “Tagebücher” and “Tagzetteln” of the 1630s-1660s). Many of the 'ego-documents' left behind by courtiers, diplomats and Crown servants unfortunately cannot be usefully contemplated in isolation from very precise administrative and career progression contexts. Commonplace but sometimes misapplied tools of literary gendered analysis relating to the so-called poetics or ‘performance’ of masculinity are not necessarily useful in analysing Early Modern social, sexual, and professional career-oriented strategies of projecting masculinity. How Crown servant masculinity and ‘official’ (in)discretion were modulated, and for what purposes, has not been studied adequately. Documents such as Hans Khevenhüller's “Khurzer Extrakt,” the “Vida do Secretário d'Estado Miguel de Moura, escripta por elle mesmo,” some of the material ultimately included in the *Historia de varoens illvstres do apellido Tavora*, as well as, for instance, the correspondence by and relating to Pietro de' Medici at the Court of Madrid and in Lisbon, were not meant to instruct, entertain, convey broader knowledge, or satisfy (auto)biographical urges. They were sophisticated, self-conscious, and

representational, but they were both more and less than ‘literary’ ego-literature. At least in part, they were administrative memoranda – sometimes very detailed – that documented a career path and offered a chronological synopsis of useful services rendered, tasks completed, expenses incurred, contacts made, political figures befriended, ceremonial roles played, etc., while also tracking the allocation of time to all of the above. They could easily serve as dossiers in support of claims for compensation and as pre-emptive defence against calumny, false accusation, and charges of negligence. They were vital self-defence instruments in the administrative ‘economy of rewards’. They inevitably did echo some of the more general literary tropes of Renaissance masculinity, but Crown servant ‘manliness’ was expressed and projected in ways fitted more to the realm of discreet rationalist politics than to the world of the novel, the poem, the theatre, or the artful comedy of visible social life at Court.

Colby GORDON (Bryn Mawr College)

“Hypermasculinity and Forced Feminization in *Samson Agonistes*”

This paper explores *Samson Agonistes* as an experiment in transfemininity by pairing it with Andrea Long Chu’s controversial essay, “Did Sissy Porn Make Me Trans?” I read Samson’s blinding and binding as an early example of sissification, a genre of pornography in which men are humiliated, bound, dominated, degraded, and feminized, an exercise that merely clarifies what Chu calls the fundamentally nonconsensual nature of desire itself. In *Samson Agonistes* too, relief flows from submitting to the “yoke of foul effeminacy;” it is precisely the hero’s hypermasculinity that is a burden, an unwanted capacity for military exploits imposed upon him from an external source. The essay concludes by reflecting on the broader political questions raised by the ambiguous consent implicit in the unfolding drama of forced feminization.

Allison GOSE (U of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

“From the Inside Out: Carolingian Masculinity and Spiritual Reform”

Studies of Carolingian masculinities, both lay and monastic, have benefitted from the advances of feminist scholarship over the past decades. My paper draws upon this scholarship and is part of a larger dissertation seeking to explore the emergence of a reformed spirituality developed through ninth-century commentaries on *The Rule of Saint Benedict*. This modified religiosity, while framed for a monastic audience, appealed to both lay and religious men, as it drew upon a collective masculinity focused on the imitation of Christ as man. The development of a corporate masculinity that transcended vocation operated as part of the larger imperial project to create a Christian empire. This paper examines ninth-century lay mirrors in the context of the commentaries and argues that a monasticising impulse during this period of reform generated a new vision of Carolingian masculinity that, while developed within the cloister, modified what it was to a Christian man in the early medieval world.

June-Ann GREELEY (Sacred Heart U, CT)

“I’ll Make a (New) Man out of You’: Alcuin of York and the Christian Turn in Masculinity”

In the early Carolingian period, there was no more prolific or engaged correspondent than Alcuin of York (d. 804), the renowned pedagogue in the court of Charlemagne, and so an examination

of his letters offer the modern reader a more authentic perspective on the lived experience of Christianity than what was proscribed by churchmen and theologians and then handed down to the expectant congregations. Although there are several distinct themes in Alcuin's correspondence, the confounding effect of Christianity and Christian values on the Germanic ethos, especially for men, was prominent, and Alcuin, realizing male diffidence (even among monks) with the Christian profile, developed a narrative that made monks into "warriors" and warriors into faithful Christians. He thus carefully adapted the Anglo-Saxon/ Germanic ideal of the redoubtable warrior to the Christian ideal of a near-militant Christ-like 'hero,' one far removed from the bloodshed of battle yet battling mightily both internally and externally to realize a Christian life and in his abundant correspondence with monastic communities as well as with specific correspondents from both the lay and consecrated populations, he correlated active devotion with a kind of military exercise, the forceful vigor of the daily effort to sustain virtue and maintain prayerful contemplation. Alcuin also developed a quartet of spiritual disciplines—obedience, humility, chastity and *caritas*—that strove to replace the former masculine ideals of the pagan Germanic cultures. As the letters reveal (and the paper will address), Alcuin's efforts were at time quite in vain and he evidences in his texts the real tension in daily life between opposing value systems.

Gerry GUEST (John Carroll University)

"Devotional Masculinities in the *Très Riches Heures*"

The *Très Riches Heures* is one of the most famous manuscripts of the Middle Ages. Left incomplete in 1416 when its patron (Jean de Berry) died, the book is notable for both the lavishness of its paintings and their originality. This talk will argue that images of the male body are central to the devotional project of the manuscript. Beginning with the image of Adam at the start of the Hours of the Virgin, themes of embodied desire run throughout the manuscript. It might be argued that these images toggle back and forth between the sinful and the saved. However, by reading the book's images in concert with late medieval written sources, both scientific and moralizing, a much queerer sense of masculinity is seen to undergird the book's imagery. The talk will end with a brief conjectural consideration of the role that male beauty plays in this queer devotional project.

Dario GURASHI (Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Florence)

"Decrypting Adam's Masculinity: Agrippa on Sexuality and Redemption"

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa's *De originali peccato* (1518) explains the Fall of Adam and Eve in philosophical terms which show a deep political meaning. Agrippa reads Original sin as sexual intercourse between the two progenitors and illustrates a heterodox exegesis of the Fall in which each Biblical character corresponds with a faculty of the soul: Adam represents faith, Eve depicts reason and the Serpent embodies senses and sexual desire. Sin consists in the choice of Adam of deliberately abandoning God, claiming for himself the divine power of giving life. In doing so, Adam bases his masculinity on his biological function: he rejects chastity, imposed by God, and hinges his will to overcome the limits of human nature in the sexual power. Moving from Adam's guilt, Agrippa examines the social role of men, as spokesmen for a gender condition, aiming at the spiritual redemption of humankind.

Isabel HARVEY (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin / Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia)
“Laymen and their Bishops: Violence and Control of Manly Customs by Episcopal Justice. Papal States, 16th-17th Centuries”

In May 1600, Christino Iozzi stormed into the dining room of the episcopal palace to request by force a compensation for some confiscated lands. As he was pushed out of the room by Giovanni Francesco, the nephew of the bishop, Iozzi had said he put: “his hand almost on [my] eyes [and] the bishop’s nephew had replied, “now go, you look drunk with this stink of wine.”” Iozzi later decided to accuse Giovanni Francesco of having “given him a punch on his eye while in the episcopal seat,” and wrote to Rome in order to obtain justice. Such a scene reveals a point of contact between two ways of acting as a man: first the behaviour of the small landowner, who defended the family patrimony, followed by the response of the bishop’s nephew, who defended the honour of his house with equal violence but would eventually be punished by an ecclesiastical justice that would not tolerate anymore these outbursts. How was the limit between acceptability and unacceptability of masculine and virile customs and behaviours redefined, and what were the strategies used by the Church to change the representation of masculinities? This paper will address the evolution of the representations and the behaviour of masculinities in the early Counter-Reformation (1592-1605), using the letters sent from the dioceses of the Pontifical States to the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in Rome, and will offer an initial exploration of the regulations and mechanisms of repression used by the Church to impose upon men – fathers, farmer, artisan, but also churchmen, priests, and monks – a new identity, as designed by the Council of Trent.

