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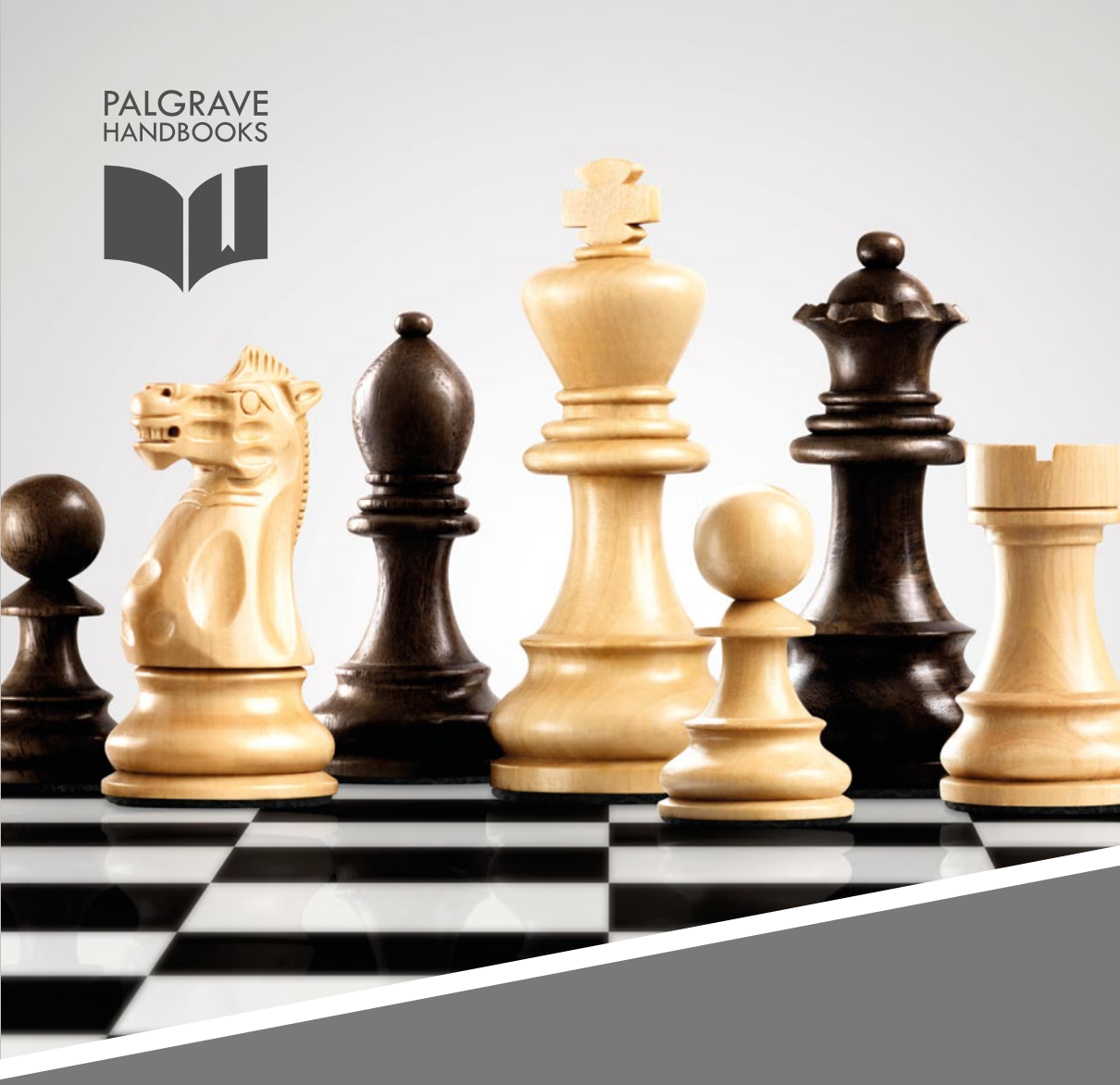

THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF MASCULINITY AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN EUROPE

Edited by Christopher Fletcher,
Sean Brady, Rachel E. Moss and Lucy Riall

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Editors

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The project of this handbook first came about at a workshop on the theme of 'Masculinity and Political Leadership in Europe', held at Birkbeck, University of London and the Institute of Historical Research in December 2010. This workshop made it clear that there was a neglected field there to be tilled, but that contributors were dispersed over different periods and different themes. Over a series of meetings we put together an open call for papers for a volume dedicated to masculinity and politics which would stretch from the ancient world to the modern day. This resulted in an exciting conference on the theme of 'Masculinity and Political Authority', held at the University of London Institute in Paris in September 2014, and financed by the Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris (LaMOP) and the Groupement de Recherche 'Îles Britanniques' of the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS). In negotiation with Palgrave Macmillan, we fixed upon the project of a 'Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture' which would bring together articles from mostly British and French but also Spanish, US and Swiss-based scholars working in this field. The idea was to bring together specialist articles of high quality, but with sufficient context and depth to enable the non-specialist reader to peruse the book from end to end. This book would show much thematic variation but also give a sense of long-running continuity and fundamental change which went beyond what seemed to us the excessively schematic or reductive nature of large-scale histories of masculinity (especially of Britain) or '*virilité*' (in France).

The result is the book you have before you. It has its lacuna, like any such project, particularly in an emerging field where it was not possible to approach the established expert for each geographical area, since for many areas such experts simply do not exist. The history of politics and the history of gender still remain largely compartmentalised. For many historians of gender, politics is self-evidently a male-dominated field, and so turning attention to it risks betraying the project of gender history itself. Historians of politics

have often returned the compliment, either ignoring the masculinity of the political sphere, or treating it as of little importance. We hope in a modest way to have demonstrated the possibilities of bringing an end to this standoff, and of opening up the serious study of masculinity and political culture.

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Contents

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List of Figures

Eminently Queer Victorians and the Bloomsbury Group's Critique of British Leadership

Introduction: Masculinity and *Politik*

Christopher Fletcher

> What do we mean by politics [*Politik*]? The concept is extremely broad and includes every kind of independent *leadership* activity. We can speak of the foreign exchange policies of the banks, the interest rate policy of the *Reichsbank*, the politics of a trade union in a strike; we can speak of educational policy in a town or village community, the policies of the board of management of an association, and even of the political manoeuvrings [*Politik*] of a shrewd wife seeking to influence her husband. Needless to say, this concept is far too broad for us to consider this evening. Today we shall consider only the leadership, or the exercise of influence on the leadership, of a *political* organization, or in other words a *state*.[1]

When Max Weber set out to consider *Politik* in the broadest possible terms at the start of a lecture delivered in 1919, it went without saying that almost every area of 'political' life would be monopolized by men. Despite the recent expansion of the franchise in post-revolutionary Germany to permit women to vote and to stand for election, both the 'politics' and the 'policy' of private and national banks and of management boards remained the monopoly of adult males, and trade unions and public office were overwhelmingly dominated by men.[2] Only in more local and more informal arenas, ones closer literally to home, such as educational policy, religious life and the domestic sphere itself, did *Politik* cease to be almost exclusively masculine.

For two millennia and more before Weber spoke, formal political authority in Europe was normally and ideally in the hands of adult males. Normally

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because this was most often the case and because this formed a norm whose regularity served as proof of its naturalness. Ideally because male authority was felt to be the ideal and female authority the aberration. This is not to say that women at all social levels did not exercise informal authority and especially 'power through the family', much like Weber's 'shrewd wife'.[3] Nor is it to set aside the numerous occasions where women have exercised formal political authority: in medieval and early modern Europe, for example, in which women frequently wielded authority as independently influential noblewomen, as queens regent or as queens regnant.[4] All the same, female power, despite its ubiquity, was perceived until very recently as a kind of a recurrent contradiction, a paradox which refused to go away.[5] In particular, the norm and the ideal that formal political power would be masculine created vulnerabilities for powerful women, vulnerabilities which adult male rulers did not tend to experience.

This state of affairs was arguably intensified by the gradual process of formalization which Weber sketched out influentially in the meat of his lecture. As Weber tells this story, the 'means of administration' and particularly the monopoly of legitimate violence which were now in the hands of the state had once been distributed amongst many different actors and groups, from powerful nobles to city states.[6] These 'means' had first been gradually absorbed by kings and princes. According to Weber, monarchs then in turn found their power gradually sapped by the administrators they needed to govern such an extensive and elaborate apparatus. These administrators were alienated from the means of administration at their disposal, in the sense that, like the functionaries of a large company, they managed these resources but did not own them. The 'state' in its full form thus came into being: a set of administrative, fiscal and judicial mechanisms which different groups might seek to control. This was 'politics' in Weber's narrow sense: the competition for control of formal institutions possessed of a monopoly of legitimate violence.[7]

These developments also had significant gendered consequences that Weber did not identify. A recurring theme in European politics between the Roman Empire and the contemporary world is the move by different political actors to mobilize the *res publica*, the common good or the public weal.[8] Kings and princes as much as city administrations invoked their public authority, in the sense of their authority deriving from their role as the protectors of the welfare of the people, to justify their rights to administer justice, to legislate, to raise taxation and to wage war. This did not mean that all rights of justice, legislation, taxation and violence were legitimated in this way, far from it, but it did promote forms of political authority that were tangibly different from power justified by private right, hereditary status or custom. The more public authority was perceived as public, in the sense of serving the common good of the people, the less acceptable it was that informal influence or even the rights of particular individuals or groups should play a role in policy or politics. One central aspect of these developments that historians have not explored is that government in the name of the

public weal was more masculine than any form of rule that had come before it.[9] Women's informal influence and even formal political authority continued, of course, but because from this point of view the political authority of the 'state' was based not on individual status, custom or collective privileges but on the absolute good of the *res publica*, these forms of female power, even whilst they continued, were now perceived as an even more uncomfortable aberration. For centuries, this was not perceived as a difficulty. The only problem was that women did still ostensibly wield power, and ways had to be found to justify these states of exception. Only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did the exclusion of women from formal politics begin to seem unacceptable to some. The slow admission of women into electoral democracy was perceived as the cure for this malady, yet it is clear that in the vast majority of modern Western democracies it has still not proved effective. 'Politics' conceived of as the politics of the state may no longer be ideally or even exclusively the preserve of men, but it remains an overwhelmingly masculine domain.[10]

It is in this context that the present handbook seeks to make a contribution. The chapters in this book explore from multiple angles and over a long period the mechanisms by which the maleness of formal political power has been established and maintained across successive generations. They examine how these mechanisms have marked European political culture over the long term and still mark it today.

It is clear that to pursue these issues we cannot, like Max Weber, begin by limiting ourselves to the kind of formal political institutions familiar from the European nation states of the past two or three centuries. If politics is the struggle to exercise leadership over 'a political organization, or in other words a state', then an analysis of masculinity and political culture could confine itself to the analysis of the influence of gendered ideas and values over the kind of politics which takes place in representative institutions or within the apparatus of the state. This is certainly one legitimate approach to the study of masculinity and political culture, and many contributions to the present volume take it as their central theme.[11] Nonetheless such a line of analysis quickly becomes problematic if it is pursued exclusively. In pre-industrial contexts especially, where the means of coercion were less effective, where communications were not as developed, and where judicial and fiscal machinery required the cooperation of non-state agents to function, the study of politics cannot be limited to the study of the state.[12] To understand the interaction between the maleness of power and the nature of politics over the *longue durée*, we need to begin with a broader definition of political culture than has so far been applied in studies of masculinity and politics in the relatively recent past.

Nor is the need for a broad conception of 'politics' limited to the study of the pre-modern past. It is clear that even when contemporary Europe is in question, a state-based approach to politics is not sufficient for an effective

analysis of political authority and gender. Critics of modern liberal democracy on left and right, from Weber and Carl Schmidt[13] to Pierre Bourdieu[14] and Pierre Rosanvallon[15] have noted the inadequacy of any vision of politics that restricts itself to the 'occasional' politics of the ballot box, to the institutions of electoral democracy or the activities of the modern state.[16] It is thus all the more necessary to take a broad view of political culture which takes in not only the state-centred vision of politics put to the fore by Weber, but also all those areas of *Politik* which he identified but chose not to discuss. One aim of the earliest studies of gender history was to insist upon the importance of the private sphere and of women's power within that sphere, as against the formal politics that are the focus of *Politik als Beruf*.[17] It thus seems opportune to turn around Weber's casually sexist aside about the scheming wife in order to insist that gender relations in the household are indeed an important kind of politics, and that any global vision of the political culture of a given society must include them also.[18]

Gender historians and political historians have had an uneasy relationship in recent decades. It remains the case both that gendered approaches to political history have had difficulty finding acceptance within that broader field, and that historians of gender have proved wary of straying into political history. Indeed, one of the initial aims of gender history as it evolved in the 1970s and 1980s was to undermine the centrality of historical narratives based on a state-based vision of politics. The growth of interest in women and in gender was overtly positioned in opposition to an older political and constitutional history, whose dominance by 'great men' was taken for granted. Certainly, this was and still is a valid critique of synthetic 'school book' history, long ago lampooned by Sellar and Yeatman.[19] Nonetheless, it failed to take into account that even as gender history was emerging, political history was undergoing a set of transformations that could be traced back to initiatives begun some decades before.[20] Prosopographical methods brought the study of politics closer to social history than it had ever been, consciously distancing modern research from the institutional and legal perspective of earlier writers. By the 1980s, political history and gender history were not so distant in their methods. The growing interest in cultural history touched both sub-disciplines at the same times and in a similar fashion. The development of the concept of 'political culture' has made it possible to push back the boundaries of political history to cover not only the political thought found in learned and not-so learned treatises, but also the unspoken assumptions and expectations of different social groups about how government ought to work.[21] The time thus seems ripe to bring gender history and political history together, taking both politics and gender equally seriously.

Reasons of good practice and the state of current research thus encourage a broad definition of politics and a long range of study. It is for these reasons that a handbook dedicated to masculinity and political culture includes not only studies of masculinity in representative institutions and the gendered

nature of the expansion of the electoral franchise, for example, but also studies of the action of class and authority in the life of a judge and 'closeted' homosexual in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Strasbourg, or of the significance of gendered notions of honour and right action amongst the elites of fifteenth-century Spanish towns.[22] In seeking to understand how the normal and ideal maleness of power has affected European political culture over the very long term, the contributors to this volume have ranged widely beyond the state, all whilst keeping to Weber's central concern with 'leadership' and with 'influence'. One result is that the present volume is avowedly a 'handbook' and not a 'textbook'. It aims to offer a wide-ranging selection of specialist studies, designed to be accessible to the non-specialist, but privileging access to the best recent research.

What might perhaps surprise specialist readers more than this broad conception of political culture is the use of the term 'masculinity'. 'Masculinity' is one of those dangerous words for the researcher which combines both a technical usage and broad, often unacknowledged, modern associations.[23] Both in the popular psychology of the modern day and in much of the specialist literature, it is common to consider that adult males have a need to 'prove their masculinity' by aggressive action, and above all by sexual activity.[24] The contributors to this volume, although many of them do consider sexuality, have not found this to be a helpful model for understanding the cases they consider. Instead, they are closer in their methodology to the sociologist Raewyn Connell, whilst adapting and refining her work for application to societies and cultures that are in some cases very distant from the contemporary, Western, Anglophone case studies that she considers.

Connell has been widely influential, perhaps especially amongst historians, because of the usefulness of the pluralizing conception of 'masculinities' first developed in her works. Thinking of 'masculinities' instead of 'masculinity' serves to catch the way in which the fact of being a man will not be lived in the same way by a factory worker, for example, than by an office clerk, all whilst accepting certain commonalties of male bodily experience.[25] For historical purposes, however, Connell's analysis requires some adaptation, not least because her use of the concept of 'masculinities' brings together several phenomena that are not analytically identical.

These phenomena can usefully be distinguished as different understandings of what 'a masculinity' is. First, 'a masculinity' might be said to refer to a set of norms, values or forms of behaviour that are *emphatically* linked to acting 'manly' or 'like a man'. Such a 'masculinity' asserts its compulsory and ideal nature by seeking to link a set of social norms or behaviours to deep-running cultural and linguistic assumptions. When somebody asserts that such-and-such an action is 'manly' they are not only making a judgement in accordance with shared social norms, they are also drawing on a set of accepted uses of the word 'manly' in the language they use and the culture they share with their interlocutors. In Europe, many of these accepted

uses stretch back into ancient Roman language and culture.[26] It is only in relatively recent times that sexual activity has come to be seen as the defining quality of 'masculinity'. In the Latin language, to act 'viriliter' is to be strong and vigorous, and more specifically to stand one's ground and not retreat in a combat situation.[27] These values might be invoked in a real battle, or metaphorically in a mental attitude that shows steadfastness or constancy. The same values lie behind the multiple referents of the Latin 'virtus', which refers not only to what we call virtue, but also to steadfastness which is both physical and psychological, all with a clear reference to the fact of being a 'vir' (a 'man').[28] The use in European vernaculars of words such as 'manly', 'manhood' and equivalent words including 'virtue' has long been heavily influenced by this common cultural heritage. Certainly, the range of potential applications of such concepts is very large. They might be stretched, for example, to cover the qualities of moral virtue,[29] or even credit worthiness.[30] Nonetheless, these values are not infinitely malleable. It would be comic, even ungrammatical, to clean one's teeth like a man, but to fight or to suffer adversity like a man seems linguistically uncontroversial. Just so, the deep running associations attached to manhood in European culture permit certain forms of behaviour to be more easily denoted as fitting for adult males than for others.

Second, a 'masculinity' might also be a set of norms, assumptions, characteristics or behaviours routinely associated with males in a positive or negative fashion, although without this necessarily being linked to all men. Fatherhood is thus 'a masculinity' without it being experienced by all men. The sexual excess and other negative characteristics held to characterize young men in certain periods can also be considered to be a 'masculinity'.[31] From this point of view even 'effeminacy' is a masculinity, since it is a set of characteristics which can only meaningfully be applied to a man. This indeed is part of the polemical strength of Connell's analysis, since it enables her to grant the status of a legitimate 'masculinity' to subversive or oppressed subcultures in opposition to 'hegemonic' masculinities, either explicit or implicit, which claim in effect to be the only masculinities worthy of the name.

Third, 'a masculinity' might also denote a set of norms, ideals or practices which a historian or sociologist can identify as being either exclusively or usually applicable to adult males, even though the social actors in question are unaware of this and might even deny it. Practices such as blood-brotherhood in medieval Iceland concern only males, but this is nowhere explicitly stated.[32] The individuals who assumed the role of the grey-suited technocrat or 'professor' in post-war Italian politics were all men, and yet their political self-presentation eschewed overt identification between their political persona and their masculinity.[33] Yet from an analytical point of view the figure of the chess-playing professor is just as much a masculinity as, for example, the emphatically masculine military self-presentation adopted by Nazi politicians in the early 1930s.[34] Indeed, it is a characteristic of many masculinities

to deny that this is what they are, perhaps especially in politics. This denial of the masculinity of politics can render its role almost invisible, representing a real barrier to historical understanding and analysis.

Finally, 'a masculinity' might be a set of ideals, behaviours or practices which is implicitly associated with adult maleness in a particular group or period without this always being explicitly linked to manhood, although such a link is recognized in certain circumstances. In some contexts, it is the unspoken nature of these norms that might enable, for example, a patrician member of the Victorian House of Commons to identify expressions of emotion on the part of a working-class MP as unmanly, whereas the latter believed himself to be demonstrating manly authenticity.[35] In other contexts, such norms could be enunciated explicitly. In early modern England, for example, anxieties generated by differing norms of masculinity in different social groups created a market for manuals of correct comportment which enable outsider males to 'pass'.[36] Didactic or moralistic texts might also seek to rectify masculine comportments that they took to be lax or corrupted, although in this case we have to be careful to assess just how widely accepted their strictures might be.[37] This final kind of 'masculinity' thus lies somewhere between the first emphatic variety of masculinity and our third category of masculine norms or practices, which we can identify as characteristically male without this being acknowledged by contemporaries. Instead, this final variety of 'masculinity' denotes a 'habitus', which is known to be characteristic of men in a given society or social group, although this is not always made explicit.[38]

The contributions to this volume thus explore masculinity taken as a broad field of study whilst permitting the authors to treat phenomena that take in any or all of these different approaches to 'a masculinity' as their subject matter allows. What brings them together is less a single theoretical viewpoint and more a common concern with the interaction between competing masculinities and changing forms of political culture.[39] It is this ecumenical approach that has made it possible to assemble in one volume studies of masculinity and political culture in contexts stretching from ancient Rome to the contemporary West. Read as a whole they make it possible to perceive broad developments without the implicit teleology that has marked recent attempts to trace the history of particular cultural phenomena such as 'virilité' from antiquity to the present day,[40] or the tendency to excessive schematization which has dogged, for example, attempts to periodize the history of masculinity in the British Isles.[41] Instead what emerges is a slowly evolving palette of concepts and practices linked to ideal or deviant manhood that have played different roles in a broad variety of European political cultures. At some times appeals to emphatic or explicit masculinities have proved crucial in policing the boundaries of acceptable political activity and in particular its normal and ideal association with adult males. At others the non-explicit nature of gendered practices has allowed these same boundaries to shift as pragmatic

considerations dictated, admitting women and even eunuchs into the circle of masculine power.

The essays contained in this handbook each consider how, in different periods, gendered concepts and gendered practices have impinged on the exercise of political authority and influence. The volume opens with two contributions that consider the complex relationship between ideals of male patrician comportment and the broader culture of masculinity in the Roman Empire before and after Christianization. For Cyril Dumas, the sexualized symbolism and phallic imagery which were ubiquitous in pagan society should not be seen as erotic in purpose, but rather as the flipside of a culture in which patrician men's claims to authority were conditional on the control of their bodies and on the subordination of sexual activity to reproduction. Mathew Kuefler continues this story into the later Roman Empire and past its fall in the West. Roman political and masculine values that had been revitalized and redirected by Christianity now found themselves under renewed pressure from the more overtly military masculine ideals of barbarian invaders and, increasingly, of formerly barbarian members of the Roman army. This revived tensions between the need to demonstrate status by conspicuous display and the need to show a hard, simple, manly exterior. Both Dumas and Kuefler consider the often difficult interaction between masculine ideals and political norms in a society which closely linked the virtues of public life to the characteristics of an ideal adult male.

The overt linkage between masculinity and political power was not always so straightforward, however. In exceptional circumstances, in late antiquity or in the Middle Ages, gendered norms could be overcome to permit individuals to assume forms of authority from which they would normally be excluded. In different contexts, social practices essential for the exercise of political authority were not perceived as especially masculine even though they were heavily associated with being a man. Georges Sidéris considers how, in the late fourth century, the eunuch Eutropius was able, as a result of political circumstances, to overcome the normal exclusion of eunuchs from military command to lead a successful campaign in 396–397 and to attain the consulship in 399. Only retrospectively, after Eutropius's disgrace, did it become legally impossible for a eunuch to attain the summits of political power. Laurence Leleu, meanwhile, considers how women who assumed positions of power in the tenth-century Ottonian Empire, such as the Empress Theophano, could be praised without difficulty and without a sense of inversion, ascribing them the ideal virile qualities of male rulers. Accusations of soft effeminacy could be used just as effectively against male political actors. Pragya Vohra examines the nature of Icelandic kinship groupings that, in a society without any formal governmental institutions, were one of the primary means by which political actors could achieve their ends. In contrast to the late Roman or Ottonian Empire, structures such as blood brotherhood, while overwhelmingly concerning relationships between men, were not perceived as such. In Iceland,

the maleness of political power did not play the same kind of ideological role that it did in early medieval continental Europe.

In the political cultures of central and later medieval Europe norms of masculinity continued to provide a powerful group of themes with which political actors, whether they be churchmen, townsmen or nobles, could positively present their own actions or undermine the actions of their opponents. Matthew Mesley explores the ambiguous position of the bishops of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Germany with regard to norms of political authority. In early work on medieval masculinity churchmen have tended to be treated as fundamentally different from laymen, on account of their theoretical exclusion from sexual activity. Only recently has attention been drawn to how clerics had much in common with their social equals amongst the laity. This article extends this investigation to elite churchmen, focusing on the theme of masculine fidelity in the career of Adolf of Altena, bishop of Cologne. Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer examines how, in the Iberian peninsula from the later thirteenth until the fifteenth century, ideals of masculinity, which had initially been set out most clearly in clerically authored guides for rule known as 'mirrors for princes', increasingly came to play a role in the definition of good rule, even at the level of the ideal behaviour of the mayor of a town. Urban leaders could gain legitimacy, notably in comparison to noble leaders, by demonstrating exemplary self-control and the upright and honourable behaviour of an established householder. Finally, Hugo Dufour considers the contrasting ways in which the leaders of different factions in the political upheavals of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France managed the relationship between their own masculinity and authority, or used gendered terms to attack their opponents. Burgundian propagandists made use of topoi of excessive, warlike masculinity or sexually sinful effeminacy to smear their opponents, leaving for posterity the image of Louis, Duke of Orléans as a luxurious dandy. The austere tomb monument he commissioned presents his manhood very differently, in contrast to the magnificent but traditional manliness projected by the tomb of his enemy, John the Fearless.

Early modern historians, and perhaps especially those working on the British Isles, have long included gender and more recently masculinity in their account of society. The contributions of Susan Doran and Ann Hughes build upon this work with two essays focused on specifically British examples that consider how different masculinities negotiated with one another in political culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Susan Doran argues that although the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I and James I all put conventional ideas of masculine rule under pressure in different ways—first through the rule of a minor, then a queen regnant with an absentee husband, then an unmarried woman, and finally a man who often did not conform to gender norms of masculinity—the political culture of the day adapted to accommodate this variety, even if Charles I later felt the need to restore the image of monarchical masculinity. Ann Hughes, meanwhile, considers how

the civil war both enhanced and placed under pressure existing conceptions of male rule. The war disrupted the perception of the king as father, but added new charge to the linkage between elite masculinity and public office, on the one hand, and the right to bear arms, on the other. She considers how both 'cavalier' and 'roundhead' models of political activism developed, sometimes in explicit contrast to the growing possibility for female agency which had emerged in the religious and political upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s. Both Doran and Hughes suggest the broad continuities in gendered ideology despite the political upheavals of this period. It seems less that social change led to a crisis of masculinity, and more that political and social upheaval made explicit and implicit norms of masculine authority all the more valuable in the attempt to establish political legitimacy.

Perhaps surprisingly, ideals of manhood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had much in common with their pre-modern forebears. Vigour, honourable conduct and self-control continued to be associated with ideal manhood, whilst effeminate changeability, sexual excess and luxury were still portrayed as the roots of political vice. Nonetheless, behind these deep continuities, there were also profound changes, and, on occasion, explicit attempts to question the established gender order. On the one hand, the shocks of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, from political revolutions to industrialization, could provoke a critique of traditional gender values; on the other, it could equally well lead to their reassertion.

Matthew McCormack and Henry French consider the interplay of these transformations in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, exploring how large-scale political and cultural shocks had an impact on the personal and political lives of individual men. McCormack takes a synthetic perspective, considering how historians have begun to integrate masculinities into their analysis of the political culture, from political representation, to the history of the body, the emotions and material culture. Henry French focuses this account through a study of the career of one politician, William Windham (1750–1810). During his own lifetime and in the immediate aftermath of his death, Windham's reputation was high, and he was celebrated for his commitment to his own vision of the right course of political action, even when this led him to disconcerting political choices and changes of position. With the publication of his personal diary in the mid-nineteenth century, this reputation was drawn into question, with the revelation of his vigorous self-examination, hypochondria, and doubts about his own abilities. French reconsiders 'weathercock' Windham's posthumous fortunes to portray a man who was, in part, a victim of the changing focus of nineteenth-century ideals of masculinity away from authenticity and towards self-control.

Acceptance and submission to ideals of masculine authority, leading to a recurring sense of failure and inadequacy, were not the only possibilities available in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the wake of the political, social and economic transformations of these years, it was also newly

possible to perceive the gender order for the ideological construction that it was. Opposition and subversion brought with them consequences that were sometimes political, sometimes social. Victoria Russell considers the development of the Romantic critique of norms of masculinity and femininity, which although at first highly politicized, found its longer-term success in the quietist form of social and educational reform, insisting on the gender-neutral nature of the majority of human intellectual characteristics. Allison Goudie, meanwhile, considers the ambiguous reception of Antonio Canova's statue of Ferdinand IV of Naples, commissioned in 1800, widely interpreted as 'Ferdinand IV in the guise of Minerva'. As such, it encodes a critical stance towards the involvement in government of Ferdinand's wife, Maria Carolina. Even traditional conceptions of masculinity could be used to question established authority in circumstances of profound political and social upheaval.

Sexuality, too, opened up the possibility of distance from and criticism of the established political order, even when this critique remained latent. Régis Schlagdenhauffen thus considers the personal diary of the Franco-German jurist Eugène Wilhelm (1885–1951). Wilhelm exercised the authority of a judge, condemning homosexuals amongst other deviants, all whilst continuing homosexual relationships, sometimes over several decades, with men who might be considered to be members of the underclass. His diary is a further witness to the ambiguous interplay between sexuality and political authority. Dominic Janes notes how a variety of Bloomsbury intellectuals, and in particular Lytton Strachey and John Maynard Keynes, were able to distance themselves from contemporary masculine norms to critique performances of masculinity by prominent public figures, notably the participants in the peace conferences in the aftermath of the First World War.

By the early twentieth century, the criteria by which masculinity was defined were no longer something that could be taken as given. This led to phenomena of critique, but also of reactionary reassertion that could itself be innovative. Christopher Dillon describes how, during the Nazi takeover of 1930 to 1934, there was a difficult and hesitating interaction between the controlled, authoritarian masculinities of traditional conservatives and the violent, beer hall masculinity of emergent National Socialism. He reveals that although propaganda portrayed this interaction as a simple victory of Nazi virility over Weimer emasculation, the development of Nazi masculinity during this period was more hesitant and internally conflicted than might at first appear. Nazi self-presentation had to struggle both with the homosexuality of several of its prominent members within an overtly homophobe movement, and with the non-correspondence between Hitler's dandyish lifestyle and the manly austerity of his public image.

The two final contributions to the volume consider the interplay between norms of masculinity and changing forms of political culture up to the present day, considering how masculinities affected the ability to be an effective political agent. Ben Griffin examines the extent to which the 'gentlemanly'

masculinity which had enabled professional and middle-class men to be absorbed into the parliamentary political class without excessive friction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stood in the way of the later integration of women and working-class men. He considers how far parliamentary culture succeeded in adapting to these changes, focusing on the problems experienced by MPs, and especially male Labour MPs, in navigating between the masculine ideals of their electorate and those of the Houses of Parliament. Finally Stephen Gundle considers the continuing competition of different masculinities still attendant on the overwhelmingly male-dominated nature of politics in Italy from the Second World War to the 1990s. Gundle places the peculiar masculinity of Silvio Berlusconi in historical perspective, examining how the post-war model of a competent, business-like political masculinity was nonetheless still haunted by the ghost of Mussolini's hyper-masculinity. The collapse and transformation of the political culture which supported these conflicted masculinities casts new light both on Berlusconi's own contradictory masculinity and the significance of his rise, and on the importance of gender and masculinity for the study of modern Italian politics.

In the case studies brought together in this volume, stretching over two millennia, different political cultures have interacted in different ways with a wide variety of norms associated in whole or in part with adult maleness. Sometimes these norms have been deployed for political ends, sometimes they have structured politics without the participants necessarily being aware that this was happening. In certain circumstances masculine norms have been critiqued or left aside for political purposes, at other moments they have been reasserted for political ends. What emerges above all is that masculinity has constantly played an important role in the configuration of political life from the Roman Empire to the present day. This volume shows how historians who concentrate on the intersection between masculinity and political culture can make a vital contribution to our understanding of both the history of gender and the history of politics.

Notes

1. Max Weber, 'Politics as a Vocation' [1919] in *The Vocation Lectures*, trans. R. Livingstone (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 2004), p. 32.
2. For the introduction of women into electoral politics and the backlash against it, see Christopher Dillon's contribution (chapter 'Masculinity, Political Culture, and the Rise of Nazism').
3. J.A. McNamara and S. Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500–1100', *Feminist Studies*, 1 (1973), 126–141; J.A. McNamara, 'Women and power through the family revisited' in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. M.C. Erler and M. Kowaleksi (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 17–30.
4. In an enormous bibliography, see e.g. R. Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris: Picard, 2001); P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines*

and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages (London: Leicester University Press, 1998); T. Earenfight, *Queenship in medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013); M. Bubenicek, *Quand les femmes gouvernent: droit et politique au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2002); J.C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1992); C. Levin, *'The Heart and Stomach of a King": Elizabeth I and the Poltics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); F. Cosandey, *La reine de France: Symbole et pouvoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000); D. Conroy, *Ruling Women, vol. I. Government, Virtue and the Female Prince in seventeenth-century France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

5. Cosandey, *La reine de France*, esp. pp. 295–332.
6. For this coinage see Weber, *Politics as a Vocation*, pp. 36–38.
7. Weber's powerful theorization of an ideal type of 'politics' defined by its dependence on an equally idealized 'state' was very much a product of its time. His historical account exists to support his sociological analysis of what interests him in the world of 1919, leading him to overstate the importance of certain social processes and to prematurely exclude others. That said, it is true that he does identify a number of developments which historians still consider to be important in the changing nature of politics in medieval and modern Europe. For a recent consideration of similar processes in the light of modern research, see J.L. Watts, *The Making of Polities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
8. See *De Bono Communi: The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th–16th centuries)*, ed. E. Lecuppre-Desjardin and A.-L. Van Bruaene (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); *Pouvoir d'un seul et bien commun (VIe-XVIe siècles)*, ed. F. Collard special ed. *Revue française d'histoire des idées politiques*, 32 (2010).
9. Although in the context of the French revolution, see D. Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, class and political culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
10. See for example C. Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, feminism and political theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989); M.-J. Bertini, *Femmes: Le pouvoir impossible* (Paris: Pauvert, 2002).
11. See for example A. Verjus, *Le bon mari: Une histoire politique des hommes et des femmes à l'époque révolutionnaire* (Paris: Fayard, 2010); B. Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); M. McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); and the contributions to *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*, ed. M. McCormack (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007); *Masculinities in politics and war: Gendering modern history*, ed. S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
12. For crucial developments in the emergence of the 'state' between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, see in particular the work sponsored by the European Science Foundation to examine the 'Origins of the Modern State', notably: *L'Etat moderne, genèse: bilans et perspectives*, ed. J.-P. Genet (Paris: CNRS, 1990); *Etat et Eglise dans la genèse de l'Etat moderne*, ed. J.-P. Genet

and B. Vincent (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1986); *Genèse de l'Etat moderne: prélèvement et redistribution*, ed. J.P. Genet and M. Le Mené (Paris: CNRS, 1987); *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'Etat moderne (XIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. N. Bulst and J.-P. Genet (Paris, CNRS, 1988); *L'Etat moderne, le droit, l'espace et les formes de l'Etat*, ed. N. Coulet and J.-P. Genet (Paris: CNRS, 1990); *Economic systems and state finance*, ed. R. Bonney, W. Blockmans and J.-P. Genet (Oxford, Clarendon, 1995); *L'Etat moderne et les élites, XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles*, ed. J.-P. Genet and G. Lottes (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996); *Cities and the rise of states in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800*, ed. C. Tilly and W.P. Blockmans (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994); *Resistance, representation and community*, ed. P. Blickle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). For an essential critical synthesis, see Watts, *The Making of Polities*. For the intense 'state formation' of early modern England, see M. Braddick, *State formation in early modern England, c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

13. C. Schmidt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. G. Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996 [1932]), esp. p. 20.
14. On the composition of the 'field' of politics in modern France, see P. Bourdieu, 'La logique des champs' in his *Réponses* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), pp. 71–90.
15. P. Rosanvallon, *La contre-démocratie: La politique à l'âge de la défiance* (Paris: Seuil, 2006); Idem, *Le bon gouvernement* (Paris: Seuil, 2015).
16. The citation is Weber, 'Politics as a vocation', p. 39, but the theme is explored most fully by Rosanvallon, *La contre-démocratie*, esp. pp. 24–38.
17. L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). For a valid critique of the chronologies imposed on the development of the division between public and private, which does not however undermine its significance as a political category, see A. Vickery, 'Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and the chronology of English women's history', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), 383–414.
18. For recent explorations of the relationship between masculine domestic and political virtue in early modern England, see K. Harvey, *The Little Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Verjus, *Le bon mari*.
19. W.C. Sellar and R.J. Yeatman, *1066 and all that* (London: Methuen, 1930).
20. For a short survey of these developments, see J.L. Watts, 'Introduction' in *Political Society in Later Medieval England*, ed. B. Thompson and J. Watts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), pp. 1–7.
21. C. Carpenter, 'Introduction: Political Culture, Politics and Cultural History' in *The Fifteenth Century IV: Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. L. Clark and C. Carpenter (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 1–19.
22. See below, Schlagdenhauffen (chapter 'The Dominant and the Dominated. Power Relations and Intimate Authorities in the Personal Diary of the Jurist Eugène Wilhelm (1885–1951)') and Oliva Herrer (chapter 'Masculinity and Political Struggle in the Cities of the Crown of Castile at the End of the Middle Ages').
23. For an exploration of its multiple historical uses, see *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. J.H. Arnold and S. Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011).

24. See esp. D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the making: Cultural concepts of masculinity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) and the critique of R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2nd edn. 2005), pp. 32–33.
25. Connell, *Masculinities*, pp. 55–56, 76–81, 89–181. Although the growth of transgender studies is currently reshaping assumptions of commonalties of bodily experience. See M.J. Boucher, 'Do you have what it takes to be a real man?' in *Performing American Masculinities: The Twenty-First Century Man in Popular Culture*, ed. E. Watson and M.E. Shaw (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), pp. 192–232.
26. See below, especially Dumas (chapter 'Power, Authority and Phallic Representations in Ancient Roman Society'), Leleu (chapter 'Virile Women and Effeminate Men: Gendered Judgements and the Exercise of Power in the Ottonian Empire c. 1000 CE'), Oliva Herrer (chapter 'Masculinity and Political Struggle in the Cities of the Crown of Castile at the End of the Middle Ages') and Doran (chapter 'Monarchy and Masculinity in Early Modern England').
27. C. Fletcher, '*Sire, uns hom sui*: Transgression et inversion par rapport à quelle(s) norme(s) dans l'histoire des masculinités médiévales?', *Micrologus' Library*, 78 (2017), 23–50.
28. For 'virtus', see M. McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); S. Schwandt, *Virtus: Zur Semantik eines politischen Konzepts im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2014).
29. M. Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); K.A. Smith, *War and the making of medieval monastic culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011).
30. A. Shepard, 'Manhood, credit and patriarchy in early modern England, c. 1560–1640', *Past and Present*, 167 (2000), 75–106.
31. R. Moss, 'An Orchard, a Love Letter and Three Bastards: The Formation of Adult Male Identity in a Fifteenth-Century Family' in *What is Masculinity?*, ed. Brady and Arnold, pp. 226–244; C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, youth and politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 60–73.
32. See below, Vohra (chapter 'Creating Kin, Extending Authority: Blood-brotherhood and Power in Medieval Iceland').
33. On which, see below Gundle (chapter 'From Mussolini to Berlusconi: Masculinity and Political Leadership in Post-war Italy').
34. See below, Dillon (chapter 'Masculinity, Political Culture, and the Rise of Nazism').
35. See further below, Griffin (chapter 'Masculinities and parliamentary culture in modern Britain'). Cf. the ambiguous role of tears and emotional expression in the seventeenth century, discussed by B. Capp, '"Jesus Wept" but did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 224 (2014), 75–108.
36. A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 21–92; K. Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 24–63.

37. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, youth and politics*, pp. 60–73; Oliva Herrer (chapter 'Masculinity and Political Struggle in the Cities of the Crown of Castile at the End of the Middle Ages') and Doran (chapter 'Monarchy and Masculinity in Early Modern England').
38. For 'habitus' see P. Bourdieu, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Paris: Seuil, 2000 [1972]), trans. as Idem, *Outline of a theory of practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
39. Competition between masculinities is essential to Connell's analysis also. See Connell, *Masculinities*, pp. 71–81.
40. *Histoire de la virilité*, ed. A. Corbin, J.-J. Courtine and G. Vigarello, 3 vols. (Paris: Seuil, 2011).
41. For a critique, see H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and McCormack (chapter 'A Man's Sphere? British Politics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries').