Sally HICKSON (U of Guelph)

“‘A Corrupt Generation’: Federico II Gonzaga and the Performance of Masculinity”

Many historians have posited that the 1527 Imperial Sack of Rome led to a crisis of masculinity in Italian cultural life. Military defeat, the destabilization of formal, and ‘masculine’ Latin in favour of the popular vernacular, and the association of that vernacular with women writers who could subsequently claim a more active role in public discourse and therefore slip the bonds of domestic circumscription, have all been observed to be factors that leading to a period of redefining masculinity in terms of both exemplarity and patterns of imitation. Paolo Giovio, in his Ischian dialogues, examines the notable men and women of his time in the context of what he perceives as an Italian crisis of exemplarity and imitation, and uses the metaphor of the mosaic to define a kind of fragmentation, an appearance of unity made up of assembled fragments (Gouwens 2014). The authors of Italy’s defeat would have to become its saviours, through the creation of a new kind of moderated, ternary masculinity, as posited by Reeser (2018), one that existed in alterity. This paper posits that this new masculinity was modelled in the self-representation strategies of the Marquis (later Duke) Federico II Gonzaga of Mantua. Neither sacrificial soldier (like Giovanni dalle Bande Nere) nor provisional prince (like Francesco Maria della Rovere) Gonzaga allied himself with imperial power. Marin Mauer (2012) has asserted, that Federico’s Palazzo del Te in Mantua was conceived as a space for the performance of masculinity. I ask what kind of masculinity Federico was performing and posit that it can be read in this model of alterity, a mean that can be read by comparing him to other members of what Giovio has Alfonso d’Avalos call “a corrupt generation.”

Derrick HIGGINBOTHAM (U of Hawai'i)**“Of Men and Mastery: Consumption and its Dangers in Ben Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair*”**

This paper argues that the figure of the waster is key to understanding the impact of commercialization on early modern London men’s identities. A waster spends wealth excessively on consumables, succumbing to desires that are violently pleasurable and without apparent limits; the loss of wealth spurred by such desires threatens bankruptcy, dangerously undermining not only a man’s economic standing but also his manhood itself. I read this figure in Ben Jonson’s 1614 comedy *Bartholomew Fair*, showing how this comedy stresses consumption’s capacity to upset gender, sexual, and racial norms, as they intersect in the depiction of men as masters. My argument proposes that the theatre disseminates this particular economic narrative—that consumption can undermine constitutive elements of masculinity—in an effort to produce values and behaviors that try to manage the impact of England’s newly globalizing economy.

Tiffany HOFFMAN (Toronto, ON)**“The Politics of Shyness: Masculinity and Emotion in the Renaissance Court**

Drawing on contemporary sociological, performance, and public-sphere theory, as well as archival work into early modern socio-political, religious, and medical treatises, this paper attempts to understand and phenomenologize the experience of shyness felt by elite gentlemen competing for honor and office at court. The affective spectrum of blushing, nervousness, and somatic inhibition, had been equated with female chastity and sexual experience throughout premodernity. However, by unearthing the unusual manifestation of bashfulness within the all male courtly world of civil conversation, the paper further reveals how traditional moral, gendered, and theological conceptions of modesty were brought to the forefront of Renaissance social life and retheorized as pathological in the medical literature of the period, by virtue of the male subject’s emotionally troubling implication in an expanding social order and the attendant experiential forms of visibility, self-consciousness, gesture and civility, which came to infiltrate new highly publicized spaces. After an initial survey of the cultural evolution of premodern shyness, the paper will probe the works of Della Casa and Guazzo, alongside Shakespeare and Spenser, looking closely at how these writers represented the complexities of shyness as a burgeoning pathological phenomenon infiltrating male courtly, social and political life.

Alexandra HOFFMANN (U of Chicago)**“Lovesickness, Corporeality, and Masculinity: Liminal Male Bodies in the Persian Romance *Laylī o Majnūn*”**

The story of Laylī and her mad lover Majnūn is arguably one of the most well-known love stories of the Islamic world, especially in the version by the Persian poet Neẓāmī Ganjavī (d. 1209 CE). Less explored, however, is that Majnūn’s suffering from unattainable love not only afflicts his mind with madness, but also emaciates his body. But what does this vanishing corporeality mean for the masculinity he embodies? Given that Islamicate philosophers such as Miskawayh (d. 1030 CE) and al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 CE) considered lovesickness a serious ‘illness of the soul’, I discuss the story of Majnūn as being at a crossroads between functioning as a cautionary tale of a man whose masculinity is ridiculed, on the one hand, and as an exemplary

tale about the attainment of a spiritual ideal of masculinity on the other hand. This paper thus explores the relationship between lovesickness, corporeality, and masculinity in *Laylī o Majnūn* and provides grounds for a discussion of the theories of love between the Middle Eastern and the European Medieval period.

Martha HOLLANDER (Hofstra U)

“Swords at Rest: Shifting Masculinities in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art”

Since the late sixteenth century, it had become essential for a man to wear a sword. Swords were associated not only with self-defense and soldierly vigor, but with social status. Yet a curious feature appears in many seventeenth-century Dutch portraits and genre scenes: the discarded sword. It may be a modernized allusion to the classical subject of Venus disarming Mars, an especially popular subject during the Twelve Years’ Truce. In courtship scenes, an abandoned sword signaled the rejection of the strict code of masculinity as set forth in military manuals in favor of love. In scenes of domestic life where the men are absent, their swords still appear as surrogates, reminders of their potential presence. Finally, the discarded sword appears in images of solitary men engaged in thought or reading suggesting a triumph of the contemplative over the active life. This conspicuous theme of the discarded sword shows how the tensions inherent in ideal manhood, shifting constantly between heroism, love and meditation, could be negotiated in pictorial terms.

Susannah HUMBLE FERREIRA (U of Guelph)

“Dom Duarte de Meneses and Changing Ideas of Knighthood in Early Sixteenth-Century Portugal (1508-1524)”

Since the High Middle Ages, knighthood in the Iberian Peninsula had been synonymous with vanquishing the Muslim enemy and plundering the spoils of war. In the early sixteenth century, Dom Duarte de Meneses could be seen as a most exemplary knight. Chronicles had been written about the deeds of his grandfather and great grandfather – both illustrious heroes of Portugal’s North African expansion. By age twenty, he succeeded his father as the Captain of Tangiers and defended the captaincy and led several spectacular campaigns of his own. In 1521, as a reward for his faithful service to the crown Duarte de Meneses was called on to replace Diogo Lopes de Sequeira as Governor of India. But within two years, he was accused of corruption, removed from office and imprisoned. This paper argues that the charges reflect a changing noble culture. Where elite masculinity had once been expressed through combat and pillaging, by the 1520s male elites were expected to exemplify obedience to the crown and suppress corruption. Drawing on the extant chronicles, chancery records and correspondence, this paper explores the changing concept of masculinity and knighthood in the early sixteenth century.