Power, Authority and Phallic Representations in Ancient Roman Society

Cyril Dumas

Beginning relatively late in international terms, the intellectual revolution represented by gender studies is now well established as a legitimate area of historical study in the French-speaking world.[1] The analysis of gender and of social mores has opened up new forms of interdisciplinary research which, among other fields of historical enquiry, takes the intimate world of Roman society as their focus. This enterprise aims to understand the processes, the dynamics and the social changes which structured the underlying logics of thought and of morality. The emergence of questions concerning the role of sexuality has made it possible to understand better the political factors which contributed to the shape of that society.[2] For a long time, Roman society was stigmatised in scholarship for its dissolute social mores, in which the Roman male citizen imposed his pleasure and his dominance on both sexes.[3] Inversely and reciprocally, in a classic expression of the double standard, his wife remained subordinate as she passed from the authority of a father to that of a husband. She respected the rules of legitimate marriage by restricting herself to a passive role of procreation and the management of the household. The couple regularly honoured Priapus, whose image was often reduced simply to his erect phallus.[4] Political authority was thus introduced into the intimate world of the couple, intensifying the sense of strength and power exercised by the man's virility. Nonetheless, hegemonic masculinity in ancient Rome also relied on a delicate balance, based as it was on the virtue of the Roman matron. Simply by their presence, women constituted the honour of

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a family and guaranteed the legitimacy of descent. To understand the full significance of this, we need to paint a composite picture of comportment and morality that cannot be separated either from legal obligations or from the indignation of the guardians of public morals. By opening up a multivalent approach which includes the formal status of individuals, their carnal union, debauched sexual practices and anthropological observation, this chapter hopes to illuminate the multiple facets of Roman phallocratic society. To this we can add the question of representations of male genitalia whose omnipresence comes back to the very principles of upbringing, located between obedience and devotion. These approaches thus favour the emergence of questions concerning art and iconography that have contributed to the development of the modern myth of Roman decadence.

In this regard, I have favoured a systematic methodology based on the study of objects from the most important collections originating from the Roman world (now in Italy, Spain, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, Croatia, Libya, Greece, Hungary, Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Austria, the United States, Cyprus and Sardinia). The evidence which I have thus been able to study strongly indicates the need to adopt a new and resolutely more rationalist view of the Roman world. From frescos and ceramics to mosaics, images—in particular that of the phallus in erection—seemed initially to show a society which exhorted the pleasures of the flesh in all their varied forms. However, it now seems that this long-accepted view in fact results from a globalising ideological approach based on dated assumptions. Adopting a resolutely pragmatic methodology, I have tried to consider all priapic representations as a whole and so to understand their social, religious, sexual and psychological significance.

The Reign of the Phallus

Roman society was incontestably based on a patriarchal family model as part of an authoritarian phallocratic system.[5] This social, cultural and symbolic domination was exercised by men at the expense of women. The cult of virility established itself by symbolising strength, work and fertility. It conferred on men political power, financial power and authority, especially over women considered as producers of offspring.

When the phallus changed size it acquired a new name: the *fascinum*.[6] This word was linked in Latin literature to a complex notion: fascination. It designated magical power and the power to attract the gaze in a way which links malevolent curses and the virile member. Put another way, the *fascinum* had the ability to paralyse with horror, by its crude display dedicated to pleasure. In parallel, this also gave it the power to repel the evil eye and other ill-intentioned powers.

From the youngest age, a Roman man affirmed his virile masculinity and his civic masculinity. Men wore a light-coloured toga decorated with a

purple band, indicating that he was of free birth and marking the inviolable, untouchable, sacred character of his body. Upon adulthood, he joined the group of men—*uiri*—by donning ritually the great cloak of free and free-born citizens: the *toga*. The man ruled as a master to impose his will. His pleasures were considered chaste provided they did not lead to the production of children. His comportment was limited exclusively to the active role which he exercised over a dominated, servile body.[7] Under these conditions, he could maintain a second wife, a concubine or even several courtesans.[8]

His power seems all the more significant when we consider the sheer number of 'ithyphallic' representations in the Roman world.[9] Phallic representations were to be found everywhere throughout the empire. The male sex sprang out everywhere in the city, as much in public as in private buildings.[10] It took part in everyday life in all locations in a figurative form or in abstract motifs. The artistic representation of the male member had to meet the stylistic conventions of the day. These gradually distanced themselves from the original anatomical model through the use of abstract curves. By contrast, Roman aesthetics always considered the unerect phallus to be beautiful. Its small size was, at that time, a criteria of beauty, of temperance and of manliness.[11]

When the penis changed size, however, it acquired a new significance. It became an overt sign of obscenity pertaining to the god Priapus.[12] At his birth, Priapus was the victim of a curse which burdened him with a penis in a permanent state of erection. He became the guardian of the fertility of men and of the herds, and the guarantor of the fertility of fields and gardens. Priapus protected men against impotence and women against sterility. Although he was consigned to the bench in the Pantheon and although no temples were dedicated to him, it is striking to observe that he enjoyed unequalled popularity throughout antiquity.[13] Initially, peasants would invoke him simply by planting a roughly cut fig-tree branch, one end of which was painted red. It was believed that pests would fear the justice which he meted out with the aid of his phallus. Priapus later decorated all forms of equipment related to the irrigation of the fields, such as aqueducts and reservoirs (see Fig. 1).[14] His aura and his popularity show him exercising a broader and deeper protection against danger, misfortune and disease. Priapus became an emblem of trade and a marker of imminent or recurrent danger. His presence reassured travellers crossing a bridge or clients in bathhouses or in arenas who wanted to avoid bad luck. The salvatory phallus was proudly displayed, without shame, in order to attract the good graces of the god. The state of conservation of Pompei has made it possible to discover that without distinction, Priapus protected a laundry, a bakery, street corners, and ramparts.[15]

That said, Priapus's personality was not without a certain vulgarity and rudeness. His disproportionate and small-sized body displayed its ugliness through numerous malformations. His ithyphallism [erection] was the incarnation of a lack of measure and of control. His obscene malformation marked

Fig. 1 Phallus on the Pont de Gard, France. Photograph © Cyril Dumas

his rusticity and his shameless character. This disgrace removed any potential seductive power by denying him any notion of pleasure or sexual enjoyment. Priapus was condemned to rape without ever experiencing love or embraces. To Priapus's great despair, his repulsive attacks always provoked the intervention of a third party, frustrating his plans.[16] As a result, Priapus had no link with sexual pleasure or with prostitution, for example. Many authors, historians and archaeologists have been seriously mistaken in identifying him as a signpost for places of pleasure,[17] or as the marker of a brothel.[18] The proximity of the two elements, one of which is found everywhere, does not mean that we can link the one with the other, and this juxtaposition implies no commonalty of symbolic value or function.

The Roman phallus defended a religious symbolic system which was intended to reassure men and women by its crudeness. A young woman of the aristocracy was supposed to blush at the impromptu encounter with the solitary god or his attribute. Paradoxically, this malaise was dispelled by a smile, and it was from this that the symbolic value of the phallic display was derived.[19] To improve the magical value of the phallus, artists competed in imagination to increase the comic charge which would provoke hilarity, and with it the desired magical result.[20] In this way, phallic representations healed through laughter, since this chased away bad luck and evil magic. The phallus

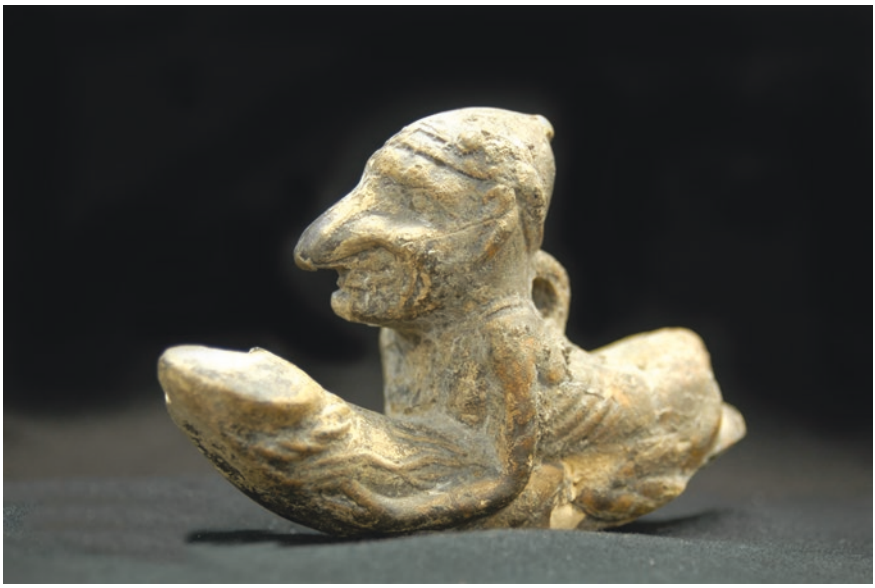

Fig. 2 Oil lamp with hideous, wizened dwarf, astride his penis. Photograph © Cyril Dumas

was thus provided with a hideous dwarf astride it (see Fig. 2). Or the member decorated a lamp accompanied with numerous little bells whose noise also banished malevolent spells. In other cases, the phallus was decorated with several penises (see Fig. 3), with a pair of wings, or with a crest. Priapus's physiognomy imitates that of a cockerel, with whom he shared the same erectile characteristic and the same reputation as the chief of the farmyard.

Everyone in society was proud to wear this talisman around their neck. This piece of family jewellery could be made out of bone, clay, stone, coral, bronze, silver or gold according to the social class of its owner. It was also associated with an obscene gesture: the *manofica*. This hand sign consisted of inserting the thumb between the index and middle fingers, and it was regularly used to dispel the evil eye.[21]

The priapic cult provoked enthusiasm at all social levels and did not cease before the end of the Empire. Its success was probably due to it being the common denominator in a mosaic of cultures searching for points of reference as they adopted the Roman cultural schema. However, this popularity excluded Priapus little by little from formal religious practice at home, since his notoriety dispersed his sacred character through a conformism strongly rooted in social necessity. For apart from the devotion shown to his cult, it is not clear that in terms of belief, the significance of an engraved or sculpted phallus, or the image in a fresco, did not have the same, limited religious

Fig. 3 Bronze phallic amulet. Photograph © Cyril Dumas

significance as a monumental stone tablet or *stela*, for example. It is not unusual for a Roman to find the presence of Priapus in formations found naturally in stone which were used in construction to protect a building.[22] Nature can form perfectly well oblong erosions in stone that look like the shape of a penis. Thus, through everyday invocation, progressively this god began to resemble a quasi-pagan superstitious belief at the expense of any religious aspects. This evolution inspired a stylistic tendency in phallic representations which broke with figurative expression and moved towards more abstract motifs.

In sum, Priapus was the most widely represented god in the Roman world. His protection was solicited on a daily basis throughout Roman society. Despite the crudity of his ithyphallism, he had no link with debauchery or the topography of sexual pleasure. Thanks to his popularity, he remained a god of fertility and a talisman to dispel bad luck and malevolent magic. When we see the cult of Priapus in the full context of its relationship to social practice, we end up with a subtly different understanding of the relationship between Roman society and sexuality. This invites us to look further, and to understand the potential political valence of sexual practice in the Roman world.

Politics, Morality and the First Moral Crisis (186 BCE)

In the second and first centuries BCE, the political importance of masculine sexuality first came to a head. The succession of Servile Wars gradually led the Roman magistrates (*aediles*) to turn a blind eye to dissolute male behaviour. In particular, the new spirit of toleration allowed Bacchic devotion to flourish, based on a kind of oriental deviance. According to Livy, writing in the first century BCE, these religious festivals first originated in Greece in banquets organised by initiates of Bacchus to encourage debauchery in honour of the cult of Dionysus.[23] The Bacchanalia were without exception one of the most ill-reputed cults in Rome, combining an erotic dimension with sacrificial offerings and the excessive consumption of wine. The popularity of these orgiastic rituals eventually led to the exposure of mysterious nocturnal rites which aimed to put participants into states of ecstasy.[24]

In Livy's account of events, the facts were first exposed in a respectable Roman family of honourable reputation. The secret of these Bacchanalian celebrations was broken by the evidence of a young slave woman, named Hispala Fecenia, when she revealed the horrible nature of these practices to Publius Aebutius, a young man she loved, whose own mother intended to seek initiation into the mysteries of Bacchus. Terrified by these revelations, the young man told his mother that he would not take part in these rites. The unfortunate young man was then expelled from the paternal home by his father-in-law. He sought refuge with one of his aunts, and told her the cause of his disgrace. By her wise counsel, he then informed the consul of this situation. Once he had been told everything, the consul decided to carry out an inquiry into nocturnal sacrifices in general and the Bacchanalia in particular. He concluded that the Republic was particularly threatened by the recruitment of young people into this kind of affiliation. He criticised, in particular, the illicit nature of these nocturnal assemblies, which could not be tolerated.

Fearing that these meetings might encourage conspiracies against the state and the dissimulation of crimes, the senators decided to forbid people who had been initiated into the Bacchic rites to meet or assemble to celebrate the mysteries of the cult, or to perform similar ceremonies. Moreover, they published, first in Rome and subsequently throughout Italy, a proclamation which forbade each and every member of their congregation to meeting or assemble.[25] Specifically, they decreed that an inquiry should be carried out into those who had assembled and who had conspired to introduce this criminal immorality to Roman society. A reward was offered for exposure of these men and women, not only in Rome itself but also in all forums and in all the places where they assembled, and delivering them to the consuls. The Senate ordered the general magistrates to seek out all the priests of the cult and to keep them under firm military escort during the inquiry. The magistrates of the plebs argued for the complete dissolution of this community and demanded that no rites should henceforth be celebrated in secret.

Hispala Fecenia was rewarded for her services rendered to society, in order to encourage others to come forward. By preventing Publius Aebutius from being initiated, she saved the honour of the man and protected the integrity of the citizen. She was freed and liberated from all constraints attached to her dishonourable servile condition. In particular, she gained the right to marry men other than the clients of her *patronus*, and she was allowed to choose her guardian as an unprotected widow. Her new status effaced her past and prevented her future husband from running the risk of infamy. She thus achieved the rank and dignity of a *matrona honesta*.

The Bacchanalian scandal (186 BCE) was the first religious, social and political crisis of the Roman republic. It marked a period of profound social change, since its seismic shock drew the attention of the political elite to the lack of moral compass in a Rome newly dominant in the Mediterranean. Its impact provoked political reflection which progressively insinuated itself into the intimate world of the married couple. Society condemned the Hellenisation of manners and forbade the fashion to *pergraecari*,[26] or to live like the Greeks.[27] The threat to basic values inspired an ethical renaissance in which three great values were insisted upon with renewed force: education and upbringing; sexuality; and manners. The civic authorities demanded a return to order in the unity of civil and familial morality.

Education, Upbringing and Authority

The link between the family, sexual morality and political virtue had already been firmly established centuries before in the Roman world. The revolt set off by the rape of Lucretia provoked the fall of the Roman monarchy at the end of the sixth and at the beginning of the fifth century BCE, marking the end of Etruscan domination and the establishment of a Republican regime. Thereafter, society promoted a more severe model of education, which progressively came to dominate. Women were raised in a phallocratic society in which paradoxically they became the focus of male concern.[28] They lived in a society where they were always the victims of a patriarchal culture which at the same time gave men an intoxicating sense of domination. The man remained the master within the *familia*. His role as a *pater familias* conferred on him full and complete authority. He had the theoretical power of life and death over those under his responsibility (his wife, his children, his dependants and his slaves). Yet, at the same time, his wife ensured the descent of his house by transmitting citizenship through birth. Legally, she had no true personality, but she was protected by the law which defended the inviolability of her person and the untouchable character of her body. Nevertheless, she did not enjoy all the rights of the citizen, since she was entirely subordinated, first to her father, then to her husband and, if he died before her, to her guardian.

The legitimate wife guaranteed the reputation of the *familia* through social comportment that was beyond reproach, thus ensuring the

unchallengeable legitimacy of the couple's heirs. Her fidelity ensured the good morality of the *domus*. This implied that she had to ensure that nothing immoral could possibly happen under her roof. This need for moral control also applied to her husband's behaviour, since his authority depended on his temperance. Only a virtuous man could aspire to high political office. This state of affairs required a balancing act whereby the man ruled thanks to the authority which his wife conferred upon him. Whilst there was no question of any kind of sexual equality, this relationship cast the woman in the role of a kind of moral guarantor. Her principal functions consisted in maintaining order in the house, spinning wool and bringing up the couple's children. Their education defended civic and familial virtues which were considered to be a much more important part of the wifely role than carnal pleasure. The wife should be submissive and remain a model of chastity. Her husband must not corrupt her body through his sexual ardour or his tyrannical demands. In the town, the comings and goings of a Roman matron were not to be hindered by the curiosity of any man who wished to approach her. The wearing of a gown according to her status advertised the legitimacy of her social position and prevented the plebs from importuning her without paying the penalty. This taboo was so strong that an edict was issued in the second century BCE against all those who might covet a matron or her children in a public space. In order not to be a victim of opprobrium or even to be accused of adultery, she must hide her seductive attributes by wearing a veil which covered her head and disguised her plaited hair. Her modest gaze avoided men's glances. On an everyday basis, her discreet smile was accompanied by an unassuming elegance without ostentatious clothing. The richest women were escorted by slaves, to ensure the greatest possible security.

Sexuality

To its very foundations, Roman society was based on the single principle of the pressure of an all-powerful phallocratic authority. No man could exist without the appendage which guaranteed his happiness through two kinds of synergy. First, it gave him the exceptional means to create his descendants. Secondly, he could use his penis as a weapon to humiliate his enemies. From puberty, a man lived in fear of losing his erection or his fertility. Social mores recognised no taboo, but they did imperatively defend tradition through the preservation of virtue, decency and the caste. Love was above all a question of caste and of the respect for hierarchy which consequently privileged arranged marriages.[29]

The strong man with powerful, dominating desires was confronted with the ambiguity of moralising laws and the inherited weight of tradition. The former had been composed in the hope of defending the Empire and transmitting each man's patrimony from generation to generation. Yet at the same time, tradition offered a man the possibility of enjoying all the pleasures

offered by the female sex. Nonetheless, the pleasures of the flesh had to be enjoyed without excess and without the use of force. In fact, uncontrolled sexuality and rape were markers both of animality and of the behaviour of an uncivilised savage. There existed in Roman law a juridical conception of illicit, dishonouring sexual relations, which sanctioned in particular *incestum*, rape and adultery. The citizen's body was protected as inviolable. Those of young girls and children were untouchable, even sacred, like those of the *matres familias*.[30]

Recourse to prostitution remained a privilege which was defended as a kind of toleration.[31] This freedom was granted so that young men could express desires which might otherwise lead them to seduce respectable Roman matrons. Even the most severe moralists accepted that a young boy, when he reached puberty, lived, up until his marriage, several years of sexual freedom with servants, courtesans and prostitutes whom he could meet, for example, in the ill-famed Subure quarter in Rome. In a well-known anecdote, Horace portrays Cato the Elder invoking this attitude when he surprised a young Roman, red with shame as he emerged from a brothel. Rather than condemning him, however, the older man congratulated the younger on having rid himself of such ardent desire. The next day, by chance the young man met Cato once again in the same circumstances, and this time shows no shame. But the Censor vigorously upbraids him, insisting on his duty of moderation:

> Young man, I acquiesced in your weak-mindedness congratulating you because you occasionally frequent this place, but I never counselled you to make the brothel into your *domus*![32]

The pupil must not forget that this was a privilege accorded to young men of the best families as they learned to master their virility.

This kind of sexual activity was also very closely controlled, since prostitutes were obliged by law to declare their activity to the magistrates.[33] Formalising their status marked them with infamy, but it also absolved prostitutes from prosecution for crimes judged contrary to morality. Moreover, they could not practise their profession everywhere. In general, they were restricted to city quarters of ill repute, in a room, a brothel or in a discreet tavern close to the forum.[34] Some went about their trade secretly in order to escape the control of society or of a pimp (*leno*).[35] Prostitution was seen as dangerous, both for the health, since it facilitated the easy propagation of disease, and because it risked the creation of illegitimate descendants. One alternative was to visit a courtesan, who offered a more refined service thanks to her very good education and a more comfortable environment. Past mistresses of the art of seduction, these beautiful women were renowned for their talent and their charm, and their accomplishments were praised by poets.[36] Their refinement and their voluptuous beauty were particularly appreciated during banquets. On these occasions, they competed to

demonstrate accomplishments which a Roman matron would not possess, as singers, dancers or musicians. These girls offered a man the opportunity to prove his virility on condition that he did not lose his reason or his fortune in the quest to keep a courtesan's favours for himself. Sexuality in this context too was still the business of a man exercising his authority over a servile body, and not of the exercise of pleasures satisfied by an aged body dominated by the libido.

In this regard, the use of slaves appears to have played an important role. The slave had the same legal status as a commodity. He or she was owned by his master who had complete authority of this object, using it as he saw fit. The price of acquisition encouraged the slave-owner to take care of his purchase, so that his investment would prove profitable. He had the duty to provide it with accommodation, food and clothes until its death. He was also forbidden to resell or abandon an old slave in order to get rid of it. The state of a slave could be very different and more or less desirable depending on their position. Nevertheless, there were very comfortable places available for the category of those who possessed a specialised talent or profession.

The main categories were, in ascending hierarchical order, mine slaves, field slaves, town slaves and state slaves.[37] Some of these were victims of prostitution. This dishonouring profession was controlled by freed men and women (a *leno* or *lena*), who were prepared to accept the shame, opprobrium and insults proffered in both theatrical comedies and by society at large. It was possible for certain categories of slave to obtain significant financial rewards, and thus to possess slaves themselves. The master hoped to motivate the enthusiasm and efficiency of the work of the slave through education, rewards and the promise of one day being freed. Punishment and privations were to be reserved for the most lazy and disobedient slaves.

With the passage of time, Roman laws evolved to improve the status of slaves and to break any movement toward rebellion. Thus from the first century CE onwards, the master lost the right of life and death over his slave. The absence of impunity permitted a slave to be freed by a legal decision following the imposition of excessive punishments by his master. The slave remained an object, but he was nonetheless endowed with some humanity. His vocation ultimately was to be freed, and his descendants would be the free citizens of the future.

This vocation contributed to the maintenance of a tradition which sought to maintain respect for this category by creating a bond of authority (*obsequium*) comparable to that between a father and his children. Once they were freed, they do not enjoy all the rights of a citizen of free birth, but instead became the client of their master. The choice to serve replaced the obligation of duty. As a result, the slave had to respect his master without resisting, nor contesting his authority, but also without being the victim of behaviour which contradicted family morality. Jurisprudence and imperial law firmly condemned sexual relations with slaves, accusing offending masters of conjugal infidelity.[38] Indeed, limits were imposed on reproduction and pleasure by

the need for respect of social hierarchy and morality. It is symptomatic in this regard to see appearing under Hadrian a body of legislation which ordered the praetor to grant his liberty to a slave who had been sold to a *leno*.[39]

It is in this context of increased concern for the protection of slaves that it was forbidden at the end of the first century to castrate slaves, as part of the fight against the growing trade in eunuch slaves. Ovid evokes the disgust for a sexual relationship between a master and slave in his *Amores*:

> Behold a new crime! With that clever dresser Cypassis,
> I'm reproached for defiling the bed of our mistress.
> Think better of me than that, if I wronged you in passion,
> than to joy in a common girl with a contemptible fate!
> What free man would want to take up with a slave,
> and embrace the scars on her whipped back?[40]

Although sexual relations with slaves were not forbidden, they had to remain a private matter without recourse to violence in order to avoid social opprobrium.

The opinion specifying that a man could take pleasure with a servile male body as long as he remained active, dominant, and the relationship was without reciprocity or amorous sentiment, was marginal.[41] Homosexuality and bisexuality are concepts which did not exist in Roman mentalities, and in general sexual relations between men were frowned upon. This kind of relationship was held to be a crime which corrupted the whole body and was condemned as *impudicitia*.[42] That said, same-sex sexual relations and sexual commerce were tolerated, in the case of the dominating enjoyment by a free man of a passive servile body.[43] This sexual practice was often used in a case of adultery to violently chastise the lover of an unfaithful wife, either by the offended husband or by one of his slaves. This sanction publicly destroyed the honour and the manhood of the victim whilst exposing his shamelessness.[44] Thus although sexual relationships between citizens and slaves could occur in certain circumstances, the existence of slaves with a sexual function reserved exclusively for the pleasures of his or her master does not correspond to the reality of the period. It is a historical fantasy of the same order as the myth of the *droit de cuissage*.

In short, masculine physical pleasure was not a problem of sex, but of the necessary respect of social status which forbade love, regarded as a Greek practice.[45] The distrust of sexual desire and amorous passion demanded that sexual relations took the form of a union with a legitimate spouse serving reproductive goals. The wife's role in these circumstances was one of temperance, strictly limited to the procreative function, demanding neither desire nor pleasure. Coitus was supposed to be a question of procreation, with the amorous sentiment sacrificed to the continuance of the caste and the patrimonial lineage. The virtuous matron ensured that honour was preserved through protecting her virginity until her marriage. To guarantee her purity, she was

married from the age of twelve to an older and more experienced man.[46] The day of her wedding was the only authorised moment when she could show her nudity to her husband under the light. Only prostitutes had sexual relations without fearing daylight or the light of the oil lamp.

Legitimate Roman sexuality was above all an activity restricted to the reproduction of the species. The fundamental necessity was for the wife's chastity, since this made possible both the birth of children and the transmission of patrimony. The sexual act was to be limited to the intimacy and obscurity of the bedchamber. The woman must not corrupt the body and the mouth of her husband, and must observe the necessary taboos related to passivity.

Roman *Mores* and the Greek Threat

If the creation of Rome was based on the adoption of many aspects of Greek culture, education and social mores were instinctively excluded from this transaction. In particular, the Romans showed a profound aversion to Greek pederasty. Greek pederasty involved a form of pedagogy based a binary relationship which spiritually linked the tutor and his student.[47] The couple formed by the adolescent, known as the *eromenos* and the adult, known as the *erastes*, was one of the foundations of *paideia* or pedagogy. With his master, the young boy learned the fundamentals of life in the Greek city and the forms of behaviour he needed to learn in order to confirm his status as a man. Under masculine rule, the youth was exposed to rites of initiation which aimed to inculcate in him poetry, Homeric love and a particular gratitude to his master. Educational values were based on an absolute devotion to the latter. This essential condition of spiritual initiation was the basis of obedience. The educational character of this relationship could appear ambiguous as the youth learned to consider his master as a model who agreed in return to love him, protect him and respect him. Their relationship could reach an intensity of love which was often confused with homosexuality.[48] The body of the young ephebe was eroticised and exposed without shame in bathhouses and gymnasia. Although homosexuality was tolerated, the Romans were shocked by this approach to the education of young boys, which they believed must corrupt the nature of men of free birth. Roman society rejected this Greek form of pedagogy because of the ambiguous bond which it created between the adult and the male adolescent. It is not surprising to see Cicero expressing his disgust at such practices, approvingly quoting Ennius: 'It is the beginning of infamy to undress oneself in the midst of the citizens'.[49]

It is in this light that we can understand the offence and indignation that the affair of the immoral Bacchanalia provoked in the Roman governing class. It provoked a revolt against Greek morals which categorically rejected the Hellenisation of Roman *mores*. Likewise, the Roman State intervened in the

conjugal bed in order to assure the unassailable legitimacy of the transmission of citizenship and patrimony.

Roman tradition made a virtue of proclaiming that no citizen should in any circumstances accept or seek out sexual relations outside of the framework laid down by society. Those who committed acts considered to be contrary to ordinary usage were to be sanctioned. The *censores* also accused assiduous banqueters of weakness and suppressed public drunkenness. They condemned to infamy all those offenders who publicly displayed an effeminate comportment, excessive or transgressive sexuality. Punishment fell on those who were ruled by the desire for pleasure, by cupidity, who were for the same reason considered to be ill-famed and ignoble individuals. The guilty parties ran the risk of the loss of their rights of citizens, for example the exercise of certain public offices, the free disposition of their goods, or to their rights as *tutor* to their children. Nonetheless, a certain selectiveness persisted which served to weaken the foundations of this society in search of virtue. The conquering man found in this role the opportunity to legitimate his transgressions, finding in his virility the occasion to justify the satisfaction of his desires.[50]

The Second Moral Crisis: Caesar and Cleopatra

The first century BCE was a prosperous period which provided Julius Caesar with the opportunities to pursue his bold ambitions to the full. In 46 BCE, the Caesar as a skilful orator displayed his startling triumphs whilst demonstrating his strategic and tactical superiority. He detailed his conquests in order to legitimate his position as master of Rome. His candour and his lack of humility provoked lively criticisms. But the tyrant remained deaf to the polemics, sharing his bed with the most famous whore in the Empire. Certainly, this woman was considered in her own country to be a semi-divine queen, but in the eyes of Roman society Cleopatra was still a slave whose status was the same as that of war booty. In his writings, Pliny bears witness to the tenacious hatred of this queen, whom he refers to as a whore-queen: *regina meretrix*.[51]

That Pliny's words were never condemned was understandable because he publicly expressed the aversion of the *censores* as well as popular contempt for the Egyptian queen.[52] Nevertheless, Julius Caesar upheld a different discourse, showering his mistress with presents and honours. Without official approval, the couple gave birth to a son named Caesarion. Considered as illegitimate, the father did not dare to publicly recognise his offspring. In the eyes of respectable society, this birth was an intolerable affront to Roman values, since it implied that a slave could claim a part of the Empire as his inheritance.

The sexuality of Julius Caesar offended ideals of masculinity through his submission to the pleasure of a prostitute. His debauchery placed him in a passive role, the victim of his effeminate and repugnant personality.

The assassination of Julius Caesar became inevitable in the light of the political motivations of the plotters. At the same time, the conspirators put into action a sentence which was privately approved by a broad swathe of Roman society. Julius Caesar was guilty of infamy and corruption when he attacked the Roman ethic.

In the aftermath of these events, Octavius Augustus seized power by asserting a more severe policy, diametrically opposed to the attitude of his immediate predecessors. He broke with the model of Caesarian debauchery and defeated Marcus Antonius, who had compromised himself with the same depraved mistress.[53] In victory, Octavius imposed himself as the restorer of morality.[54]

After this return to good morality, the need for reconstruction came to the fore, as the new Emperor built a powerful identity for himself based on appropriate shame. Based on a collective foundational memory, his policies enforced honourable and upright behaviour through strength and intransigence. He established new laws as a legacy for the future, showing less tolerance for the extra-marital pleasures of male citizens. He helped to bring a definitive end to the second moral crisis by re-insisting upon a newly virtuous familial model. More austere and rigorous, this schema regulated the social relations of sex by putting to the fore the model of a heterosexual monogamous couple with a procreative aim. This final evolution shows the profound changes which Roman society had undergone between the second century BCE and the second century CE, pointing the way to the final adoption at the end of Empire of the Judaeo-Christian morality which continues to mark modern society.[55]

Political Castration and the Orator's Art

One might draw out one final interaction between sexual morality and political authority in the Roman world. The conquest of power in ancient Rome was a difficult enterprise based on the mastery of speech.[56] To win his fellow citizens' votes, the candidate had to master the art of spoken rhetoric in order to defeat difficult objections through the sound of his voice. The necessary competences for success in this exercise demanded the talents of an excellent orator, and an intelligence which enabled him to manoeuvre with skill and tact in the service of a firm and faultless discourse. And yet, this forceful persuasive faculty could always degenerate during a violent confrontation. The different competitors in the political arena were unambiguously constrained by the use of a form of rhetoric which was attached to the birth of democracy in the ancient world.

To convince an undecided audience and to mobilise his own camp, the orator would make use of all the rhetorical means at his disposal, including those of the diatribe.[57] In the first place, this technique involved attempting to defeat an adversary by citing back to him his own words or his own

actions. It aimed to expose the incoherence and inconsistency of his actions, his words, or his earlier statements when confronted with the arguments which he now defended. The force of persuasion necessitated a certain freedom with the truth, since it was formed through the use of imprecise allusions and through misrepresentations carefully concocted on the basis of a plausible reality. A speech of accusation must cast opprobrium on an individual through the use of all kinds of evidence, but above all by wielding irony and sexual invective in a polemical tone, in order to destroy the adversary.[58]

One way in which this technique could work was by targeting the mouth through which the citizen expressed himself. In order to achieve this, the orator appealed to the imagination of his listeners in outrageous fashion in the hope of demonstrating that the oral cavity was corrupted by an excess of food and wine. This technique of denunciation made it possible to attack the trustworthiness of the facts by associating the man who presented them as living a licentious life in which his activity as a banqueter became proof of his softness. The success of this dubious manoeuvre relied as much on the violent effect of surprise as upon its rapidity as a means of publicly insulting an opponent. The construction of the argument, based on suspicions and approximations, would discredit his morality by singling out for attack the question of orality and of the body as a metaphor, like a degrading mirror of power. The integrity of the effeminate body could be dishonoured, for example, through accusations by prostitutes.[59] The judicial orator attempted to impose himself by defamation and by force of his virility in order to suffocate the enemy. Rhetorical invective provided an important political tool which could cut off the voice of the accused as one cut off the sex of one's enemies on the battlefield.

Conclusion

Roman society was based on a form of phallic domination which could be seen overtly everywhere in divine, ithyphallic representations. From childhood, a man received an education which taught him to defend his caste by respecting the *virtus* which permitted him to exercise authority and perpetuate his family. His virile power was freed from all constraints in his quest for pleasure, since his desires were considered chaste on condition that they were neither fecund, nor passive, nor excessive. This situation was based on a contradiction which permitted a kind of tolerance. All citizens had rights which guaranteed their liberty and the duties whose extent increased proportionally with their social responsibilities. In this male-dominated society, what counted above all was one's position in the social hierarchy. This tolerance rested on a latent power relationship between men and women. A man's freedom was circumscribed by written laws and by the limits of tradition. On a day-to-day basis, the woman was the natural guarantor of this project. In return, the man had to remain a public example of morality and virtue by

stamping on debauchery and scandal. He must work to ensure the watertight separation of the different spheres which ordered his life. The division between *otium* and *negotium*, between public life and private life, demanded appropriate and different forms of behaviour. This tradition was not only the consequence of sexist hypocrisy, but also established a system which functioned as a 'safety valve'. It served to protect a society which sought to enforce rules upon itself which it could not tolerate in practice.

Notes

1. C. Dumas and J.-M. Baude, 'L'art érotique en Gaule romaine', *Sexologies*, 16 (2007), 144–147.
2. The author here takes a deliberately new position by moving away from the generally accepted view amongst current historians of Roman society. It is not thought justified to take the evidence of poetry and satire as a reliable source for a sociological study. Instead, the present article privileges the analysis of law and social practice in order to reconstruct the idea of the model of virtue presented here, to the detriment of literary sources and of the stigmatisation of erotic art.
3. P. Quignard, *Le sexe et l'effroi* (Paris: Folio, 1994).
4. C. Dumas and D. Fürdös, 'Priape entre invocation et superstition', *Dossier de l'Archéologie: Hors série*, 22 (2012).
5. Quignard, *Le sexe et l'effroi*. p. 38.
6. Ibid., pp. 74–77.
7. Ibid., p. 18.
8. J.-.N. Robert, *Les plaisirs à Rome* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005).
9. 'Ithyphallic' refers to an object whose attitude or shape evokes the penis in erection. It is applied above all to representations, mostly symbolic.
10. C. Dumas, *Les idées reçues sur l'art érotique antique. Quelques préjugés sur l'art romain* (Sophia Antipolis: Nice, 2016), pp. 53, 54.
11. F. Dupont and T. Eloi, *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique* (Paris: Bélin, 2001).
12. M. Olender, 'La laideur d'un dieu', *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques*, 24 (2000).
13. D. Fürdös, 'Le polymorphisme de Priape. Les formes multiples d'un dieu', *Mosaïque: Revue des jeunes chercheurs en SHS Lille-Nord de France-Belgique francophone*, 3 (2010).
14. A. Veyrac, 'Redécouverte de deux phallus sur la face occidentale du pont du Gard' in A. Bouet and F. Verdin (eds.), *Territoires et paysages de l'Âge de fer au Moyen Âge* (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2005), pp. 285–293.
15. As well as, for example, Hadrian's Wall, Chester and items in London's Guildhall Museum.
16. For example, Priapus takes advantage of Hestia when she is asleep, in order to rape her, but she is woken by a donkey who starts braying and so brings his odious attack to an end.
17. E.g. L. Flutsch and S. Weber, *Chauds latins: le sexe dans l'antiquité romaine* (Gollion: Infolio, 2014), pp. 44–45.

18. S. Boutin, 'A propos de l'enseigne de lupanar gallo-romain de Périgné (Deux-Sèvres)', *Bulletin de l'association pour le développement de l'archéologie sur Niort et les environs*, 11 (1999), 19–22.
19. Robert, *Les plaisirs à Rome*, p. 11.
20. John R. Clarke, *Le sexe à Rome* (Paris: Éditions de la Martinière, 2004), p. 117; Idem, *Looking at lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 BC to 250 AD* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
21. P.-J. Trombetta, 'Le bon membre et le mauvais oeil' in *Profane et sacré en pays meldois: protohistoire et galloromain. Exposition présentées à Meaux au musée Bossuet* (Nemours: APRAIFF, 1999).
22. Dumas and Baude, 'L'art érotique', p. 9.
23. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, XXXIX, 8–19. The Bacchic cult was in fact much older and already well known at the time, as is revealed, for example, by references in Plautus, *Bacchides*. Indeed, Livy's account clearly draws on this dramatic tradition. See P.G. Walsh, 'Making a Drama out of a Crisis: Livy on the Bacchanalia', *Greece and Rome*, 43 (1996), 188–203.
24. For recent commentary on the significance of the Bacchanlia and Livy's account of it, see J.-M. Pailler, 'Les Bacchanales: du scandale domestique à l'affaire d'État et au modèle pour les temps à venir (Rome, 186 av. J.-C.)', *Politix*, 71 (2005), 39–59; Savolta A. Takács, 'Politics and Religion in the Bacchanalian Affair of 186 BCE', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 100 (2000), 301–310; Walsh, 'Making a Drama out of a Crisis'.
25. As reported by Livy but also by a surviving inscription. See M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 290–291.
26. G. Petrone, 'Mener la vie grecque. Représentation du banquet et médiation culturelle dans les comédies de Plaute', *Pallas*, 61 (2003), 245–250, p. 247.
27. Dupont and Eloi, *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique*, p. 86.
28. For what follows, see B. Rémy and N. Mathieu, *Les femmes en Gaule romaine, Ier s. av. J.-C. - Ve s. ap. J.-C.* (Paris: Errance, 2009).
29. P. Grimal, *L'amour à Rome* (Paris: Payot, 1995 [1963]).
30. F. Dupont, 'La matrone, la louve et le soldat: pourquoi des prostitué(e)s "ingénues" à Rome?', *Clio: Histoire, femmes et sociétés*, 17 (2003), 21–44.
31. M. Nappi, *Professionnelles de l'amour, Antiques et impudiques* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2009).
32. Horace, *Satires*, I, 2, 31–35.
33. The 'licentia stupri'. On which see e.g. R. Fleming, 'Quae corpore quaestum facit: The sexual economy of female prostitution in the Roman Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 89 (1999), 38–61, esp. pp. 53–54.
34. Dupont, 'La matrone, la louve et le soldat'.
35. Martial, *Epigrammes*, I.34.8; III.93.15.
36. For example in Petronius, *Satyricon*.
37. Dupont and Eloi, *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique*, p. 167.
38. M. Morabito, 'Droit romain et réalités sociales de la sexualité servile', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, 12 (1986), 371–387.
39. Paul. D 40.8.7; C.I.7.6.4, 531.
40. Quignard, *Le sexe et l'effroi*, p.31; Ovid, *Amores*, bk. II, elegy VII. 'Ecce novum crimen! sollers ornare Cypassis /obicitur dominae contemerasse torum. /

di melius, quam me, si sit peccasse libido, /sordida contemptae sortis amica iuvet! /quis Veneris famulae conubia liber inire /tergaque conplecti verbere secta velit? /adde, quod ornandis illa est operata capillis /et tibi perdocta est grata ministra manu - /scilicet ancillam, quae tam tibi fida, rogarem!'. Trans. A.S. Kline in Ovid, *The Love Poems: The Amores, Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris* (Poetry in Translation, 2015).

41. P. Veyne, *L'Élégie érotique romaine. L'amour, la poésie et l'Occident* (Paris: Seuil, 1983).
42. Seneca, *Controversiae*, 4, praefatio 10.
43. F. Dupont and T. Eloi, *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique* (Paris: Belin, 2001), p. 27.
44. J.-N. Robert, *Eros Romain: Sexe et morale dans l'ancienne Rome* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1998).
45. Dupont and Eloi, *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique*, p. 39.
46. G. Puccini-Delbey, *La vie sexuelle à Rome* (Paris: Tallander, 2007); Digeste, XXV, 7, 4.
47. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, vol. III, The Care of the Self*, trans. R. Hurley (London: Penguin, 1990). For more recent accounts which argue that there could be a sexual element in this relationship, and the risk of over-stressing the importance of penetrative acts, see J. Davidson, *The Greeks and Greek Love: A Radical Reappraisal of Homosexuality in Ancient Greece* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007); Thomas K. Hubbard, ed., *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
48. Quignard, *Le sexe et l'effroi*, p. 20.
49. Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, 4.33.70: 'Bene ergo Ennius: Flagiti principium est nudare inter civis corpora.'
50. T. Eloi, 'La sexualité de l'homme romain antique', *Clio: Femmes, genre, histoire*, 22 (2005), 167–184.
51. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, IX, 119, 6.
52. Propertius, *Elegies*, III, 11.
53. Quignard, *Le sexe et l'effroi*, p. 21.
54. P. Grimal, *L'amour à Rome* (Paris: Payot, 1995 [1963]), p. 198; *Lex Iulia de adulteriis Coercendis.*
55. Quignard, *Le sexe et l'effroi*, pp. 37, 294–295.
56. Dupont and Eloi, *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique*, pp. 100–101.
57. P. Dubreuil, *Le marché aux injures à Rome: injures et insultes dans la littérature latine* (Paris: Harmattan, 2013).
58. Dupont and Eloi, *L'érotisme masculin dans la Rome antique*, pp. 86–87.
59. Nappi, *Professionnelles de l'amour,* p. 86.

Between Bishops and Barbarians: The Rulers of the Later Roman Empire

Mathew Kuefler

Few rulers evoke so unqualified an image of absolute power or political corruption as Roman emperors. Few also conjure up so many imaginings of serial marriages and sexual excess. Indeed, one might say that their public imperial might was exercised equally in private masculine right. The declining

The title of my chapter is taken in part from J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990). There he offers a skilled interpretation of the complex interconnections between emperors, bishops, and barbarian military officials—though without addressing gendered aspects of this relationship. I am grateful to Christopher Fletcher, Sean Brady, Lucy Riall, and Rachel E. Moss, for permitting me to include this chapter in their collection and for inviting me to the conference in Paris that formed the basis for it—and to Rachel, once again, for her thoughts on how to improve it. Some of the insights here are extended from my *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), though I did not there consider sources from the Eastern Roman Empire, visual sources, or sources from after the mid-fifth century. I have used existing English translations, for the most part, but checked each one against the original and made changes where I felt necessary. All dates mentioned are CE. All imperial reign dates are taken from A.H.M. Jones, *The Decline of the Ancient World* (London: Longman, 1966), appendix 2, and include junior reigns as *Caesar* as well as senior reigns as *Augustus*, joint reigns, and competing reigns.

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fortunes of the Roman Empire in late antiquity, however, posed a substantial challenge to the emperors' authority from external and internal rivals, especially from barbarians and bishops. This double threat could not be countered effectively simply by denial or in the long-standing traditions that exaggerated imperial greatness. The grim realities of the waning later empire forced change even on the emperors, and new models of masculine superiority usurped the place of the old political models.

Between the fourth and sixth centuries CE, the rulers of the later Roman Empire still wielded enormous powers, though much had changed. They ruled a vast territory and were able still to muster vast resources and incredible wealth. But the Roman Empire was no longer a single political entity, and from 284 on was frequently divided into multiple interrelated political spheres. Each of these realms had its own emperor, and although they were supposed to be sharers in imperial power the two or more rulers sometimes cooperated, often quarreled, and occasionally even went to war against each other. Usurpers seized these thrones repeatedly, the most famous being Constantine I (ruled 306–337), who was first acclaimed by his troops in Britain, and then fought a series of civil wars against other claimants before becoming sole ruler over the whole of the empire in 324.[1] The Roman Empire was also increasingly threatened by outside ethnic peoples the Romans called barbarians.[2] They came as refugees or settlers or mercenary soldiers.[3] Some became Roman citizens and some married Romans.[4] Others came to conquer, led by military leaders who styled themselves kings. By the middle of the fifth century almost all of the western lands of the empire had been taken over by such barbarian kings, even if through the efforts of the eastern emperor Justinian I (ruled 527–565) some of these lands were regained. At the same time, Christianity became the dominant religion in the empire.[5]

Through all of these changes, emperors maintained the fiction of an unchanging regime and of their masculine supremacy. Late imperial art, for example, still depicted emperors as larger-than-life. A bronze statue called the Colossus of Barletta, more than five meters or sixteen feet high, survives of an unknown fourth–or fifth-century emperor, depicting him dressed in the manly garb of a soldier, holding the orb of universal authority in one hand and raising high the Christian cross in the other.[6] What remains of a colossal statue of Constantine I—his head, right hand pointing upward, his feet, an elbow and knee, all in marble—towered in its original place in the Roman forum at about twelve meters or forty feet high (Fig. 1).[7] Even after the official end of the pagan imperial cult and the worship of emperors, statues like these, modeled after the statues of the pagan gods, were venerated throughout the empire with prostrations and other public ceremonials.[8]

Panegyrics, laudatory poems composed for formal visits of the emperors to the cities of their empire, proclaimed the unbounded splendor of imperial rule. 'If any mortal had been raised up […] to some heavenly watchtower', Mamertinus suggested in his paean of 362 to the emperor Julian (called the Apostate, ruled 355–363), 'and were to look down upon everything happy,

Fig. 1 Marble head from a colossal statue of Constantine I, once located in the Roman forum (Photograph © Mathew Kuefler)

sown fields, crowded cities, water flowing into towns[, …] public buildings rising up with magnificent ornamentation, crops at the harvests rich in proportion to the lands' qualities, vintages surpassing the farmers' prayers, steep hills and deep valleys and broad fields resounding to bleating, neighing, and

lowing, he would be truly amazed[; …] he would leap down from the clouds and gladly leave behind heaven's neighborhood to enjoy your lands'.[9] 'I do not think', Mamertinus continued, 'that anyone since the birth of the human race has been regarded by humanity with such ardent admiration'.[10]

There were, of course, important gendered aspects to these representations. All images of the emperor were intended to highlight the qualities of a man that the Romans called *virtus*, a word meaning both virtuousness generally and also manliness. That *virtus* was often depicted as military courage. An ivory diptych crafted for Anicius Petronius Probus, named consul in 406, represents the emperor Honorius (ruled 395–423) as a soldier, holding a banner with the words 'In the name of Christ may you always conquer', and accompanied somewhat incongruously by a tiny pagan goddess of Victory.[11] A bronze coin minted under the fourth-century emperor Constantine II (ruled 317–340), a *follis*, is typical of late Roman coinage: it shows the emperor on the obverse, wearing the traditional laurel crown of heroes and dressed in military garb while holding in one hand a military baton and in the other hand a statue of the goddess of Victory (Fig. 2).[12] But *virtus* could also be shown as wisdom or prowess. A statue now in the Louvre is possibly of the emperor Julian: it depicts him as a philosopher, befitting his status as the last of the pagan emperors.[13] And a colorful mosaic, from the Villa Romana del Casale in Piazza Armerina, Sicily, which may once have belonged to the emperor Maximian (ruled 285–310), shows that ruler participating in a massive animal hunt (Fig. 3).[14] Whether as soldier, philosopher, or hunter, the emperors revealed the various elements of their *virtus*. Such qualities all derived from ancient ideals, recounted in the legends of earliest Rome and of the Greeks. Depicting the emperor as a hunter, for example, recalled Alexander the Great's exploits.[15] Even the simple depiction of an emperor in a toga, which continued in statuary into the later empire even though the garment was seldom used in everyday life after the third century CE, carried deep symbolic meaning as reflecting social prominence, intellectual cultivation, and public respectability.[16]

Both art and poetry made frequent use of gendered notions of dominance and submission to depict imperial power. Vanquished enemies regularly groveled at the feet of fearsome emperors in imperial representations; given that dominance was understood as innately masculine and submission as feminine in contemporary rhetoric, images such as these marked these supplicants as feminized beneath the emperors who tower above them.[17] The Barberini ivory, also in the Louvre, shows an emperor on horseback, perhaps Justinian I, with two barbarians at his feet, one grasping his foot in supplication or surrender—and more barbarians offer gifts in a lower panel, while Christ offers a blessing from above.[18] On the western base of an obelisk raised to the emperor Theodosius I (ruled 379–395) in the Hippodrome in Constantinople—and thus meant to be regularly seen by the general public—is a depiction of barbarians kneeling before the emperor and offering him gifts.[19]

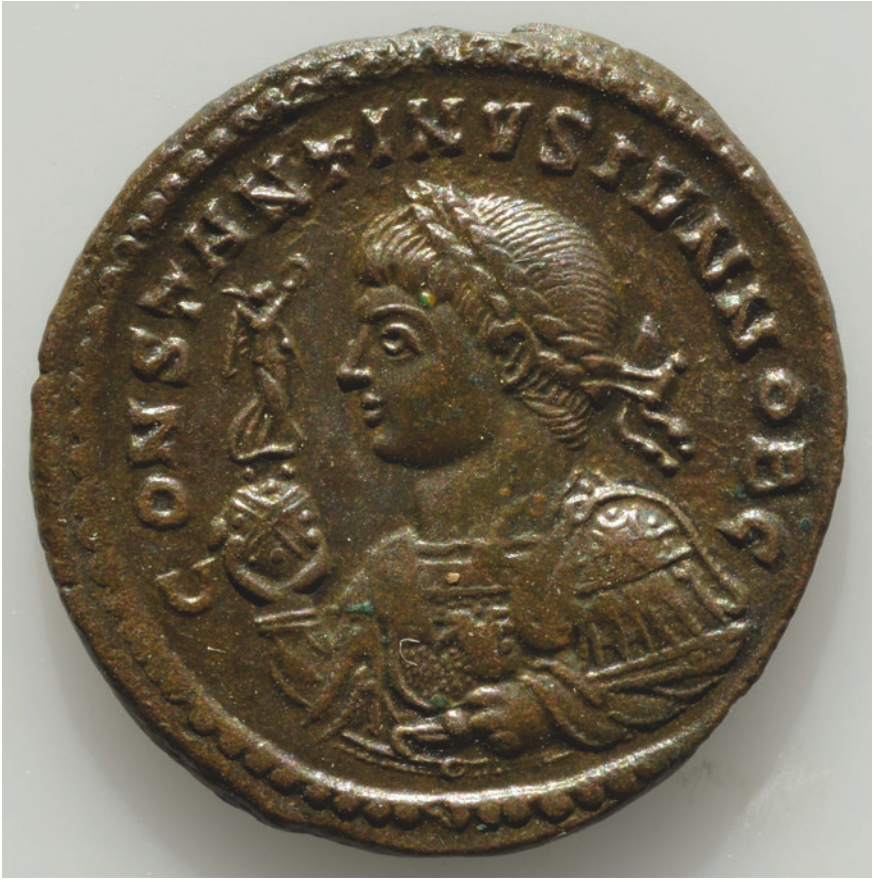

Fig. 2 Profile image of Constantine II, from the obverse side of a *follis* coin (Photo courtesy of Andreas Pangerl, Roman Numismatic Gallery, www.romancoins.info)

A panegyric to Constantius I (ruled 293–306) claimed that 'in all the porches of our cities sit captive bands of barbarians, the men quaking, their savagery utterly confounded, old women and wives contemplating the listlessness of their sons and husbands, young men and girls fettered together whispering soothing endearments, and all these parceled out to the inhabitants of your provinces for servitude'.[20] The fourth-century *Historia Augusta* told the astonishing lie that 'all Germany, throughout its whole extent, has now been subdued'.[21]

These descriptions, whether visual and literary, all reinforced the manliness of the emperors. Even the highest ranks of the Roman nobility were obliged to prostrate themselves and kiss the hem of the emperor's robe as they approached him, according to late Roman protocol.[22] Nonetheless, the sources for late antiquity also hint at elements of a gender ambiguity to

Fig. 3 Mosaic image of Maximian, bottom left, flanked by two bodyguards and part of a massive hunting scene (Photo courtesy of the Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina)

imperial rule that cannot be ignored. Perhaps most obvious is the ostentatious display of the emperors' wealth, especially in their clothing.[23] Most famous is a mosaic in the cathedral of San Vitale in Ravenna, which represents the emperor Justinian with a liturgical offering. He is dressed in a purple cloak backed with printed silk and held in place with a jeweled *fibula* or clasp; he also sports a large jeweled diadem with jeweled pendants and gold bracelets.[24] The mosaic image of Maximian from the Villa Romana del Casale, made two centuries earlier, depicts him in almost equally elaborate dress and gazing out at a field teeming with exotic animals brought at great expense from the vast reaches of the empire (Fig. 3). A panegyric to the emperor Honorius by the poet Claudian imagines his garments with these words:

> Jewels of India stud your vestment, rows of green emeralds enrich the seams; there gleams the amethyst and the glint of Spanish gold[; …] thread of gold and silver glows therefrom; many an agate enlivens the embroidered robes, and pearls of Ocean breathe in varied pattern.[25]

Love of luxury, however, was a quality long associated in the Roman mind with women. Ambrose, the late fourth-century bishop of Milan, warned men

that a wife 'will urge you to purchase female ornaments and finery […] that she may drink from a goblet set with stones, sleep on a purple couch, recline on a silver sofa, and load her hands with gold and her neck with strings of gems. Even in shackles', he continued, 'do women delight, provided they be fastened with gold [… and] women even enjoy wounds, so that gold may be inserted in their ears and that pearls may hang down'.[26] The historian Ammianus Marcellinus, also writing in the late fourth century, linked the simple tastes and manly martial success of the early Romans, 'through whom the greatness of Rome was so far flung, [who] gained renown, not by riches, but by fierce wars, and not differing from the common soldiers in wealth, mode of life, or simplicity of attire'.[27]

Late Roman depictions of the many usurpers of the imperial throne often suggest that their flamboyant flaunting of expensive dress effeminized them. A usurper from the reign of Constantius II (ruled 351–361) is said to have taken a woman's purple garment to wear as a symbol of his imperial status, and thus 'showed himself truly a tyrant'.[28] Julian refused to wear a woman's necklace, brought out as an impromptu coronet when his troops raised him to the imperial title, saying it would not be an auspicious beginning to his rule to wear something belonging to a woman.[29] Rufinus was a leading official at the end of the fourth century under Theodosius I and a powerful advisor to this emperor's two young sons. When the poet Claudian accused him of designs on the imperial throne he said simply that wearing the purple and crown would make him look like a woman.[30]

The emperors' self-representation bejeweled and draped in rich finery served, on the one hand, to advertise their splendor and wealth, and was therefore a useful marker of imperial success. The same set of associations is depicted on the *missorium* of Theodosius I, created in 388, where both the silver used for the ceremonial plate and the depiction of the pagan goddess of bounty named Abundantia below the emperor reflect the prosperity of the empire (Fig. 4).[31] On the other hand, it risked effeminizing the emperor, pointing toward an unwelcome concern for the self, a capricious waste of wealth, and offering the imperial body for public display as an object to be coveted rather than feared. To be sure, activities might be permitted in an emperor that might not otherwise be allowed, yet other Roman men were routinely condemned for ostentatious displays of wealth or excessive care for the body. Prudentius, the fifth-century poet, denounced his fellow Romans thus:

> One sees strong men, no longer young, turn effeminate in their self-refinement, though the creator made their bodies rude and their limbs hard with bones to stiffen them; but they are ashamed to be men. They seek after the greatest vanities to beautify them, so that in their lightmindedness they dissipate their native strength.

He continued by listing all of the delicate fabrics and expensive accessories such men chose, in much the same terms as those admired in emperors.[32]

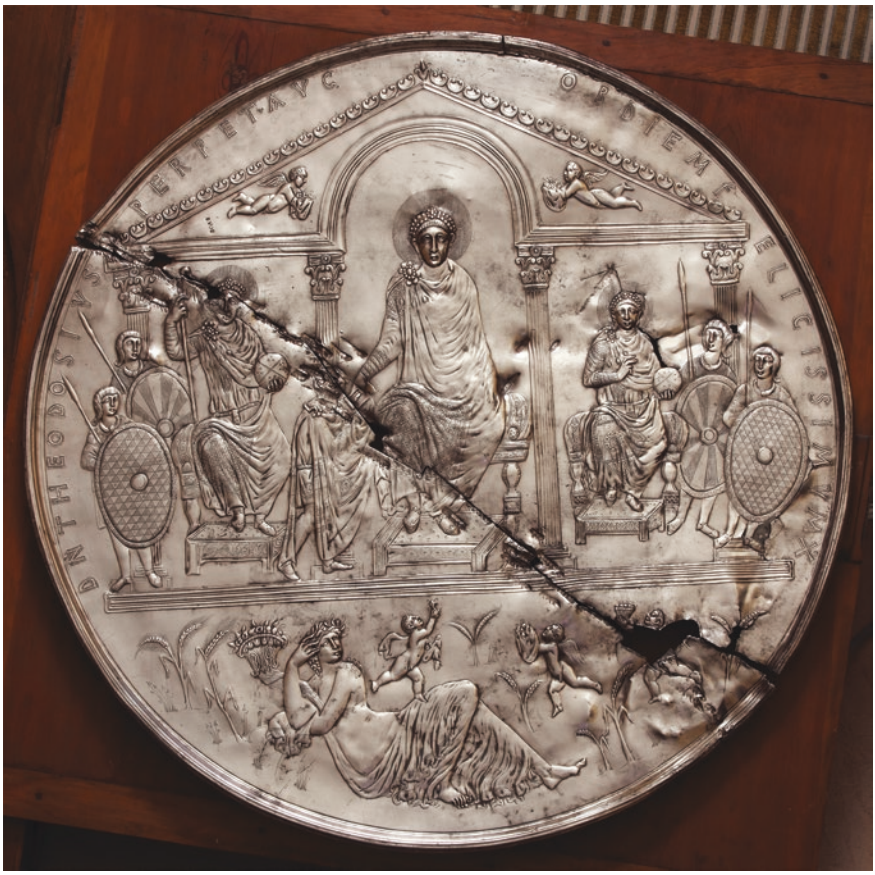

Fig. 4 Silver Missorium of Theodosius I, presented to the emperor in 388 (Photo reprinted with the permission of the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. © Reproducción, Real Academia de la Historia)

Despite all of these representations of imperial greatness, it was in their relations with bishops and barbarians, the two greatest rivals for political authority in the later Roman Empire, that emperors inadvertently revealed the limits of their dominance and thus of their manliness. Christian bishops, drawn increasingly from the upper ranks of the Roman aristocracy by the fourth century, represented the greatest internal threat to imperial sovereignty. True, some Christian writers celebrated the conjunction of empire and church, seeing the Christian emperors as God's champions and the harbingers of a universal dominion for Christianity. Foremost among these were the churchmen Lactantius and Eusebius of Caesarea, both associates of the emperor Constantine I.[33] The latter declared, in a speech given at the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem that Constantine had

built over the supposed tomb of Christ: 'as if from a single divine will, two beneficial shoots were produced for mankind: the empire of the Romans and the teachings of true worship'.[34] Yet the attitude of most churchmen quickly changed as it became clear that the emperors treated ecclesiastical officials as no different from their other civil administrators. The mid-fourth-century reign of the emperor Julian, who renounced his Christianity and returned to paganism when he came to the throne, reminded churchmen that any gains might be quickly reversed by imperial fiat.[35] By the early fifth century Augustine of Hippo wrote contemptuously about imperial authority in his *City of God*. 'The same God', he wrote, 'gave the throne to Constantine the Christian, and also to Julian the Apostate', adding that God 'grants earthly kingdoms both to the good and to the evil, in accordance with his pleasure'.[36]

The tensions between imperial and episcopal authority are readily visible. Ambrose, bishop of Milan in the late fourth century—at the time when Milan was the western imperial residence—often butted heads against the emperors of his day. In one memorable incident, he is supposed to have pronounced an only slightly veiled sermon against Theodosius I in the emperor's very presence, demanding his ritual penitence through prostration.[37] Ambrose also seems to have usurped imperial privilege in scattering coins to the poor as he passed through the streets in public processions.[38] Ambrose may have been an exceptionally privileged individual—he had been a consular prefect before being consecrated bishop of Milan—but he was not alone in challenging the emperor's might. The bishop Athanasius of Alexandria came into conflict with a number of emperors through the middle of the fourth century.[39] Ossius, bishop of Cordoba, wrote to the emperor Constantius II in 353, reminding him 'to remember that you are a mortal man: fear the day of judgement[....] Do not intrude yourself into the affairs of the church, and do not give us advice about these matters, but rather receive instruction on them from us'.[40] Warnings such as these stemmed from the bishops' sense of themselves as employing divine power on a plane far above the emperor's mere earthly might, regardless of how the emperors might see their own authority as coming from God. Even before he became bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom wrote that 'one appointed to the priesthood is a more responsible guardian of the earth and what transpires upon it than the one who wears the purple'.[41] The images of Jesus before Pilate that grace so many late ancient Christian sarcophagi might help us to visualize these tensions between worldly and heavenly authority. Pilate clearly has the upper hand in a mundane sense: in the famous sarcophagus of Junius Bassus from the middle of the fourth century, for example, Pilate sits raised on the curule seat that symbolized high authority as he passes judgment. Yet viewers knew that the ultimate victory in the contest belonged to Jesus.[42] Even in pragmatic matters, bishops took increasing charge of local communities in the fifth and sixth centuries, as imperial control declined or disappeared altogether.[43]

The writings of churchmen often depicted their struggles with the emperors in gendered terms. They borrowed hypermasculine, especially military, metaphors for themselves: the church was an army, the bishops its generals, Christ its commander, and the Devil or heretics or even occasionally the emperors were its enemy.[44] As I have argued elsewhere, the appropriation of traditional Roman masculine metaphors by Christian writers was part of a larger, conscious strategy to persuade men that they lost none of their manliness in converting to the new religion—and in so doing, shifted a marginal masculine ideal to hegemonic status.[45] The manliness of faith made even imperial power inferior. Pope Gregory I's sixth-century commentary on the biblical book of Job, for example, insisted that rulers of this world, 'while they are supported by temporal power, are strengthened, as it were, by a kind of weakness. For the stronger they are without, the more are they bereft of all the might of strength within'.[46]

Churchmen often highlighted the unwelcome political power of women of the imperial families to underscore the gendered differences between their authority and that of the emperors. The political authority given to women is reflected in late Roman art, as in a pair of ivory carvings of the fifth-century empress Ariadne.[47] She was a daughter of the eastern emperor Leo I (ruled 457–474), married to the general Zeno in 467, and gave birth to a son who became Leo II (ruled 474) when his grandfather died. Her son was emperor for less than a year, and when he died, Zeno became emperor (ruled 474–491). In 491 Zeno also died, and Ariadne married a second time to a palace official who became Anastasius I (ruled 491–518). Ariadne's story is not unique, and many women of the imperial families in late antiquity participated in political alliances, served as imperial regents, or acted as advisors to brothers, husbands, and sons. Indeed, while all emperors had to prove themselves by their individual merits, they often acceded to the imperial throne with dynastic connections to women, either already existing or created for the occasion. One might speak of Galla Placidia in the fifth century: she was the daughter of Theodosius I, sister to the emperors Honorius and Arcadius (ruled 395–408), wife first to the Gothic king Ataulf and then to the emperor Constantius III (ruled 421), and mother to and regent for the emperor Valentinian III (ruled 425–455).[48] Only rarely was the title *Augusta* given to wives of the early Roman emperors, but it was regularly used from the fourth century on, suggesting that contemporaries recognized the authority of these imperial women.[49]

Churchmen regularly used the power of imperial women to cast doubt on the good judgment of the emperors and by implication on their manliness. By relying on women's advice, they insinuated, the emperors risked falling victim to women's natural foolishness, their love for deception, fickleness, or extravagance. In the late fourth century Rufinus of Aquileia compared Justina, widow of Valentinian I (ruled 364–375) and regent for her son Valentinian II (ruled 383–392), to the wicked biblical queen Jezebel, and the

bishop Ambrose to that biblical queen's nemesis, the prophet Elijah.[50] And at the turn of the fifth century John Chrysostom is said to have compared Eudoxia, wife of the eastern emperor Arcadius, to Herodias, and himself to John the Baptist, who had been imprisoned and then martyred at Herodias' command.[51]

Despite such denunciations of manly reason distorted by women's influence, Christian churchmen ignored their own close associations with women. Jerome's long career of scholarship, for example, was largely supported by the wealthy widow Paula. Melania the Elder, another rich widow, encouraged the churchmen Rufinus of Aquileia, Evagrius of Pontus, Paulinus of Nola, and others in their work. John Chrysostom relied on Olympias, another widow with money—including in his public battles with the empress Eudoxia.[52] Some churchmen may have been alarmed by too close a connection between themselves and women, since it is in late antiquity that the first calls for clerical celibacy began.[53] Yet bishops also repeatedly referred to themselves as 'brides of Christ', demonstrating their awareness of the influence wielded by the empresses and other imperial women but transposing the relationship to the heavenly realm.[54]

If bishops threatened imperial power from within, barbarians threatened it from without. Sometimes this threat was ignored or minimized. A bridge across the Tiber in Rome, inaugurated in 375, included an inscription that referred to the emperor Valentinian I and his co-rulers, his brother Valens (ruled 364–378) and his young son Gratian (ruled 375–383), as 'greatest vanquisher[s] and victor[s, …] greatest conqueror[s] of the Germans, Alamans, Franks, and Goths'.[55] Still, the martial reputation of the barbarians could not be entirely ignored. One sees them frequently compared to wild animals: a dehumanizing gesture that nonetheless admits a manly ferocity. Eusebius wrote shortly after Constantine I's death that the emperor had 'repulsed and chased [the barbarians] off his territory like wild beasts, when he saw that they were incurably resistant to change to a gentle life'.[56] Even after the defeat of Attila the Hun in the battle of the Catalaunian Plans in 451, according to the sixth-century historian Jordanes, the barbarian king 'was like a lion pierced by hunting spears, who paces to and fro before the mouth of his den and dares not spring, but ceases not to terrify the neighborhood by his roaring'.[57]

The growing military power of the barbarians belied the manly martial prowess of the emperors. The fourth and fifth centuries witnessed quite a few child emperors, for whom the ritual trappings of imperial power and the traditions of imperial self-representation may have been all the more important, since they were not yet of an age to show accomplishment in battle or maturity in statecraft.[58] Many of the child emperors had barbarian regents, who were also given supreme command of the Roman armies as *magistri militum*.[59] Even grown emperors found they had to treat with barbarian leaders more as equals than as subjects. Theodosius I welcomed Athanaric and

his Goths to Constantinople in 381, only a dozen years after the same man had led his people in battle against the empire and killed Theodosius' predecessor. The orator Themistius declaimed diplomatically for the occasion 'that enemies were better subdued with persuasion than by force'.[60] A sermon given by John Chrysostom a few years later described the same Goths still living among the Romans in the city with the biblical metaphor of lions laying down with lambs—which seems more than a bit unflattering to both sides.[61] The Goths were not subdued at all, of course, and a few years after that—by then under the leadership of Alaric—they demanded of the western emperor Honorius that he either permit them to settle in Italy alongside the Romans, or 'if not, whoever prevailed in war should drive out the other'. Honorius is said not to have replied to the challenge.[62]

The rough manners and rugged appearance of the barbarians only highlighted their manliness—and their dissimilarity to the Romans, who might once have been just as rough and rugged, in contemporary opinion, but had been feminized by the prosperity and peacefulness of their empire. An ivory diptych that commemorated Stilicho's elevation to the consulship in 395 makes the point: it shows the half-Vandal, half-Roman Stilicho wearing barbarian garb and armed for battle, and in visible contrast to the traditional Roman and civilian appearance of his Roman wife Serena and their son, Eucherius (Fig. 5).[63] The Roman poet Sidonius Apollinaris, writing in the fifth century, depicted the Gothic king Theodoric in an idealized, even idolized, manner: 'His figure is well-proportioned[, …] his shoulders are well-shaped, his upper arms sturdy, his forearms hard, his hands broad. The chest is prominent, the stomach recedes[, …] his sides swell with bulging muscles. Strength reigns in his well-girt loins. His thigh is hard as horn; the upper legs from joint to joint are full of manly vigor'.[64]

There was clearly something inimical between the Romans' cultivated manners and the barbarians' raw vigor. One might even say that there are two masculine ideals at work: one civilized and one savage—were it not for the fact that the Romans, while clearly pleased with their sophistication, considered it as unmanning them in comparison to the barbarians. The dissonance is reflected repeatedly in Procopius' mid-sixth-century account of the wars between Romans and Goths. One passage presents Amalasuntha, daughter of King Theodoric and regent for her son Atalaric, denounced by the Gothic generals for educating her son in literacy, in the Roman manner, because 'letters, they said, are far removed from manliness'. Atalaric, the same leaders offered, needed only to learn the use of arms, 'in keeping with the customs of the barbarians'.[65] The passage is simply Procopius' imagining of a Gothic mindset, it must be remembered, but it still represents a Roman man's praise of barbarian virility and implied scorn at Roman manners.

The disjuncture between a rugged and a refined sense of masculinity may have been seen differently by barbarians, though we have few written documents with which to test this hypothesis. Another *missorium* that survives

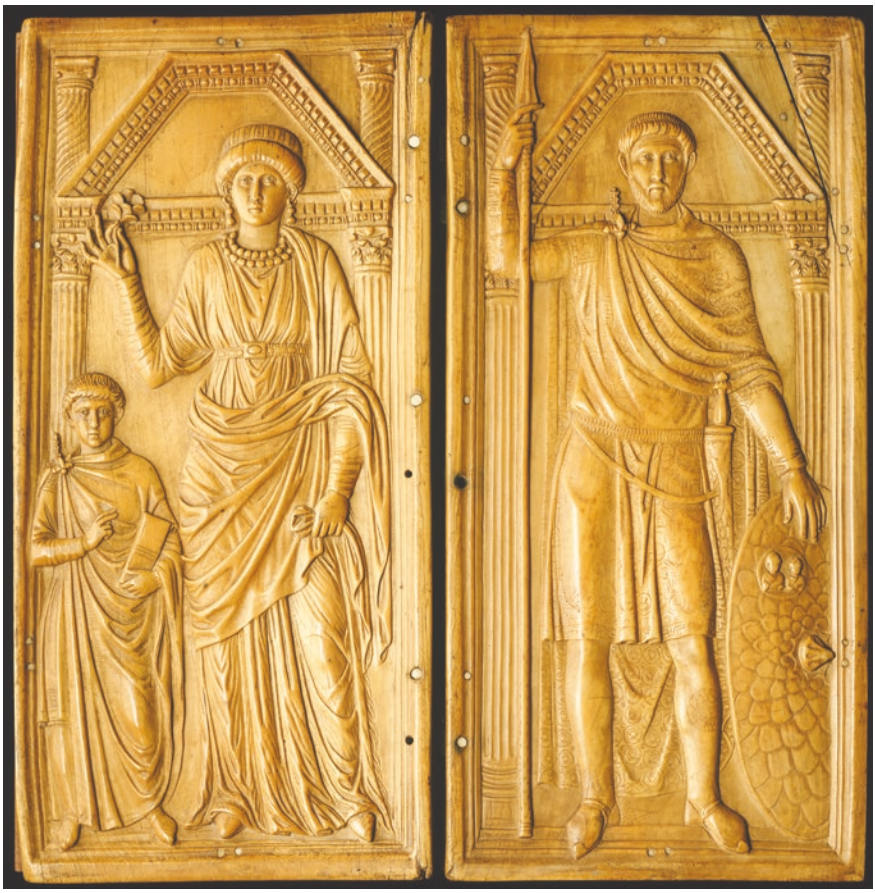

Fig. 5 Diptych of Stilicho, ivory with traces of color, ca. 400 (Photo courtesy of Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza. © Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza)

from the later empire depicts Aspar, a Goth or Alan who achieved real influence in the eastern empire. He served under the emperors Theodosius II (ruled 408–450) and Marcian (ruled 450–457) over several decades in the middle of the fifth century, attaining the consulship in 434 as reward for his accomplishments as a military commander. It was probably because of holding this most traditional of Roman offices that he had himself together with his eldest son Ardabur depicted wearing togas on the *missorium*.[66] Here was a barbarian imitating the polished manners of the Romans, at least in art. More telling, perhaps, were the young Roman men in Constantinople in Justinian's day, who dressed and cut their hair in the 'Hunnish' style, to mimic the look of barbarians.[67] For them, and apparently for many others, barbarian appearance signaled manliness. It seems some Romans were demonstrating their

attraction to barbarian ideals by wearing barbarian clothing as early as the fourth century, and the emperors Arcadius and Honorius jointly issued laws forbidding Roman men from wearing boots (*tzangae*) and trousers (*bracae*) in a pair of laws from 397 to 399.[68]

The double threat posed by bishops and barbarians was met in important symbolic ways. Emperors who highlighted their Christian piety, for example, offered a useful political counterpoise. As rulers chosen by God, emperors needed neither ecclesiastical permission to rule nor the martial assistance of the army or its commanders. Constantine I set the tone for such extraordinary divine election with his claim of a vision from God, a sign in the sky that promised him victory in battle; by the fifth century he was being called *isapostolos*, 'equal to the apostles'.[69] He was not the only one to assert celestial favor. Constantine and emperors after him also furthered their political reputations through civic projects, increasingly by building magnificent churches, and thereby giving a traditional feature of imperial beneficence a new Christian twist.[70]

This emphasis on piety also meant that the emperors had to conduct themselves appropriately in their marital and sexual lives—if not conforming themselves completely to Christian teachings, at least acting with the knowledge that any transgressions would be counted against them in the eyes of churchmen. Again, it was Constantine, the first of the Christian emperors, who set the stage for his successors. Minervina was his first wife or perhaps only his concubine: their relationship was begun in 303 and ended in 307, when he married Fausta, the daughter of the emperor Maximian. Either he divorced Minervina or separated from her informally, or perhaps she was already dead. In 326 he ordered the executions of Fausta and Crispus, his son by Minervina, possibly for incestuous adultery, though the ancient evidence is minimal.[71] Constantine did not marry again, which perhaps suggests his reluctance to contravene the teachings of the churchmen, most of whom condemned remarriage.[72] Notwithstanding, Constantius II, one of Constantine's sons, married three times: likely to produce a male heir, though he did not. In about 370 Valentinian I divorced the wife he had married before becoming emperor (Marina or Severa) in order to marry the widow (Justina) of a rival emperor he had defeated in war, though his sons by both women (Gratian and Valentinian II) shared the throne after him.[73] Many of his successors arranged similar remarriages for themselves.

Most famous for its irregularity was Justinian I's marriage to Theodora. He apparently fell in love with her despite her low birth and sexual past: if Procopius is to be believed, she had been a prostitute as well as a performer in indecent public exhibitions. Roman law forbade marriage between persons of widely differing classes, yet Justinian had his uncle, Justin I (ruled 518–527), repeal it so the two could marry. According to Procopius, the two faced lifelong opposition because of their unconventional marriage.[74] Gone were the days of unbridled sensuality ascribed to the earlier emperors in the historical

sources. Even Procopius confined his denunciations about Theodora's sexual past to her alone and only to the period before she met Justinian.

The frequent use of eunuchs in the administration of the later Roman Empire, finally, dealt another blow to the manly authority of late imperial government. The eunuch Eutropius held the post of grand chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*, one of the most powerful and most prestigious posts) under the eastern emperor Arcadius, and can serve as a good example.[75] Eutropius worked his way up from servile beginnings to the consulship of the empire in 399. The poet Claudian penned a lengthy denunciation of this appointment, appalled that a 'half-man' (*semivir*) like him should have the emperor's favor and so lofty an honor: 'an old woman decked in a consul's robe', he called him.[76] And even though Eutropius had led a successful military campaign against the Huns in 398, Claudian mocked the fact of a Roman army led by a eunuch: 'Our enemies rejoiced at the sight and realized that at last we were without men'. The troops returned, he claimed, as mutilated as their commander.[77] Within a year, Eutropius had fallen from grace, his wealth was confiscated, and his life was in danger—a fate typical for many imperial officials in late antiquity, including eunuchs. He claimed sanctuary in a church in Constantinople, and John Chrysostom delivered a sermon in his presence, calling attention to the fleeting nature of secular power.[78]

Eutropius was but one of hundreds of eunuchs placed throughout government in the later Roman Empire. The later Roman emperors adopted an increasingly bureaucratic and highly ritualized style of rule, derived from the Persian model. Eunuchs were useful functionaries and sycophantic courtiers, but also—as expensive slaves imported from outside the empire—exotic symbols of prestige for those who owned them. As castrated men, they might move more easily than others between the private and public areas of the imperial palace, that is, between the administrative offices and the household, including the women's quarters, giving them broader knowledge of affairs of state and greater influence than most.[79] Accordingly, eunuchs were distrusted for their political intrigues, for their outsider status, and for their gender ambiguity.[80] They served as the public face of the emperor for many, and were thus a constant challenge to the manliness of imperial rule. 'These creatures', wrote the author of the *Historia Augusta* in a bitter denunciation, 'alone cause the downfall of emperors, for they wish them to live in the manner of foreign nations […] and keep them well removed from the people and from their friends, and they are go-betweens, often delivering messages other than the emperor's reply, hedging him about, and aiming, above all things, to keep knowledge from him'.[81]

Looking at the relationship between politics and masculinity in the later Roman emperors reveals a series of fault lines: of display of wealth and self-restraint, of brutality and statesmanship, of spiritual and secular authority. The tensions between these points were played out differently in the political arena than within the family, as part of local communities, or in class

competition, even though these other aspects of historical life have shaped most existing scholarship on masculinity, including that of late antiquity.[82] The symbolic and ubiquitous presence of the emperors in the later Roman Empire—seen on coins or in public statues, remembered in histories and prayers in the churches—meant that they served as 'iconic types of masculinity', in Simon Yarrow's phrase, even while those very types were being tested by the changing circumstances of the period.[83] Masculine ideals change when unexpected events force a restructuring of gender expectations for men. At the same time, these changes often only work to reconfigure existing norms and stereotypes, which are never entirely abandoned.[84] The ideal of the mighty universal ruler chosen by God did not disappear with the fall of the Roman Empire. But its survival within two quite different constituencies—the monarchs and churchmen of the middle ages, the political descendants of the bishops and barbarians of late antiquity—set the stage for endemic contests that shaped the jagged contours for much of European history.

Notes

1. Recent biographies of Constantine include: C.M. Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2004); and D. Potter, *Constantine the Emperor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
2. Recent scholarship has challenged much of the traditional narrative about the fall of Rome and the ethnicities of and political organizations among the so-called barbarians. For overviews see: P.J. Heather, *Goths and Romans, 332–489* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); W. Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); and M. Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic Wars: From the Third Century to Alaric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
3. On the *foederati*, non-Romans hired as soldiers, see P. Southern and K.R. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 48–50, 71–72. Liebeschuetz suggests that it was during Constantine I's reign that barbarian troops first came to dominate the Roman army (*Barbarians and Bishops*, p. 7).
4. On Roman citizenship and barbarians, see Ralph Mathisen, '*Peregrini*, *Barbari*, and *Cives Romani*: Concepts of Citizenship and the Legal Identity of Barbarians in the Later Roman Empire', *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 1011–1140. On the intermarriage of Romans and barbarians, see Ralph Mathisen, '*Provinciales*, Gentiles, and Marriages between Romans and Barbarians in the Late Roman Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies* 99 (2009), 140–155.
5. Christians were by no means united in what they believed, though, and emperors joined wholeheartedly in ferocious theological debates as well as adjudicating more mundane schisms brought about by competing claimants to ecclesiastical offices. For some of the complexities of the religious policies of the emperors, using the example of Justinian I, see C. Pazdernik, ''Our Most Pious Consort Given Us by God': Dissident Reactions to the Partnership of

Justinian and Theodora, A.D. 525–548', *Classical Antiquity* 13 (1994), 256–281.