John M. HUNT (Utah Valley U)

“Aggression at Play: Masculinity and Gambling in Early Modern Italy”

In his dialogue *Romeo overo del giuoco* (1579), Torquato Tasso has one of his main interlocutors, Annibale Pocaterra, advocate that a gentleman should intentionally lose when playing *primiera* with women. The rationale was to prevent men from losing in a game of skill to women, and thereby lose honour before other men. Meanwhile, when men played *primiera* and

other cards games with other men, the game became an aggressive act. Male gamblers risked not only money but also their social capital, a combination of honour and skill, both rooted in Renaissance conceptions of masculinity. The successful gambler was a performer, who defended his honour with cards and used *virtù*, connected to skill and trickery, to shame his opponents. This paper uses trials from various Italian tribunals as well as prescriptive literature to examine this masculine form of aggressive play.

Peter H. JOHANSSON (U of Toronto)

“Shedding the Locks of Worldly Existence: Hair as a Delineator of Masculinity in Merovingian Gaul”

In the post-Roman Frankish kingdoms the role of hair took on an important role of delineating alternative masculine systems. The obscure symbolism of the long haired Merovingian Frankish kings has often caught the eye of the modern reader, and explanations in the past has focused on religious, ethnic, or even magical explanations. But lay Frankish men were not the only men in this society who placed supreme importance on hair style. When the lay examples are read in relation to the contemporary growing practise of tonsuring, what emerges is not two distinct systems, but two sides of argument as to the symbol of manliness. This difference stemmed from a larger change with the rise of a celibate masculinity which served as the precise antithesis to the culture of the emergent secular elites, with its emphasis on family, visible virility, and general excess. In Merovingian Gaul, hair became a multilayered sign of distinction.

Amelia KENNEDY (Yale U)

“Masculinity and the Older Monk”

This paper examines depictions of old monks in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Cistercian texts and asks: How did Cistercians understand the aging process? How did constructions of masculinity change as monks aged? Writers generally portrayed physical decline, including symptoms such as fatigue and fading eyesight, as an inevitable reality of aging. They constructed positive meaning from the physical deterioration of the older body and suggested that impressive feats of prowess—such as scaling mountains and battling demons—remained possible. Notably, some writers invited male monastic audiences to identify with exceptional older women, such as Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, or the Virgin Mary, who languished in bed prior to her Assumption. The construction of monastic masculinity in late life emerged from multiple sources, drawing on knightly ideals of courage and prowess, monastic values of celibacy and service, and even inspiration from idealized women.

Frank KLAASSEN (U of Saskatchewan)

“Virtus: A Card Game about Masculine Honour”

Games that model historical circumstances can serve three very valuable purposes. They can be used in teaching as a way of engaging students with historical subject in an experiential way and of provoking reflection and discussion. When made available to a wider public they function as a distinctive form of public history like documentary films, blog posts, pod casts, or museum displays. Finally, the development of games in a classroom can serve as a remarkably valuable pedagogical device. Efforts to match historical circumstances to game mechanics and to make

hard decisions about what to focus upon or exclude, involves a complex process of research and theorization that drives students to engage in powerful ways with historical sources. This session will begin with a short introduction to the use of games in classrooms as teaching devices. It will then introduce participants to *Virtus*, a game about pre-modern honour and masculinity developed in a fourth-year undergraduate seminar. Participants will then play a shortened version of the game followed by a discussion. Copies of the game will be available for purchase. All profits flow to undergraduate student programs at the Museum of Antiquities, University of Saskatchewan.

Fabien LACOUTURE (U de Lille, France)

“The Masculinity of John the Baptist in Renaissance Italian Painting: From Hermit to Athlete of Christ”

In the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, the motive of John the Baptist was very popular in Florence. He was the patron of the city and of several companies and corporations. In this paper, I will study the transformation of the character and its representations, either as an adolescent or a mature adult. Indeed, I will show and explain how he started to be figured as a hermit, physically marked by the signs of eremitism such as his emaciation, to be transformed then into an athlete, showing all the physical signs of masculinity. I will analyze how textual sources, artistical influences, but also cultural attention to the concepts of male adolescence and virility (the word “virilità” being used among others by Castiglione in his *Cortegiano*) could have influenced this transformation, from incarnation of virtue and suffering to embodiment of strength, as the sign of Christ’s to come.

Elizabeth LAGRESA-GONZÁLEZ (U of British Columbia)

“Trans-Atlantic Masculinities in *The Lieutenant Nun*”

The presentation focuses on the cross-dressing figure of Catalina de Erauso in the context of Spain’s transatlantic commerce and colonial expansion. It analyses how the self-made persona Erauso crafts within her/his *Historia de la monja Alférez* illustrates the gains to be had through numerous trans-actions (underscoring agency within gender, sexual, social and monetary exchanges) that blur the lines between nature and artifice. As a figure that repeatedly transgresses geographical and identity borders by trading her life in the convent for his life as a fortune-seeking soldier in the Americas, s/he plays out a mediatory function that exposes tensions between the margins and centre of the Spanish empire. In particular, I examine how the performance of this “masculine woman” and capacity to invest in hybridity well beyond her/his masculine attire, complicates binaries (i.e. feminine/masculine, heterosexual/homosexual, self/other), while his/her successes paradoxically enact the violence of both hegemonic masculinity and colonial imperial policies.

Matteo LETA (Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, Naples)

“Sterility, Impotence and Sorcery: Shaping (Anti-)Masculinity in Renaissance”

My paper will examine the imagery of anti-masculinity by comparing two treatises on sorcery at either end of the Renaissance — Heinrich Kramer’s *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) and Pierre De Lancre’s *Tableau de l’Inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (1612)— and an Italian

comedy, Niccolò Machiavelli's *Mandragola* (1518?). From them, one can draw a unique picture of Renaissance anti-masculinity in which sterility is not only central, but also connected to the violation of conjugal order. Sterility can also be linked to other aspects of anti-masculinity, such as the incapacity to work or to understand the limit between reality and fiction. The presentation will conclude with an examination of the evolution of the imagery of anti-masculinity starting from Kramer's focus on the imaginary damages wrought by witches on men and progressing, through Machiavelli and De Lancre, to a preference for concrete examples of anti-masculinity.

Iona LISTER (U of Toronto)

“Upsetting the Chivalric Masculine Ideal: Penis-Snatching and Role Reversal in the Anglo-French Fabliaux *The Three Ladies Who Found a Cock* and *The Knight Who Made Cunts Talk*”

The Three Ladies Who Found a Cock and *The Knight Who Made Cunts Talk* both involve the objectification of genitalia, the former involving three women who discover a disembodied penis (and argue over it) and the latter concerning a knight who can magically “make asshole and cunt speak” and answer truly any question that he asks. This penis-snatching on the one hand (*Three Ladies*) and violations of women's bodies on the other hand (*Knight*) has often led scholars to assert that these fabliaux present misogynistic narratives (Nolan; Blamires), although Carter Revard notes their location in the manuscript “between poems which praise women.” Furthermore, the knight's portrayal as dimwitted in *Knight* and the reducing of a man to his penis in *Ladies* subvert and embarrass traditional masculine gender ideals. I will argue that, rather than reinforcing chivalric masculinity, these fabliaux imagine new pathways through the existing social hierarchy.

Alexandra LOGUE (U of Toronto)

“Imperiled Manhood and Sensory Trespass in Early Modern London”

In early modern England, hegemonic masculinity was more closely tied to the ability to establish and maintain protection around one's house and household. Records from sixteenth and seventeenth-century courts are filled with provocative tales of verbal and physical violence that arose when men fought over newly-established physical, legal, and sensory boundaries property. This paper will focus on the threat that “sensory trespass” posed the masculine authority. The smells, sights, and sounds of the early modern city – such as foul smells wafting from a shared privy, a newly-installed window that allowed men to see into their neighbours' gardens and houses, and the sounds of quarrelling couples – all easily permeated dwelling houses and endangered the health of those living within. I argue that sensory trespass was an attack on the masculine authority of the head of household, revealing that the boundaries between houses and households were, like masculinity, constantly imperilled.

Benjamin LUKAS (U of Toronto)

“From the Knightly Bayard to Captain Monluc: Representations of Masculinity in Sixteenth-Century French Military Literature”

For over seventy years, early modern military historians have discussed the impact that the Military Revolution had on warfare and state formation. Left out of this discussion is how the

evolution from feudal forces into early modern armies transformed the representation of masculine norms in European society. Medieval society relied upon a martial-masculine code, known as chivalry, to indoctrinate noblemen into conforming to certain gendered behaviours that facilitated their participation in warfare. The Military Revolution, along with other social and cultural changes in society, altered the nobility's role in warfare and transformed chivalry into an obsolete masculine code. The chivalric representation of noblemen as knights no longer reflected the gendered role of noblemen in combat. Over the sixteenth century, French noble veterans turned authors developed a different system of masculine representation of nobility which matched the new role of noblemen as captains rather than knights, shifting gendered expectation for the men who participated in warfare. This change in representation altered the relationship between masculinity, nobility, and martial violence in French society. The tales of two of the most famous noblemen from the century, Pierre Terrail, Chevalier de Bayard and Blaise de Monluc, *maréchal de France* offers a snapshot of this transition in the representation of masculine norms for the French nobility.

Yael MANES (Agnes Scott College, GA)

“Italian Renaissance Artists as Progenitors and Founders of Artistic Lineages”

My paper will examine the formation of masculine identity in biographies written about artists before the publication of Giorgio Vasari's watershed *Le vite de' piu' eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (1550, 1568). By focusing on Paolo Giovio's *Elogi degli Uomini Illustri* (1549-1557) as well as Giambattista Gelli's *Vite d'artisti* (c. 1549), I will demonstrate how these biographers did not share in Vasari's celebration of *ingegno*, the intellectual and creative skills that enable artists to produce great art. Instead, these writers argued for the value of fecundity, a male artist's ability to attract students and apprentices who would continue in his stylistic footsteps. These biographers employed the cultural values and language of patriarchy—the ability to father sons that would continue the lineage of their progenitor—thus participating in the discursive construction of masculinity in the Italian Renaissance.

Maria F. MAURER (The U of Tulsa, OK)

“A Bastard History: Illegitimacy and Masculinity at the Italian Court”

This paper investigates the ways in which discourses of legitimacy and masculinity intersected at the courts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy. Courtly masculinity was based upon ideals of restraint, self-control and legitimate birth. For the illegitimate sons of the Italian elite, born from concupiscence and descended from questionable lineage, such ideals could be difficult, if not impossible, to attain. Yet, men such as Leonello d'Este, Giovanni Paolo Sforza and Alessandro Gonzaga played prominent roles in the cultural, social and political life of the early modern courts into which they were born. The successful careers of many Italian bastards demonstrate that illegitimacy did not preclude the performance of masculine norms. Drawing upon recent and continuing research in the Este, Gonzaga and Sforza archives, this paper uses epistolary and visual representations of the illegitimate sons of Italian nobility in order to examine how these men negotiated and transformed ideals of courtly masculinity.

Timothy MCCALL (Villanova U)

“How Do I Look? Display, Surveillance, and Spectacular Masculinities in Renaissance Italy”

This paper explores the fashion and adornment, exhibition and surveillance of nobly resplendent Italian lords. I argue that signorial authority was fundamentally based on the display of the court's male bodies. Aristocratic men and boys understood that their clothed and adorned selves were scrutinized, and I will show that they were equally attentive to both articulations I perceive in the question “How do I look?”: firstly, the more colloquial and familiar sizing up of one's own appearance, and secondly, a concern about how precisely – in what ways, under what circumstances, through what mechanisms, to what ends – we look at others and others look at us. Investigations of male bodies and fashion, and of gazes at men, allow us to challenge the diminishing yet resilient tendency to assume that women are gendered, whereas men have standard, essentially human bodies, bodies culturally visible and valued, yet unmarked and located beyond critical examination.

Vanessa MCCARTHY (U of Toronto)

“Masculine Self-Representation and Female Prostitution in Early Seventeenth-Century Bologna”

In Bologna, Italy, female prostitution had been legal since the mid-thirteenth century and had been made widely available to clients through a civic registration and licencing system since the late fifteenth century. By the early seventeenth-century, an average of 300 women were registered annually. Nevertheless, historians still know little about how their male clients, especially their non-elite clients, talked about and conceived of their relationships. This paper examines early seventeenth-century testimonies drawn from the tribunal of Bologna's civic registry office. It considers, in particular, how clients worked to construct, and, possibly, to salvage, their masculinity when admitting that they had relatively long-term relationships with prostitutes. Although in their testimonies the men were hostile to varying degrees, an analysis of the language they used and the admissions they made reveals the strategies they employed to construct their masculine honour as appropriate to their age and social status.

Paul MCFADYEN (U of Dundee)

“What Medieval Vestments can Tell us About Clerical Masculinity”

Liturgical vestments comprise the lion's share of extant textiles from the Middle Ages and are a valuable resource in helping to understand the medieval mind. The idiosyncrasies in their styles, the scenes and saints chosen to be represented in their embroideries and the very manner in which they are made can tell art, social and church historians a great deal about the cultures in which they were worn. Furthermore, as signifiers of the wearer's rank within the Church, they may be used to help better understand clerical masculinity in the Middle Ages. These garments, however, have been almost completely overlooked by scholars and art connoisseurs alike in their research and commentaries. This paper will introduce the topic of priestly garments by first discussing how they originated as a distinct style of dress and how their designs were affected by a variety of influences during the Middle Ages. Methods used to help date and geographically locate the origin of specific garments will then be discussed as many vestments found in archives and museums are not accompanied by written records detailing their history. The presentation

will then explore how embroideries on vestments often complement the environment in which they are worn; not only the physical space of a church, but also its male-centric culture more generally. Numerous images from surviving vestments will be used to illustrate the talk.

Shannon MCSHEFFREY (Concordia U)

“Manliness and Sexual Comportment: Italian Merchants and Masculine Styles in Early Sixteenth-Century London”

A small but wealthy and powerful group of Italian merchants lived in early sixteenth-century London, representing the international banking and mercantile firms of Genoa, Florence, Venice, Lucca, and other northern Italian city-states. Though favourites at the royal court, with direct access to the ears of the king himself, these Lombards (as the English termed them) were highly unpopular with their English mercantile rivals. London merchants' hostility drew obviously from the economic competition the Italians posed, but their animosity was cultural as well as commercial. One particular bone of contention was that Italian merchants did not play by English rules regarding sexual relationships. It was rare for Italian merchants to bring wives with them when they moved to London on what were usually temporary stays, and this meant that they found sexual partners amongst the English (women, as far as the English records indicate, rather than men). Although the Italians were reputed to be frequent customers of London's sex workers (women were often targeted with the insult “Lombard whore”), sometimes the relationships were live-in, longer-term relationships that nonetheless stopped short of marriage. Though without doubt English folk, too, sometimes cohabited without benefit of marriage, neighbours were particularly assiduous about reporting Italians who set up house with unmarried women to authorities, complaining about the harlotry that brought “grete displeur of god.” Even more seriously, Italian merchants were accused of seducing the wives and daughters of respectable men – and indeed there is evidence that the Italians may have pursued such seductions not simply for sexual gratification but also as a strategy to embarrass and shame their English counterparts. At the same time, it's also clear that there were quite different sexual ethics at work amongst the English and Italian mercantile elites that meant for incompatible reactions to sexual situations. My paper will address what I'm calling here different masculine styles of English and Italian merchants in London in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

E. Amanda MCVITTY (Massey U, New Zealand)

“Homosociality and Violence in the Making of the English Legal Profession”

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, England's Inns of Court became established as the social, educational, and professional heart of the common law. It was here that practitioners forged a collective identity as ‘men of law’ through the homosocial bonding experiences of living together, participating in communal social rituals, and engaging in performative learning exercises. The Inns' members also participated in more antisocial forms of male bonding, and one does not need to look far in the institutional records to find accounts of sexual harassment, rape, and violence.