6. See F.P. Johnson, 'The Colossus of Barletta', *American Journal of Archaeology* 29 (1925), 20–25.
7. The Colossus of Constantine, once in the Basilica of Maxentius and now in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 4.15.2 (ed. and trans. A. Cameron and S.G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), pp. 158–159) wrote of Constantine that 'in the imperial quarters of various cities, he was portrayed standing up, looking up to heaven, his hands extended in a posture of prayer'. The statue is described by F. Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike* (Berlin: Akademie, 2001), pp. 206–208.
8. For more on these colossal statues of the later Roman emperors, see R.R.R. Smith, 'The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century', *Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997), 170–202. On the continuation of ritual aspects of the imperial cult from the fourth to the sixth century, see A. St. Clair, 'Imperial Virtue: Questions of Form and Function in the Case of Four Late Antique Statuettes', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996), 156–160; or M.J. Johnson (2009) *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 192; or R.L. Testa, '*Augures et pontifices*: Public Sacral Law in Late Antique Rome (Fourth–Fifth Centuries AD)', in Andrew Cain and Noel Lenski, eds., *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), p. 271. Kolb (*Herrscherideologie*, p. 85) suggests that these statues were modeled after those of the ancient gods. On the relationship between images of the emperors, their veneration, and Christian denunciations of sculpted images, see also P. Stewart, 'The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity', in R. Miles, ed., *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 159–189. Christians often destroyed statues of pagan gods and goddesses, but destroying a statue of the emperor was a serious crime, as shown in the Riot of the Statues in Antioch in 387. An overview of the symbolic importance of late ancient political art is also provided by J. Elsner, 'Late Antique Art: The Problem of the Concept and the Cumulative Aesthetic', in S. Swain and M. Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity: The Transformation from Early to Late Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 271–309.
9. Mamertinus, *Speech of Thanks to Julian*; ed. and trans. C.E.V. Nixon and B.S. Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 409–410, with some changes.
10. Mamertinus, *Speech of Thanks*, p. 426. On the late ancient panegyrics and their interpretation, including Mamertinus' poetic description of Julian, is M. Whitby, 'Images of Constantius', in J.W. Drijvers and D. Hunt, eds., *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 77–88.
11. It is the oldest surviving of these commemorative diptychs, and is held in the cathedral treasury of Aosta, Italy. It is described in E. Aubert, 'L'empereur Honorius et le consul Anicius Probus', *Revue Archéologique* n.s. 5 (1862), pp. 161–170; and more recently by A. Cameron, 'The Probus Diptych and Christian Apologetic', in H. Amirav and B. ter Haar Romeny, eds., *From Rome*

to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), pp. 191–202. More generally on these diptychs see A. Cameron and D. Schauer, 'The Last Consul: Basilius and his Diptych', *Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982), 126–145. Many representations of the Christian emperors continued to include pagan elements. On the Roman cult of Victory and her statue in the Roman Forum on which this image was likely based, see H.A. Pohlsander, 'Victory: The Story of a Statue', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 18 (1969), 588–597.

12. See 'Roman Numismatics' at www.romancoins.info for this and many other examples. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 4.15 (ed. and trans. Cameron and Hall, p. 158) wrote that Constantine I 'had his own portrait so depicted on the gold coinage that he appeared to look upwards in the manner of one reaching up to God in prayer'. On the images of Victory in late Roman coinage, see C. Doyle, 'Declaring Victory, Concealing Defeat? Continuity and Change in Imperial Coinage of the Roman West, c. 383–c. 408', in Greatrex and Elton, eds., *Shifting Genres*, pp. 157–173. Sometimes, incongruently, Victory holds a Christian cross in her hand.
13. Scholars have long questioned whether this statue is actually of the Emperor Julian. See R. Rochette and É. Michon, 'La prétendue statue de Julien l'Apostat au Musée du Louvre', *Revue Archéologique* 3rd ser. 39 (1901), 259–280. Regardless, the ancient Christians of Antioch apparently mocked Julian's attempts to look like a philosopher, including his growing a beard; see S. Swain, 'Sophists and Emperors: The Case of Libanius', in Swain and Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity*, p. 394.
14. Mosaic in situ at the Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina. On the site and the identification of the figure as Maximian, see H. Kähler, *Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina* (Berlin: Mann, 1973). On the hunting scene as used by early Roman emperors, see S.L. Tuck, 'The Origins of Roman Imperial Hunting Imagery: Domitian and the Redefinition of *Virtus* under the Principate', *Greece & Rome*, 52 (2005), 221–245.
15. J. Roy, 'The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King', in L. Foxhall and J. Salmon, eds., *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 113.
16. A. Christ, 'The Masculine Ideal of "the Race that Wears the Toga"', *Art Journal* 56:2 (1997), 24–30. For more on the symbolic uses of clothing in late antiquity (though without mention of imperial dress), see L.L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), Chap. 3. On the symbolic importance of dress for the later Roman emperors, see Kolb, *Herrscherideologie*, pp. 49–54, 106–108 (on the wearing of the diadem), and 113–114 (on the legend that a nail from the cross of Christ had been reused in the imperial diadem).
17. For examples of the association of dominance with maleness and submission with femaleness, see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 134–135.
18. See A. Cutler, 'Notes on the Making, Content, and Provenance of Louvre OA 9063', *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (1993), 329–339.

19. See B. Kiilerich (1998) *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople: Court Art and Imperial Ideology* (Rome: Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, 1998).
20. *Panegyric of Constantine*; ed. and trans. Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, p. 121, with some changes. See also Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 4.7; ed. and trans. Cameron and Hall, pp. 155–156 for another description of barbarians offering gifts and their service to the emperor Constantine.
21. *Historia Augusta, Probus* 15.2; ed. and trans. David Magie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 367; quoted in Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, p. 48. The *Historia Augusta* is a marvellous source for late imperial representations, but a complicated one: it was written by a single individual toward the end of the fourth century but claimed to be the work of several individuals writing at the end of the third century. It describes only the reigns of the pagan emperors of the late second and third centuries CE, yet clearly reveals the mind-set of a later era.
22. It was called the adoration of the purple, *adoratio purpurae*. On this and other imperial rituals, see Kolb, *Herrscherideologie*, pp. 117–125 (who says that the first evidence for the *adoratio purpurae* comes from the year 354).
23. Cynthia Herrup explores this problem for early modern European rulers in her 'The King's Two Genders', *Journal of British Studies* 45 (2006), 493–510.
24. See S.E. Bassett, 'Style and Meaning in the Imperial Panels at San Vitale', *Artibus et Historiae* 29 (2008), 49–57; or I. Andreescu-Treadgold and W. Treadgold, 'Procopius and the Imperial Panels of S. Vitale', *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997), 708–723.
25. Claudian, *On the Fourth Consulship of Honorius* lines 585b-92; ed. and trans. M. Platnauer in Claudian, *Carmina*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922), vol. 1, pp. 328–331. See also A. Stout, 'Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire', in J. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), pp. 77–100.
26. Ambrose *On Naboth* 5.25–5.26; ed. and trans. Martin McGuire, *S. Ambrosii De Nabuthae* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1927), p. 63.
27. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 14.6.10; ed. and trans. J.C. Rolfe in Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935–1940), vol. 1, pp. 40–41.
28. Julian *Oration* 2, 98D; ed. and trans. W. Wright in *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), vol. 1, pp. 260–261.
29. Ammianus Marcellinus *Res gestae* 20.4.17–18; ed. and trans. Rolfe in Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 26–27.
30. Claudian *In Rufinum* 2, lines 346–350; ed. and trans. Platnauer in Claudian, *Carmina*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83.
31. The *missorium* is now at the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. It is described by Kolb, *Herrscherideologie*, pp. 220–225; and by R.E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), Chap. 1.

32. Prudentius *Hamartigenia*, lines 282–286; ed. and trans. H.J. Thomson, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), vol. 1, pp. 223–224. For other examples, see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 55–61.
33. On these writers and this notion of a Christian empire, see Jeremy M. Schott, *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); or H.A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
34. Quoted in Schott, *Christianity, Empire*, p. 157.
35. For one churchman's response to Julian's rule, see S. Elm, 'Gregory of Nazianzus's Life of Julian Revisited (Or. 4 and 5): The Art of Governance by Invective', in S. McGill et al., eds., *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians: Later Roman History and Culture, 284–450 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 171–182.
36. Augustine *City of God* 5.19–5.21 (quotations from 5.21), trans. H. Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), pp. 212–216 (quotations on 216 and 215).
37. Paulinus of Milan, *Vita sancti Ambrosii*, 23 provides some excerpts from this sermon. R. Malcolm Errington situates the episode within the larger context of relations between late fourth-century emperors and bishops in his *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), p. 241. On these conflicts see also Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops*, Chap. 12. Later Roman emperors seldom attended public church services, whatever their piety; see N. McLynn, 'The Transformation of Imperial Churchgoing in the Fourth Century', in Swain and Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity*, pp. 235–270 (who also examines the encounter between Ambrose and Theodosius, pp. 263–270).
38. Suggested by Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), between pp. 258 and 259, Fig. 1 caption. Ambrose also pronounced a funeral oration for Theodosius I, reminding his listeners therein of the proper relationship between bishops and emperors. On this text see G. Raspanti, '*Clementissimus imperator*: Power, Religion, and Philosophy in Ambrose's *De obitu Theodosii* and Seneca's *De clementia*', in Cain and Lensky, eds., *The Power of Religion*, pp. 45–55.
39. Details of the conflicts—which included both theological and practical aspects, including the struggle between Trinitarian and Arian Christians and the irregularity of Athanasius' selection as bishop of Alexandria—may be found in T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
40. Quoted in Athanasius, *History of the Arians* 44; repr. in Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, p. 175. For other examples see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 132–133.
41. John Chrysostom, *Discourse on the Blessed Babylas* 51.1; quoted by J. Stephens, 'Religion and Power in the Early Thought of John Chrysostom', in Cain and Lenski, eds., *The Power of Religion*, pp. 181–188, at p. 184.
42. The sarcophagus is held in the treasury of St. Peter's basilica, Vatican, and is described by E.S. Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990). The interpretation of this scene is that of Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 222–223.

43. For Italian examples, see A. Izdebski, 'Bishops in Late Antique Italy: Social Importance vs. Political Power', *Phoenix* 66 (2012), 158–175. C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) describes the ways in which successful bishops combined what she calls pragmatic, spiritual, and ascetic authority. Part of their control was due to their increasing numbers: for example, from fewer than thirty bishops in Syria and only three in Palestine in 325 to more than seventy in Syria and about fifty in Palestine by the second half of the sixth century (p. 173). She also notes (in ch. 6) the increasing social prominence of bishops as men from wealthier and more noble backgrounds, and the first bishops remembered as saints at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries (p. 294). On the social prominence of bishops see also S.R. Huebner, 'Currencies of Power: The Venality of Offices in the Later Roman Empire', in Cain and Lenski, eds., *The Power of Religion*, pp. 167–179.
44. For these military metaphors see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, ch. 4.
45. Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, *passim*.
46. Gregory the Great, *Morals on the Book of Job* 26.41.76; ed. J.-P. Migne, *Sancti Gregorii papae I cognomento magni opera omnia*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857), vol. 76, col. 393; trans. John H. Parker (London: Rivington, 1844), vol. 3, p. 190.
47. One is at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; the other at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. For more on Ariadne and these images, see Diliana Angelova (2004) 'The Ivories of Ariadne and Ideas about Female Imperial Authority in Rome and Early Byzantium', *Gesta* 43, 1–15.
48. See S.I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). Another example is Pulcheria, sister to emperor Theodosius II and consort to Marcian: for an overview of her life and influence, see K. Chew, 'Virgins and Eunuchs: Pulcheria, Politics and the Death of Emperor Theodosius II', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 55 (2006), 207–227.
49. Discussed by K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). See also J. Herrin, 'The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium' and 'Marriage: A Fundamental Element of Imperial Statecraft' in her *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 161–193 (including a discussion of these images of Ariadne, p. 171) and pp. 302–320. The frequent depiction of imperial women on late Roman coinage is another sign of their influence: see L. Brubaker and H. Tobler (2001) 'The Gender of Money: Byzantine Empresses on Coins (324–802)', in P. Stafford and A. Mulder-Bakker, eds., *Gendering the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 42–64.
50. See Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 135–136, for this and other examples.
51. Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6.18; ed. J.-P. Migne, *Socratis Scholastici historia ecclesiastica*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1864), vol. 67, col. 717. Elsewhere, John compared himself to

Moses in relation to Arcadius as pharaoh; see Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, p. 128; see also Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, p. 201.

52. On John Chrysostom, Olympias, and Eudoxia, see Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, pp. 143–144 and 199–202.
53. The fullest treatment is R. Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique du premier au septième siècle* (Gembloux, Belgium: Duculot, 1970). See also D.G. Hunter, 'Clerical Celibacy and the Veiling of Virgins: New Boundaries in Late Ancient Christianity', in W.E. Klingshirn and M. Vessey, eds., *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R.A. Markus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 139–152. Hunter considers the imposition of clerical celibacy more the result of competition with women who were vowing virginity—an act growing in popularity in the late fourth century—than stemming from a desire to avoid women.
54. On bishops as brides of Christ, see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 137–142.
55. The Latin reads: 'maximus victor ac triumf[ator] … maximus germanic[us] max[imus] alamann[icus] max[imus] franc[icus] max[imus] gothic[us]', alongside other majestic attributes, and the text is repeated for each of the three emperors. Quoted in M. Humphries, 'Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity', in J. Rasmus Brandt et al., eds., *Rome AD 300–800: Power and Symbol—Image and Reality* (Rome: Bardi, 2003), pp. 27–46 (inscription at pp. 34–35).
56. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 1.25.1; ed. and trans. Cameron and Hall, p. 79. In contrast, Jordanes, writing in the mid-sixth century, attributed Constantine's victories to the barbarians in his army: Jordanes, *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths* 21; ed. Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1882), p. 87; trans. Charles Mierow (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1908), p. 35. In the same place, Jordanes also suggested that 'it was the aid of the Goths that enabled [Constantine] to build the famous city that is named after him' (p. 36). Jordanes may have been of Gothic ancestry, which might explain his sentiments.
57. Jordanes, *The Origins and Deeds of the Goths* 40; ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, p. 112; trans. Mierow, pp. 65–66. See also Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 48–49.
58. On the child emperors see M. McEvoy, 'Rome and the Transformation of the Imperial Office in the Late Fourth–Mid-Fifth Centuries AD', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 78 (2010), 151–192. She also suggests that the child emperors often relied on ritual actions in the city of Rome to bolster their authority. On Rome's continuing importance in late antiquity as a symbol of imperial rule, see also A. Gillett, 'Rome, Ravenna, and the Last Western Emperors', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001), 131–167.
59. For a list of barbarians who held the office of *magister militum* and served in other important ranks of the army, see Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, p. 50. They add (p. 53) that after 408 and the assassination of Stilicho, no other barbarian received the title *magister militum* in the western empire—though in the east barbarians continued to hold the post, men such as Gainas and Aspar (see also Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*). More on the

tenuous connection between imperial rule and military success is provided by Michael Whitby, 'Emperors and Armies, AD 235–395', in Swain and Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity*, pp. 156–186; and (for the second half of the fifth century) in D. Henning, *Periclitans res publica: Kaisertum und Eliten in der Krise des Weströmischen Reiches, 454/5–493 n.Chr.* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), esp. pp. 245–260.

60. Quoted in P. Heather, 'Liar in Winter: Themistius and Theodosius', in McGill, ed., *From the Tetrarchs*, p. 201. For other examples by contemporaries advising accommodation with the barbarians, see Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, p. 46.
61. John Chrysostom, *Sermon* 8; ed. J.-P. Migne, *S.P.N. Joannis Chrysostomi, opera omnia quae exstant: Homeliae* in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1862), vol. 63, col. 502; quoted and trans. in Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, p. 169.
62. Jordanes, *The Origins and Deeds of the Goths* 30; ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, p. 97; trans. Mierow, p. 47.
63. It is held in the cathedral treasury of Monza, Italy, and is described by A. Christ, 'The Importance of Being Stilicho: Diptychs as a Genre', in Geoffrey Greatrex and Hugh Elton, eds., *Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 173–190. Their two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, both of whom married the emperor Honorius in turn, are not shown. Jim Roy describes the importance of representing Hellenistic kings as family men, reminding viewers of legitimizing dynastic links, and this strategy may well have played a role in Stilicho's representation of himself with Serena (who was an adopted daughter of the emperor Theodosius I). See Roy, 'The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King', p. 112. On the idealized image of Stilicho in a literary source, see also G. Nathan, 'The Ideal Male in Late Antiquity: Claudian's Example of Flavius Stilicho', *Gender and History* 27 (2015), 10–27.
64. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letter* 1.2.1–3; ed. and trans. W. Anderson, Sidonius, *Poems, Letters 1–2* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), pp. 336–337, with some changes. Jill Harries situates this description within Sidonius Apollinaris's career, the Gothic takeover in Gaul, and the Roman man of letter's acquiescence to barbarian rule over formerly Roman lands in her *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome, AD 407–485* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), esp. pp. 127 and 241. For other examples, see Isidore of Seville, *History of the Kings of the Goths*, trans. in K.B. Wolf, ed., *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 79–109.
65. Procopius *History of the Wars* 5.2, ed. and trans. H.B. Dewing, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916), vol. 3, pp. 16–17. Procopius often used manliness (*ἀνδία*) as a descriptor for martial success in his history: e.g. 4.2 (where Gelimer, king of the Vandals, exhorts his people to fight with manliness against the Roman attempt to retake North Africa), or 4.4 (where the general John the Armenian is said to fight in a manly way against the Vandals), or 8.23 (where the Romans are said to have fought manfully against the Goths in a naval battle off Ancona in the Adriatic Sea). In one instance (6.14), a barbarian leader, Rodolphos/Rudolf of the Eruli, is described as being insulted by his men as effeminate (*μαλθακόν τε και γυναικώδη*; the first word meaning 'weak', 'soft', or even 'sexually passive', and the last, 'womanish') for

keeping peace with the Romans. The goading of men to fight with accusations of effeminacy seems to have been a long-standing feature of early northern European societies, and may be reflected in this passage: on this practice see J.M. Pizarro, 'On *Nið* against Bishops', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 11 (1978–1979), 149–153.

66. It is held in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence, Italy, and described by C. Zaccagnino, G. Bevan, and A. Gabov, 'The Missorium of Ardabur Aspar: New Considerations on its Archaeological and Historical Contexts', *Archeologia Classica* 63 (2012), 419–454.
67. Procopius, *The Anecdota or Secret History* 7.8–14, ed. and trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), pp. 78–81. This look included long beards, hair cut short on the top and sides of the head but hanging down in the back, tunics gathered at the wrists but otherwise flowing out from the arms, and unspecified but peculiar cloaks, trousers, and shoes.
68. *Codex Theodosianus* 14.10.2 and 14.10.3; ed. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), p. 788. For more on the literary contrasts between Romans and barbarians, see Peter Heather, 'The Barbarian in Late Antiquity: Image, Reality, and Transformation', in Miles, ed., *Constructing Identities*, pp. 234–258.
69. For recent discussions of Constantine's vision, see H.A. Drake, 'Solar Power in Late Antiquity'; J. Long, 'How to Read a Halo: Three (or More) Versions of Constantine's Visions'; and J.W. Drijvers, 'The Power of the Cross: Celestial Cross Appearances in the Fourth Century'; all in Cain and Lenski, eds., *The Power of Religion*, pp. 215–248. Drake notes elsewhere that 'whereas Constantine always depicted his relationship with God in solely personal terms and his knowledge of the divine as self-taught, in Eusebius's telling … the bishops become mediators of the emperor's charismatic authority' (*Constantine and the Bishops*, p. 391). On Constantine as *isapostolos*, see Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops*, p. 308; or H.A. Pohlsander, *The Emperor Constantine*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 92. Constantine himself is supposed to have likened himself to a bishop, according to Eusebius, and 'exercised a bishop's supervision over all his subjects' (*Life of Constantine* 4.24; ed. and trans. Cameron and Hall, p. 161).
70. The best descriptions are found in Procopius, *On Buildings*, ed. and trans. H.B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), about the building and engineering projects of Justinian I.
71. See P. Guthrie, 'The Execution of Crispus', *Phoenix* 20 (1966), 325–331; and J. Rougé, 'Fausta, femme de Constantine: Criminelle ou victime?' *Cahiers d'histoire* 25 (1980), 3–18. See also above, note 2, for biographies of Constantine.
72. See Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 191–193 and 201–202. It is worth noting that Constantine issued a number of laws against adultery: in 331 he permitted men whose wives had committed adultery to divorce them, keep their dowries, and remarry after two years (*Codex Theodosianus* 3.16.1; ed. Mommsen and Meyer, p. 156); in 339, he ordered adulterers to be executed in the same manner as parricides: by being sown into a sack and burnt alive (*Codex*

Theodosianus 11.36.4; ed. Mommsen and Meyer, p. 648). For more on Constantine's legislation on marriage, see J.E. Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity: The Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

73. See J. Rougé, 'La pseudo-bigamie de Valentinien I', *Cahiers d'histoire* 3 (1958), 5–15; and J. Rougé, 'Justine, la belle Sicilienne', *Latomus* 33 (1974), 676–679.
74. See Procopius, *The Anecdota or Secret History*. For recent biographies, see D.S. Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); or P. Cesaretti, *Theodora: Empress of Byzantium*, trans. R. Giammanco (New York: Vendome, 2004).
75. On the office of grand chamberlain in the later Roman Empire, see H. Scholten, *Der Eunuch in Kaisernähe: Zur politischen und sozialen Bedeutung des praepositus sacri cubicula im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995). On Eutropius, see Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, esp. Chaps. 8 and 9; and G. Sidéris, Chap. 4 in this volume.
76. Claudian, *In Eutropium* 1, lines 9–10; ed. and trans. in Claudian, *Carmina*, pp. 138–139.
77. Claudian, *In Eutropium* 1, lines 244–245, 256–257 (with some changes); ed. and trans. in Claudian, *Carmina*, pp. 156–157.
78. Described in Rapp, *Holy Bishops*, pp. 257–258; on Eutropius see also Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, p. 189; H. Schweckendick, *Claudians Invektive gegen Eutrop (In Eutropium): Ein Kommentar* (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1992); and J. Long, *Claudian's In Eutropium: Or, How, When, and Why to Slander a Eunuch* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
79. On the political uses of eunuchs in the later Roman Empire, see K. Hopkins, 'The Political Power of Eunuchs', in *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 172–196; P. Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), ch. 7; and D. Schlinkert, 'Der Hofeunuch in der Spätantike: Ein gefährlicher Aussenseiter?' *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* 122 (1994), 342–359.
80. For more on the political discomfort with eunuchs because of their gender status, see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, 61–69. On the gender ambiguity of eunuchs, see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, pp. 31–36.
81. *Historia Augusta, Alexander Severus* 66.3; ed. and trans. Magie, pp. 310–311.
82. See G. Halsall, 'Gender and the End of Empire', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34 (2004), 17–39, for an example of this social, domestic, and class-based focus. For more on men's domestic lives and status in late Roman antiquity, see Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch*, this chapter; see also G. Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2000).
83. S. Yarrow, 'Masculinity as a World Historical Category of Analysis', in J.H. Arnold and S. Brady, eds., *What Is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 127, who invites scholars to examine the relationship between these types

and 'their changing hegemonic indicators and multiple configurations in response to tipping points in institutional histories, cycles of political or religious expansion and contraction, conquests, revolutions and environmental challenges'. I found the essays in this collection particularly helpful in thinking about the issues in this chapter.

84. H. French and M. Rothery, 'Hegemonic Masculinities? Assessing Change and Processes of Change in Elite Masculinity, 1700–1900', in Arnold and Brady, eds., *What Is Masculinity?* (complicating R.W. Connell's popular paradigm of hegemonic masculinity).

The Rise and Fall of the High Chamberlain Eutropius: Eunuch Identity, the Third Sex and Power in Fourth-Century Byzantium

Georges Sidéris

In the fourth century CE, the place and role of eunuchs expanded and took shape in the Roman Empire, especially in its eastern half, the 'Byzantine Empire'.[1] In this period, the power of the eunuchs of the imperial chamber—the *cubiculum* in Latin or *koitôn* in Greek—was established within the institutions of the imperial palace of Constantinople.[2] This was not an exclusively eastern or even imperial phenomenon. Eunuchs had long been present in the West as in the East, and they were to be found in the service of the great aristocratic families as well as in that of the emperor. From the beginning of the fourth century, eunuchs were well attested within the imperial court and the church, but also within pagan cults such as the *galli*, the eunuch priests of Cybele and Attis.[3] Yet in the course of the fourth century, a certain disjuncture appeared in the role of eunuchs in East and West. The difference in their position in the two halves of the empire came to a head in particular in the career of the High Chamberlain Eutropius, who was the first and only eunuch to head a successful Roman military campaign, to be granted a triumph on his return, and even to receive the title of consul. His subsequent fall led to a clearer definition of the nature of the eunuch, who was not simply a kind of man but a third gender whose 'eunucity' (by analogy to femininity or masculinity) was a question debated in the East and in the West. It is the purpose

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of this article to explore the broader significance of Eutropius' career and its importance in the evolution of the importance of being a man, a woman or a eunuch in the evolving political culture of the late Roman Empire.

Given the importance that military functions took in Eutropius' rise, and in his fall, it is significant to note that the growth of the importance of the eunuchs of the imperial palace was also promoted by the militarisation of the empire. The imperial eunuchs formed a body which already served to protect the emperor, the empress and the imperial family inside the imperial palace. They protected the women of the imperial family—and in particular their chastity—in an environment dominated by male officials and soldiers who belonged to the *militia*, the Roman army. They also protected the emperor from pressure exerted by the high military command, which could go as far as attempts on his life, notably whilst he was sleeping. Ammianus Marcellinus, for instance, asserts that the Emperor Constantius II (337–361) was always afraid of being assassinated. He describes with precision the conflict under Constantius II between an earlier high chamberlain, the eunuch Eusebius, and the master of the armies (*magister militum*), Ursicinus, a powerful general. Eusebius had been particularly suspicious of Ursicinus since he suspected him of plotting against the power of the emperor in order to seize the throne. When Ursicinus then challenged Constantius II, and was relieved of his functions as a result, this served to justify the high chamberlain's suspicions of a powerful general.[4] At the end of the fourth century, the poet Claudian, while denigrating eunuchs in general and Eutropius in particular, still acknowledged their role for ensuring the tranquillity of the sovereign during his sleep, whether in the West or the East of the Roman world.[5] When the empire was divided between the sons of Constantine I (324–337), the emperors each had their own *cubiculum* with their own eunuchs. Although the Emperor Julian (361–363) banished eunuchs from the imperial palace, Jovian (363–364) re-established the *cubiculum* with its eunuch servants. From that moment, the number and the political importance of imperial eunuchs grew both in the West and the East into the reign of Theodosius I (379–385), who re-unified the empire, and then under his sons Arcadius (395–408) in the East and Honorius (395–423) in the West.[6]

The Eunuchs: A Third Sex

In the decades before Eutropius came on the scene, these developments had already generated heated arguments about the physical and moral nature of the eunuch, his place and his role in the empire and in the church. In this context, the question of the eunuch as a third sex was debated, along with the question of a three-sex system as the new gender order structuring Byzantine society.[7]

A conception of a eunuch as a being who was 'neither man nor woman' had long been established in the Roman Empire. Valerius Maximus wrote in the first century CE that a castrated eunuch 'should not be reckoned either

a man or a woman'.[8] In so doing, he brought out a fundamental tenet of Roman law. What made a man, what determined his sex, was his ability to produce semen, and thus to reproduce.[9] This conception of a castrate as not being a man is also to be found in the writings of the jurists Ulpian and Marcianus in the third century.[10] In the second century, Lucian stated in his treatise *The Eunuch*, written after 179, that a eunuch was 'neither man nor woman but something composite, hybrid, and monstrous (*teratôdes*), alien to human nature'. He then specified that a eunuch at birth was an 'ambiguous' (*amphibolon*) creature.[11] The eunuch was thus perceived as exterior to the two fundamental sexual categories, which made it possible to define eunuchs as a third sex, but also potentially placed them in the category of 'monsters', in the sense of beings outside the norm.[12] The conception of the castrate as a third sex can also be found amongst Christian writers, for example Tertullian, who wrote at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, and qualified pagan eunuch priests as 'of the third sex' (*de tertio sexu*).[13]

It was Galen who laid the medical basis for the definition of a eunuch explicitly as a neuter third sex.[14] He built his observations on his experience as a doctor to the gladiators in Pergamon. He had probably seen eunuchs in Rome whilst he was a doctor at the imperial court or when he served the Roman aristocracy. He also drew on the dissections he had performed on animals. By this means he was able to show in his treatise *De Semine* ('On Semen') written after 169 CE, that sperm was indeed produced in the testicles, before going on to ascribe to the testicles the production of *dynamis*—the principle which gives strength and masculinity (*arrenotès*) to the male. He showed that castration ended the production of sperm and led to the disappearance of *dynamis*. This is why castrates lost with castration their *andreia*, their virile moral capacities and actions, as well as their *arrenotès*, that is to say their masculine sex and body.

No longer men, eunuchs did not become women either. According to Galen, women also emitted a seed, which was not the case for castrates. Castrated females also lost their femininity. He concluded that the castrated animal, whether male or female in origin, is 'not female or male' after castration, but a *triton*, a third sex, neuter: 'just as if at the start they had been generated not female or male but some third kind (*ti triton*), different from both and neither this nor that'. In the process, Galen delivered eunuchs from the realm of wonders or monstrosities.[15] His work on these questions was taken up in the fourth century by Oribasius, physician to the Emperor Julian, and from there it came to be the accepted view of Byzantine medicine.[16]

From Constantine I onwards, the chastity of the eunuch was a matter of state. As Joëlle Beaucamp has shown, chastity—*sôphrosunè* in Greek or *castitas* in Latin—and sexual modesty became central concepts in Byzantine legal texts from the reign of Constantine I onwards.[17] We know from Ammianus Marcellinus[18] and the *rhetor* Mamertinus that eunuchs in the imperial court in the fourth century were either eunuchs by birth or eunuchs who had been

castrated whilst children.[19] In his speech of thanks to the Emperor Julian for the consulate, which he pronounced in 362 before the senate of Constantinople, Mamertinus refers to eunuchs of the imperial court: 'eunuchs as well, whom either their nature at birth or an injury to their bodies has set apart from either sex'. This discourse is particularly important, since Mamertinus was praetorian prefect of Illyria under the emperors Julian, Jovian, Valentinian I (364–375) and Valens (364–378).[20] His words thus reflect not only a political position but also Roman law in the fourth century.

In the fourth century, the question of the eunuch's nature was again posed: this time in a Christian context, by bishops. Sometime in the middle of that century, Basil, the *homoiousian* bishop of Ancyra (Ankara), wrote a treatise on virginity. In this, he took up the question of eunuchs. He took as his text Isaiah 56:3–5:

> …neither let the eunuch say, 'Behold I am a dry tree.' For thus says the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and keep my covenant. Even unto them will I give in my house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters. I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off.

This citation allowed him to consider the question of eunuchs as a *genos* (*genikôs*): a kind, a nature or a gender. He was thus able to define *eunouchia*, the fundamental state of a eunuch. The term *eunouchia* as it is used by Basil is difficult to translate. It might be tempting to suggest 'eunuchism', by analogy with the Greek *eunouchismos*, yet the latter term refers specifically to the physical reality of a eunuch as created by surgery. Basil of Ancyra, on the other hand, uses the term *eunouchia* to refer to the physical reality of eunuchs by surgery or by birth, but also to denote a moral and spiritual quality, since those who become spiritually eunuchs pertain to *eunouchia* even if they are not physically eunuchs. Here we are dealing with the existential condition of the eunuch kind, nature (without forgetting that this 'nature' can be created by surgery) or gender (*genikôs ton eunouchon*) which can be lived according to one of three types, three ways of being. *Eunouchia* thus designated a 'generic' identity quality, which can be assimilated to a common nature, kind or gender identity. This is why *eunouchia* is often translated as 'eunucity' by analogy to 'masculinity' or 'femininity'.

Basil then developed his theme on the basis of Matthew 19:12:

> For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.

This passage permitted him to make internal distinctions within this *eunouchia*, this 'eunucity', to identify different species of eunuch.

First, there were eunuchs by birth, who experience no desire. Similar to them were eunuchs who had been castrated when they were children. Rather different, for Basil, were eunuchs who had been castrated when they were adults. He argued that the latter still produced semen, since they had been castrated after puberty. As a result of castration, the route by which this semen could be evacuated was closed. These eunuchs thus experienced a form of sexual desire which was all the more intense since the semen, which could not be evacuated, instead accumulated in their loins. He concluded that these castrates, although they had been castrated, were still men. On the other hand, Basil did not make it clear what gender ought to be assigned to eunuchs by birth, who were bodily and spiritually chaste, since they experienced no desire, nor to eunuchs who had been castrated whilst they were children, who were predisposed to bodily chastity as a result of their early castration but who could not be chaste in spirit. More strikingly, he also included in the category of 'eunuchs' men, women and physical eunuchs who voluntarily live a life of chastity, bodily and in spirit. In his treatise, he defined an ethical eunuch in this way. The good eunuch was chaste bodily and spiritually, the bad eunuch was not chaste in spirit even if he was necessarily chaste in body. In the process Basil constituted the good eunuch as an ethical subject and thus as a positive identity.[21]

The vision of the eunuch amongst the Greek Church Fathers was firmly underpinned by Galen's theory. A different Basil, the orthodox bishop of Caesarea, explicitly stated in a letter written in 372 that eunuchs are a *genos* in the sense of a gender or sex.[22] *Genos* also had the sense of 'race' in Greek, identifying and essentialising the group which it denoted. By employing the term *genos*, Basil thus essentialised eunuchs and identified them with a particular body, physiology and biology, and as a result with a particular set of behaviours and moral states. He qualified the *genos* of eunuchs as 'neither feminine nor masculine' and asserted that 'they are chaste without reward—thanks to the knife'. Here we find the conception developed by Galen of the castrate who was 'not female or male' and who did not have sexual relations. This appears less surprising when we realise that Basil of Caesarea had studied medicine in Athens and was in fact reusing the terminology of Galenic medicine, in particular *De Semine*.[23] Nonetheless, Basil also asserted that this *genos* was 'woman mad'. Here he invoked specifically a *mania*, a disease of the soul and a vice of the spirit.[24] If the eunuch was bodily chaste, he was not necessarily so in spirit. Finally, he declared 'at their very birth [eunuchs are] doomed to the knife! How then can these ones possess true judgement, whose very feet are twisted?' By arguing that a *genos* possessed of a particular kind of body generated a specific kind of spirit, Basil's remarks are to be understood within a physiognomic view in which the soul and the body interact, characteristic of the gender/sex system of the ancient world.[25]

The writings of Gregory of Nazianzus, another Father of the Church, were particularly influential, notably because the Byzantine Church took them as a reference of orthodox doctrine. Between 27 November 380 and

10 June 381, whilst he was bishop of Constantinople, Gregory delivered a homily before the Emperor Theodosius I and the imperial court, including the imperial eunuchs. Like Basil of Ancyra, he commentated on the words of Christ in Matthew 19:12. He interpreted the first two kinds of eunuch as natural eunuchs and eunuchs by operation. For them he immediately laid down an essential principle. He declared that eunuchs were chaste of the body (*sôphronôn tô sômati*) but that their chastity was involuntary since it was due to the fact that they were eunuchs. For Gregory, on the other hand, since they were Arian heretics, they had corrupted their soul. They prostituted (*porneuein*) their soul with regards to the faith, and he called on them to purify themselves by becoming orthodox. Thus Gregory's real criticism of the eunuchs concerned their impiety. Nonetheless, he also held the eunuch to be chaste spiritually. Eunuchs were chaste in their soul (*psuchê*), that is to say spiritually, with regards to their sexuality.[26] By stating that the body and the soul of the eunuch are pure in sexual matters, Gregory can be situated wholly within Galen's conception of eunuchs. He went further than Basil of Caesarea, who conceded only bodily chastity to eunuchs. Gregory's position is not surprising when we realise that he too could turn to Galen for information on the human body. For, like Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus had studied medicine at Athens. Moreover, Gregory's brother, Caesarius was a doctor (*archiatros*) in Constantinople, then in the palace of the Emperor Julian. We thus find once again the Galenic medical milieu represented by Oribasius.[27]

Gregory's homily was also important as a result of the directive and imperative nature which he wished to give to his comments. As Gregory said himself, 'This is the law (*nomothetô*) which I establish for the laity'. The coherence of his view is confirmed by another discourse (no. 21), composed in Constantinople between 379 and 381, in which he qualified eunuchs as of 'uncertain' or 'equivocal' sex (*amphibolous tô genei*): that is to say, a third sex whose impiety was incontestable. As we have seen, the use of the term *amphibolos* to describe the sex of a eunuch is already found in the works of Lucian in the second century CE. To show that as far as he was concerned eunuchs were not men, Gregory asserted that he did not understand why Roman emperors 'entrusted them with masculine business' (*ta tôn andrôn egkheirizousi*).[28] Gregory gave this sex a new spiritual and ethical direction. If eunuchs were beyond suspicion with regards to their sexual behaviour since they were chaste, they must also become so on a spiritual plane by being orthodox. By offering the possibility of a positive identity, Gregory defined a framework within which eunuchs could be located as a sex identity alongside the masculine and feminine sex.

Because Gregory was addressing the eunuchs of the imperial court, the latter appears as the institutional, political, social and cultural space in which the third sex could find the conditions of its development and its affirmation as such. It seems likely that Gregory's homily was well received by the emperor, since the latter did not repudiate it. The homily also defined orthodox policy

against Arianism, much as Theodosius I conformed to orthodoxy as defined by the Council of Constantinople (May–July, 381).[29] Yet there was more. Philostorgius tells us that in 383 Theodosius expelled from the palace certain members of the *koitôn*, that is to say the service of the imperial Chamber, who were still Eunomians, practitioners of an extreme Arian heresy.[30] We know that the *koitônites* were eunuchs. It is thus clear that the eunuchs of the imperial Chamber became orthodox between Gregory's homily and 383. Some of them remained Eunomians in secret, and when Theodosius discovered them he expelled them. This move was certainly in continuity with the Council of Constantinople. Nonetheless, we can see that this imperial measure coincided exactly with the words of Gregory in his homily which enjoined the eunuchs of the *cubiculum* to suppress the impiety of Arius. This measure thus appears as the imperial confirmation of the view which Gregory had clearly defined in his homily.

To understand Gregory's striking success, it is necessary to recognise that his homily could only have been welcomed by Theodosius. Henceforth it was self-evident at the head of the Byzantine state that the eunuch was chaste. It was also a fundamental state truth that as chaste beings eunuchs could not be a male, and since they were not women, this amounted to saying that they constituted a third sex. This chastity was accompanied by the orthodoxy of the eunuchs, which is to say that they followed the religion of the orthodox emperor.

We thus see that in a law of 9 December 382, the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I, cite the officials of the imperial chamber amongst those high dignitaries exempt from base duties (*munera sordida*).[31] In particular, Theodosius increased the place and the role of eunuchs in the imperial chamber. The Byzantine historian Zosimus described 'the crowd of eunuchs who work in the service of the emperor'.[32] Theodosius I raised considerably the institutional importance of the high chamberlain of the palace (the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*). In a law of 16 September 384, confirmed at Constantinople and addressed to the master of officials Palladios, the *praepositus* was classed *inter primas dignitates*, after the prefects, the masters of the cavalry and the infantry, and the counts of the consistory (the imperial council). He was thus one of the most important dignitaries of the empire. Theodosius wanted to reward in this way the eunuch high chamberlains 'who by their great and assiduous attention to Our divine person have placed themselves among the foremost dignitaries'.[33] Eunuchs thus became under Theodosius I an institutionalised and powerful palatine body, very close to the sovereign, a chaste and orthodox body in the service of an orthodox emperor.