Although women are now integral to the legal profession, it remains male-dominated at senior levels and, recent media coverage has revealed, it is still plagued by a hyper-masculine culture wherein gender discrimination and sexual violence are ignored or downplayed. This paper investigates the masculine culture of the common law profession as it developed in the

medieval Inns. While I do not seek directly to trace the roots of contemporary problems, from the standpoint of feminist historical critique I argue that sexual abuse and violence was not an aberration or the product of the odd ‘bad apple’. Rather, as a dimension of homosocial bonding, it was intrinsic to the way men of law experienced and performed collective identity and it therefore shaped the professional culture of the common law in significant and enduring ways.

Rafael M. MÉRIDA-JIMÉNEZ (U de Lleida, Spain)

“Spanish Masculinities Around 1516: Men’s Sexuality in Chivalric Fiction”

My paper will offer a new insight into the concept of “masculinity” applied to early modern Spanish literature. The analysis of *Floriseo*, a novel by Fernando Bernal published in 1516, and specially, chapters devoted to Paramón, a queer foreign character –constructed as a religious, moral and sexual antithesis of the hero–, will be interesting in order to evaluate esthetical and ideological patterns of this chivalric fiction. Homi K. Bhabha (1994) analyzed the discursive mechanisms that would configure the definition of the colonial subject through an articulation of racial and sexual differences. From this perspective, it could be argued that Bernal’s *Floriseo* would be indirectly participating in the historiographical discourses born in the heat of the colonization process of the African and American continents during the age of Catholic Monarchs (1474-1516). Paramón, the first sodomite who expresses his feelings and “pride” in Spanish literature, will give us some clues to understand the historical background of a new model of masculinity.

Alison MORE (U of Toronto)

“Written on the Body: Stigmata and Signs of Asceticism in the *Vitae* of Thirteenth-Century *Conversi*”

In his 1223 *Dialogus miraculorum*, Caesarius of Heisterbach wrote “the crucifixion of monks is twofold; That of the interior man through compassion for others, and of the exterior man through the mortification of his flesh.” While widely interpreted as allegorical, the symbolism of the crucifixion took on a new dimension in Caesarius’s immediate milieu. In particular, certain *conversi* from the abbey of Villers-la-Ville (where he taught) adopted extreme ascetic practices often involving severe and lasting damage. This paper concentrates on two Villers *conversi*, Arnulfus of Brabant and Peter of Villers. The *vitae* of both men make it clear that they were both valued members of their community and recognized for their holiness. However, in addition to their visionary experiences and miraculous charity, the *vitae* of both men recount that they took the idea of imitating Christ’s Passion to a level that was astonishingly both literal and visceral. This paper considers the stigmata and signs of ascetic practice as external markers of an internal change. Moreover, by highlighting the roles this phenomenon played in the *vitae* of saintly *conversi*, it examines the relationship between holiness, fragility, and the wounded male body.

Ian Frederick MOULTON (Arizona State U)

“Latin Epigrams and Masculine Sexual Knowledge: Or How Jonson Read His Martial”

This paper explores the role of Latin commentaries on the Roman poet Martial as a medium for the transmission of sexual knowledge among a male elite in early modern Europe. Martial’s poetry was highly regarded in early modern humanist culture, and unexpurgated editions with

detailed commentary circulated widely. These commentaries frankly explicate the wide range of non-procreative sexual behaviours represented in Martial's poems, including homoeroticism, oral sex, and masturbation—activities seldom openly discussed in vernacular literary culture. Martial epitomizes a Roman model of masculinity that valorizes sexual penetration; he writes openly of his desire for both women and young men; and he is critical of non-penetrative male sexual activity. English dramatist Ben Jonson's copious manuscript annotations to Martial record his response to the sexual content of both the poems and their commentary, and demonstrate the impact that ancient ideas of male sexuality could have on an early modern readership.

Derek NEAL (Nipissing U)

“Familiar Acquaintances: Men's Talk, Wills, Clergy, and Property in 1550s England”

Gendered stereotypes about female conversation and the regulatory power of gossip in premodern society have been well analyzed. It is somewhat less well recognized, however, that talk between men could operate just as powerfully to structure social relationships. This paper explores the legible complexity of masculine social relationships in sixteenth-century England, departing from an intriguing deposition in a legal dispute heard in the Vice-Chancellor's Court of Cambridge in the mid-1550s. Witnesses deposing as to the estate of a Cambridge college master and Ely prebendary revealed how conversation between men marked out a man's propertied identity, a concern also indicated by contemporaneous wills, suits over defamation, and similar evidence.

Jonathan M. NEWMAN (Missouri State U)

“Epistolarity, Work, and Elite Masculinity in the Lyrics of Baudri of Bourgeuil”

In this paper I will discuss masculinity in the poetic persona of Baudri of Bourgeuil (1050-1130). Baudri's poetic oeuvre, including his Ovidian erotic poetry, far from being sealed in a private fantasia of literary play, is continuous with his social authority as the head of a monastic household and ambitious churchman; playful lyrics about love are continuous with poems about work, both the work of subordinates that he directs and his own work as writer and administrator. In Baudri's time, the work of clerical administration was increasingly centered around letter writing; I will examine in particular the role of epistolary practice in Baudri's lyric self-representation in terms of an emergent hegemonic masculinity based on education and administrative rank in distinction to two previously familiar and legible forms of elite masculinity, monastic asceticism and lay martial prowess.

Laurie NUSSDORFER (Wesleyan U)

“Managing the Male Household: Early Modern Italy's Contribution to Patriarchy”

Italy's special contribution to the literature on the patriarchal household was treatises on how to manage large groups of male servants. This paper focuses on the appearance of publications on male-only households, usually imagined as the *famiglia* of high ecclesiastical officials, from the mid sixteenth- to the mid-seventeenth centuries. It argues that the male household constructed by these texts was the distinctive image of the Italian family presented to readers in Italy and abroad. The paper discusses the sources of the genre in three strands of contemporary writing, the innovations in authorship and publication that underpinned these texts, and their ideological

work in bridging the gap between the natural (patriarchal) and the artificial (patriarchal) family. The analysis offers insights into how representations of a specific kind of gendered family emerged and spread in the early modern period.

Mireille J. PARDON (Yale U)

“Necessary Violence: Crime, Honour, and Masculinity in Late Medieval Flemish Cities”

In fifteenth-century Bruges and Ghent, the detailed financial records of the Flemish bailiff give us insight into the perception of violence. When the bailiff recorded crimes eligible for composition (a financial payment in lieu of a trial), he revealed how concepts of masculine honour defined what counted as ‘necessary’ violence. However, over the course of the fifteenth century, such concepts began to shift as honourable self-defence became less and less effective as a mitigating circumstance for homicides committed by men. This change was part of a larger cultural shift in ideas about masculinity and violence in late medieval Flemish cities. The role of shooting guilds transitioned from military defence to festive spectacle and revenge narratives in contemporary literature took new forms. By combining data from criminal records with late medieval Netherlandish urban culture, we can trace changing ideas about masculinity in terms of when violence supported masculine honour and when it did not.

Andrea PEARSON (American U, DC)

“Men in the Making in the ‘Medieval Housebook’”

Male characters and men’s ex-libris inscriptions dominate the “Medieval Housebook” (German, c. 1475-93?), yet the volume has not been investigated through the prism of masculinity. My presentation will correct this omission by situating the book’s drawings within a nexus of shifting perspectives about men’s intergenerational relationships in the pre-Reformation era, including expectations that fathers would successfully form their sons’ manhood. Specifically, the images functioned within a male-male dynamic in which patriarchs modeled virtuous behaviour with which their progeny were expected to comply. Depicted bodies in the manuscript, both female and male, figured into this objective by challenging viewers to overcome transgressive thoughts about sex. Yet, these same images carried the potential to undermine the pedagogical aim of the drawings by inspiring the very actions they were meant to discourage. These moralizing threads unite the images: they are not a random grouping as previously claimed, but rather a coherent *vade mecum* on male virtue.

Yvonne PETRY (Luther College, U of Regina)

“‘What do they mean by a potent man?’: Medical Views on Impotence in Early Modern France”

The issue of impotence was by no means a private matter in early modern France, as it could have momentous consequences. A newlywed couple’s inability to produce a child could become a community scandal. Accusations that someone had ‘tied a knot’ to cast a spell on the marriage bed became evidence in witch trials. Failure to consummate a marriage was grounds for annulment – and in France, courts could resort to the *épreuve du congrès*, whereby a couple’s performance was observed by officials and medical experts. Many French medical authors, including Paré, Guillemeau, Catelan and Pigray, addressed not only the medical questions

around the diagnosis and treatment of impotence, but also the social, legal and religious problems. Early modern medical authors thereby reveals the concerns that existed around professional expertise, family and gender relations, and faith, magic and superstition, which all worried a society preoccupied with patriarchy, status, and reproduction.

Marco PIANA (Smith College)

“The Body of Christ: Suffering Masculinity and Desire in Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola”

This paper will analyze the role of Christ's wounded body as a model of masculinity in Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's meditative poems. In his 1513 poem *De Venere et Cupidine expellendis*, Pico proposes the meditation on the battered and gory body of Christ as a remedy against the snares of carnal Venus and unsanctioned love. According to him, the vision of a suffering Christ - combined with various forms of physical self-punishment - is the only way to keep the lures of bodily desire at bay. As such, the body of Christ permeates Pico's entire poetic production with astonishing sensuality, proposing its languid and suffering model of masculinity as a weapon against heteronormative forms of carnal passion. From the rain of Christ's blood in *Staurostichon* to the tantalizing description of the Passion in the *Hymni heroici tres*, this paper will unveil Pico's (un)holy love for the body of Christ and its relationship with Savonarolan and Dominican devotion.

Danielle ROSS (Utah State U)

“How Violent Should a Man Be? Turko-Mongol Masculinity in the Epic Poem *Kahraman the Slayer*”

Kidnapped as an infant and raised by demons, Prince Kahraman makes his triumphant return to human society by riding into the middle of a battle and crushing his foes with a mace. His actions immediately draw censure from the other men on the battlefield, who are disgusted by his brutality. They proceed to relate a series of tales intended to teach Kahraman how to be a warrior and a man. This paper turns to the fourteenth-century Turki-language adaptation of the Persian poem *Kahraman the Slayer* to reconstruct views on masculine honour and violence among the warrior nobility of the Golden Horde and its successor states along the Volga River. In doing so, it considers what a deeper exploration of Turkic-language poetry can add to the fragmentary cultural history of the Golden Horde and Kazan Khanate.

Daniel Santiago SÁENZ (Columbia U)

“For all of this he deserves to be burned”: Portraying Deviant Masculinities in the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*”

As European artists, missionaries, and *conquistadores* travelled to and settled in the territories known today as Mexico, ideas about men and masculinities circulated across colonial borders. This paper examines the portrayal of Indigenous masculinities as deviant in Bernadino de Sahagún's 1585 *Florentine Codex*, arguing that the visual and textual condemnation of Indigenous masculinities supported Spanish campaigns to colonize Nahua populations in New Spain while establishing a Christian, heteropatriarchal masculinity as an ideal. Beginning with an overview of the European encounter with homosexual behaviour in the 'New World,' the paper

then examines how portrayals of Indigenous men and masculinities in the *Florentine Codex* contribute to the production of hegemonic colonial masculinity. Throughout, I echo the arguments of Indigenous scholars who have demonstrated that the settler colonial project was gendered. I thus argue for the importance of examining colonial masculinities to better understand histories of dispossession, conversion, and colonialism in the Americas.

Geoffrey SAGE (Louisville, KY)

“Performances of Masculinity in Islamic Spain”

At a courtly level, masculinity and its display in Islamic Spain both resembled and differed from that of similarly stratified Christian Europe, both its immediate Spanish neighbors and further afield. While both shared an emphasis on martial glory, Hispano-Arab contexts provided more arenas in which a man could be considered masculine, even if his talents lay elsewhere. That said, the focus was still on military achievement; despite the ideal courtier having many talents, the need to retain and defend territory was paramount, especially as the *Reconquista* accelerated. Conversely, artistic and scientific achievement were seen as noble pursuits for courtiers. Their slower adoption as masculine efforts within Christian Europe demonstrates how the ways in which masculinity was expected to be performed within society differed between the two. Nonetheless, the warrior-poet kings of the *taifa* period gave way to the legendary comment of the moor’s last sigh – and his mother’s response.

Felicity SHEEHY (U of Cambridge, UK)

“‘Man’s a Plant Animal’: Masculinity and Early Modern Plants”

This paper will trace the vexed relationship between men, women, and botanical imagery in early modern poetry. Many critics have noted the long-standing and deep-rooted tradition of comparing women to flowers, fruits, or other plant life. As Mary Fissell writes in her study of reproductive imagery, such ‘male-thematised metaphors [...] made women passive in reproductive terms’, beautiful but banal.¹ Yet these arguments have ignored the equal and opposite tendency of early modern men to imagine themselves as plants: as trees, vines, and even fruit. This paper will suggest that such imagery was not clearly divided by gender. In fact, early modern men, like early modern women, drew upon plants in order to claim a power beyond surface beauty: that of growth, generation, and verdancy. First, it will trace this botanical imagery in the work of Andrew Marvell, Robert Herrick, and others. Then, it will consider a group of seventeenth-century men who expressed a desire to ‘propagate like plants’, outside the institution of the early modern family.

Patricia SIMONS (U of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

“Marked Differences between Renaissance Men: The Visual Semiotics of Beards”

Even when not in full display, the capacity to grow a beard was considered a crucial sign of physiological health, erotic appeal, adult status and masculine vigor. Artifacts of visual culture thus show a subtle and meaningful range of facial hair on male sitters, from hairless boys to marriageable youths with incipient beards and men with morning shadow, carefully styled beards

¹ Mary Fissell, ‘Gender and Generation: Representing Reproduction in Early Modern England’, *Gender & History* 7.3 (1995), 433-456 (pp. 439-440).

and groomed moustaches, or hoary stubble. Significance was also accorded the absence of body hair, or its over-abundance. This paper goes beyond drawing a sharp distinction between centuries, or men and women, or between boys and men, by considering other central factors of power differentials between men such as religious status, occupation, and ethnic identity.