Eutropius: The Rise to Power

This was exactly the position of the High Chamberlain Eutropius and the eunuchs of the imperial court at the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Arcadius, one of the sons of Theodosius I. Eutropius was a eunuch whose rise

should be credited to Theodosius I. His success was also linked to an affair which mixed war and religion. In 393, Theodosius was engaged in a war against the usurper Eugenius. He then sent Eutropius, who was one of his chamber officials and very faithful to him, to the monk John of Lycopolis, in order to bring him back or to record his prophecies concerning the result of the war. Eutropius returned with John's favourable reply, announcing his victory.[34] In 395, with Arcadius's accession, Eutropius became *praepositus*. The praetorian prefect of the East, Rufinus, who directed the affairs of the eastern Roman Empire in the name of Arcadius, wanted the emperor to marry his daughter. But Eutropius managed to counter Rufinus by persuading the emperor to marry Eudoxia, which provoked Rufinus's hostility.[35]

On 27 November 395, however, Rufinus was assassinated in the presence of the emperor by troops commanded by Gainas. The latter had been sent to Constantinople by the *magister militum* Stilicho, commander of the armies in the west of the Roman Empire under the Emperor Honorius. Eutropius seized Rufinus's goods and took control of the Byzantine court.[36] In the course of the year 396, events accelerated. The head of the Byzantine armies, the *magister equitum et peditum*, Timasios was accused of treason, found guilty and exiled.[37] Soon afterwards, Eutropius secured the condemnation of Bargos, who also commanded troops and was plotting against him.[38]

According to Zosimus, nobody dared to contest Eutropius' power in Constantinople.[39] In fact Eutropius was not alone. He could rely on a powerful ally at court, the master of offices (*magister officiorum*) Hosios, one of the principal civilian ministers in the 'imperial government' at Constantinople.[40] Eutropius also enjoyed the support of the empress, and necessarily of the consistory, the imperial council. He also clearly had the support of the emperor.[41] Although the high chamberlain controlled the imperial chamber, he did meet with opposition from amongst the eunuchs, which he repressed with violence. This is what Claudian suggests when he fictively addresses Eutropius: 'Thou dost confess thou wert the first to cut a eunuch's throat, but the example will not secure thine own death.'[42] Eutropius could also count on the support of military chiefs who were favourable to him, such as the *magister militum* Leo, whom Zosimus says was closely linked to the eunuch. Eutropius has the support of the *comes domesticorum*, Soubarmachios. The latter was probably from Lazica, and of royal blood. He was apparently a good soldier, and Eunapius mentions his physical qualities and his skill as an archer.[43]

The year 397 marks a turning point. In 395 Alaric's Goths had started to invade Greece. The Byzantine army was too occupied in Asia Minor attempting to contain the Huns to be able to resist this attack. At the beginning of the spring of 397, Stilicho and his troops set sail for Greece. He landed at Corinth and attacked the Goths, who had occupied Arcadia. They retreated to the north of Greece, into Epirus, at which point Stilicho returned home.[44] The Byzantine government were thus obliged to find a solution for the

problem of the Goths in Epirus. They gave Alaric command of the armies of Illyricum and probably the title *magister militum*.[45]

According to Zosimus, Eutropius was afraid that Stilicho would come to Constantinople with the aim of removing him, as Rufinus had before.[46] He thus persuaded Arcadius to assemble the senate of Constantinople, in order to declare Stilicho a *hostis publicus*, a public enemy, that is to say an enemy of the empire. Meanwhile, in the autumn of 397, Gildo, governor of Africa with the title of *comes et magister utriusque militiae per Africam*, broke with the West. He suspended grain shipments to Rome and was declared a public enemy by the Roman senate. With the support of Eutropius, Gildo detached Roman Africa from the western empire and joined it to that of Arcadius.[47] Finally, Stilicho succeeded in eliminating Gildo in 398, recovering authority over Africa. Officially, the *entente* and concord between the two *partes* of the empire was re-established. In practice, this simply served to mask suspicion and even hostility between Eutropius and Stilicho. Nevertheless, Eutropius and Stilicho were both most concerned to reinforce their internal position at that moment.

Eutropius and John Chrysostom

On 27 September 397 the bishop of Constantinople, Nectarius, died. The bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus, tried to have his candidate installed in the vacant see, but he met with Eutropius' opposition. The latter knew John Chrysostom, whom he had met in an earlier visit to Antioch. Moreover, we know from the Byzantine church historian Socrates that John had the support of the imperial palace in Constantinople, and that he was renowned for his teaching and his learning.[48] Through a letter from the emperor, Eutropius summoned Chrysostom, and had him travel, accompanied by a eunuch and by a letter from the master of offices, to Constantinople, where he was consecrated bishop of the town on 26 February 398.[49] Chrysostom thus largely owed his position to his ally, the high chamberlain.

In fact, around 382 John Chrysostom had written a treatise entitled *Virginity*, in which he had considered eunuchs.[50] He observed that the latter were virgins and chaste as a result of their bodily condition, by natural constraint. They thus could not take any glory for their natural state of chastity. Moreover, John noted that a eunuch could not marry, unlike men and women. He thus took a position in the line of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus for whom eunuchs were chaste and constituted a particular *genos*, a conception which legitimised their service as guardians and servants of the women of the imperial family within the palace. This position placed Chrysostom in harmony with conceptions of eunuchs in the imperial palace since Theodosius I, and could only help to secure Eutropius' support.

The relations between Chrysostom and Eutropius would seem to have been excellent, based on mutual understanding. In 398, Porphyry, bishop of

Gaza sent Mark the Deacon to Constantinople with a letter for John Chrysostom. Mark was to ask the Emperor Arcadius to close the pagan temples of Gaza. John then asked for an audience with Eutropius, read him Porphyry's letter and asked him to act in favour of the bishop of Gaza's request. According to Mark, Chrysostom repeatedly solicited Eutropius in this matter. His intervention seemingly proved effective since, seven days later, an imperial letter ordered the closure of the temples of Gaza and the end of their ceremonial rites.[51] This affair shows that the relations between the bishop of Constantinople and the powerful eunuch remained good. Moreover, at the synod of the Oak in 403, Chrysostom would be accused of having delivered the priest Porphyry to Eutropius to be exiled.[52]

Nevertheless, this working relationship was not to last. According to Socrates, at Eutropius' instigation Arcadius promulgated a law which ended sanctuary in churches.[53] The historian reports that it was this law which lay behind the disagreement between Chrysostom and Eutropius. Another Byzantine church historian, Sozomen, also refers to a law ordered by Eutropius which forbade anyone to take sanctuary in a church, and expelling those who had already taken refuge.[54] This law would appear to be the constitution of 27 July 398.[55]

The Campaign of 398 ce, the Consulate and the Patriciate of Eutropius

Eutropius seemingly had a free hand in late 397 and early 398 to carry out a policy more marked by his personal involvement. Indeed, the year 398 would be marked by his spectacular arrival in an unexpected domain, that of a military campaign. Starting in 395, the Huns had been raiding in Asia Minor as far as Syria and Palestine.[56] The partial settlement of the situation with Alaric in the Balkans and the fact that Stilicho was occupied with Gildo allowed Eutropius to turn his attention to this problem. But whereas it was generally expected that a general would be sent against the Huns, extraordinarily it was Eutropius in person who led this military expedition, perhaps between the beginning of the year and the summer of 398.[57] Eutropius and the Byzantine army set out against the Huns, who were then ravaging Cappadocia.[58]

This initiative was entirely exceptional. No eunuch of the *cubiculum* is known to have taken up a military function. There was, however, a Roman precedent, although a distant one, of a freed imperial eunuch who had received a military distinction. Following his triumph over the Britons, the Emperor Claudius had granted Posides the *hasta pura*, a lance of honour. Moreover, beginning with the Emperors Valentinian I and Valens, eunuchs had accompanied the sovereign onto the field of battle. During a campaign against the Alamans in 368, Valentinian had been surprised by an enemy unit. He managed to escape but the chamber eunuch who accompanied him, and who carried his precious helm, disappeared, and it was never known if he had

been killed or had escaped alive. During the battle of Adrianople in 378, the Emperor Valens lost his life along with the eunuchs who were accompanying him. As these examples show, there was nothing surprising about a eunuch taking part in a military expedition in the Roman Empire in the fourth century, whether in East or in West, but the fact of heading an army was entirely new.[59]

In 398, Eutropius' campaign ended with victory over the Huns, which led in turn to a triumphal entry into Constantinople, and then to the grant of the title of consul. Michael McCormick has reconstructed Eutropius' triumph in detail. First, the eunuch was greeted by an *occursus*, that is to say a welcoming committee. Then he entered the city, delivered a harangue on his victories and asked for the consulate as a reward.[60] He was named consul in 399, with Flavius Mallius Theodorus in the West. Statues were erected in his honour. It was the first and the last time that a eunuch was appointed consul. Eutropius also received the title of patrician. Stilicho, however, and the West with him, refused to recognise his new titles.

One point remains problematic. Zosimus was silent on the campaign, the military victory and the triumph of Eutropius. If the eunuch's military expedition was illegitimate, why did Zosimus neither mention it nor, like Claudian, mock it? We might suggest that this was because Eutropius' expedition had been entirely legitimate. We know that the *domus divina* of Cappadocia, that is to say the great imperial estates present in this region, were under the authority of the eunuch high chamberlain since their revenues were used for the needs of the *cubiculum* which he governed. It is thus perfectly understandable that Eutropius would have directed a military expedition which had as a particular aim the defence of these estates. At the time when Zosimus was writing his history, between 498 and 518, under the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius I (491–518), his readers knew perfectly well that they were under the authority of the high chamberlain. Zosimus thus preferred to pass over in silence an episode which would have emphasised Eutropius' legitimacy, his concern for the common weal and his prestige.[61]

The fact that a eunuch had participated in a military expedition, led armies, had been granted a triumph, obtained a consulate and a patriciate, and had been publicly presented in the palace, in Constantinople, before the court, the senators and the people, all this raised the indignation of the poet Claudian, who was in Stilicho's service in the West. In early 399, Claudian wrote a terrible invective denouncing Eutropius' consulate. He then wrote a second invective which he completed after the fall of the eunuch, that is to say after August 399, as well as a preface, in which he celebrated the fall and the exile of Eutropius.[62] For Claudian, all these functions and distinctions, all these honours, were until then reserved exclusively for men although, as we have seen, and contrary to what Claudian asserts, eunuchs had already been present on the field of battle. For Claudian, by making war, by taking the head of a military expedition and then by obtaining the consulate, Eutropius

acted as if he were a man, which he was not.[63] In doing so, he transgressed the order of the sexes, causing disturbance in the gender order. This situation led Claudian to make explicit the view of the eunuch's nature current in the Roman court in the West, since he wrote as the official court poet of Stilicho. For Claudian, to take on the role of a 'man' one must be able to procreate, something a eunuch could not do. For Claudian, the eunuch was neither a man nor a woman but a third sex.[64]

Claudian enjoyed describing the military victory of the eunuch and his power in Constantinople since they were manifestations of the discredit, the vice, the effeminacy, the futility and the weakness of the Byzantine aristocracy and senate.[65] He could portray the aristocracy, the senate, the generals, the court and the plebs all seeking the favours of a eunuch. He thus wanted to draw the contrast between an effeminate and corrupt eastern Roman Empire, incapable of defending itself militarily, and a western Roman Empire which had preserved virile military virtues, whose incarnation is Stilicho. The invectives against Eutropius were a work of propaganda which aimed to discredit the power of Stilicho's enemy and to promote his patron.[66] Violence was central to Claudian's attack on Eutropius. It was an act of war which aimed to destroy the eunuch politically and to defeat the enemy of the true general who alone possessed the legitimacy to lead and direct armies, that is, of course, Stilicho.[67] The violence performed by Claudian went beyond Eutropius, since it also applied to Byzantium (as he calls the town of Constantinople) and the corrupt empire in the East.

Claudian's whole project rested on two foundations. The consulate had been attributed to an individual who was both a former slave and a eunuch, a situation which represented an inversion of the order of the world and of the sexes, nothing less than an abomination. Claudian worked within a three-part ideological structure. First he drew on a traditionalist senatorial point of view, linked to traditional moral values, in which the senate, composed for the most part of rich, aristocratic families with vast estates, served as the guarantee of traditional values. Second, he invoked the masculinist vision of the Roman West, which tended to assimilate the East and effeminacy. Finally, Claudian made use of a military ideology which was hostile to eunuchs having anything to do with the army or warfare, since they were considered to be a civilian and domestic body. These three ideologies were linked by the question of eunuchs. Claudian could invoke the negative vision of eunuchs within the Western military aristocracy. Stilicho, who was a soldier, had to take into account the power of the senatorial aristocracy in the West.[68]

In fact, Claudian's critiques were based on real contrasts between East and West. The senate of Constantinople was not the senate of Rome. Whilst the latter was made up of representatives of great aristocratic families, the former was in large part drawn from the high imperial administration. Above all, Arcadius had wanted Eutropius to triumph. The senate of Constantinople was thus far less reticent than its Western counterpart to accept the power of

a eunuch high chamberlain who was fundamentally a member of the imperial *apparat*, in the service of the emperor. In the course of the fourth century, the *praepositus* had become one of the most important figures in the palace. He was counted amongst the foremost senior officials. For generations, the eunuchs' role of counsellors to the emperor, their influence, the fact that they favoured careers as civilian functionaries or even as soldiers, had all simply been part of the normal, unchallenged functioning of the Byzantine state. Eutropius, in his role as high chamberlain, was in practice, as a result of his office, one of the first ministers of the empire, alongside the four counts of the consistory, the masters of the militia and the praetorian prefects. The grant of the consulate to Eutropius by the emperor Arcadius and its favourable reception by the senate and the dignitaries of Constantinople serves to demonstrate the disjuncture between the acerbic attacks of Claudian and Byzantine realities. In the light of their general acceptance, once might think that these Constantinopolitan circles did not necessarily perceive Eutropius' consulate as a transgression of his eunuch gender.

Claudian did not miss the political and rhetorical opportunity offered by this disjuncture. Yet if he heaped insults on the Byzantine senate, aristocracy and army, he nonetheless spared the Emperor Arcadius. He only attacked the emperor once, and then only in a very attenuated fashion, through the indirect method of reported rumour. At one point he describes the senate accompanying the new consul, but he introduces doubt as to whether the *Dominus*, the Master, that is to say the Emperor Arcadius, had been present at this ceremony: 'Dressed in white, the senate, perhaps even his master, accompanies the dishonoured *fasces*'.[69] In practice, attacking the brother of the Emperor Honorius would risk creating discord between the two sovereigns, and perhaps even a definitive breach, something which Claudian did not want. Events ultimately proved him right, since the Emperor Arcadius did indeed finally bring about the powerful eunuch's disgrace.

The Fall of Eutropius

In the spring of 399, Eutropius was faced with the revolt of the Goth Tribigild in Phrygia. The latter had been leader of the Ostrogoths (Greuthungi). It is very likely that Tribigild's revolt was the result of the demands of the Goths and his troops, which Eutropius had not satisfied. This would be all the more likely if Tribigild and the Ostrogoths had taken part in the campaign of 398 but had not received a reward for their participation. This was what Claudian implied when he referred to Tribigild's discontent, coming back empty-handed from Constantinople, where he had been humiliated by Eutropius. On his return, Tribigild's troops ravaged Phrygia. Eutropius sent Gainas to Thrace, if necessary to prevent the Goth's army from crossing the Hellespont, accompanied by a trusted confident but military incompetent, Leo. The latter opposed Tribigild, but he was defeated and killed.[70] According to Zosimus,

Gainas was jealous of Eutropius, since he had obtained neither the esteem nor the advantages which he had hoped for as a general, and so he wanted Eutropius to fall. He thus took advantage of the fear which Tribigild inspired at the imperial court to transmit the Goth's demand that Eutropius be handed over to him.[71] Moreover, the eunuch was also now faced with the opposition of the Empress Eudoxia. Eutropius also came into conflict with John Chrysostom, notably as a result of a law of July 398 which introduced limits on the right of sanctuary in churches, on episcopal jurisdiction over laymen and on the recruitment of the clergy. What was more, Eutropius attracted the hostility of landholders as a result of his laws which prohibited the exercise of the *patrocinium*—of 'patronage' or the status of a boss and protector— against the peasants. The law of 10 March 399 threatened a fine of 40 lb of gold for those who practised patronage in this way, and that of 25 May 399 ordained the confiscation of the goods of the patron and of those who put themselves under his protection.[72] On top of this, there were the partisans whom Stilicho had managed to retain at the court of Constantinople, who stood to benefit from the eunuch's fall. Finally, to add to Eutropius' troubles, the empire was threatened by an attack from Persia.[73]

In or around the month of July 399, Arcadius cast Eutropius into disgrace. The latter took sanctuary in the church of Hagia Sophia where he was taken in by John Chrysostom, who then proceeded to deliver a humiliating homily to the fallen eunuch.[74] When Eutropius finally left the church, probably in return for the promise that he would not be executed, he was arrested and exiled to Cyprus. A law was passed which confiscated all his goods and transferred them to the *aerarium*, the public treasury. The high chamberlain was deprived of all his titles, in particular the patriciate and the consulate. The content and tone of this law were particularly violent. The word *prodigium*, that is to say 'prodigy' in the sense of 'monster', was applied to him. Indeed, this is precisely the term employed by Claudian. Eutropius suffered a *damnatio memoriae*. All acts passed in his name were annulled. All his portraits and statues, *simulacra*, made of bronze or marble, painted, or executed in any other medium were to be destroyed in every city, whether in public or private places. This law cannot be ascribed to 17 January 399, as its heading indicates; in fact, it dates from 17 August 399.[75] Nonetheless, subsequently, Eutropius was recalled from Chyprus and judged at Pantichion, near to Chalcedon. Accused of having used decorations reserved for the Emperor during his consulate, he was judged guilty and executed.[76]

Conclusion

The fall of Eutropius had consequences which went far beyond his own person. From then on, access to the consulate was permanently closed for eunuchs and not before the reign of Justinian I did eunuchs take command of armies once again.[77] With the high chamberlain's fall, that part of the debate

about the nature of the eunuch which related to their legitimate role within the state had clearly touched its outer limit, although that limit was not the same in East and West. As Claudian asserted, only men would now accede to the consulate. Neither women nor eunuchs could aspire to it.[78] The fact that Eutropius had become consul might have led one to believe that the eunuch was a man. But the possibility of envisaging eunuchs as masculine only lasted about a year. The violence of the eunuch Eutropius' fall was in proportion to the seriousness of his transgression. Once the consulate had been closed to eunuchs, it was henceforth clear that, in the view of the imperial state, the eunuch was not a man.

Claudian did not just put forward his personal opinion; he also voiced the views not just of Stilicho but also of the aristocratic and senatorial classes. We find this perspective reflected, for example, in the *Historia Augusta*.[79] This work was composed between the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century. It conformed to the world view of the pagan senatorial classes of the Roman West. It clearly qualifies eunuchs as a 'third sex' (*Idem tertium genus hominum eunuchos*), whose function was to serve the women of the nobility: 'eunuchs were a third sex of the human race, one not to be seen or employed by men and scarcely even by women of noble birth'. Here we find the view of eunuchs as a 'third sex' familiar from the works of the great Cappadocian Greek bishops such as Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus. Indeed, this view was part of a shared conception common to the aristocratic elite throughout the Roman world.

As we have seen, in the fourth century, for reasons of sexual reputation it was not acceptable to have the women of the imperial family guarded by men. When Constantine I suspected his wife Fausta of having an adulterous affair, she was assassinated by eunuchs on the order of the emperor.[80] The view of the eunuch which underlay this arrangement drew on a Galenic conception of the body and of the physiology of the eunuch, who did not produce semen and who constituted a third sex. The position of Basil of Ancyra, who considered eunuchs who had been castrated as adults as men, that is to say as capable of producing semen, remains a marginal position, restricted to religious circles, which did not interact with the view of the Roman aristocracy or state.

The rise and fall of Eutropius, the violence of the attacks he suffered and of his condemnation, served to define a clear frontier between the male and eunuch sexes. It was henceforth necessary to give a content to this eunuch sex identity, this 'eunucity'. The bishops of the fourth century, and in particular Gregory of Nazianus, sought to define an ethic for the eunuch, one of faith and of service. Within that framework, many possibilities existed. Even Claudian conceded:

> I admit I have long learned to tolerate this unmanned tribe (*genus*), ever since the court exalted itself with Arsacid pomp and the example of Parthia corrupted our morals. But till now they were but set to guard jewels and raiment, and to

> secure silence for the imperial slumber. Never beyond the sleeping chamber did the eunuch's service pass; not their lives gave guarantee of loyalty but their dull wits were a sure pledge. Let them guard hidden stores of pearls and Tyrian-dyed vestments; they must quit high offices of state.[81]

Claudian accepted the need for the domestic service of eunuchs within the imperial palace, whether in West or East. The *Historia Augusta* agreed with Claudian's point of view. Eunuchs are a third sex, whose role in the imperial palace must be limited to the service of women and who must not carry out state functions, like the control of finance or administration.[82] There was thus a common core to the accepted role for eunuchs across the Empire: domestic service in the imperial palace and in particular the service of the women of the imperial family.

Yet East and West differed on the legitimate extent of a eunuch's service. The Byzantine East accepted that eunuchs should be part of the civil service, exercising functions beyond a domestic role. This is what Zosimus suggests when he says that it was the enemies of the state who provoked the fall of Eutropius. It was precisely Eutropius' role in the state which Claudian denounced. Zosimus, often following Eunapius, whose account is very hostile to eunuchs, did indeed compile an impressive charge sheet against Eutropius. Yet, in the final reckoning, instead of condemning him unequivocally, Zosimus admits that Eutropius had defended the interests of the common weal.[83]

Eutropius' time in power casts light on many developments in the East and the West of the Roman Empire. The imperial policy of including eunuchs within a larger body of civil and military dignitaries was at once the reflection of the existing situation and an incitement to go further, to make this inclusion commonplace. This is the development which Claudian maliciously ignored when he attacked Eutropius. This institutional basis was facilitated in the East by the nature of the senate of Constantinople, which was both recent and populated with new men. In the West, the old senatorial families were much more powerful. Whereas the army in the West was dominated by the figure of Stilicho, the absence in the East of a military power to match it allowed Eutropius not only to take control and to build links with the generals who supported him, but also to put himself at the head of an army and to carry out a victorious campaign. As a result, the office and influence of the high chamberlain were far less subordinated in comparison with the power and riches of the great senatorial families or the authority of the generals in the Roman West. Thus the *cubiculum*, the imperial chamber, became in Byzantium a powerful institution alongside the consistory and the senate. Eutropius' rise to power shows how politics took place through concertation or opposition between different interest groups and between different civil, military and religious dignitaries around the Emperor and the Empress. The fall of Eutropius, on the other hand, marked a limit. The role of eunuchs as servants of the Byzantine state was recognised, but a eunuch could not officially administer the empire, like a praetorian prefect, for example, even if in fact he

could be more powerful on occasion than the praetorian prefect in office. In the final analysis, one point is clear: that the political elites of East and West all agreed that eunuchs were a third sex.

Notes

1. For convenience, we refer here to the eastern Roman Empire as the 'Byzantine Empire'. The proper noun 'Byzantium' and the adjective 'byzantine' were used to refer to Constantinople at this time, although the use of the term 'Byzantium' to refer to the eastern Roman Empire is not without significance in the polemical context of attacks against Eutropius and the eunuchs of the imperial court in Constantinople. H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin* (Paris: PUF, 1975), pp. 9–14; L. Grig and G. Kelly, 'Introduction: From Rome to Constantinople', in L. Grig and G. Kelly, eds., *Two Romes. Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 1–30 at pp. 3–4, 29–30. G. Kelly, 'Claudian and Constantinople', in L. Grig and G. Kelly, eds., *Two Romes*, pp. 241–264.
2. R. Delmaire, *Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain, de Constantin à Justinien, I Les institutions palatines* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1995), pp. 149–172.
3. See P. Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Stuttgart, 1980), pp. 57–68, 121–129. S. Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 36–53, 71–73. R. Turcan, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain* (Paris: Belles lettres, 1989), pp. 49–75; J. Collins, 'Appropriation and Development of Castration as Symbol and Practice in Early Christianity' in L. Tracy, ed., *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), pp. 73–86 at pp. 82–86.
4. Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV.11, 2–3, XVI.8, 10–13, XVIII.4, 2–6, XX.2, 1–5, ed. and trans. J.C. Rolfe (London: Heinemann, 1935–1939), vol. 1, pp. 88–91, 236–239, 422–425 and vol. 2, pp. 4–7. See K. Hopkins, 'Eunuchs in Politics in the Later Roman Empire', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 189 (1963), pp. 62–80 and G. Sidéris, 'La comédie des castrats: Ammien Marcellin et les eunuques, entre eunucophobie et admiration', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 78 (2000), pp. 681–717.
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Virile Women and Effeminate Men: Gendered Judgements and the Exercise of Power in the Ottonian Empire c. 1000 CE

Laurence Leleu

> This woman, although she was of the weaker sex, was modest and trustworthy and, a rare thing in Greece, of exceptional frequentation. She preserved the royal power of her son through a manly protection (*custodia … virili*), charming the just in all things but terrifying and dominating rebels.[1]

It is in these terms that the Saxon bishop Thietmar of Merseburg eulogized the Empress Theophano a few years after her death in 991. The author, who was born into the high aristocracy of eastern Saxony in 975, wrote his *Chronicon* between 1012 and 1018. It is the most important chronicle source for the kingdom of Germany of the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.[2] The extremely positive nature of this presentation stands out, not least because Theophano, a Byzantine princess who had married the emperor Otto II in 972,[3] was the object of very different judgements by other contemporary writers.[4] It is true that to praise a woman in this way, remarkable as it at first appears, was not unusual in the narrative production of this period. Queen Mathilda, for example, wife of the founder of the Ottonian dynasty Henry I (king from 919 to 936) and considered to be a saint, was the object of two *vitae*, the first composed in the 970s and the second around 1000 CE.[5] The

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poetess Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim also celebrated the women of the ducal family of Saxony, now raised to royalty.[6] Throughout his works, Thietmar of Merseburg generally acknowledged the significance of particular women—queens, empresses, aristocrats and nuns—and gave them space in his writings. This prominence reflected the important political and religious role of these women in Ottonian society.[7] Thietmar even repeatedly stressed his closeness to many of these women, their mutual affection, and sometimes even his admiration for them.[8] Theophano, whom Thietmar's father had served faithfully,[9] was thus part of the bishop's female pantheon, despite his prejudices against the Greeks.[10]

Nevertheless, the passage cited above stands out from the majority of those which were dedicated to exceptional women, since the latter were praised for their feminine qualities, and thus for the correspondence between their behaviour and that which was expected of a woman. This extract, by contrast, compliments a woman's action whilst qualifying it as *virilis*—as manly. Thietmar portrays Theophano as a strong, manly, energetic, even authoritarian woman in the exercise of her power. This 'masculinized' portrayal of a woman might at first appear surprising. In reality it went back to antiquity, and was not restricted to this queen amongst early and central medieval rulers.[11] We find it for example in the work of Gregory of Tours on Brunehaut,[12] and on many occasions in German historical writing around 1000 CE.[13] Wipo, for example, in his *Gesta* dedicated to Conrad II (king from 1024 to 1036) also praises the 'manly probity' (*virilis probitas*) of the Empress Gisela,[14] just as the later author of the *Fundatio monasterii Brunwilarensis* celebrates the manly comportment of Theophano, one of the granddaughters of the empress of the same name.[15] On the other hand, and as we shall see, Thietmar presents Rudolph III of Burgundy as a king who was ineffectual and *effeminatus*, in a manner which should probably be regarded as essentially polemical. Should we conclude that in order to exercise political power a woman had to be a man–woman, possessed of an authority and of virtues which were typically masculine, whereas on the other hand 'feminine' characteristics could disqualify certain men from power?[16] Was there a scale of masculinity applicable to those who hold power, a scale which would relate to their political standing?[17] It seems in any event that there was no direct and automatic link between male sex and manly comportment. One had to show oneself to be a man to be recognized as such.[18]

My primary purpose in this article is to analyse a number of passages from the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Merseburg that put forward this kind of gendered judgement, aiming to put them back in their context and to take account of the author's *causae scribendi*, to deconstruct his discourse and reveal his intentions. Moving beyond this case, I will consider how studying the application of notions of virility and femininity to the political domain can help us to understand how authors, men and clerics represented the relationship between gender and political power. Such a focus reveals not only the underlying gender ideology of power but also how these categories could be manipulated for a very specific purpose: the defence of political interests. Finally, by studying the titles which are ascribed to Theophano in documents

composed in her name we can shed light on one further aspect of the political image projected by the empress. This self-representation includes a surprising case: a diploma in which Theophano takes the title *imperator*.

Femininity and Manliness Portrayed by the Writers of the Ottonian Period

Before considering in detail those passages in which 'manly women' are explicitly invoked, it is useful to consider briefly how femininity and manhood were conceptualized in the Ottonian period by the authors of narrative sources, who are almost all men and clerics. Unsurprisingly, the historical writers of this era present a traditional vision of gendered characteristics, largely derived from the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (560 / 570–636).[19] In Isidore's account, a man/husband (*vir*) was so called 'because force (*vis*) is greater in him than in women (*feminis*); and from this also virtue/strength/manhood (*virtus*) takes its name; or because he rules over woman (*feminam*) by force'. The *mulier* (woman or wife), on the other hand, took her name from 'softness' (*mollitie*) or 'softer' (*mollier*). Men and women were thus divided by the strength or weakness of their bodies. *Viri* (men or husbands) had greater strength (*virtus*) and women/wives (*mulieris*) less, with the providential consequence that wives could not rebuff husbands who might otherwise have recourse to other women or to their own sex. In Isidore, the relationship between men and women, which is swiftly reduced to the relationship between a husband and a wife, is based on the superior strength of men over women, which justifies the authority of the former and his sexual dominance. How were these and similar themes and stereotypes mobilized in the sources of the Ottonian period?

Feminine stereotypes were often employed in Ottonian texts. On the event of a marriage in particular these writers stressed the desirable qualities of a young girl. Besides, of course, her dowry and her high birth, she should be beautiful, intelligent, modest and of honest life.[20] Women who were praised were also generally characterized by their *prudentia*,[21] their piety,[22] their restraint, and their good *mores*.[23] It was accepted that a delicate beauty generally reflected properly feminine virtues, notably shyness and modesty.[24] These qualities enabled a woman to play efficiently her role as a counsellor, someone who knows how to calm the anger of her husband and to moderate his decisions.[25] At the same time, however, feminine nature was generally presented as weak.[26] Certain feminine characteristics were portrayed as serious handicaps for the exercise of power. The most frequently evoked of these—namely fragility, inconstancy,[27] and pride—made them the ideal instruments of the Devil in certain extreme cases.[28]

Positive descriptions of masculine individuals and their actions in these sources stressed very different qualities: their strength, their courage, their wisdom, their constancy, their authority, even their severity.[29] All these qualities can be invoked indirectly when an author attributes to an individual a

virilis comportment or judges that he acted *viriliter*.[30] These Latin terms pose the difficult question of how to translate them, since it is impossible to provide single-word translations into modern languages which are not simplistic and/or erroneous.[31] *Virilis* does not only mean 'virile' or 'masculine'—or even 'manly' as it has been translated so far in this article—but more particularly 'strong' and 'courageous'.[32] One is *virilis* if one possesses *vis*, which signifies force, vigour, but also and above all *virtus*, a moral quality which takes in courage, moral and physical vigour, measure and self-control.[33] This adjective is not totally opposed to 'feminine' since a woman can also prove to be courageous. That said, it is *viri*—men—who are primarily supposed to possess these qualities and to possess them most fully. One can take as an example the usage of *viriliter* by Thietmar. All sixteen of the occurrences in his *Chronicon* occur in the context of episodes of war and fighting and refer back to notions of strength and courage, attributes considered to be fundamentally masculine.

For Ottonian writers, each gender thus possessed its own moral characteristics, based on the balance of humours in the body.[34] However, men and women were not on an equal footing, in particular in the context of the exercise of power. By nature, as we have seen, women were considered to be weak, unstable and ill-adapted to political activity, unlike men, who were supposed to be strong, steadfast and courageous. The gentleness and piety ascribed to women might fit them for the role of a counsellor, helpmeet,[35] household manager,[36] or guardian of her husband's soul and of the family *memoria*,[37] but evidently politics, like war, demanded a level of courage, strength and determination which did not really lie in their domain but was instead normally reserved for men. Our sources are entirely in the mainstream of medieval cultural assumptions in this regard.[38]

And yet these assumptions clash profoundly with what we know about Ottonian society or indeed about early medieval society in general.[39] Ottonian society in particular was characterized by the important role of women in political and religious life,[40] as a result of a bundle of propitious factors: the importance of the great female monasteries in Saxony[41]; the ideology of marital *consortium* developed in the Carolingian period which established the wife as the *consors*, that is to say the partner, of her husband; the homogamy or even hypergamy amongst men which raised the prestige of the spouse[42]; and a much longer female than male life-expectancy which promoted situations favourable to regencies in the royal family and in the aristocracy. From the middle of the tenth century and the marriage of Otto I to Adelheid, the wife of the German sovereign regularly appeared in charters under the title of *consors regni*.[43] Many cases attest to the grant of a genuine delegation of power by Ottonian monarchs to their wives or a close female relative during their absence,[44] or during military campaigns.[45] Yet all this being so, medieval society nonetheless remained a patriarchal society in which women were placed in an inferior position. Clerical writers invoked the Church Fathers to justify this state of affairs. Reason and the spirit were regarded as masculine, the body

and sensibility were feminine.[46] Women were to be ascribed a domestic role, men were to deal with exterior relations, and thus with politics. The clerical authors of the early and central Middle Ages, even as they transmitted gendered *topoi*, were regularly faced with the paradox of women who concretely exercised political power, whereas such power was supposed to be reserved for men. How did they perceive these women and how did they represent them in their writings?

'Manly' Women in the Ottonian Period

When we focus on the use of the word *virilis* in Thietmar's writings, we see immediately that out of five occurrences, three concern a woman. This occurrence is surprising to say the least, even given that, as we have already seen, this adjective is not necessarily opposed to 'feminine'. I will present each of these in turn, although I will only consider in detail the case of Theophano, by far the most interesting from the point of view of the questions which concern us.

The first instance of a woman acting in a 'manly' manner is the case of the princess Liutgard, daughter of Otto I and his first wife, Edith. According to an anecdote repeated by Thietmar, she was publicly accused of adultery by a certain Cono, whose advances she had spurned.[47] Defending herself against these accusations, she was proved to be innocent by her oaths and by a judicial duel which was won by her champion, the count Burchard. I cite the end of the chapter concerned:

> the merciful Lord preserved her, she whose innocent life pleased him, from a false accusation. During the lifetime of her husband, she was often held in contempt and struck down with problems, but she suffered them with a *virilis* patience and always tried to preserve her honour.[48]

Thietmar here paints the picture of an exemplary woman, daughter of the king, married to a rebel (Conrad the Red, duke of Lotharingia), caught no doubt between her obligations as a daughter and as a wife, but who visibly trusted in God and put her honour, which was also the family honour, at the forefront of her preoccupations by always adopting a position of irreproachability. In contrast to many women, she showed patience and was steadfast in adversity, and by undergoing these difficulties and injustices, she thus showed great force of character. In this way, she transcended her feminine nature through qualities which were relatively masculine. Nonetheless, in this case, it is not primarily the exercise of power which is in question.

Let us return to what Thietmar says about Theophano. She appears on many occasions in the *Chronicon*, but the passage cited at the beginning of this article is the only one which ascribes *virilis* behaviour to her. We thus need to determine what motivated the use of this adjective at this precise moment in Thietmar's work. We can briefly summarize the content of the

extract as follows: Theophano pertains to the weaker sex, which is characterized by charm; nevertheless she shows moderation and fidelity. The empress was thus different from other women, who were generally weak and prone to excess. She was capable of protecting her son and intimidating her enemies. We here find all the clichés concerning masculine qualities (strength, a capacity for protection and for decisiveness) and the female weaknesses which in principle ought to make women incapable of wielding power effectively. Theophano, by contrast, was able to take on the role of a woman of power since she knew how to make use not only of her feminine advantages but also of masculine qualities. We might note, for example, that maternal instinct was not invoked by Thietmar to justify the Empress's action towards her young son. She was capable of adopting, as necessary, a typically feminine comportment (she charmed the good), or a masculine one (she terrified rebels through her superiority). In this passage, Thietmar is clearly deploying the *topos* of 'male' virtues attributed to women who, out of necessity, exercise political power.

What explains and justifies the attribution of such virtues to Theophano is the important role she played between the premature death of her husband Otto II in 983 and her own death in 991: that of regent.[49] In 983–984 the situation of the royal family and the Empire in general was particularly difficult. Otto III was then only three years old and the Slavic peoples to the east of the Elbe were in revolt against the German yoke. In this context, Henry the Wrangler, duke of Bavaria, who had revolted many times in the preceding decade against his first cousin Otto II, decided to try his luck. He claimed the tutelage of the young Otto and attempted to usurp the throne. The sources, even those hostile to Henry, recognized that he had the status of *patronus legalis* of Otto III *ob ius propinquitatis* (that is, he was the adult male the most closely related to the late Otto II).[50] Although his pretensions to the throne were rejected on the grounds that there was a legitimate heir, he was nonetheless considered as the tutor and the natural protector not only of the child but also of the widow.[51] Normally, a widow was expected, for any official act, to have a male tutor.[52] However in the specific circumstances of 983–984, the latter attempted to take advantage of the situation, at the expense of those whom he was supposed to protect. Theophano was thus obliged to go beyond her status as a woman and act as the manly protector of her son and of his rights.[53] Ultimately the Wrangler's plans were foiled by the combined efforts of Theophano, the great men of Saxony and Archbishop Willigis of Mainz. Thereafter, it was the empress who exercised the power of regent in practice, with the help of such prominent individuals as the archbishop (who was also archchancellor) and the bishop and chancellor Hildibald of Worms. It was she who succeeded in restoring the situation both within and outside the Empire. Theophano's action could thus be seen as doubly positive: from the point of view of royal legitimacy, but also from that of family solidarity and the empress' devotion to it, which Thietmar valued highly.[54] What might at first appear to be an appalling and unnatural confusion of genders

was thus not condemned by the chronicler, who instead praised the behaviour of the regent, noting at the end of the same paragraph that she had dedicated two of her daughters, 'fruits of her belly', to the religious life, as a tithe offered to God.[55] Thietmar could not be clearer: Theophano was certainly a woman! The gender transgression was thus only partial: Theophano remained a woman, a woman who possessed 'male virtues', a *virago*—according to Isidore's etymology a woman who acts like a man (*vir-ago*), transcending her natural weakness and showing herself to be the equal of men.[56] For this reason, she governs wisely and well.