Laura Ackerman SMOLLER (U of Rochester)

“Sharing a Bed with Dominic: Celibacy and Masculinity in the Cult of St. Vincent Ferrer”

This paper explores the tensions between clerical celibacy and masculinity by tracing the fate of a single episode in the life of the Dominican saint Vincent Ferrer, in which Dominic appears in Vincent’s cell and spends the remainder of the night in bed with his younger companion. Vincent’s first hagiographer, Pietro Ranzano introduced the episode as offering “a marvelous testimony and manifest indication of [Vincent’s] virginity.” Ranzano’s telling may have represented an oblique swipe at the Franciscan Bernardino of Siena, who was said to have caught the eye of a predatory older man. But how did later hagiographers, less invested in the mid-fifteenth century mendicant rivalries, interpret this incident? This paper explores the tale’s fate in late fifteenth- through seventeenth-century *vitae*. Their retellings, elaborations, and omissions stand to reveal much about efforts to police the masculinity of a celibate clergy in an era of rising intolerance towards same-sex attraction.

Stephen SPIESS (Babson College)

“He who cannot be angry is no man”: The Queer Affects of Gender in *The Patient Man and the Honest Whore*”

What are the queer affects of gender (un)intelligibility? Through what social, conceptual, and affective frames are early modern bodies rendered (un)intelligible, by whom, and to what ends? What emerges when a specific early modern work thematizes relations of affect and gender intelligibility? In this essay, I approach such questions by reading Thomas Dekker’s *Patient Man and the Honest Whore* (1604) alongside Judith Butler’s work on recognition, gender performativity, and social intelligibility. I begin by arguing on behalf of an approach to, and understanding of, “queer affects” informed by Butler, a figure largely overlooked in contemporary affect studies. Such an eclipse effaces not only the profoundly affective dimensions of Butler’s thought, but a range of analytical tools relevant to the making of early modern masculinities. I then demonstrate how one such heuristic—Butler’s “frames of recognition”—offers traction on the complex interrelations of affectivity, discursivity, and (un)intelligible masculinity in Dekker’s work.

Steven STOWELL (Concordia U)

“Baptism, Bathing, and Sensual Male Imagery in Renaissance Italy”

Images showing neophytes undressing in paintings of the Baptism of Christ became common in fifteenth-century Italy. For example, Masolino da Panicale’s fresco at Castiglione Olona (1437) shows two semi-nude men with tantalizing, nearly-transparent garments. While some representations of baptism convey the theological message that the clothes necessitated by original sin are taken off through Christ’s salvation, it is also true these images celebrate male beauty at a time when anxieties around homosexuality were increasing, especially for instance

with the institution of the Office of the Night in Florence. The elaboration of almost-nude male imagery at this time, which was not immediately relevant to contemporary viewers for whom baptism primarily concerned infants, demands some explanation. This paper considers how these images may reflect attitudes around male homosocial bonding, as well as contemporary beliefs and practices surrounding baptism and bathing.

Tatiana C. STRING (U of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

“Body Building: The Fabrication of the Masculine Body in Renaissance Portraiture”

Artistic representations of the male body in early modern Europe were sites of idea-driven invention and heavily theorized formulations; this was especially true for portraits, which were high-stakes enterprises that took no chances in the articulation and projection of calculated messages. With works of art such as Holbein’s depiction of Henry VIII in the famous Whitehall mural, the male body was arguably a confection of masculinity-bearing parts; in other instances – Bronzino’s portrayal of Cosimo I as Orpheus, for example – the ideal body (in this case, the Hellenistic Belvedere torso) was mapped onto the portrait wholecloth. This paper will explore the different ways in which contemporary notions of masculinity were central to the bodily configurations, repeated postures, inter-visual quotations, and the ‘wearing’ of the classical nude in early modern portraits. Works by Bronzino, Mor, Eworth, and Peake will be interrogated for their insistently gendered content and artistic solutions to the representation of the masculine body.

Fahmida SULEMAN (Royal Ontario Museum)

“Beards and Birds: Dimensions of Masculinities in Islamic Art”

In the medieval Islamic world, where strict gender separation was often the rule, social interaction among members of the same sex occurred in largely public contexts such as sports and games, including cockfights, which encouraged various levels of physical intimacy and emotional attachment. During the Fatimid period in Egypt (969–1171 CE), the theme of same sex desire was sometimes expressed in art and literature by the love of mature bearded men for beardless youths, a motif that can be traced back to the Greco-Roman world. Similarly, the image of the cockerel was traditionally associated with male virility and sexuality, including pederasty. By using popular and courtly Arabic literature, I argue that the iconography of an 11th-century ceramic lustre bowl depicting a cockfight was imbued with homoerotic symbolism and provides a window into the rich socio-cultural realities of the medieval Islamic Mediterranean.

Andrew TAYLOR (U of Ottawa)

“Rape and Chivalry in Froissart”

I propose to trace how the preeminent aristocratic chronicler of the late Middle Ages, Jean Froissart, depicted rape and how this depiction was then modified by the scribes, illuminators, translators, editors, and popularizers in their efforts to create an image of chivalric masculinity. Although Froissart implies that he is simply describing what happened in the wars between France and England, he is more comfortable reporting looting, destruction, and even killing than reporting sexual violence. Even when he describes the sack of the nunnery at Origny, for

example, it is the abbey that he says is violated, not the individual nuns. Overall, Froissart presents a sanitized account, in which knights and soldiers kill civilians but rarely rape them. Those who packaged his *Chronicles* for later readers sanitized them even further, laying the groundwork for a vision of western history in which rape was an anomalous atrocity not a frequent practice.

Lisa W. TOM (U of Rhode Island)

“Masculinity and the Act of Armament in Early Modern Portraiture”

Armor in early modern portraiture tends to be studied as illustrative of its subject by both historians of material culture examining the technical or cultural value of armor or literary scholars exploring its symbolic importance. While armor is regarded as a masculine signifier through its predominant function, visual representations reveal greater nuances in the association between masculinity, martial skill, and arms and armor. When the particular visual motif of armament is explored across sixteenth- and seventeenth-century portraits through to fifteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscript illuminations, a distinct pattern emerges: earlier depictions of female figures overseeing or handling gear is largely supplanted by young male pages. This paper asserts that the impetus for this masculine dominated narrative reflects the changing nature and perception of early modern warfare, a shift towards professionalization, and supposedly away from the romance of the chivalric past.

Donna TREMBINSKI (Saint Francis Xavier U, NS)

“Disability and Sanctity: An Exploration of Early Franciscan Masculinities”

St. Francis of Assisi was ill from before the time of his conversion until his early death. The saint’s illness and impairment was treated in different ways by his many early biographers as they sought to make sense of how Francis’ lived experience ran counter to normative expectations of a founder-saint. His earliest biographers did so by centring Francis’ Christ-like suffering and developing an alternative masculinity focussed not on an active life of preaching (though Francis did this too) but on a passive acceptance of God’s will. In this paper, the *lives* of the other early Franciscan saint, Anthony of Padua, will be examined, to see if similar patterns of alternative masculinities based in suffering can be found; for Anthony too, was ill and died infirm. The paper ultimately concludes that while the early lives of both saints suggest a tentative construction of a particular Franciscan masculinity based in Christ-like suffering, this construction was ultimately abandoned in favour of conforming the Franciscan experience to more normative expectations of clerical masculinity, based in personal autonomy, agency and activity.

Tianna Helena UCHACZ (Texas A&M U)

“Second Skin: The Male Nude Between Drapery and Undress in Maerten van Heemskerck’s Prints”

Netherlandish artist Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) took advantage of the monochrome of print to play with the boundaries between dress and undress in his depictions of the male nude. At first glance, many of his muscular men seem to climb, reach, twist, and crouch entirely in the buff, showcasing their exaggerated musculature. A second glance, however, reveals fluttering

hems of thin drapery that hang off the body and disappear into its undulating surface without ever resolving into a coherent garment. This paper argues that Heemskerck's artistic conceit, which treats costume as a second skin, is part of his larger exploratory project to develop conventions of representation for the erotic male nude. This project leads Heemskerck to experimentally apply to male bodies some of the representational strategies used to depict female nudes. These experiments generate uneven results and suggest a conceptual unease with the heroic body as an object of erotic interest.

Paola UGOLINI (University at Buffalo, SUNY)

“Anti-Court Satires and the Courtier’s Masculinity in Sixteenth-Century Italy”

Clad in expensive clothes, with polished hair and refined manners, the Renaissance courtier hardly looks to our modern eye like a successful model of masculine behaviour. Our perplexity, it would seem, was shared by Renaissance writers, who often warned courtiers against caring too much about their appearance, and employed the character of the manicured courtier in satires targeting the courtly milieu. Yet, recent studies have underlined how our modern notion of masculinity and of masculine and un-masculine activities differs from the notions held by Renaissance men and women. My paper will address the topic of the courtier’s masculinity in sixteenth-century Italian satiric writings, trying to shed light on the reasons why the profession of courtier and courtly activities could appear un-masculine according to the standards of the time.

Marita VON WEISSENBERG (Xavier U, OH)

“Three Husbands, Two Masculinities: Johannes von Marienwerder and the Useful Tool of Emasculation”

Saint Dorothea von Montau (1347–1394) was told in a Divine revelation that her confessor (and biographer) Johannes von Marienwerder (1343-1417) was her spiritual husband just as Adalbert Weaponsmith (d. 1390) her earthly husband, and Christ her true husband. In his biography of Dorothea Johannes carefully emphasized the gruesome details of her marriages. Johannes portrayed Adalbert as decidedly unmanly: he lacked self-discipline and constancy, as well as bodily strengths, he was violent verbally and physically, his virility and household management were questioned by neighbours and strangers. This portrayal of course emphasized Dorothea’s holiness as obedient and suffering. However, Adalbert’s failure at secular masculinity also served to emphasize Johannes’ own clerical masculinity as well as his worthiness to rule, or “husband,” the saint whose holiness his own prowess and fame rested upon. The biography of a female saint thus became a battle-ground between competing masculinities and sources for authority: marriage, Christ, and manhood.

Alison WEBER (U of Virginia)

“Try a Little Tenderness”: Holiness and Subordinate Masculinity in Counter-Reformation Valencia”

This paper considers the career of the peasant holy man Francisco del Niño Jesús (1544-1604; declared Venerable 1769). Under the patronage of the archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, this illiterate friar was an important foot soldier in the archbishop’s campaign of poor relief and moral reform. He was particularly noted for his work with poor women: widows, girls without

dowries, wet nurses, repentant prostitutes, and victims of spousal abuse. As his name in religion indicates, Francisco was also famous for his devotion to the Infant Jesus. Described as ugly, portly, unkempt, odiferous, and simple-minded, he nevertheless was widely regarded as a living saint whose prayers were especially efficacious in curing infertility. Although Francisco might appear to correspond to an androgynous saint, I argue that he represents a Counter-Reformation model of holiness for subordinate males, one that exalted charity, paternal tenderness, tamed aggression, and physical stamina as heroic, masculine virtues.

Sarah WILK (York U)

“Mercenaries and Military Masculinities during the Hundred Years War”

The distinction between fear of shame and fear of death as instigator of military deeds is a feature of chronicles about the Hundred Years War. While the chronicles were intended as reinforcement for the knightly classes, their ideas and ideals are useful in discussion about other military men as well. This paper will focus on mercenaries, who found plenty of work during the Hundred Years War, such as the English John Hawkwood’s White Company, which worked in Italy, or Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, who brought mercenaries with him to fight in Spain during times of peace between England and France. Such men could experience changes in their status throughout their military careers, which in turn affected how they were seen both by the writers of chronicles and by other men. This paper will seek to understand more about the relative masculinities of military men who did not necessarily fall within the bounds of the so-called culture of chivalry.

Anne L. WILLIAMS (William & Mary U)

“Blasphemous or Beautiful? Holy Masculinity and its Ambiguities ca. 1500”

Leonardo da Vinci’s sensuous *St. John the Baptist* (ca. 1513-16) has troubled its modern viewers for centuries, producing a trail of scholarship that attempts to explain its alleged blasphemy or androgyny by probing Leonardo’s sexual life or by claiming that the saint’s appearance is irrelevant to its interpretation. In other words, it is assumed that for his period viewer, Leonardo’s *St. John* was understood to be ‘deviant’ with respect to both gender and religious norms. However, period accounts of the painting remark neither on blasphemy nor androgyny, nor do accounts of similar depictions of beautiful male saints like Sebastian. Rather, such exemplars are described in terms of ideal masculinity; they are only deviant in their departure from modern hegemonic conceptions of gender normativity. This paper offers a new interpretation of *St. John* and of masculinity ca. 1500 based on Leonardo’s engagement with Aristotelian natural philosophy, late medieval conceptions of gender, and theological discourse.

Emily WINEROCK (U of Pittsburgh)

“Have a good grace in the carriage of your bodie”: How to Bow, Sit, and Stride Like an Early Modern Noble (or Ignoble) Man”

(participatory workshop with context and commentary)

“To have a good grace in the carriage of your bodie” was essential for early modern noblemen and helped distinguish them from men of lesser rank (Cleland, *Institution of a Young Noble Man*, 1607). Yet, graceful movement and gestures could also be construed as feminine or unmasculine.

In this workshop, we will follow the instructions provided for men in early modern dancing manuals regarding how to properly execute various quotidian activities such as bowing, hat doffing, and sitting in a chair. We will then consider how these instructions, as well as the recommendations and prohibitions in conduct manuals, education treatises, and moral writings, illuminate, not just what kinds of movement were considered appropriate for men of different ranks in the premodern world, but also the subtlety and precision with which some men performed their masculinity and the potential subversiveness of that performance.

Jamie ZETTLE (St Jerome's U in the U of Waterloo)

“Monastic Masculinity, Homosexuality and Challenges to Spiritual Friendship”

A careful reading of the *Visio monachi de Eynsham* (1196) reveals an intermingling of various representations of masculinity in a twelfth-century monastic environment. Theological understandings of Christ's incarnation as a model of monastic masculinity, penance rituals and Christ's sexuality challenged and informed the development of affective relationships between monks. Penance rituals as corporeal relationships of power and submission shaped monastic masculinities as outlets for expressions of aggression and pain. A fully formed male Christ in gender and sexuality, even to the involuntary movements of his penis, was represented to the medieval monk in image, language and ritual. Clerical sodomy was a carnal expression of these conflicting representations of monastic masculinities. Yet, an examination of clerical sodomy provides insight into how masculinities were constructed, adapted and contested in the monastic environment.