One last question remains to be resolved. If power was exercised relatively frequently by the women of the Ottonian period, why does Thietmar portray Theophano as a *virilis* woman? The Empress Adelheid, widow of Otto I and Theophano's mother-in-law also played an important role in 983–984, without receiving this epithet. The following explanations must thus be taken into account, the first two derived from political and factual considerations, the third related more to the personal interests of Thietmar of Merseburg and thus to the *causa scribendi* of the passage dedicated to Theophano:

1. Once Otto III was securely established, Adelheid quickly returned to Italy. Theophano thus remained sole regent until her death in 991.
2. Under the regency of Theophano, and with her support, large-scale military operations were successfully carried out east of the Elbe in order to protect Saxon interests which had been compromised by the great revolt of 983,[57] and then to support Mieszko of Poland against Boleslas of Bohemia.[58] Theophano thus played a decisive if indirect role in military matters, which as we have seen was the masculine domain *par excellence*.
3. Above all, we should probably ascribe this eulogy to reasons closer to the author himself. As I have already noted, Siegfried, Thietmar's father, was faithful to the Empress Theophano. In fact, the connection between chronicler and empress went further. In the chapter which contains this passage, Thietmar describes the Theophano's desire to contribute to the salvation of her dead husband (an important duty on the part of the widow) and links this to an anecdote concerning a nocturnal apparition.[59] In her sleep, the empress was visited by St Lawrence, with one arm amputated, who asked her to remedy the injustice which he had suffered through her husband's fault. The allusion is clear: St Lawrence was the patron of the church of Merseburg, founded by Otto I in 968, but destroyed by Otto II when Bishop Gisilher became archbishop of Magdeburg in 981.[60] It appears that Thietmar attributed a non-negligible role to the empress in the restoration of the bishopric of Merseburg, his future see, even if this was not put into action until the reign of Henry II, in 1004.[61] Thietmar's attitude to his bishopric has even been referred to as 'Diözesen-Egoismus'.[62] It is clear that in his eyes Theophano was a kind of benefactress for Merseburg,

> whose merits should be exceptionally stressed. This was precisely what the use of the adjective *virilis* permitted. In Thietmar's eyes Theophano was self-evidently a truly strong, courageous and pious woman, concerned for the salvation of her husband, taking good decisions, especially concerning Merseburg! In the case of this particular affair she even showed herself, one might say, even *virilior* than her husband, implicitly guilty of weakness in the face of the pretensions of Gisilher. She was portrayed by the bishop of Merseburg as ultimately capable of playing the political role of a man—all whilst still being a woman.

The case of Theophano is particularly revealing since the sources allow us to go further, to consider the way in which the chancery itself represented her power through the titles used in her charters. During Otto II's life, Theophano's political influence is already evident in her numerous intercessions to promote the adoption of charters,[63] and in titles such as *consors regni*, as well as those, practically unknown before her, of *imperatrix augusta* or of *coimperatrix* which powerfully associated Theophano with her husband's power.[64] Then after the death of the emperor, as we have seen, she exercised genuine power through the office of regent. During the minority of Otto III, she was still primarily *imperatrix augusta*,[65] interceding very frequently with her young son, who was fictively presented as governing. We possess just two charters issued by Theophano in her own name in Italy in 990. In the first of these she remains '*Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta*' and the document dates from the reign of her son.[66] The second is much more surprising. In the protocol, she is styled '*Theophanius, gratia divina imperator augustus*', thus presenting herself as sole emperor, as is confirmed by the dating of the act: '*anno vero imperii domni Theophanii imperatoris XVIII*'.[67] By adopting in this document a masculine title with no mention of Otto III Theophano gives the impression that she had exercised power for eighteen years, since her marriage and her coronation. We know that Otto III did not accompany his mother on this Italian voyage, and so she alone embodied imperial authority on this occasion.[68] It was perhaps for this reason that she adopted a masculine style. That such a surprising choice of title was thought appropriate brings out many of the characteristics of political mentalities in the Ottonian era. The exercise of full power could only be a man's business, even if women could take an active part within it. Yet at the same time nobody could have mistaken Theophano's true gender. The empress thus manipulated the categories of masculine and feminine in order to stress the continuity of power and to exercise it as she saw fit. Nor was the attribution by the Ottonian chancery of a masculine title to a woman restricted to this case alone. Many eminent women of the aristocracy appear in the charters of this period not, as one might have expected, with the title *coniux ducis* or *ductrix*,[69] (even though these terms did exist and were used) but instead as *dux*.[70] It seems to me that the question of the ascription of masculine titles to women is important and deserves more thorough analysis than it has so far been granted.[71]

In referring to Liutgard and Theophano, Thietmar used the adjective *virilis* positively to describe the behaviour of a woman, or a virtue which she showed. It is notable that this word choice occurs in a context in which each woman was suffering difficulties. In the first she faces grave public accusations, in the second she is confronted with a revolt which could have deprived her son of the throne. These very difficult circumstances do much to explain this choice of adjective. Faced with an exceptional situation, these women were able to behave exceptionally in a way which transcended their feminine condition. They proved that they had a 'man's heart'. These 'manly' women showed qualities which raised them above their peers, making them worthy to wield power. Other women in the Ottonian period played an important political role, but their admirable behaviour stood out less for Thietmar of Merseburg, since it conformed more to what was expected of a woman in that society.

Sometimes, then, our writer could portray a woman who behaved *viriliter* or who possessed manly qualities as a remarkable and positive figure. On the other hand, the bishop of Merseburg painted a very negative picture of the Hungarian Sarolt, wife of Gejza and mother of the future Stephen I of Hungary.[72] Far from the smooth image of the model woman in the imagination of German churchmen, gentle, patient and reserved, she was portrayed with the transgressive traits of a princess who was still a 'barbarian', which was marked by her immoderate love of drink, her way of mounting a horse *more militis* and a furious character which led her to murder.[73] Thietmar nowhere attempted to praise her manly qualities, but instead denounced an excessively masculine woman, who denied her gender by behaving indecently and against nature.[74] We thus need to distinguish between Thietmar's portrayal of 'manly' women who are positive or even admirable figures, worthy of power, and those masculine women who, taking themselves for men, set the divine order on its head and are depravity incarnate. These extreme cases demonstrate powerfully how Thietmar's work combines moral and political objectives.

These objectives are useful to keep in mind as we consider a final and more shameful transgression in the eyes of the bishop, since it concerns a man, a Western king (and thus not a barbarian) who is portrayed as effeminate. In the case of this individual, weakness took the place of strength, softness replaced vigour, changeability prevailed over steadfastness. This is how Rudolph III of Burgundy (992–1032) was portrayed by Thietmar in his account of the succession to the archbishopric of Besançon in 1016.

A 'Soft and Effeminate' Man: Rudolph III of Burgundy

> But the soft and effeminate king of the Burgundians, at the instigation of those who like the harness of justice to be loosened and who enjoy running free like a poor calf in the meadow, wanted to refuse to give the goods which he had promised to his nephew. When he tried to persist once more in his earlier

> decision, he was prevented by their plotting and by their very deplorable opposition. From what I have heard, no king reigns like him. He has of the king only the name and the crown, and he gives bishoprics to those who are chosen by the great. He possesses but little for his own use, he lives at the expense of the prelates and is incapable of defending those who, removed from him, are put in danger in whatever manner….[75]

This vitriolic portrait bristles with disdain and contempt. Rudolph III was described as 'soft' and 'effeminate'. In the bishop's eyes, he was thus not a real man since he lacked the typically manly qualities of strength, authority and steadfastness possessed by Ottonian monarchs. His possession of power was severely compromised by this and might even appear unacceptable. This attack rested on two implicit arguments. First, Rudolph was subordinated to the great men of the realm, who decided in his place and even chose the bishops. He himself lived at the Church's expense. He was a weak, passive king, who had only the appearance of royalty, in short a shadow king of the same kind as the last Merovingians described by Einhard.[76] Second, Rudolph did not keep his word but instead showed his inconstancy in negotiations with the king of Germany, Henry II, who was his own nephew. Thietmar had explained this situation a little earlier. Lacking a legitimate son, Rudolph III, who was Henry II's maternal uncle, had made Henry his heir for the throne of Burgundy and even seems to have entered into some kind of vassalic relationship with him.[77] His inconstancy thus compromised not only the oath he had made,[78] but also the rules of family loyalty which Rudolph had earlier given every sign of respecting, and this despite his nephew's generosity towards him.[79] The weakness of the Burgundian kingdom under Rudolph III is well known. Thietmar thus does not radically misrepresent reality on this point.[80] The kingdom of Burgundy had been a 'satellite' kingdom of the Empire since 926.[81] The Ottonian monarchs exercised significant influence there, which were reinforced by kinship bonds created by matrimonial alliances.[82]

What is interesting for present purposes, however, is that this political impotence should be expressed in gendered terms: it made Rudolph into a king whose manhood was incomplete, contaminated by a kind of weakness that was normally associated with women.[83] Reading between the lines, we can see what lays behind Thietmar's mockery of Rudolph. The bishop was condemning the political weight of the magnates of the Burgundian kingdom who might counter Ottonian influence and even refuse to accept Henry II's succession. Rudolph was portrayed as effeminate, soft, in short incapable, in order to accentuate implicitly the manly qualities (trustworthiness, wisdom) of Henry II and thus his legitimate right to dominate Burgundy as the replacement of a useless and ineffective king. Hence, Thietmar's judgement delivered a political and ideological message which aimed to justify the eventuality of Rudolph's overthrow by his nephew[84]; it should thus not be taken at face value. Indeed, at the end of his work, written in the last months of his life, Thietmar told the story of what he called 'the most recent success

of our emperor'. In 1018, Rudolph III, in an elaborate ceremony, symbolically bestowed his crown and his sceptre on Henry II and renewed his oath in the presence (and thus implicitly with the acceptance) of the magnates of Burgundy. This time, as one might expect, no negative assessment is delivered.[85] In reality, Rudolph no longer possessed any of the attributes of a king, but this was all to the profit of the Ottonian monarch, and so acceptable to Thietmar!

Medieval historical literature was not designed simply to present events as they occurred, it was also supposed to enable the reader to learn the lessons which these revealed. It was thus important to propose positive and negative models of behaviour. The examples we have examined above show how Thietmar of Merseburg, like other medieval writers, knowingly manipulated the categories of masculine and feminine in order to transmit a moral judgement on the manner in which power was exercised by such and such a person, as well as to defend his political ideas.[86] For Thietmar and the other writers of the Ottonian period, power was fundamentally masculine. The majority of the women who received their praise did so because they conformed perfectly and excellently to society's expectations of them: they are pious, gentle and beautiful. However, some of them clearly went beyond these expectations and played a political role which could not be downplayed or hidden. How to justify this state of affairs? Through masculine qualities which did not cancel out their feminine nature but rather improved it, by adding courage to charm and gentleness.[87] Manly women were not men but through their merits they began to resemble them. Their authority and their power are thenceforth incontestable.[88] The effeminate man, by contrast, could not effectively exercise power because he was weak, indecisive or easily led. Thietmar, by means of a number of individuals who provided him with edifying *exempla*, thus established a kind of graduated scale of masculinity (and femininity) amongst those who held power. Manly men from the ruling groups possessed power and naturally exercised it. Certain women, on account of the manly qualities that complemented their feminine virtues, were fit to exercise it in the absence of a capable man who might do so, that is, in exceptional circumstances. Effeminate men who were incapable of doing justice to a truly perverted masculine nature and tended towards softness and fragility lost in practice all right to exercise political authority. This construction also allowed Thietmar of Merseburg to give his readers his own point of view on the events and the individuals he describes, as well as to reflect on their political choices.

Notes

1. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzman, MGH SS rer. Germ. NS 9 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935), IV, 10, p. 141: 'Haec, quamvis sexu fragilis, modestae tamen fiduciae et, quod in Grecia rarum est, egregiae conversationis fuit regnumque filii eius custodia servabat virili, demulcens in omnibus pios terrensque ac superans erectos.'

2. The German-language bibliography on the work of the bishop of Merseburg is immense. See in particular H. Lippelt, *Thietmar von Merseburg. Reichsbischof und Chronist* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1973) and, more recently, K. Schulmeyer-Ahl, *Der Anfang vom Ende der Ottonen. Konstitutionsbedingungen historiographischer Nachrichten in der Chronik Thietmars von Merseburg* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2009). See also L. Leleu, '*Semper patrui in fratrum filios seviunt*. Les oncles se déchaînent toujours contre les fils de leurs frères. Autour de Thietmar de Mersebourg et de sa Chronique. Représentations de la famille aristocratique en Germanie vers l'an mille', unpublished doctoral thesis, univ. of Paris I, 2010, esp. ch. 5.
3. According to Thietmar (*Chronicon*, II, 15, p. 56), she was the niece of John Tzimiskes and not the *virgo desiderata*, a Porphyrogenita i.e.a princess born whilst her father was emperor. See O. Engels, 'Theophano, the Western Empress from the East' in *The Empress Theophano. Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 28–48, an English trans., without notes, of *Idem*, 'Theophanu—die westlichen Kaiserin aus dem Osten' in *Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten: Kongressakten des 4. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlaß des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. O. Engels and P. Schreiner (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), pp. 13–36: on the marriage negotiations and the princess's origins see Ibid., pp. 30–32.
4. See St. Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelaidae. Die Lebesbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny*, ed. H. Paulhart, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtesforschung, Ergänzungsband 20/2 (Graz-Cologne: Böhlaus, 1962), esp. p. 35, in which Theophano, not mentioned by name, is described as *illa imperatrix Greca*. Odilo was close to the Empress Adelaide, Theophano's mother-in-law, with whom she had a tense relationship. See also Otloh of St. Emmeram, *Visio decima septima* in his *Liber Visionum*, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH SS XI (Hanover, 1854), pp. 378–387, esp. p. 385, where he tells the story of a nun to whom Theophano, after her death, regrets her sins, deplores the torments that she has endured and begs the nun to deliver her from them by her prayers. She thus acknowledges that she deserves eternal damnation for having introduced corrupting luxury into Germany. On this text and others hostile to Theophano, see K. Ciggaar, 'Theophano: An Empress Reconsidered' in *The Empress Theophano*, ed. Davids, pp. 49–63, esp. pp. 52–56, which goes on to consider positive portrayals of Theophano.
5. *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, ed. B. Schütte, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum scholarum separatim editi 66 (Hanover: Hahn, 1994), pp. 109–142. On these texts see P. Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royal et sainteté féminine autour de l'An Mille* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), pp. 120–232. See also the commentary to *Queenship and Sanctity. The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, trans. with intro. and notes by S. Gilsdorf (Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 2004).
6. Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, *Carmina de primordiis coenobii Gandersheimensis* and *Gesta Ottonis I*, ed. P. Winterfeld, MGH SS rer. Germ. in usum scholarum separatim editi 34 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1965 [1st. edn. 1902]), pp. 229–246 and 201–228. Presentation and Fr. trans. in M. Goullet, *Hrotsvitha de Gandersheim. Oeuvres poétiques* (Grenoble: Million, 2000), pp. 229–246 and

161–204. On the figure of Adelheid, see Goullet, 'De Hrotsvitha de Gandersheim à Odilo de Cluny: Images d'Adélaïde autour de l'an Mil' in *Adélaïde de Bourgogne. Genèse et représentations d'une sainteté impériale. Actes du colloque international du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales, Auxerre, 10 et 11 décembre 1999*, ed. P. Corbet, M. Goullet and D. Iogna-Prat (Dijon: Univ. of Dijon, 2002), pp. 43–54.

7. See P. Bange, 'Women of the Nobility in the German Chronicles' in *The Empress Theophano*, pp. 150–168. See also the classic study by K. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979).
8. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, e.g. I, 12, pp. 16–18 (Brigida); I, 13, p. 20; VI, 84–85, pp. 374–376 (Liutgard). The latter was a relative and confidant whom he attended on her death bed.
9. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV, 16, p. 150.
10. Such anti-Greek prejudices were widespread in Western Europe at the time. They were accused of *fallatia* (falseness), *invidia* (malevolence) and *arrogantia* (arrogance). See Ciggaar, 'Theophano', p. 51, n. 6 and in general M. Rentschler, 'Griechische Kultur und Byzanz im Urteil westlicher Autoren des 11. Jahrhunderts', *Saeculum*, 31 (1980), 112–156.
11. For Roman antiquity, see J.-P. Thuillier, 'Virilités romaines. *Vir, virilitas, virtus*' in *Histoire de la virilité, vol. I: De l'Antiquité aux Lumières*, ed. G. Vigarello (Paris: Seuil, 2011), pp. 67–114, esp. p. 74; for the barbarian era, see B. Dumézil, 'L'univers barbare. Métissage et transformation de la virilité' in Ibid., pp. 115–140, esp. pp. 130–131. The manliness of virgin saints is a commonplace of ancient hagiography. About the hagiography of northern Gaul between the sixth and the eleventh centuries, see A.M. Helvétius, '*Virgo* et *virago:* réflexions sur le pouvoir du voile consacré d'après les sources hagiographiques de la Gaule du Nord' in *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes à Byzance et en Occident (VIe–XIe siècles)*, ed. S. Lebecq, A. Dierkens, R. Le Jan and J.M. Sansterre (Villeneuve d'Ascq: CRHENO, 1999), pp. 189–203.
12. Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levinson, MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1951), VI, 4, 268: 'Brunichildis regina, […] praecingens se viriliter…'
13. For Dumézil, 'L'univers barbare', p. 140, the evolution of the concept of manliness in the early Middle Ages meant that 'in the tenth century at last, a woman could no longer be a great man' ('au Xe siècle enfin, la femme a cessé de pouvoir être un grand homme'). The present chapter hopes to show that this conclusion must be reconsidered, at least with regards to German area.
14. Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris*, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH SS rer. Germ. 61 (Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1915), 1–62, citation p. 25: 'tamen virilis probitas in femina vicit'. See K.-U. Jäschke, '*Tamen virilis probitas in femina vicit*. Ein hochmittelalterlicher Hofkapellan und die Herrscherinnen—Wipos Äußerungen über Kaiserinnen und Königinnen seiner Zeit' in *Ex ipsis rerum documentis. Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Herbers et alii (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 429–448.
15. *Fundatio monasterii Brunwilarensis*, ed. H. Pabst in idem, 'Die Brauweiler Geschichtsquellen', *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 12 (1874), 80–200, pp. 147–192, citation ch. 9, p. 162: 'virum se moribus agens'.

16. On value judgements linked to gender, see J.M.H. Smith, 'Gender and Ideology in the Early Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History*, 34 (1998), 51–73 and R. Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012).
17. On the question of masculinity in politics in the Middle Ages, see C. Fletcher, '"Être homme": *Manhood* et l'histoire politique du Moyen Âge. Quelques réflexions sur le changement et la longue durée' in *Une histoire sans les hommes est-elle possible?* ed. A.-M. Sohn (Paris: ENS Editions, 2013), pp. 47–66, which considers in particular the effeminate image given to the English king Richard II in the sources of the later fourteenth century.
18. C. Fletcher, '"Sire, uns home sui": Transgression et inversion par rapport à quelle(s) norme(s) dans l'histoire des masculinités médiévales?', *Micrologus' Library*, 78 (2017), pp. 23–49.
19. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1911), XI, 2, 17–19: 'Vir nuncupatus, quia maior in eo vis est quam in feminis: unde et virtus nomen accipit; sive quod vi agat feminam. Mulier vero a mollitie, tamquam mollier, detracta littera vel mutata, appellata est mulier. Vtrique enim fortitudine et inbecillitate corporum separanture. Sed ideo virtus maxima viri, mulieris minor, ut patens viri esset; scilicet, ne feminis repugnantibus libido cogeret viros aliud appetere aut in alium sexum proruere'.
20. See e.g.: *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, ed. M. Giese, MGH SRG 72 (Hanover: Hahn, 2004), a. 951, pp. 465–466 on Adelheid: 'Adelheidam reginam, vultu decoram, consilio providam, et universa morum honestate valde praeclaram, et regali avorum atavorumque prosopia ortam … adquisivit.' *Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior* in *Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, ed. Schütte, ch. 3, p. 115: 'modesti ac venusti vultus'; Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris*, ch. 4, p. 25 on Gisela: 'cum tantae nobilitatis est et formae decentissimae, minimae extollentiae fuit'. These criteria are the same as those current in the Carolingian period. See R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe–Xe siècle). Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris: Pubs. de la Sorbonne, 1995), pp. 288–292.
21. Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. H.E. Lohmann and P. Hirsch, MGH, SS rer. Germ. 60 (Hanover: Hahn, 6th edn. 1977), I, 31, p. 43: Mathilda possesses a 'singularis prudentia'; II, 36, p. 95 on Judith of Bavaria: 'femina egregiae formae mirabilisque prudentiae'; Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris*, ch. 4, p. 25: 'Gisela prudens'.
22. Widukind of Corvey, *Res gestae Saxonicae*, II, 74, pp. 150–151 on Queen Mathilda: 'mirae sanctitatis femina: De cujus laude si aliquid dicere cupimus, deficimus, quia omne argumentum ingenioli nostri superat virtus tantae feminae'. The rest of the chapter details her virtues: piety, generosity and devotion to the poor and to the ill, protection and generosity towards various abbeys and so on. Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris*, ch. 4, p. 25, still on the subject of Gisela: 'in Dei servitio timorata, in orationibus et elemosinis assidua…'.
23. *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior*, ch. 1, p. 148: 'in cenobio Herivordinense egregiam hospitare puellam nomine Mathildam genere nobilem, specie exoptabilem et moribus illustrem'; Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, IV, 17, p. 150 on his own paternal grandmother.

24. *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior*, ch. 3, p. 151 for the shyness and modesty of Mathilda; Hrotsvitha of Handersheim, *Gesta Ottonis*, ll. 143–193, pp. 206–208 describes, on the occasion of a first meeting between Otto and Edith, her beauty, which reflects her moral qualities.
25. *Vita Mathildis posterior*, ch. 5, pp. 153–155.
26. Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, *Gesta Ottonis*, preface, p. 202: 'Si tamen sanae mentis examen accesserit, quae res recte pensare non nescit, quanto sexus fragilior scientiaque minor, tanto venia erit facilior'; Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum libri duo*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS IV (Hanover: Hahn, 1961 [1841]), pp. 700–723, I, 3, p. 703: the 'fragilitas feminei sexus' of Liutgard does not stop her from achieving very many positive things and resisting the misfortunes provoked by her sister Adela.
27. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, on the subject of Queen Mathilda, at I, 9, p. 14: 'flexibilis est mulieris animus'. Alpert of Metz, *Fragmentum de Deoderico primo episcopo Mettensi*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS IV (Hanover: Hahn, 1961 [1841]), p. 698 refers, in the case of Theophano, to the 'levitas mulierum'. Alpert in his *De diversitate temporum* ascribes a fair list of faults to Adela of Hamaland: 'quod erat clamosa in voce, lascia in verbis, veste composita, animo dissoluta, et quod instabilitatem mentibus nutibus oculorum praeferebat.' On this colourful personality, see R. Le Jan, 'La Vengeance d'Adèle ou la construction d'une légende noire' in *La Vengeance, 400–1200*, ed. D. Barthélemy, F. Bougard and R. Le Jan (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2006), pp. 325–340.
28. Adela of Hamaland is presented by Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, VII, 47, p. 456 as the 'ancient serpent' who corrupted her husband Balderic.
29. See the descriptions of Henry I, Otto I and Henry the Younger by Widukind of Corvey, *Res gestae Saxonicae*, at I, 39, pp. 58–59 and II, 36, pp. 96–97, who in turn draws on Einhard and his *Vita Karoli Magni*. Otto has the 'chest of a lion', and is characterized notably by his goodness and his constancy. On representations of members of the royal family, see S. Bagge, *Kings, Politics and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography, c. 950–1150* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2002), pp. 53–64. On medieval masculinity in general, see V.L. Bullough, 'On Being a Male in the Middle Ages' in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 31–45.
30. On *viriliter*, see Fletcher, 'Sire, uns hom sui', pp. 34–48.
31. See Fletcher, 'Être homme', p. 50.
32. As also noted by Helvétius, '*Virgo* et *virago*'.
33. For this notion in Roman antiquity, see M. McDonnell, *Roman Manliness:* Virtus *and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008). For the Middle Ages, see S. Schwandt, Virtus: *zur Semantik eines politischen Konzepts in Mittelalter* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2014). Thanks to Christopher Fletcher for the latter reference.
34. The man was held to be hotter (more vigorous) and drier (more constant) than the woman, who was colder (weaker) and wetter (more inconstant). See J. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For a useful short synthesis, see Fletcher, 'Être homme', p. 52.

35. Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris*, ch. 2, p. 19 on the Empress Cunegunde who passed the *regalia* to Conrad II after his election and 'ad regnandum, quantum huius sexus auctoritatis est, illum corroboravit'.
36. Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, ed. T. Gross and R. Schieffer, MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum 3 (Hanover: Hahn, 1980). See Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 349–350.
37. H. Platelle, 'L'épouse "gardienne aimante de la vie et de l'âme de son mari". Quelques exemples du haut Moyen Âge' in *La Femme au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. Rouche and J. Heuclin (Maubeuge: Ville de Maubeuge, 1990), pp. 171–184; E. Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées? Les veuves dans la société aristocratique du haut Moyen Âge* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses univ. du Septentrion, 2003), pp. 281–322; Leleu, *Semper patrui*, pp. 503–515.
38. On these themes, see e.g. D. Lett, *Hommes et femmes au Moyen Âge. Histoire du genre, XIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013), esp. pp. 27–50.
39. For the period from the fifth to the eighth century, see D. Harrison, *The Age of Abbesses and Queens. Gender and Political Culture in Early Medieval Europe* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 1998).
40. Karl Leyser particularly underlined this aspect in his *Rule and Conflict*, in the chapter entitled 'The women of the Saxon aristocracy', pp. 49–73.
41. M. Parisse, 'Les monastères de femmes en Saxe, X^e–XIIe siècles', *Revue Mabillon*, NS 2, vol. 63 (1991), 5–48.
42. See R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 344–365; idem, 'L'épouse du comte du IXe au XIe siècle: transformation d'un modèle et idéologie du pouvoir' in *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes*, pp. 64–74; P. Toubert, 'L'institution du mariage chrétien, de l'Antiquité tardive à l'an Mil' in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda Antichità e alto medioevo, Settimane* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1998), pp. 233–285.
43. This expression, whose origins go back to late Antiquity, was used from the Carolingian period to refer to the queen. See P. Delogu, '*Consors regni*: un problema carolingio', *Bolletino dell instituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio muratoriano*, 76 (1964), 47–98. However, it starts to take on a special dimension after Otto I's marriage to Adelheid, who introduced Italian customs into Germania. See T. Vogelsang, *Die Frau als Herrscherin im hohen Mittelalter. Studien zur consors regni Formel* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1954); A. Sprengler-Ruppenthal, 'Zur Theologie der *consors-regni* Formel in der säschischen König- under Kaiserzeit', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte*, 83 (1985), 85–107; A. Fössel, *Der Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich. Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000).
44. The Abbess Mathilda of Quedlinburg, *amita* of Otto III, was thus granted the kingdom during the Italian stay of the latter in 998–999. See *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, pp. 500–501; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV, 41, p. 178.
45. Such as Cunegunde under Henry II. See Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VII, 29, p. 384. Cunegunde organized the defence of Saxony during the absence of her husband on campaign in Burgundy in the summer of 1016. She also figures in a third of the charters issued by her husband. See S. Pfleka, 'Kunigunde und Heinrich II. Politische Wirkungsmöglichkeiten einer Kaiserin an der Schwelle eines neuen Jahrtausends', *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg*, 135 (1999), pp. 199–290, at pp. 230–232, cited by I. Baumgärtner, 'Fürsprache,

Rat und Tat, Erinnerung: Kunigundes Aufgaben also Herrscherin' in *Kunigunde—consors regni*. ed. S. Dick, J. Jarnut and M. Wernhof (Munich: Fink, 2004), pp. 47–69 at pp. 51–52 and n. 13. She also herself reinstated her brother as *dux* in Bavaria. See Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VIII, 18, p. 460.

46. Helvétius, '*Virgo* and *virago*', p. 192. See e.g. P. Laurence, '*Virilis* et *effeminatus* chez saint Jérôme' in Chartae caritatis. *Etudes de patristique et d'Antiquité tardive en hommage à Yves-Marie Duval*, ed. B. Gain, P. Jay and G. Nauroy (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 2004), pp. 401–416.
47. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, II, 39, pp. 86–88. Cono is the familiar form of Conrad, used here so that the reader could distinguish between this individual and the princess's husband, Conrad the Red. According to Adalbert of Magdeburg, this Cono was the son of the count Gebhard. See *Continuatio Reginonis anni 907–967, Reginonis abbatis Prumensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH, SS rer. Germ. in usum scholarum separatim editi 50 (Hanover: Hahn, 1989 [1890]), pp. 154–179 at a. 950, p. 164.
48. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, II, 39, p. 88.
49. On her regency, see J. Laudage, 'Das Problem der Vormundschaft über Otto III.', *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, eds. A. von Euw and P. Schreiner, II (Köln, 1991), 261–275; F.-R. Erkens, 'Die Frau also Herrscherin in ottonisch-frühsalischer Zeit', *Kaiserin Theophanu*, II (1991), 245–260.
50. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV, 1, p. 132 and *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, a. 984, pp. 470–471.
51. Laudage, 'Problem der Vormundschaft', p. 263.
52. Ibid., p. 272, citing the examples of Judith, widow of Henry of Bavaria, and the Empress Cunegunde, widow of Henry II, both of whom were placed under the tutelage of a male relative after the death of their husbands.
53. On the other hand, after the restitution of Otto III to his mother and grandmother at the Diet of Rohr, the *ius propinquitatis* of Henry the Wrangler was officially recognized. See *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, a. 985, p. 475. In reality, this was a purely formal concession, since the regency was in fact exercised by Theophano, Willigis of Mainz and Hildebald of Worms, Henry having returned to Bavaria.
54. Thietmar repeatedly presents his uncle Liuthar as the archetype of the bad relative, who in trying to seize the inheritance forgets family solidarity. See Leleu, '*Semper patrui*', pp. 418, 420 and 729.
55. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV, 10, p. 142.
56. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, XI, 2, 22 is particularly explicit in his definition: 'Virago vocata, quia virum agit, hoc est opera virilia facit et masculini vigoris est. Antiqui enim fortes feminas ita vocabant. Virgo autem non recte virago dicitur, si non viri officio fungitur. Mulier vero si virilia facit, recte virago dicitur, ut Amazona.' Cf. Helvétius, '*Virgo* et *virago*', p. 190: *virago* denotes 'la femme robuste, celle qui agit comme un homme'. In fact, this term is itself only rarely used, but to say of a woman that she is *virilis* or *agit viriliter* suggests precisely the same idea.
57. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV, 9, p. 142; *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, a. 985–987, pp. 473–477.

58. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV, 11–13, pp. 144–148. In ch. 11, Thietmar observes that Mieszko approached Theophano to ask for help against Boleslas, who was allied with Liutizes.
59. On ghosts and supernatural manifestations which permit the sleeping living to receive counsels and requests from the dead, in Thietmar's works, see S. Rossignol, 'Die Spukgeschichten Thietmars von Merseburg. Überlegungen zur Vorstellungswelt und zur Arbeitsweise eines Chronisten aus dem 11. Jahrhundert', *Concilium medii aevi*, 9 (2006), 47–76, available at https://cma.gbv.de/dr,cma,009,2006,a,03.pdf. In general, see J.-C. Schmitt, *Les Revenants. Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994).
60. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, III, 13–14, pp. 112–114; III, 16, pp. 116–118. See especially E.D. Hehl, 'Merseburg—eine Bistumsgründung unter Vorbehalt. Gelübde, Kirchenrecht und politischer Spielraum im 10. Jahrhundert', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* 31 (1997), 96–119.
61. The project had to wait until the death of Gisilher to be put into action, despite an initial plan conceived under Otto III.
62. G. Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie, II, 2: Das Mittelalter: die Frühzeit* (Frankfurt: Schulter-Bulmke, 1955), p. 505.
63. K. Leyser, '*Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta*: Western and Eastern emperorship in the later tenth century' in *The Empress Theophano*, ed. Davids, pp. 1–27, at pp. 20–21 with a list of 76 intercessions during the reign of Otto II (p. 21, n. 88).
64. Leyser, '*Theophanu divina gratia*', pp. 21–22. Under Otto II, the expression *imperatrix augusta*, very rare before Theophano, begins to appear more frequently, and is applied to Theophano much more often than to Adelheid. In the expression *coimperatrix nec non imperii regnorumque consors* (DOII 76 (29 April 974) in *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae 2. 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1888), p. 92), we can note the use of *consors regni* already employed, but also *coimperatrix*, sometimes associated with *augusta* (e.g. DOII 196 (21 July 981), p. 223). On these titles, see Vogelsang, *Die Frau als Herrscherin*, pp. 17–39. According to Engels, 'Theophano, the Western Empress from the East', p. 38, *coimperatrix* stressed the idea of co-government even more than *consors regni*.
65. Leyser, '*Theophanu divina gratia*', p. 26.
66. DTh1 (Rome, 2 Jan. 990) in *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, p. 876, gift to the abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno.
67. DTh2 (Ravenna, 1 Apr. 990) in Ibid., pp. 876–877, an act in favour of the abbot John of Farfa, whom she reinstates for the salvation of her soul and that of her husband.
68. Engels, 'Theophano, Western Empress from the East', p. 38; *Idem*, 'Theophanu—die westliche Kaiserin', p. 27, n. 65.
69. These titles showed that the woman in question did not herself wield the authority of a *dux*, but was named in this way by reason of her marriage with the holder of that title. They thus mark above all her social position. See E. Schubert, *Geschichte Niedersachsens II, 1: Politik, Verfassung, Wirtschaft vom 9. bis zum ausgehensen 15. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen 36 (Hannover: Hahn, 1997), p. 153. Similarly, at the beginning of the eleventh century, two women of

the Billung family were styled as *comitissa*. See R. Schölkopf, *Die sächsischen Grafen (919–1024)*, Studien und Vorarbeiten sum historischen Atlas Niedersachsens 22 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), p. 20.

70. See Engels, 'Theophanu—die westliche Kaiserin', p. 27, n. 66: DOII 308 (Verona, 15 June 983), p. 365: 'illustris dux Beatrix nostra consobrina' (widow of Frederick I of Upper Lotharingia, regent for her son Thierry); DOIII 63 (Frankfurt, 18 June 990), p. 469: 'ob petitionem et interventum Hadeuige ducis' and DOIII 152 (Ingelheim, 4 Nov. 994), p. 563: 'per traditionem bone memorie domine Hadewige ducis'. According to H. Maurer, *Der Herzog von Schwaben. Grundlagen, Wirkungen und Wesen seiner Herrschaft in ottonischer salischer und staufischer Zeit* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1978, 1978), pp. 55–56, Hadewig was the widow of Duke Burchard III, with whom she had no children. The title was accorded her after the death of her husband, at which time there was also a *dux*: Otto I from 973 to 982, then Conrad from 982 to 997. On these titles, see W. Kienast, *Der Herzogstitel in Frankreich und Deutschland (9–12. Jahrhundert). Mit Listen der ältesten deutschen Herzogsurkunden* (Munich and Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1968), pp. 342, 384, with various examples. A more comprehensive approach is taken by W. Graf Rüdt von Collenberg, 'Zum Auftreten weiblicher Titulaturen im VIII., IX. und X. Jahrhundert', *Genealogica und Heraldica, 10. Internationaler Kongress für genealogische und heraldische Wissenschaften, Wien 14.-19. Sept. 1970*, ed. Heraldisch-genealogische Gesellschaft "Adler" (Vienna: 1972), I, 265–272. Kienast (p. 342) argues that the masculine form was preferred to the feminine for linguistic reasons since ducal *honor* could not be exercised by women. That said, he himself also cites the use of *dux* to refer to Beatrice in letters of Gerbert, and attestations of *ductrix/ducatrix* are also extant from the same period. A form of female regency characterized by real and effective power thus seems to have existed north of the Alps at least from the 980s.
71. A project which I hope to undertake in the future.
72. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VIII, 4, p. 498: 'Uxor autem eius Beleknegini, id est pulchra domina Sclavonice dicta, supra modum bibebat et in equo more militis iter agens, quendam virum iracundiae nimio fervore occidit. Manus haec polluta fusum melius tangeret et mentem vesanam pacientia refrenaret.'
73. On the representation of Hungarians as barbarians in Germa sources, see L. Leleu, 'Lechfeld' and 'Etienne Ier de Hongrie' in *Les barbares*, ed. B. Dumézil et al. (Paris: PUF, 2016), pp. 855–856 and 557–558. On Sarolt and the Hungarian situation at the end of the tenth century, see M.-M. de Cevins, *Saint Etienne de Hongrie* (Paris: Fayard, 2004).
74. Bruno of Querfurt, a cousin of Thietmar, took a more moderate and less moralizing view of Sarolt, whom he describes as very authoritarian and very active politically. See *Vita Sancti Adalberti*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS IV (Hanover: Hahn, 1968 [1841]), p. 607.
75. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VII, 30, p. 434. On this passage, see L. Rippart, 'Besançon, 1016. Genèse de la *damnatio memoriae* du roi Rodolphe III de Bourgogne' in *La Mémoire du temps au Moyen Âge*, ed. A. Paravicini Bagliani, Micrologus's Library 12 (Florence: SISMEL, 2005), pp. 17–36.
76. Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ch. 1, ed. and French translation in *Vie de Charlemagne*, trans. M. Sot and C. Veyrard-Cosme (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, Les

Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age, 53, 2014), 2–3; English trans. in *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. L.G.M. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969). On this question, see E. Peters, *The Shadow King.* Rex Inutilis *in Medieval Law and Literature, 751–1327* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1970).

77. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VII, 27–29, pp. 430–434. Rudolph notably conceded that his magnates should do homage to Henry.
78. C. Thomasset, 'Le médiéval, la force et le sang' in *Histoire de la virilité*, vol. I, ed. Vigarello, pp. 141–181, pp. 160 and 166, argues that the oath was an almost exclusively male preserve in the Middle Ages, with women taking oaths only for engagement or marriage. Breaking an oath could be interpreted as compromising the manhood of the perjurer.
79. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VII, 27, p. 432 (Henry had taken Rudolph's sons-in-law under his protection).
80. Ripart, 'Besançon, 1016', p. 22, 30–31.
81. L. Ripart, 'Du royaume aux principautés (Savoie, Dauphiné, X^{e}–XIe siècles)', *Le royaume de Bourgogne autour de l'an mil*, ed. C. Guilleré, J.-M. Poisson, L. Ripart and C. Ducourthial (Chambery: Univ. de Savoie, 2008), pp. 247–276, esp. p. 253. Rudolph II gave allegiance to Henry I in 926.
82. Ripart, 'Du royaume aux principautés', p. 254.
83. According to Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium Adelhaidae*, ch. 10, p. 37, the Empress Adelheid intervened to restore peace and calm between the turbulent vassals of her nephew Rudolph—a strong woman to the aid of a feeble king!
84. We find a similar discourse in Alpert of Metz, *De Diversitate temporum*, p. 716. See Ripart, 'Besançon, 1016', pp. 32–33.
85. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VIII, 7, p. 500.
86. The case of Liudprand of Cremona has been studied by P. Buc, 'Italian Hussies and German Matrons: Liutprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 29 (1995), 207–225. See also J.L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: the Careers of Brunhild and Bathild in Merrovingian History' in *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 31–75.
87. Cf. D. Lett, 'Masculinités et féminités des enfants dans les fratries et les sorories à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome: Enfance et monde adulte*, 123–132 (2011), 315–329.
88. Wipo proceeds in the same manner when he describes Gisela. He first of all describes the excellence of the feminine qualities which predispose her to become queen, then evokes her *virilis probitas* just after having alluded to the hatred and jealousy of some, opposed to her coronation. It also demonstrates that her masculine qualities raise her beyond her feminine condition, permitting her finally to be crowned *ex consensu et petitione principum* and to establish herself as Conrad's *necessaria comes.* See Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris*, ch. 4, pp. 25–26. See also the analysis of Jäschke, '*Tamen virilis probitas in femina vicit*', pp. 434–437. The relatively close kinship links between Gisela and her third husband Conrad probably explain this reticence. See P. Corbet, *Autour de Burchard de Worms. L'Eglise allemande et les interdits de parenté (IXe–XIIe siècle)* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 2001), pp. 129–136 and *Idem*, 'Interdits de parenté, hagiographie et politique. La *Passio Friderici episcopi Traiectensis* (ca. 1024)', *Ius Commune. Studien für Europaïsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 23 (1996), 1–98.

Creating Kin, Extending Authority: Blood-Brotherhood and Power in Medieval Iceland

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> *Mantu at, Óðinn, / er vit í árdaga / blendum blóði saman?*
> Do you remember, Odin, when we, in days of yore, mixed our blood together?
>
> *Lokasenna* (verse §9)[1]

In this verse, collected among the mythological poems of the *Poetic Edda* dealing with stories of the Norse gods, Loki sharply reminds Óðinn of their bond of blood-brotherhood. He asserts that the relationship was created by mingling their blood together, joining them in a covenant. He goes on to point out that Óðinn had promised not to drink ale, unless it was brought to them both. In this way, Loki succeeds in shaming his blood-brother into creating a space for him at the feast in Ægir's hall because Óðinn's obligation to Loki supersedes those (if any) he has to his host and his fellow-revellers. Loki's words highlight both the creation of the ritual bond between them, through the mixing of blood, as well as the promise inherent in the blood-brotherhood relationship: that of amity, parity in status and action, and reciprocity.

Ritually created relationships between people are almost universal across temporal and geographical boundaries. Blood-brotherhood is, in its most basic form, a covenant between two men, ritually contracted, and

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characterised by a set of reciprocal obligations and sanctions. In his seminal article on 'Zande blood-brotherhood', E.E. Evans-Pritchard noted that '[A]lliances based on exchange of blood have been recorded from many parts of the world'.[2] Blood-brotherhood—and a variety of similar ritual bonds of brotherhood—is a common feature across several human societies, and across historical periods. Although the processes by which men are bound to one another take different forms, and the sets of obligations and sanctions associated with the relationship similarly differ across cultures and time, in almost all cases the ties created by this ritualised relationship, despite 'masquerad[ing] as kinship',[3] involve 'the intimacy, warmth and reciprocity that is customarily associated with "friendship"'.[4] Entering into a pact of blood-brotherhood may thus institutionalise friendship, giving 'to the vague sentiment of friendship, with its indefinite obligations, a status comparable to that of close kin relationship'.[5]

It is, however, precisely this association of ritualised brotherhood with both kinship and friendship that confuses the issue of whether or not the bonds created through the ritual are to be seen as kinship ties, friendship relations, or something else entirely. At first glance, the inclusion of the term 'brotherhood' suggests that the bond is one of kinship, which draws the two men involved into one another's kinship groups as siblings. It may thus be considered an example of Keesing's category of 'fictitious kinship ties'[6] such as those created through adoption, godparenthood, and so on. Structurally speaking, however, blood-brotherhood is a non-kin relationship despite its kinship-related terminology. It is a personal relationship lying outside the formal kinship structure and is restricted to the participants in the relationship, not extending to their wider kin groups. According to Evans-Pritchard, 'The point at issue between scholars has really been whether the blood represents the unity of a clan and its exchange the means by which a stranger enters into a psycho-physical kinship with the clansmen of his blood-brother, or whether the blood creates merely a magical bond between them'.[7] Some anthropologists have suggested that blood-brotherhood is, in fact, the opposite of kinship—a legal partnership[8] or even a joking relationship.[9] Blood-brotherhood is thus something of a chimera in anthropological studies of kinship.

Pitt-Rivers understands blood-brotherhood to be a figurative relationship 'whose role, far from being identical with the literal kin, is, rather, complementary'. He explains the use of kinship terminology for a 'constructed' relationship like blood-brotherhood, by saying: 'Non-kin amity likes to masquerade as kinship'.[10] The implication here is that because kinship relations form the primary organising principle of most societies, explaining particularistic relations in kinship terms is the easiest and most obvious thing to do. Thus, in the case of blood-brotherhood, the closest co-generational bond that an individual can have in a kinship system—the bond between brothers—has been co-opted to give the sentiment of friendship, with its undefined obligations, a social and legal status comparable to that of close kin. In the *Íslendingasögur* (Icelandic Family sagas), the relationship between the

Njálssons and their blood-brother, Hǫskuldr Þráinsson, demonstrates the affective nature of the relationship where blood-brothers appear as close as real brothers. *Njáls saga* informs us that 'he and the sons of Njal never disagreed about anything'[11] and '[t]hey were on such warm terms that no one took a decision unless all the others agreed to it […] so fervent was their friendship that they each invited each other to a feast every autumn and exchanged generous gifts'.[12]

Blood-brothers are not, however, identical to biological siblings. Where siblings are by default graded in an inherent biological hierarchy, usually by age, blood-brothers are absolute equals.[13] They are required to act toward one another as brothers are ideally expected to behave in a relationship, albeit in one based on complete equality and perfect amity. It is, thus, a strong affective sentiment—the sentiment of friendship—between them that sustains the relationship. In all forms, blood-brotherhood is an idealised relationship between non-related males in any given society; 'a specific form of filiation and intimacy that was under individual male control'.[14]

Blood-Brotherhood in Medieval Europe

Ritualised personal relationships between men, such as blood-brotherhood, have been recorded in Europe as early as the Late Antique and medieval periods. Although they are not always termed as blood-brotherhood—or, in fact, given any name at all—covenants between men, including those involving oaths and rituals, both pagan and Christian, appear to have been contracted and recorded widely in Europe. Appearing in discussions of rituals as early as the seventeenth century by Jacques Goar (1647) and Charles du Fresne, *sieur* du Cange (1668), ties of brotherhood are described as being created through such rituals as *adelphopoiia pneumatike* ('the making of spiritual brothers') in the Eastern Christian Church, despite being 'forbidden by ecclesiastical and imperial laws'.[15] Du Cange's dissertation 'Des Adoptions d'honnevr en Frere, & par occasion des Freres d'armes' traced the creation of ritualised relationships between men to the Roman period, and made the connection between these 'adoptions honoraires en freres fondees' and the *adelphopoiesis* ritual described in the euchologies by Goar. These early studies of rituals that bound men in created relationships were followed by several others, especially eighteenth-century ethnographers and later nineteenth-century anthropologists studying comparative institutions in societies across Europe and the rest of the world. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, historians like Giovanni Tamassia and Max Pappenheim returned once more to historical societies in their respective studies of *adelphopoiesis* and Scandinavian blood-brotherhood and guilds. Further studies focused on a variety of aspects of ritualised personal relationships between men including ecclesiastical relationships, military fraternities, economically and socially motivated compacts. Tegneus's 1952 study of blood-brothers set examples of the relationship from antiquity and the medieval period alongside customs observed in African societies.

In the 1960s, several scholars drew on developing ideas of ritualised kinship in anthropological studies to argue that relationships like blood-brotherhood, which were based on rituals and covenants, be considered 'ritualised kinship' and therefore different from other forms of looser ties like confraternities or brothers-in-arms. Leopold Kretzenbacher made the case for blood-brotherhood rituals to be considered alongside other 'created' relationships like marriage and god-parenthood.[16] Leopold Hellmuth presented a systematic study of Germanic blood-brotherhood,[17] drawing primarily on north-west European sources, especially Old Norse sagas and poetry.[18] Évelyne Patlagean's 1978 article developed the notion of ritual kinship further and, in pointing to the prohibitions regularly issued against *adelphopoiesis*, made the case for the relationship to be considered 'une relation homosexuelle'[19]; a notion which greatly influenced John Boswell's 1994 study 'Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe', in which he argued that rites such as *adelphopoiesis* were effectively same-sex marriage ceremonies for men. Brent D. Shaw reckons that 'the balance of scholarly opinion has rejected [Boswell's] claim' but also points to the merit of Boswell's work 'to refocus the attention of a wide range of scholars from different disciplines on the significance of manuscript sources for *adelphopoiesis*'.[20]

The study of ritual brotherhood relationships in medieval Europe has largely been concentrated on periods and societies for which there is the most clearly available information, such as medieval Eastern Europe and Byzantium. For other societies such as late Roman and early medieval Western Europe, part of the difficulty in the study of such ritualised personal relationship lies in identifying them, owing to the absence of clearly used labels for these relationships, unlike the clearly visible *adelphopoiesis*. Shaw points out that as early as du Cange's *Dissertation*, the ritual brotherhoods of 'barbarian princes of the northern frontiers' are set alongside the formal relationship created through rites such as *adelphopoiesis*, but are more difficult to define because 'the evidence relating to the phenomenon is so patchy'.[21] A further complication is the propensity for scholarship on these relationships to often consider them alongside other 'created' relationships such as friendship, comradeship, and monastic brotherhood. In the case of the study of medieval Scandinavian blood-brotherhood, similar issues of nomenclature, explicit attestation and description of ritual apply, and will be dealt with later in this chapter.

Blood-Brotherhood and Masculinity in Medieval Iceland

Blood-brotherhood relations, by their very nature, are entirely masculine, involving exclusively male participants. There is no equivalent female-only bond.[22] A recurring theme in the study of blood-brotherhood in medieval Europe has been the question of categorising the male-male 'ritualised' relationship. As mentioned above, the discussion of whether or not 'ritualised'

brotherhoods represented medieval same-sex marriages has proponents on both sides. A considerable amount of this anxiety on the part of scholars evidently revolves around the implications of this kind of relationship for the construction of masculinity, reconciling notions of sodomy and homosexuality with homosociality and more 'acceptable' male-only relationships. Dealing with medieval Western European societies, Jaeger points to the twelfth century as the turning point at which 'the discourse of ennobling love lost its innocence', when a public, ethical love that gave virtue to the participants began to be conflated with private, romantic, sexual love.[23] Elizabeth Hubble contrasts the 'centrality of masculine bonds'[24] in the earlier twelfth-century medieval French romance, *Roman de Thèbes*—privileged over even heterosexual marriage—with the slightly later *Roman d'Enéas*, characterised by 'dialogic masculinity and femininity'.[25] While it is certainly possible that similar forces were at play through the Christianisation of Scandinavian society and literature at the turn of the millennium, there is little evidence of such concerns about male-only relationships in Old Norse sources and literature.

This is not to suggest that same-sex relationships were in any way acceptable in medieval Iceland. In fact, the Norse concept of *níð*, defined as 'general accusations of effeminacy and/or specific charges of passive homosexual behaviour',[26] could result in outlawry or even the killing of the accuser.[27] Rather, the case is, as Jenny Jochens contends, that 'their culture did not know homosexuality in the modern sense'.[28] Masculinity in the Old Norse world appears to have been negotiated by circumstance. What are commonly regarded as masculine norms are regularly subverted in the literature, with even gods like Óðinn, Loki and the mighty Þórr indulging in cross-dressing and gender inversions when required. Characteristics, which in one source are criticised as being effeminate, are in another entirely unproblematic. For instance, in *Njáls saga*, Skarpheðinn mocks Sigmundr as *rauðálfinn* (a red elf), suggesting that the latter's brightly coloured clothing makes his manliness 'ambiguous and even undermines it'[29] but 'the heroes in *Laxdæla saga* strut around in decorative clothes without anyone ever disputing their manhood'.[30] Carol Clover explains this ambiguity using Thomas Laqueur's 'one-sex' model of society,[31] in which individuals (both male and female) were judged as adequate or inadequate against a single, masculine ideal. She describes the Norse world as one in which 'gender, if we can even call it that, is neither coextensive with biological sex, despite its dependence on sexual imagery, nor a closed system, but a system based to an extraordinary extent on winnable and losable attributes'.[32] Men could lose masculinity, the default positive position, just as easily as women could attain it. Else Mundal suggests that the Norse belief in bilateral descent and characteristic inheritance (that is, characteristics passed down through both male and female lines) could account for women holding 'masculine' attributes as investments for future generations of males.[33] The notion that men could lose their masculinity gives the performance of masculinity in medieval Iceland 'a desperate edge',[34] which is visible in social, judicial and political spheres of medieval Icelandic

life. It is this version of masculinity, characterised by a 'frantic machismo'[35] that underpins the Norse blood-brotherhood relationship, especially with regard to the execution of the obligations associated with the bond, as shall be discussed further in the chapter. Blood-brotherhood in medieval Iceland is thus not concerned with the anxieties that appear to be attached to the relationship in other medieval European contexts.

Social Structures and Power Dynamics in Medieval Iceland

> … the bonds of ritual kinship, including those of ritual brotherhood, were always locked into wider networks of social and economic relations that determined their function and valence in any specific situation.[36]

As a form of ritualised personal relationship, blood-brotherhood in medieval Iceland too was embedded into the structures of Icelandic society and its nascent political and judicial systems. Even though, as already noted, blood-brotherhood was a 'fictitious kinship tie' which lay outside the kinship system, it was nevertheless complementary to biologically defined relations. In order to understand the role played by blood-brotherhood relationships in the exercise of power and authority in medieval Iceland, it is necessary to look first at the kinship structure of Icelandic society; then to consider its relationship with political, judicial and economic power structures; and finally to set kinship obligations and support into the context in which they intersected most closely with the exercise of power and authority—the feud.

Kinship in medieval Iceland formed the primary organising principle of society and the basis of social, political and economic interactions. It underpinned the accumulation and exercise of power through the mobilisation of a support system based on personal and kinship relationships. Shaw describes a similar emphasis on personal power in post-Roman societies, stating that '[s]ocial systems, like kinship, that privilege direct personal linkages as their primary mode of organisation, are more likely to interpret power in personal terms'.[37] These 'direct personal linkages' in medieval Icelandic society—like in most other human societies—can be divided into three kinds of relationships: (1) consanguinal ties, based on biological ancestry; (2) affinal ties, created through marriage; and (3) 'fictitious' ties, socially constructed and defined ties through means of adoption, fosterage, concubinage, and so on.[38] There were, therefore, three avenues available for expanding the kinship group and thus extending the support base available to an individual. First, through reproduction; second, through marriage, thereby connecting two kinship groups in affinal bonds; and third, through the creation of 'fictitious' ties. Blood-brotherhood was one among the range of 'fictitious' kinship relations at the disposal of Icelandic men. Unlike other fictitious relationships, however, blood-brotherhood was an interpersonal relationship which did not extend to either joining kinship groups together or bringing individuals into

one another's kinship groups. The relationship remained confined to the two persons involved, thereby extending an individual's power and support base, but not his kinship network.

The Icelandic kinship group, or *ætt*, was usually reckoned with reference to a single individual or ego[39] and was a wide-ranging, all-encompassing group. It connected an individual laterally to all co-generational individuals descended from the same ancestors, and lineally, across generations, to include all ancestral generations. To add further to its comprehensive coverage, the *ætt* was reckoned cognatically, along both patrilineal and matrilineal lines.[40] The *ætt* thus placed an individual at the centre of two intersecting maternal and paternal kin groups, both of which extended—theoretically at least—indefinitely along generations, as well as across them. Hekala and Buell, in their response to Johnson and Johnson's article[41] on kin support in conflict, point out that: 'So extensive are these groups that fifteenth cousins on both the mother's and father's sides are acknowledged…'.[42] Kinship obligations in medieval Iceland therefore embedded an individual in a complex multi-levelled series of relationships. Why then would an individual within this system, whatever the purpose of his or her support needs, require the further extension of their support system through the creation of 'fictitious' relationships?

To a certain degree, the answer to this question lies in the structures of power and authority functioning in medieval Iceland which encompassed the exercise of legal, political and judicial power through interpersonal relationships. In Roman and post-Roman societies, Shaw observes an inverse correlation between the prevalence of ritualised relationships between men, that is, individualised power, and the power of centralised, institutionalised apparatuses of state.[43] While Shaw's examples of this correlation are limited to continental Europe, the principle can be extended to apply to medieval Iceland. In fact, in the case of medieval Iceland, not only did the institutional structures of the state have no central power base, they were—in the early period of the Settlement and the Icelandic Commonwealth (930–1262/1264 CE)—determinedly and vehemently opposed to central power. The roots of this antipathy to central power structures lie in the circumstances of the Icelandic Settlement and in the 'origin myth' constructed to differentiate Icelanders from other Scandinavian societies of the Viking diaspora.

Iceland was an uninhabited island in the North Atlantic until the mid-ninth century, when it was 'discovered' by Viking sailors and began to be settled by Scandinavians from either continental Europe or from the island settlements of Scandinavians in the North Sea.[44] In constructing the 'origin myth' or the foundation story of Iceland, contemporary sources are almost unanimous in their assertion that the Norwegian settlers who came to Iceland (and some of the settlers from the other colonies) were forced from their homelands owing to the tyranny of King Haraldr hárfagri (Fairhair). In *Egils Saga*, we are told that:

> In each province King Haraldr took over all the estates and all the land, habited or uninhabited, and even the sea and lakes… Many people fled the country to escape this tyranny…[45]

This 'tyranny' perpetrated by King Haraldr involved the establishment of monarchical authority, similar to elsewhere in Europe at the time, which was 'imposed' on Norwegian chieftains who were traditionally autonomous lords. Old Norse sources for this period focus on the 'independent-mindedness' of chieftains who opposed the establishment of centralised monarchical rule and thus resorted to leaving Norway to start a new life elsewhere in the Viking diaspora, with most choosing to settle in Iceland. According to the sources, therefore, the Settlement of Iceland and the preservation of a decentralised system of power based on interpersonal relationships and family hierarchies, was an attempt to preserve the 'old' ways in response to an oppressive 'new' centralised system of governance being established in the original homelands of the settlers.

Descriptions of independent-minded chieftains, transplanting their lives from Norway to Iceland, has led to the impression that the system of chieftaincies in medieval Iceland was an older, purer, even fossilised version, of the system of landholding in Norway. This has tempted some scholars such as Jón Jóhannesson and Njördur Njardvík to see Iceland as a federation.[46] Ólafur Lárusson states that '[t]he Icelandic republic was at all times a kind of federation. The dominion of the Icelandic chieftaincies, the *goðorð*, corresponds to small Norwegian kingdoms'.[47] The trouble with the ascription of federal qualities to the Icelandic *goðorð* (chieftaincy) system is that it implies distinct territorial units, ruled by and subject to a single individual: the chieftain or *goði*, who appears to be a sort of demi-king figure. This set-up is inconsistent with the structures visible in the sources. Byock suggests that '[t]he concept of *goðar* as leaders of small states reflects the outward forms of the confrontational politics practiced by chieftains'.[48] The complex relationship between a *goði* (chieftain) and a *bóndi* (householder) did not rely on territorial boundaries, simply because the *goðorð* was not a discrete territorial unit. Rather, this was a relationship of negotiable bonds of obligation between a chieftain and the farmers who were his followers, imbuing the *goði* with a status akin to 'a first among equals': 'leaders of farmers who lived like prosperous farmers among farmers'.[49]

Jon Viðar Sigurðsson's seminal work *Chieftains and Power in the Icelandic Commonwealth* discusses in great depth and detail a political system in which chieftains derived their power and status as much through personal ability, inheritance and wealth, as through their support systems, consisting of kin-based support as well as those constructed through followers and friends.[50] In medieval Iceland's decentralised, multi-centred political and social order, chieftains relied, for their power, on independent farmers, who in turn were obliged by Icelandic law to belong to a *goðorð*. All members of a farmer's household belonged to the same *goðorð* as he did. *Bændr*, or free

farmers, had the right to choose their own chieftain and the *goðorð* to which they belonged, and—once a year—also had the right to change allegiance from one chieftain to another. Similarly chieftains retained the right to refuse a farmer into their *goðorð* or to expel a farmer from it. The rights of both sides are clearly enshrined in the Icelandic law codes, *Grágas*.[51] In practice, it is fair to assume that exercising these rights would have been constrained by considerations of personal and family loyalties, as well as more practical considerations of proximity and social or political advantage. The option to change allegiances nevertheless did exist and Jon Viðar Sigurðsson suggests that, while '[w]e may assume that farmers tried to be assembly men of the chieftain who lived nearest to them',[52] it is also clear from the sources that '[t]here was a high level of mobility in society, and farmers went in search of more powerful, stronger chieftains, who could protect them and their interests'.[53]

Chieftains represented their *þingmenn* (followers) at assemblies; arbitrated between them in local disputes; arbitrated on their behalf in wider or nation-wide disputes; drew on their support—occasionally even their muscle—in their own disputes and maintained order among the men under their aegis. Although medieval Iceland did not have a formal structure of governance, matters of politics, administration and justice were dealt with through a system of regular *þings* (assemblies). Chieftains, with select supporters, attended these *þings*—local, regional and the national assembly or *Alþing*—at which they represented their interests, those of their regions and of their followers. They would be involved in deciding cases between litigants and, at the *Alþing*, also making laws through the Lǫgretta, the legislative body.[54] In some cases, chieftains maintained temples and, after Christianisation in 1000 CE, maintained churches, fulfilling a religious duty implicit in the name *goði*, possibly derived from the Old Norse *goð* (god).[55] Chieftaincies could be shared, bought and sold, and chieftains vied for power and prestige between themselves. Scholars are divided on the consequences of such a system based on inter-personal relationships. On the one hand, Jon Viðar Sigurðsson suggests that 'the system of chieftaincies was characterised by instability throughout the whole of the Commonwealth period',[56] while on the other Byock argues that the accessibility of a *goðorð* 'to the most ambitions and successful *bœndr* [was] a factor which further helped to stabilize [sic] the society'.[57]

While many of the chieftains attested as moving to Iceland did in fact retain their power and status, this was primarily a function of their pre-existing power as heads of extensive households and kinship groups. 'In the absence of a policing apparatus, public authority was maintained by personal agreements usually arrived at between leaders acting as advocates for an individual or a group'.[58] During the process of *landnám* (land-taking), powerful men claimed large swathes of land which were then parcelled out between members of their families, extended kinsmen and friends. According to Jon Viðar Sigurðsson, this process cemented the compact between chieftains and those who constituted the base of their support system; '*Landnámabók* and a

number of Sagas of Icelanders related that many of the first settlers gave land to people who had travelled with them and to others who arrived later […] The gift of land could never be reciprocated. The recipient was placed in a subordinate, servile position in relation to the donor, as long as both lived.'[59] Early Icelandic chieftains therefore created their support systems by including among their *þingmenn* those already close to them through various relationships. The power of a chieftain depended to a great degree on his ability to mobilise support for his cause, since Icelandic 'society functioned by means of collective agreement among non-territorial interest groups'.[60] In the early centuries of the Icelandic Commonwealth, it would not be unusual to find the interest group constructed around a chieftain to consist primarily of kinsmen and friends beholden to the chieftain through the gift of land, thus creating a correlation between kinship and friendship obligations and those between chieftains and their followers.[61] These early support networks clearly required nurturing and expanding, as is evident from the many cases in the *Íslendingasögur* of alliances—based in both marriage and friendship—being created by chieftains specifically to bolster support for particular actions. In *Njáls Saga*, for instance, Mǫrðr Valgarðsson promises Flosi his support in his case at the *Alþing*. Flosi looks to cement this relationship by suggesting that Mǫrðr 'should give Rannveig, his daughter, to Starkaðr, Flosi's brother who lived at Stafafell. Flosi did this because he thought doing so would ensure his faithfulness and force'.[62] It is clear from the sources that constructed 'fictitious' relationships worked alongside natural-born or affinal relationships within the power-bases of important individuals and chieftains in medieval Iceland, serving to extend the support network that a chieftain could draw upon. In *Njáls Saga*, the eponymous Njáll—recognised as one of the wisest men in Iceland and an unparalleled legal mind—derives his power, not from an inheritance from an original settler or early chieftain, but from four different fostering relationships which link him to other powerful kinship groups.[63] His power therefore derives from a support network made up primarily of his 'fictitious' relations.

Feud and the Vengeance Imperative

In a society like that of medieval Iceland, where the exercise of power was based on personal connections, one of the most interesting arenas for the display of power was provided by conflict arising from hostile relationships: the feud. Although feud as an institution has no name in Old Norse, the actions characterising feud—killings, vengeance, antagonisms, arbitration, settlement and resolution—are all attested. In attempting to define the feud in an Icelandic context, Miller describes it as follows:

> The bloodfeud is frequently moral, often juridical, and always political. It is moral in its retributive aspect when it is the means for punishing violations of social norms. It is juridical when … it provides the sanction behind arbitrated

> settlements and legal judgements, in effect serving as the executive power of a polity that has no other formally instituted state executive apparatus. And it is political because it is one of the key structures in which the competition for power, the struggle for dominance is played out.[64]

In this respect, feud touches upon a range of interpersonal relationships that could affect an individual in medieval Iceland. Kinship obligations included the requirement for kinsmen to avenge one another. This sentiment is enshrined in Icelandic law laid down in *Grágás* which confers the right to vengeance on an injured party and his supporters.[65] Individuals often sought the protection and support of their kin as well as their chieftains in the pursuit of vengeance. Miller contends that '[s]eldom was vengeance undertaken alone'[66] with both sides in a feud requiring the safety of numbers to perpetrate vengeance or defend against reprisals.

Byock suggests that the model of feud in medieval Iceland was concerned 'to channel violence into accepted patterns of feud and to regulate conflict'.[67] Part of this regulation of conflict is related to the notion of group liability, according to which not just the individual perpetrators of violence, but their kin and supporters were also drawn into conflict. On the one hand, this widened the field of potential targets for vengeance and on the other, set natural limits to the longevity of the feud. Miller calls this the 'balanced-exchange' model and sees it as a system of reciprocity similar to gift-giving where the obligations of feuding actions were matched exactly: blood for blood; insult for injury; compensation for the same in property or money.[68] It was thus important for individuals involved in a feud to mobilise support for the later stages of feud, as well as for arbitration and settlement. Even those not directly involved in the feud were important as they constituted either potential supporters or the jury who decided the outcome of the case. Thus, we find individuals in the sources seeking to extend their support networks by any means possible, including the use of 'fictitious' relationships such as blood-brotherhood. The vengeance imperative is either explicitly or implicitly enshrined in the pact of blood-brotherhood; an aspect of Norse blood-brotherhood which will be discussed below along with its implications for the individuals involved in the relationship.

Creating Blood-Brothers in Medieval Iceland

What constituted *fóstbræðralag* (blood-brotherhood) in medieval Iceland? Although the dynamics of this relationship appear to have been governed by some of the same social norms that applied to blood kinship, it was nevertheless a personal relationship which did not form part of the formal kinship structure, as suggested by various anthropological studies of the relationship.[69] In the Norse world, the terminology used to denote this relationship is inconsistent and varied. Scholars are, thus, faced with similar problems of identification as those which arise out of sources for Roman and post-Roman

societies mentioned earlier. The most commonly used terms for men joined in 'fictitious' relationships in Old Norse sources are *svara-bróðir*, *eið-bróðir* (sworn-brother), *blóð-bróðir* or *blóði*[70] (blood-brother), and *fóst-bróðir* (foster-brother). While all of these terms are frequently used interchangeably, they are not all exactly synonymous to one another. There are subtle differences between them. *Svara-bróðir* or *eið-bróðir* (sworn-brother) and *blóð-bróðir* or *blóði* (blood-brother) appear to be specific terms which hint at the ritual inherent in the 'construction' of the 'fictitious' bond. *Fóst-bróðir* appears to be a more all-encompassing umbrella term which covers a wider range of 'constructed' relationships. Problematically, *fóst-bróðir* is also the term most frequently used in the sources for ritualised personal relationships between men, as a consequence of which it is often quite difficult to distinguish between the different routes through which individuals might become connected to one another.

There are many routes into the relationship that creates a man as the *fóst-bróðir* of another. The son of a foster-father automatically becomes a foster-brother, as does a male child whom one's own father is fostering; an adoptive brother or a half-brother may be called a foster-brother. According to *Haralds saga ins hárfagra,* 'people say that he is a lesser man who fosters a child for someone',[71] implying both the extension of the support group as well as the reinforcement of hierarchy. This leads Hastrup to comment that '[c]ertainly, this must seem natural, considering the strong emotional bonds that often resulted from fostering, familiar to us mainly from the saga literature'.[72] However, legally and in practice, foster-kinship is not much different from blood kinship with the exception that 'this association was personal to the individuals taking the sworn-brother oath and did not enter into the regular kinship system'.[73] There is no sense from any Old Norse source that the obligations arising from this 'fictitious' relationship extended beyond the individuals involved to other members of the kin group. Although Þorgeirr and Þormóðr are inseparable at the beginning of *Fóstbræðra saga*, on occasion even living with one another's families, there is no suggestion of either being functionally or figuratively a part of the other's kin group.[74]

Other routes into the relationship include the bonding of individuals, either by action or by means of rituals and oaths. Some sources suggest blood-brotherhood ties between men belonging to a military or political group, such as the followers of a particular lord. For instance, Arinbjörn is given the status of being the blood-brother of King Eiríkr blóðøx in *Egils saga*, which is possibly a confraternal relationship owing to belonging to the same war band.[75] The most famous example of this form of confraternal relationship between warriors is that of the Jómsvíkings, a legendary band of warriors based in the Baltic and mentioned in *Jómsvíkinga saga*, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, and other sagas. E.E. Evans-Pritchard noted that '[A]lliances based on exchange of blood have been recorded from many parts of the world' and that '[I]t is the more surprising therefore that descriptive

records of the ceremony by which the pact is formed and of the obligations which it entails are so scanty'.[76] The Norse case is no exception. Although there are numerous references to oaths and even to the practice of mixing blood,[77] the ritual of blood-brotherhood is described, highly variably, in only three Norse sources: Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* and two *Íslendingasögur*, *Gísla saga* and *Fóstbræðra saga*.

According to *Fóstbræðra saga*:

> They had to walk underneath a triple arch of raised turf, and this was their oath. The arch was made by scoring out three lengths of turf attached to the ground at both ends, then raised so that men could walk underneath them. Þormóðr and Þorgeirr undertook this rite as part of their sworn agreement.[78]

This description of the ritual of blood-brotherhood is relatively similar to that provided in *Gísla saga*:

> They walked out to Eyrarhvolsoddi and scored out a long strip of turf, so that both ends were attached to the ground and under it lay the inlaid spear so that a man could reach out to touch the rivets. The four of them had to go under it, Þorgrímr, Gísli, Þorkell and Vésteinn. Then they drew blood and let it drip together onto the soil beneath the arch of turf and mixed it together – the soil and the blood. Then they all fell to their knees and swore an oath that each would avenge the other like his brother, and they called on all the gods as their witnesses.[79]

There are significant differences between the two sources. In *Gísla saga*, the turf arch is not specified as being a 'triple arch' and is propped up with a spear scored with runes, suggesting a magical component to the ritual.[80] The most significant difference between the two descriptions is the inclusion, in *Gísla saga*, of two additional steps: first, mixing blood with the earth and second, taking hands and calling on the gods to bear witness.

Saxo in his *Gesta Danorum* does not speak of turf arches. Instead, he describes briefly that 'now our ancestors, when they meant to strike a pact, would sprinkle their combined blood in their footprints and mingle it, so as to strengthen the pledge of their fellowship'.[81] Unlike in *Fóstbræðra saga*, but like in *Gísla saga*, Saxo too brings together the elements of blood and earth in the ritual of binding men in the ritual of blood-brotherhood. Although not identical descriptions, the degree of overlap between the rituals described in these sources suggests that the oath of blood-brotherhood was taken as part of a formal—possibly magical—ritual, binding the participants together. This is in keeping with most anthropological studies where the ceremony at which the oath of blood-brotherhood is taken 'has the configuration of a typical magical rite'.[82]

Anthropologists studying different societies and their rituals of blood-brotherhood have found that—contrary to what may seem obvious—blood

is not necessary to a covenant; it may be contracted with other substances.[83] They have found a range of different materials which may be exchanged to represent consubstantiality—the idea of 'being of one flesh'—which is the prime nexus between the participants by which they are bound. In the Azande ceremony, in addition to blood, there is salt and groundnuts; the Amiangba people of Central Africa drink water from a gourd containing an iron ring; for the Abkhazian people of the Caucasus, it is the breast-milk of the participants' mothers (or the nearest possible substitute). The 'magical' consubstantiating substance may differ, but the concept is still the same: that the mutual consumption or mixing together of something from the participants ties them together. From the Norse sources available, for Saxo, it is the mixing of blood; in *Fóstbræðra saga*, it is walking under the turf arch, so the 'magical' substance is the earth; *Gísla saga* has both. All of the above variations on the terminology of the relationship, the route into it, and the attendant ritual, tie the individuals involved to one another into a relationship marked by reciprocity.

Blood-Brotherhood and Power in Medieval Iceland

In order to look at the intersection of blood-brotherhood with power, it is important to question what this 'binding together' entailed and why individuals might enter into such a ritualised personal relationship, in addition to all their existing relationships within kinship groups. In his study of the Zande of Central Africa, Evans-Pritchard states that the motive is 'to cement already existing bonds of comradeship by giving them a concrete organised form which is backed by sanctions'.[84] Thus, among the Azande, the behaviour pattern inherent in the oath is one of social familiarity and mutual assistance, guaranteed by blood, on pain of death. *Fóstbræðra saga* suggests, almost matter-of-factly, that Þorgeirr and Þormóðr were certain to become blood-brothers because they were similar in character, suggesting similar social familiarity. The saga further states explicitly that both felt that they would die fighting and thus swore that whoever survived the other would avenge his death. The blood-brotherhood pact is not simply an affirmation of their friendship. It has a specific predetermined purpose: to ensure that their deaths were avenged. The saga author explains this further by saying that:

> It had been a custom among famous men to become bound to each other by a law which stated that whoever outlived the other would avenge his death.[85]

It would appear that Norse blood-brotherhood had a very specific obligation—enshrined in law if we are to believe *Fóstbræðra saga*—in addition to the more general mutual assistance obligations of the relationship: the execution of blood vengeance. *Fóstbræðra saga* highlights the importance of vengeance through Þormóðr's almost single-minded pursuit of vengeance for Þorgeirr, despite their disagreement, parting and long separation. Even

though it is based in friendship, the obligations of the blood-brotherhood tie surpass those of friendship by potentially extending beyond the lifespan of the friendship itself, and certainly extending beyond the lifespan of at least one of the participants, the person to be avenged.

This aspect of blood-brotherhood is made explicit in *Jómsvíkinga saga*, which states that 'each shall avenge the other as his own brother'.[86] In this sense, the construction of Norse blood-brotherhood with the obligation of vengeance circumvents the likelihood that either participant's death may be settled by any other means than blood-vengeance; it mitigates the possibilities of settlement or compensation which are known to be an important part of the functioning of the Norse legal system and a recognised final stage in the cycle of blood feuds.[87] In looking at what he calls 'ritualized' (sic) relations, including blood-brotherhood, Eisenstadt finds that these relations are 'both voluntary and also particularistic and personal indicat[ing] that we have here some interrelation between solidary and instrumental obligations'.[88] All kinship relations are, by default, solidary—that is, marked by a unity of interest. 'Ritualised' relations, therefore, have an additional element of 'instrumental' obligation and the vengeance imperative in the Norse case appears to fulfil the role of this kind of obligation. Thus, Pitt-Rivers' assessment that '[t]he ritual kinsman is not a fictive kinsman at all but a figurative one whose role, far from being identical with the literal kin, is, rather, complementary'[89] would appear to hold true for the Norse case.

According to Eisenstadt, there exists a close connection between 'ritualised' relations and the nature and functioning of social organisation. He suggests that relations of this kind exist predominantly in particularistic societies

> 'in which (a) the incumbents of the most important roles act towards other persons according to the familial, kinship, lineage, ethnic and other properties of those individuals in relation to their own, and (b) membership in the total society is defined in terms of belonging to some particularistic subgroup (lineage, caste, etc.), and the most important institutional roles in the political, economic, ritual, etc., spheres are allocated to such groups or their representatives'.[90]

Norse social and kinship structures fit both of Eisenstadt's rigorous criteria. It would appear that the motivation to 'construct' relations, like those of blood-brotherhood, arises not despite the existence of strong kinship ties, but precisely because of them. The strains of living within a particularistic society may be seen in the conflicting social obligations faced by an individual. In the Norse case, it is potentially possible to ensure that one's death is avenged by means of entering into a pact of blood-brotherhood, with its 'instrumental' obligation of vengeance, since it removes the uncertainty of one's own kinsmen failing to do so in order to fulfil their other social obligations and may account for the large numbers of instances in the sagas of the use of the oath of blood-brotherhood to bind together individuals who are already related

into a closer relationship which has affective, instrumental and legal obligations. In *Gísla saga*, for instance, the ritual of blood-brotherhood is suggested by Gísli in a bid to bind together a group of already-related individuals: Gísli himself, his brother Þorkell, their sister's husband, Þorgrímr and Gísli's wife's brother, Vésteinn.[91]

If vengeance is indeed understood as an integral part of the Norse blood-brotherhood pact, the situation of the proposed participants in the blood-brotherhood ritual in *Gísla saga* becomes quite clear. The pact collapses at the last minute, however, owing to Þorgrímr's refusal to tie himself to Vésteinn. He states that he is prepared to undertake the obligations for his brothers-in-law, Gísli and Þorkell, but not Vésteinn since 'he is not related to Vesteinn'.[92] The all-inclusive nature of the Norse kin-group, the *ætt*, meant that an individual would often come up against conflicting kinship obligations. In this situation, it would be possible for an individual to go unavenged if the duty of vengeance fell to someone with conflicting personal or kinship obligations. The blood-brotherhood oath, however, superseded any other obligation, making vengeance almost a certainty. Enshrined in the blood-brotherhood oath, as in other oaths, lay the honour of the individuals involved. Upholding this honour was paramount, irrespective of other competing influences, suggesting that the bond of blood-brotherhood could (and would) cut across the multiple levels of relationships in the extensive *ætt* in favour of the individuals bound by this tie. For Þorgrímr, however, Vésteinn was a complete outsider, unrelated to him. He, therefore, had no obligatory ties to that individual, and could see no reason to encumber himself with the obligations of a blood-brotherhood relationship with him. Especially for the elites with whom the sources are predominantly concerned, the preoccupation with being avenged may be considered as a form of posthumous maintenance of power, for both the individual, but also for the kin-group associated with him. The imperative to settle a score and uphold honour was paramount, and a blood-brotherhood relationship provided the assurance of this particular form of support.

A particular feature of the people involved in blood-brotherhood pacts, which recurs in several sources, is the absolute parity between the participants, and relates to Evans-Pritchard's argument above about the equality of blood-brothers when compared with biological siblings. In *Orms þáttr Stórólfssonar*, the eponymous Ormr, an Icelander descended from Ketill Hæng, the famous chieftain of Hrafnista, enters into a blood-brotherhood pact with his friend, Ásbjörn from Vendil in Denmark. The saga states that, following a series of competitions in which they were evenly matched, the two men 'swore blood-brotherhood in the ancient way, that whichever lived longer would avenge the other if he was killed'.[93] A similar contest of ability is carried out by Árán and Ásmundr, in *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, before they 'swore blood-brotherhood'.[94] The blood-brothers part only because they each desire to return to their homelands, but Ormr

returns to Denmark from Iceland, specifically to avenge Ásbjörn's death. The blood-brothers Hörðr and Geirr, in *Harðar saga Grímkelssonar* (*Hólmverja saga*), are described as having a wonderful affection between them 'because they differed in neither word nor deed'.[95] The notion of absolute parity and equality is tested in *Fóstbræðra saga* between the blood-brothers, Þormóðr and Þorgeirr. The saga makes it clear from the opening character sketch that both men were very similar and neither would give in a fight. So when Þorgeirr unthinkingly wonders aloud to Þormóðr about which of them would win if they were to be pitted against one another, Þormóðr's response—to part company immediately—while seemingly an over-reaction, is based on sound reasoning. He does not want to go up against his own blood-brother, which could result in one of their deaths, the severing of the blood-brotherhood oath and the possibility of vengeance removed. Although they part company, the affection between them remains and Þormóðr eventually avenges Þorgeirr.[96]

While blood-brotherhood in medieval Iceland is clearly predominantly concerned with vengeance, during the lifetimes of the participants, it provided the means to extend the range of interpersonal relationships that an individual could draw upon in support of action or the exercise of authority in social, political and legal actions. Evans-Pritchard suggests that '[b]lood-brotherhood gives to the vague sentiment of friendship, with its indefinite obligations, a status comparable to that of close kin relationship'[97] and it is not uncommon to see blood-brothers form part of the support systems activated by individuals when required. However, as the blood-brotherhood pact was not simply an affirmation of friendship, it stands apart from the use of friendship ties in the sources, which are used more extensively to activate the support networks of most chieftains.[98] In fact, blood-brothers, in sheer numbers, are quite rare. In *Landnámabók*, among over 400 settlers, a number of whom are related to one another and help one another to claim land in Iceland, there are only nine sets of blood-brothers.[99] The first settlers of Iceland were the blood-brothers Íngólfr and Leifr. *Flóamanna saga* states that 'Ingolf and Leif were kinsmen and blood-brothers'[100] who travelled together on many expeditions and supported one another through battling several enemies. However, after losing all they had in compensation to Earl Atli and his son Hastein,[101] the blood-brothers left together to travel to an unknown land, Iceland. When Leifr[102] was killed by his slaves while trying to establish his settlement in Iceland, Íngólfr ensured that he was avenged.[103]

The unconditional support offered between blood-brothers is highlighted in instances in the sources where blood-brothers are often characterised as a single unit *þeim fóstbræðrum* ('the blood-brothers'), suggesting a relationship of amity and continual support. In *Fóstbræðra saga*, Þormóðr and Þorgeirr are a continual source of trouble and annoyance for their neighbours who are keen to separate the pair—*þeim fóstbræðrum*—in the hope that 'a small storm will stand off Þormóðr (he will be less unruly) if he is separated from Þorgeirr'.[104]

They do not succeed, however, and further in the saga, the pair are referred to as a collective unit a few times before they part company.[105] Similar references to blood-brothers as a collective are to be found in several sagas including *Flóamanna saga* referring to Íngólfr and Leifr; in *Hrana saga hrings* about Hrani and Einarr; in *Laxdæla saga* about Bolli and Kjartan; in *Grettis saga* referring to Þormóðr kolbrúnaskáld and Þorgeirr Hávarsson. In the case of the blood-brothers in *Gull-Þóris* saga, reference to a collective is indeed pertinent, since Þórir has eight blood-brothers – Ketilbjörn, Þórhallr and Þorsteinn Drikkinnarsynir, Hyrningr Hallsson, Björn Beruson, Ásmundr Naðursson, Már Hallvarðsson and Óttar Skáldsson—all young men who grew up together in Berufjörðr.[106] All these individuals appear to act in support of one another and are often targeted together by their enemies too as a collective. The mutual support aspect of blood-brotherhood is thus ingrained in this collective identification of the individuals involved in the relationship.

Less commonly, the support provided by the blood-brotherhood pact extends beyond the interpersonal relationship between the two individuals involved. While this does not mean that the blood-brothers were included in one another's kinship groups, the bond could be invoked when dealing with people outside the relationship. For instance, in *Fóstbræðra saga*, when Þormóðr kolbrúnaskáld travels to Norway and presents himself to King Ólafr Haraldsson, the king recognises him as 'the blood-brother of Þorgeirr Hávarsson', one of the king's retainers, now dead.[107] When Þormóðr confirms his identity as such, the king says: 'then you shall enjoy our favour for his sake and are welcome here', before urging Þormóðr to avenge his follower.[108] The affection between blood-brothers is often cited as the reason for their collective action, but occasionally it also influences their actions towards one another's kin. In *Egils saga*, it is stated explicitly that 'there was very much love in the blood-brotherhood' between Þórir Hroaldsson and Skalla-Grímr.[109] As a consequence of his relationship with Þórir, Skalla-Grímr helped Þora and her husband Bjǫrn because she was Þórir's sister, saying 'that it was due and just to grant the sister of Þórir, his blood-brother, with such assistance as needed or he had the means to provide'.[110] Skalla-Grímr's subsequent anger with the couple is, therefore, understandable, when he finds out that Þora and Bjǫrn had eloped and wed without the consent of his blood-brother, Þórir. His assistance to the couple, although well-intentioned, puts him in an awkward position with his blood-brother and the matter is eventually resolved once Bjǫrn and Þórir were reconciled.

When blood-brothers appear in situations of conflict or of conflict resolution in support of one another, they are occasionally at the forefront of the power and support networks activated by chieftains. In *Prestssaga Guðmundar goða*, in 1182–1183, Guðmundr goði's blood-bother, Þórgrímr alikarl was instrumental in resolving a case which Guðmundr initially looked likely to lose.[111] Similarly, in *Heiðarvíga saga*, Barði's blood-brother, Halldorr is the first to be named as part of the support group for Barði's suit to

avenge the killing of his brother.[112] Occasionally, the advantages of blood-brotherhood are highlighted, not through blood-brothers being on the same side, but when they are pitted against one another. In *Magnúss saga Berfætts*, Sveinki Steinarsson, a follower of King Hákon and a powerful chieftain in Vík, is faced with a demand for the surrender of his lands and property from King Magnús. Sveinki finds himself standing in opposition to his blood-brother, Kolbeinn klakka. In negotiations to avoid all-out conflict, Kolbeinn invokes their 'long relationship as blood-brothers and our perfect friendship' to convince Sveinki to stand down his opposition and to assure him that his lands and property will be well looked after during his exile.[113] Kolbeinn is, thus, able to preserve Sveinki's life and property, as well as to advocate on his behalf to King Magnús, with whom Sveinki is eventually reconciled.

Like all personal relationships, the bonds of blood-brotherhood too sometimes failed. In *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, Ívarr útvík is betrayed and attacked by his *eiðbróðir*, Guðólfr.[114] The most famous case appears in *Laxdæla saga,* where the first cousins Kjartan and Bolli are bound by the blood-brotherhood pledge. In this instance, despite the obvious affection between them, Bolli comes up against Kjartan owing to other kinship obligations, and eventually kills him. Not only are the kinship bonds between first cousins broken, but more seriously the blood-brotherhood oath is broken as well. Kjartan's final words sum up the situation well: 'Surely you will now, kinsman, do an evil deed, but I would rather accept my death from you than cause yours'.[115] The individual who had pledged to kill for Kjartan killed him instead. While there are no recorded penalties or consequences for breaking the oath of blood-brotherhood specifically, it is fair to assume that it carried the same *níð* (shame) associated with the breaking of oaths in general. Bolli is thus a double offender, having both broken his oath and killed his kinsman, making his own description of his actions as *úhapp*[116] (a mishap, ill-luck) especially poignant. A rather more catastrophic consequence of the failure of the blood-brotherhood bond comes from Norse mythology, where the growing discord between Óðinn and Loki eventually results in Ragnarökr, the doom of the gods.[117]

Conclusion: Blood-Brotherhood, Power and Masculinity: This Bastion Stands

Chieftains and other men in medieval Iceland appear to have created 'fictitious' kin, through ties of blood-brotherhood to provide support in life and after death. The very practice of blood-brotherhood in its many guises may be seen as a particular form of the performance of masculinity. From the participants in the relationship, to the contests of equality and the martial elements of the routes into the relationship, and finally to the purpose of the relationship—to provide support in conflict during life and to exact vengeance after death—all aspects of blood-brotherhood are entirely masculine. This personal

ritual relationship between two men is rarely mirrored by a similar relationship between women in any society, past or contemporary. In the case of the Norse world, not only is there no equivalent relationship to tie women together, it is rare in Old Norse sources for inter-personal relationships between women to be described at all, unless it is with reference to the men in their lives.

Furthermore, the link between power and masculinity in the Viking world is entrenched in the system of obligations and the performance of judicial, political and social roles, which are restricted by law and social convention to men. While the political and legal arenas of medieval Iceland were largely masculine domains, we can nevertheless detect some female presence. Clover contends that 'between women's de jure status and de facto status (as it is represented in literary and even historical texts) there appears to have been a very large playing field' and several exceptional women appear to not have been 'hindered by notions of male and female nature'.[118] Women are present, albeit only thirteen in number, among the original settlers of Iceland.[119] Women could own and inherit wealth; there are a few scattered mentions in the sagas of women owing chieftaincies, even if they were managed by men. Similarly, women could bring suits to assemblies, but they had to be prosecuted by men. This leads Gunnar Karlsson to proclaim that 'women were completely excluded from the ruling system, whatever their social status in other respects'.[120] Where women *are* present in the networks of power and authority in medieval Iceland, the most obvious manner in which they were involved is in extending these networks through marriage. As wives, daughters, lovers, whetters, and prophetesses, women did indeed play a part in 'the destinies of the men in their communities'.[121] Their roles, however, were only peripherally connected to the spheres of power and authority and where they did intersect, they did so, more often than not, through their men.

Especially as regards the vengeance imperative in medieval Icelandic blood-brotherhood, women would not have been able to provide the posthumous support required. Women would not have been able to physically exact vengeance, restricted as they were by social norms, except through other men who may not have been inclined to oblige or undertake obligations on behalf of another. Highlighting the difference between marriage and blood-brotherhood in Uganda, White explains that it is 'a more reliable union than marriage could ever be': 'A blood brother did what no wife could do, act as an advocate for the deceased and see that the dead man's will was carried out'.[122] In the Norse case too, the relationship and obligations of blood-brotherhood extended beyond the life of at least one participant in a way that marriage and other relations did not. It thus makes blood-brotherhood a more enduring relationship than any other a man could have.

What then can blood-brotherhood reveal about masculinity and power in medieval Iceland? On the one hand, blood-brotherhood is as concerned (or unconcerned) with masculinity as any other social construct in medieval Iceland, as discussed above. On the other hand, it is irrevocably masculine in that

it is a particular bond between two men, based on amity and affection, and reinforced by a ritual contract. The ritual of blood-brotherhood includes possibly magical elements to secure the bond between the participants and may or may not necessarily involve blood. It is thus a 'ritualised' relationship with 'instrumental' obligations: mutual support in life and vengeance after death. These attributes make it an excellent vehicle for the powerful (inevitably men) to extend their networks of support and influence in a world in which power and authority resided almost exclusively in inter-personal relationships, rather than in institutional structures. Chieftains and other powerful men in Iceland used blood-brotherhood bonds to reinforce existing kinship and friendship relationships, while also creating new relationships through this tie. In conflict situations, these extended networks of power bolstered their authority and created desired outcomes as seen above. The obligation enshrined in the blood-brotherhood oath for the participants to avenge one another extended the power and authority of the individuals beyond life, shaping actions and influencing outcomes even after their death through their blood-brothers. Blood-brotherhood ties also empowered individuals to cut across kinship obligations, ensuring vengeance where competing loyalties may otherwise have prevented its exaction. Blood-brotherhood was thus a powerful tool for the extension of power and authority in medieval Iceland.

This paper arose out of the conference on 'Leadership, Power and Masculinity', where the stated aim was to 'gender' questions of leadership, power and authority, this last bastion of 'gender blindness'. Looking at medieval Icelandic blood-brotherhood, it is clear that it plays an important role in establishing support networks of power and authority, as well as in exercising this power and authority, both during the lifetimes of the participants in the bond and also after death. It is, however, pre-eminently a male bond, in both its theoretical construction, as well as in its activation in the social, political and judicial spheres of medieval Icelandic life. This part of the bastion thus remains immovably masculine.

Notes

1. U. Dronke, *The Poetic Edda: The Mythological Poems Vol. II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). All English translations of Old Norse texts are my own unless specified otherwise.
2. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', *Africa,* 6 (1933), 369–401, p. 369.
3. J. Pitt-Rivers, 'The Kith and the Kin' in *The Character of Kinship*, ed. J. Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 89–105, p. 90.
4. J.L. Gibbs, Jr, 'Compensatory Blood-Brotherhood: A Comparative Analysis of Institutionalized Friendship in Two African Societies', *The Minnesota Academy of Science Proceedings*, 30 (1962), 67–74, p. 67.
5. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', p. 372.

6. F. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology* (London: Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1958), p. 272.
7. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', p. 383.
8. Ibid., p. 399.
9. A.M. Hocart, 'Blood-Brotherhood' in *The Life-giving Myth, and other essays* (New York: Grove Press, 1953), pp. 185–189 at p. 185.
10. Pitt-Rivers, 'Kith and Kin', p. 90.
11. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ed. E.Ó. Sveinsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* XII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1965) §94 [henceforth *Nj.*] : 'sonu Njáls á um neinn hlut'.
12. Ibid. *Nj.* §97: 'svá var dátt með þeim ǫllum, at engum þótti ráð ráðit, nema þeir réði allir um […] svá var ákaft um vináttu þeira, at hvárir buðu ǫðrum heim hvert haust ok gáfu stórgjafar'.
13. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', p. 398.
14. L. White, 'Blood-brotherhood revisited: Kinship, Relationship and the Body in East and Central Africa', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 64 (1994), 359–372, p. 359.
15. E.A.R. Brown, 'Introduction: Ritual Brotherhood in Ancient and Medieval Europe: A Symposium', *Traditio*, 52 (1997), 261–283, p. 272.
16. L. Kretzenbacher, *Rituelle Wahlverbrüderung in Südosteuropa. Erlebniswirklichkeit und Erzählmotiv*, Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 1 (Munich: Beck in Komm, 1971).
17. L. Hellmuth, *Die germanische Blutsbrüderschaft. Ein typologischer und völkerkundlicher Vergleich*, Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie 7 (Vienna: Halosar, 1975).
18. Klaus Oschema surveys the historiography of blood-brotherhood and points to the use of sources looking to the past or other 'exotic' cultures by several scholars, suggesting that they 'tended to note the ritual as a cultural curiosity [and] more recent studies of ritual structures are in danger of misrepresenting the cultures they focus on' (p. 275). Cf. K. Oschema, 'Blood-brothers: a ritual of friendship and the construction of the imagined barbarian in the middle ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), 275–301. While this is certainly a danger to be guarded against, there are arguments to be made for the use of sources, such as the sagas, as reflections of orally transmitted historical traditions and for the social structures represented therein as recognisable to the later generations which preserved them. Cf. C.J. Clover (1986) 'The Long Prose Form', *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, 101 (1986), 10–39; G. Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition: A Discourse on Method* trans. N. Jones (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 2004).
19. E. Patlagean, 'Christianisation et parentés rituelles: le domaine de Byzance', *Annales ESC*, 333 (1978), 625–636, p. 628.
20. B.D. Shaw, 'Ritual Brotherhood in Roman and Post-Roman Societies', *Traditio*, 52 (1997), 327–355, p. 327. In their excellent collection 'Ritual Brotherhood in Ancient and Medieval Europe: A Symposium', Rapp, Shaw and Brown cover the history and sources available to study these relationships, as well as a wide range of approaches to the study of blood-brotherhood.
21. Shaw, 'Ritual Brotherhood', p. 327.

22. Evans-Pritchard states that 'I have never come across an instance of a man making blood-brotherhood with a woman, though I have been told that rare alliances have been made between a man and a much loved and trusted wife' in his 'Zande blood-brotherhood', p. 373. There is, however, little firm evidence of such male-female ritualised relations in anthropological studies, and none in the medieval Norse world.
23. C.S. Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) p. 157
24. E. Hubble, 'Par fiance bien tenir: Medieval Same-Sex Kinship and Sworn Brotherhood in *Le Roman de Thèbes*', *Medieval Feminist Forum*, 49 (2013), no. 1, 5–29, p. 13.
25. Hubble, 'Par fiance bien tenir', p. 25.
26. J. Jochens, 'Old Norse Sexuality: Men, Women, and Beasts' in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* ed. V.L. Bullough and J.A. Brundage (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000) 369–400, p. 382.
27. *Grágás: Islændernes Lovbog i Fristatens Tid, udgivet efter det Kongelige Bibliotheks Haandskrift*, ed. V. Finsen. 2 parts (Ia, Ib) (Copenhagen: Berlings Bogtrykkeri, 1852) K§237–238 [henceforth *Grágás*].
28. Jochens, 'Old Norse Sexuality', p. 390.
29. Á. Jakobsson, 'Masculinity and Politics in *Njáls Saga*', *Viator*, 38 (2007), 191–215, p. 191.
30. Ibid., p. 200.
31. T. Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass and London: Harvard University Press, 1990).
32. C.J. Clover, 'Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe', *Representations*, 44 (1993), 1–28, p. 13.
33. E. Mundal, 'Forholdet mellom born ok foreldre i det norrøne kjeldematerialet', *Collegium Medievale*, 1 (1988), 2–28, p. 24.
34. Clover, 'Regardless of Sex', p. 14.
35. Ibid., p. 13.
36. Shaw, 'Ritual Brotherhood', p. 330.
37. Ibid., p. 333.
38. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology*, p. 272.
39. K. Hastrup, *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland: An Anthropological Analysis of Structure and Change* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 70.
40. Hastrup, *Culture and History*, p. 80.
41. S.B. Johnson and R.C. Johnson, 'Support and Conflict of Kinsmen in Norse Earldoms, Icelandic Families, and the English Royalty', *Ethology and Sociobiology*, 12 (1991), 211–220.
42. T. Hekala and P.D. Buell, 'The Perils of Misunderstood and Incomplete Information. A Reply to Johnson and Johnson', *Ethology und Sociobiology*, 14 (1993), 270–287, p. 284.
43. Shaw, 'Ritual Brotherhood', pp. 332, 339.
44. I say 'uninhabited' in keeping with Orri Vésteinsson's view that Dicuil mentions only one expedition of Irish hermits who returned in the same year; hence, 'there is little foundation to the belief that there was a permanent settlement of Irish anchorites in Iceland before the arrival of the Norse settlers'. Cf. O. Vésteinsson, 'The Archaeology of *Landnám*: Early Settlement

of Iceland' in *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga*, ed. W.W. Fitzhugh and E.I. Ward (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), pp. 164–174 at p. 165. The island was effectively uninhabited when the first settlers came to Iceland, although the Norse 'seem to have had some inkling of the Irish presence' since Ari mentions finds of Irish books, bells and crosiers, almost all of which would have been familiar to the migrants coming from or passing through the Norse colonies in the British Isles. Ari also explains that the anchorites or 'papar' left when the first migrants settled in Iceland as they did not want to live with heathens: their presence in Iceland is nevertheless reflected in the few 'papar' related place names, for instance Papaey.

45. *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ed. S. Nordal. *Íslenzk Fornrit* II (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1933) §4 [henceforth *Eg.*]: 'Haraldr konungr eignaðisk í hverju fylki óðul ǫll ok allt land, byggt ok óbyggt, ok jafnvel sjóinn ok vǫtnin… En af þessi áþján flýgðu margir menn af landi á brott…'
46. Cf. J. Jóhannesson, *A History of the Old Icelandic Commonwealth: Íslendinga saga*, trans. H. Bessason (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1974); N.P. Njardvík, *Birth of a Nation: The Story of the Icelandic Commonwealth,* trans. J. Porter (Reykjavik: Iceland Review, 1978).
47. Ó. Lárusson, *Lög og saga* (Reykjavík: Hlaðbúð, 1958) p. 61: 'Lýðveldið íslenzka var alIa stund einskonar sambandsríki. Til smaríkjanna norsku svara höfðingjadæmin ískenzku, goðorðin'.
48. J. Byock, 'Governmental Order in Early Medieval Iceland', *Viator*, 17 (1986), 19–34, p. 20.
49. Byock, 'Governmental Order', p. 30.
50. Cf. J.V. Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and Power in the Icelandic Commonwealth* (Odense: Odense Univ. Press, 1999).
51. *Grágás,* K§132; 135–136.
52. J.V. Sigurðsson, p. 59.
53. Ibid., p. 56.
54. W.I. Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 18.
55. G. Karlsson, 'Social Institutions' in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture* ed. R. McTurk (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007) 503–517, p. 514.
56. J.V. Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and Power*, p. 56.
57. Byock, 'Governmental Order', p. 30.
58. Ibid., p. 24.
59. J.V. Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and Power*, p. 92.
60. Byock, 'Governmental Order', p. 34.
61. Cf. J.V. Sigurðsson 'The Power Base of the Chieftains: Kinsmen and in-laws' in his *Chieftains and Power*, ch. 3, pp. 141–150.
62. *Nj.* §117: 'skyldi gipta Rannveigu, dóttur sína, Starkaði, er bjó at Stafafelli, bróðursyni Flosa; gekk Flosa þat til, at hann þóttisk svá ráða undir sik trúnað hans ok fjǫlmenni'.
63. Njáll fosters Þorhall, son of Ásgrímr Elliðagrímsson, the powerful goði of Tunga, who is also fostered by Ketill Mǫrk, descendent of Sighvatr rauði; Hǫskuldr Þrainsson, son of Þráin Sígfusson, descendent of Sighvatr rauði; Þorðr, son of Kári Solmundarson, hirðmaðr of Earl Sigurðr of Orkney.

64. Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking*, p. 181.
65. *Grágás* K§147, 149.
66. Ibid., p. 188.
67. J.L. Byock, *Feud in the Icelandic Saga* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: Univ. of California Press, 1984), p. 1.
68. Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking*, pp. 184–185.
69. Cf. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood'; Hocart, 'Blood-brotherhood'; Pitt-Rivers, 'Kith and kin'.
70. Used predominantly in poetry, not prose.
71. S. Sturluson. *Heimskringla I*, ed. B. Aðalbjarnarson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* XXVI (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1941) §39 [henceforth *Heims. I*]: 'þat er mál manna, at sá væri ótignari, er ǫðrum fóstraði barn'.
72. K. Hastrup, *Culture and History*, p. 99.
73. R.T. Merrill, 'Notes on Kinship Terminology', *American Anthropologist* 66 (1964), 867–872, p. 870.
74. *Fóstbræðra saga*, ed. B. Þórólfsson and G. Jónsson. Íslenzk Fornrit VI (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1943) [henceforth *Fbr.*]
75. *Eg.* § 60. It is equally possible that their relationship was created through a ritual, but the saga does not provide enough evidence to confirm or deny this suggestion.
76. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', p. 369.
77. *Lokasenna* contains the phrase *blanda blóði saman* (to mix blood together); the legendary saga *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana* states: 'let their blood run together, that held men in an oath' (*vökva sér síðan blóð ok létu renna saman, héldu menn þat þá eiða*).
78. *Fbr.*§2 : '…þá skyldu þeir ganga undir þrjú jarðmen, ok var þat eiðr þeira. Sá leikr var á þá lund, at rísta skyldi þrjár torfur ór jǫrðu langar; þeira endar skyldu allir fastir í jǫrðu ok heimta upp lykkjurnar, svá at menn mætti ganga undir. Þann leik frǫmðu þeir Þormóðr ok Þorgeirr í sínum fastmælum.'
79. *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, ed. B. Þórólfsson and G. Jónsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* VI (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1943) §6 [henceforth *Gsl.*]: 'Ganga nú út í Eyrarhválsodda ok rista þar upp ór jǫrðu jarðarmen, svá at báðir endar váru fastir í jǫrðu, ok settu þar undir málaspjót, þat er maðr mátti taka hendi sinni til geirnagla. Þeir skyldu þar fjórir undir ganga, Þorgrímr, Gísli, Þorkell ok Vésteinn. Ok nú vekja þeir sér blóð ok láta renna saman dreyra sinn í þeiri moldu, er upp var skorin undan jarðarmeninu, ok hrœra saman allt, moldina ok blóðit; en síðan fellu þeir allir á kné ok sverja þann eið, at hverr skal annars hefna sem bróður síns, ok nefna ǫll goðin í vitni.'
80. Cf. R.I. Page, *Runes*, Reading the Past 4 (London: British Museum, 1987), pp. 11–12.
81. Saxo Grammaticus. *Gesta Danorum: primum a C. Knabe & P. Herrmann recensita, recognoverunt et ediderunt J. Olrik & H. Ræder*, ed. J. Olrik & H. Ræder (København: Levin & Munksgaard, 1931), Book I: '[s]i quidem icturi fedus ueteres uestigia mutua sanguinis aspersione perfundere consueuerant amiciciarum pignus alterni cruoris commercio firmaturi'.
82. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', p. 382.
83. A.M. Hocart, 'Blood-Brotherhood', *Man*, 35 (1935), 113–115, p. 114.
84. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', pp. 371–372.

85. *Fbr.* §2: 'Hafði sú siðvenja verit hǫfð frægra manna, þeira er þat lǫgumál settu sín í milli, at sá skyldi annars hefna, er lengr lifði…'
86. *Jómsvíkinga saga, The Saga of the Jomsvikings*, ed. and trans. N.F. Blake (London, Edinburgh, Paris, Melbourne, Johannesburg, Toronto and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962) §16 [henceforth *Jóms.*]: 'hverr skyldi þar annars hefna sem bróður síns'.
87. Cf. Miller, *Bloodtaking and peacemaking* on feud.
88. S.N. Eisenstadt, 'Ritualized Personal Relations: Blood Brotherhood, Best Friends, Compadre, Etc.: Some Comparative Hypotheses and Suggestions', *Man*, 56 (1956), 90–95, p. 90.
89. Pitt-Rivers, 'Kith and Kin', p. 95.
90. Ibid., p. 91.
91. *Gsl.* §6.
92. Ibid.: 'en mig skyldir ekki til við Véstein'.
93. *Orms þáttr Stórólfssonar*, ed. Þ. Vilmundarson and B. Vilhjálmsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* XIII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1991) §6 [henceforth *OþS.*]: 'sórust í fóstbræðralag at fornum sið, at hvárr skyldi annars hefna sá er lengr lifði ef hinn yrði vápndauðr'.
94. *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, ed. G. Jónsson and B. Vilhjálmson. *Fornaldarsögur Norðulanda*, vol. 3 (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944) §6, 'sverjumst í fóstbræðralagi'.
95. *Harðar saga Grímkelssonar (Hólmverja saga)*, ed. Þ. Vilmundarson and B. Vilhjálmsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* XIII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1991) §12 [henceforth *HsH.*]: 'því at þá skildi á hvárki orð né verk'.
96. A similar motif of 'twinned' heroes may be found in medieval romances, such as in the twelfth-century *chanson de geste*, *Amis et Amiles*. It is plausible that a 'twinned' motif of this sort could have made its way into the sagas via later fourteenth-century Old Norse versions of medieval romances. Cf. 'Amícus saga ok Amilíus', M.E. Kalinke and P.M. Mitchell, *Bibliography of Old Norse–Icelandic Romances*, Islandica 44 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985). My thanks to Rachel E. Moss for pointing out this parallel.
97. Evans-Pritchard, 'Zande Blood-brotherhood', p. 372.
98. Cf. J.V. Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and Power in the Icelandic Commonwealth* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1999); idem, 'The Changing Role of Friendship in Iceland, c. 900–1300' in *Friendship and Social Networks in Scandinavia, c. 1000–1800*, ed. J.V. Sigurðsson and T. Småberg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
99. *Íslendingabók Landnámabók*, ed. J. Benediktsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1986) [henceforth *Ísl.*; *Land.*]
100. *Flóamanna saga*, ed. Þ. Vilmundarson and B. Vilhjálmsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* XIII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1991) §2: '[þ]eir Íngólfr ok Leifr váru frændr ok fóstbrædr'.
101. *Land.* §6.
102. Also known as Hjǫrleifr, owing to winning a sword (*hjǫrr-*) in a burial mound in Ireland (*Land.* §6).
103. *Land.* §8. The other sets of blood-brothers attested in *Landnámabók* include Ármóðr enn rauði and Geirleifr Eiríksson (*Land.* §130); Kolr and Ørlygr Hrappson (*Land.* §15); Ingimundr and Grímr (*Land.* §179); Vestmaðr and

Úlfr (*Land.* §246); Hróaldr bjóla and Eyvindr vápni (*Land.* §269); Loðmundr enn gamli and Bjólfr (*Land.* §289, 333); Baugr and Ketill hœngr (*Land.* §344, 348); Þorkell bjálfi and Ráðormr (*Land.* §367).

104. *Fbr.* §2: 'minni stormr standi af Þormóði, ef þeir Þorgeirr skiljask'.
105. Ibid., §5, 8.
106. *Gull-Þóris saga (Þorskfirðinga saga)*, ed. Þ. Vilmundarson and B. Vilhjálmsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* XIII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1991) §2 [henceforth *GÞs.*].
107. *Fbr.*, §18: 'svarabróðir Þorgeirs Hávarssonar'.
108. Ibid., 'Njóta skaltu hans frá oss, ok vel ertu hér kominn'.
109. *Eg.*, §25: 'var þar allkært í fóstbrœðralagi'.
110. *Eg.* §33: 'at þat var skylt ok heimult um systur Þóris, fóstbróður síns, at hann gerði slíkan forbeina, sem þurfti eða hann hefði fǫng til'.
111. *Prestssaga Guðmundar goða*, in *Sturlunga saga*. ed. J. Jóhannesson, M. Finnbogason and K. Eldjárn. 2 vols. (Reykjavík: Sturlunguútgáfan, 1946).
112. *Heiðarvíga saga*, ed. S. Nordal and G. Jónsson, *Íslenzk Fornrit*, III (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1938) §16.
113. Snorri Sturluson, *Magnúss saga Berfætts,* in *Heimskringla* ed. B. Aðalbjarnarson, *Íslenzk fornrit* XXVI–XXVIII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 2002) §12: 'lángt fóstbræðralag ok fullkomit vinfengi'.
114. *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, ed. Þ. Hauksson, S. Jakobsson and T. Ulset, *Íslenzk Fornrit*, XXXI–XXXII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 2013) §58.
115. *Laxdœla saga*, ed. E.Ó. Sveinsson. *Íslenzk Fornrit* V (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1934) §49 [henceforth *Lax.*]: 'Víst ætlar þú nú, frændi, níðingsverk at gera, en miklu þykki mér betra at þiggja banaorð af þér, frændi, en veita þér þat'.
116. *Lax.* §49.
117. Cf. 'Vǫluspá' in U. Dronke, *The Poetic Edda: The Mythological Poems Vol. II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
118. Clover, 'Regardless of Sex', p. 5.
119. C. Callow, 'Putting Women in their Place? Gender, Landscape, and the Construction of *Landnámabók*', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia*, 7 (2011), 7–28, p. 8.
120. G. Karlsson, *Iceland's 1100 Years: The History of a Marginal Society* (London: Hurst and Company, 2000) pp. 26–27.
121. F.S. Scott, 'The Woman Who Knows: Female Characters of *Eyrbyggja Saga*' in *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology* ed. S.M. Anderson with K. Swenson (New York & London: Routledge, 2002), p. 239.
122. White, 'Blood-brotherhood revisited', p. 364.

Beyond Celibacy: Medieval Bishops, Power and Masculinity in the Middle Ages

Matthew M. Mesley

In the *Dialogus miraculorum*, a text written by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach in the third decade of the thirteenth century, a number of anecdotes reveal a monastic critique of the secular church. One chapter is entitled: 'Of a clerk who said that German bishops could not be saved'. Here Caesarius recounts some contemporary gossip that had been voiced against bishops by an anonymous clerk from Paris. The clerk had exclaimed: 'I can believe a great deal […] but there is one thing I can never believe, namely, that any bishop in Germany can ever be saved!' On hearing this, the novice responds with an astute question: 'Why should he condemn the bishops in Germany rather than those of France, England, Lombardy or Tuscany'?[1] The senior replied:

> Because all the bishops in Germany have both swords committed to them; I mean the temporal power as well as the spiritual; and since they hold the power of life and death, and make wars, they are compelled to be more anxious about the pay of their soldiers than the welfare of the souls committed to their charge.[2]

This critique of the German episcopate points to a wider cultural debate concerning the acceptability of certain kinds of men participating within the secular sphere, even if at the same time it recognises that the ability of German bishops to wield power and influence politics was a characteristic feature of

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the time.[3] Nevertheless, the anecdote highlighted how some contemporaries felt that there was a significant gulf between episcopal ideals (that German bishops should emphasise their spiritual and pastoral vocation), and the realities of the episcopal vocation (that German bishops were implicated and engaged with political conflicts and secular feuds).[4] This perceived disconnect between theory and practice has to be accounted for when thinking about the relationship between politics and gender in this period, and similarly in judging the extent to which competing or complementary understandings of masculinity influenced how different groups of men could and should wield their authority. What is clear is that throughout the Middle Ages, religious leaders were active participants within the political sphere, not only as agents and go-betweens of monarchs and other secular powers, but also in respect of their own interests.[5]

If, on the one hand, episcopal involvement in politics was at times problematized by clerical or monastic contemporaries, particularly when their actions had a detrimental effect upon the Church and its reputation, (arch) bishops were nevertheless deemed essential to the functioning of medieval government.[6] Consequently, as members of the ruling classes, and in their role as ecclesiastical statesmen, bishops were often judged in ways akin to their secular peers, which related to broader perceptions of lordship, power, honour, fidelity and service. The following chapter explores the nature of episcopal and archiepiscopal power at the turn of the thirteenth century, and begins by drawing some comparisons between German and English bishops. I argue that in considering the relationship between gender and politics, we can recognise that medieval categories existed without making rigid distinctions between religious and secular men. Further, in using the example of bishops, a class of elite religious men who wielded both spiritual and political authority, it is hoped that we can think afresh about how our own classifications (influenced in part by the historiography of medieval masculinities) may elide more fluid negotiations of medieval gender hierarchies.[7]

Bishops and Reform

On first reading, Caesarius offered a stinging critique of the German episcopate; yet on closer inspection his comment might also reflect a shift in ideas regarding the activities and appropriate behaviour of bishops and religious leaders.[8] In part such attitudes were a consequence of the eleventh-century reform movements, which had sought an internal institutional and external societal renewal.[9] Monastic writers, and secular clerics too, such as Peter of Blois and Gerald of Wales, were just as inclined to censure 'worldly' bishops who prioritised their secular affairs over the well-being and discipline of their parishioners and subordinates.[10] As such, the emphasis of reformers on particular episcopal functions and roles could vary, and the concerns and expectations each Church had vis-à-vis reform did not always run in parallel.

For example, in England, for much of the twelfth century and beyond, the rallying call of episcopal reformers was the refrain *Libertas ecclesie*—meaning freedom of the church from secular and often monarchical tyranny. This also implied that the higher clergy should not be used as tools of secular powers.[11] In Germany, while bishops at times faced similar encroachments from the king, as well as the aristocracy and urban elites, their familial networks (they were often part of local aristocratic dynasties),[12] and their status as princes of the realm, allowed for greater independence and with this the resources with which to defend and consolidate their territories.[13] Their enemies or rivals for power were often also closer. Thus, in the *vita* of the martyred thirteenth-century Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne, an attempt was made to draw a comparison with the infamous murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket by Henry II, but even the hagiographer made clear that Engelbert's murder was less about the Church's freedoms, and more about a territorial conflict between the archbishop and his cousin.[14] Although the ideology of *Libertas ecclesie* had a broad appeal throughout Western Europe, German bishops were more likely to weaponize it, rather than use it as a shield.

Episcopal Culture, Masculinity and Lordship

Even as the papacy sought to impose greater institutional centralisation upon European churches, episcopal culture was never a monolith in the central Middle Ages.[15] While twelfth-and thirteenth-century bishops in England and Germany shared common features, in so far as we can make generalisations, their involvement in national and regional politics reflected the evolution of particular historical traditions and circumstances, as well as legal frameworks.[16] This not only influenced how they were perceived and how they perceived themselves, but also impacted upon their status and the jurisdictional powers that they wielded. If all European bishops drew their religious authority from their sacerdotal functions, the power they wielded on the political arena could be affected by cultural differences. One could point to the diverse backgrounds, education and career prospects of episcopal candidates, the relationship between sovereigns and their episcopate, the expectations of administrative, military and diplomatic assistance, and not least the social and economic rights bishops might hold within their cathedrals, cities and wider territories.[17] To take one example, if twelfth-century English bishops did at times challenge or seek to limit monarchical power, they were never in a position such as that of the Cologne archbishops Adolf of Altena and Conrad of Hochstaden, who made decisions about who would be king. As integral participants of the German College of Electors, German archbishops had the power to both make and break kings and their princely rivals.[18] Consequently, throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in response to the frequent conflicts between emperors and the papacy, considerable authority was often delegated or transferred to German archbishops.[19] Furthermore, in

clarifying their status and service with regards to the emperor and the pope, many German bishops attempted to navigate the loyalty of both.[20] Yet most were well aware that resistance to the former could have far greater practical and material consequences.

To outside observers, bishops from Germany often appeared to have decidedly foreign or 'alien' characteristics, which seemed divorced from the religious nature of their office. As Timothy Reuter noted over three decades ago: 'Twelfth and thirteenth-century German bishops and abbots struck their contemporaries in England and France as being a different kind of prelate from those found in the West—more militaristic, far more like secular princes.'[21] For example, Richard of Cornwall, the youngest son of King John, and at the time of writing, king of Germany, would in a letter addressed to his nephew (later Edward I) declare: 'Behold, what warlike archbishops and bishops we have in Germany'. Some have tended to contextualise this as a lament, but in fact Richard was quite positive about the bellicose German bishops; as he continued, 'I would count it not at all unprofitable if such were created in England, by whose attention you would be secured against the importunate assaults of rebellion'.[22] To Richard, bishops served a useful purpose for kings. As agents of the king they helped to maintain the nation's stability, and they acted as a (presumably more faithful—although not always) counterbalance to an often rebellious aristocracy. Richard's comments show how in Germany, at least, episcopal power was often expressed in similar ways to that of secular power; if in theory it was understood that there should be a difference, in practice status and authority often appeared to trump religious vocation.

In part, this was also about how different narratives of reform and tradition were articulated or how general norms were applied; in particular, the example of German bishops involved within the temporal sphere could be a useful rhetorical foil for those wanting to encourage and emphasise an episcopate which prioritised its religious duties over its secular functions. Reform still mattered, of course, particularly in delineating more clearly the appropriate cultural and political activities of bishops, and in reformers placing an emphasis on the pastoral and sacramental duties of bishops. Consequently, if in many ways contemporary understandings of episcopal ideals were similar, their implementation was predicated on different political and social environments and dependent on a range of factors. Or to put it another way, as Bjorn Weiler has stated, 'bishops on the mainland shared a common set of ideas and norms with their English peers as to what bishops were meant to do, but they realised their expectations in different ways'.[23] Certainly, English bishops tended to involve themselves in politicking through negotiation and counsel, and it is perhaps no surprise that the *topoi* of a bishop providing moral guidance to the king features so often in the Latin episcopal saints' lives of twelfth-century England.

In exploring the intersections between medieval politics and conceptions of masculinity, we can come up against methodological problems that are

both historiographical and conceptual. During the 1990s, when studies of medieval men and gender started to become more common, the initial studies on clerical men tended to emphasise not only medieval cultural discourses, which distinguished the clergy from the laity, but also the importance of sexual behaviour (or lack thereof) upon understandings of clerical masculinity.[24] Discussions of medieval religious masculinities have flourished in the last fifteen years, but this framework often endures.[25] However, in linking a group of men based solely on their vocation, rather than their status, education or class, we might miss out on the ways in which high status men—both secular and religious—could share many commonalities with each other.[26] Determining how this might have impacted upon how they wielded power and maintained authority is an area which deserves more attention.

To some extent this also relates to the ways in which clerical masculinities are more likely to be examined in their social and cultural environments. One area which has been often emphasised is attitudes towards celibacy, particularly in regards to whether or not clerics resisted attempts to enforce celibacy, or whether celibacy influenced their self-perception of what it meant to be a man.[27] Yet, although the importance of clerical celibacy to twelfth-century reformers cannot be disputed (albeit that it is still debated whether it was the primary target of reform), it was mainly aimed at the clergy on the ground; for bishops, this behaviour had been largely normative since the Carolingian period, its significance as an identifying gendered attribute within the political arena was largely minimal.[28] In other words, while celibacy was a significant difference between the clergy and the laity, a bishop's political authority was not upheld or maintained only as a consequence of his celibate status. Again, this is a problem with how some seem to perceive the absence of sex as being the principal schema with which to understand clerical gender or identity. In looking at medieval secular men, Christopher Fletcher made the following perceptive comment, that it has only been relatively recently that masculinity's primary association with sexuality 'has served as an unacknowledged organizing schema, conveniently linking a wide variety of fields without the reasons for this association always being clear'.[29] Scholars seem more unwilling to decouple this association in respect of the medieval clergy, but if sex or the renunciation of sex could be an important facet of medieval people's lives, we should be cautious in applying a gendered identity based solely on such experiences or practices.[30]

Furthermore, we should be careful in suggesting that a characteristic which might have been important in societal or cultural terms necessarily had the same impact in the political arena. The challenge, therefore, is to consider how we go about considering high-status religious leaders within the framework of politics and gender.[31] Narratives which satirise medieval bishops for acting inappropriately or in transgressive ways are useful in reflecting upon how explicitly gendered images could be used in political 'propaganda', but such sources are few and far between. Instead, it might be worth thinking

about how bishops presented themselves. Two ways we might go beyond celibacy is to think first about how bishops projected themselves in ways that emphasised familial relationships; and secondly, how they utilised the language of lordship. Both have hierarchical notions of power in common, which were already implicitly gendered. How were such hierarchical notions of rank and status conceptualised? And to what extent were they framed similarly in both secular and religious environments?

Bishops often used familial images to help define their roles and functions.[32] By representing themselves as fathers, bridegrooms, or more rarely, mothers, they drew upon contemporary understandings of the family and of marriage in framing their duties and responsible. Yet medieval families were also both hierarchical and patriarchal, and thus the images bishops utilised also spoke to the varying degrees of power that different members of a family held. Familial images were also often used in combination; a mid-thirteenth century letter written by the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, to the Papal Curia described bishops as fathers, mothers, and wet-nurses. However, it was in terms of his role as spiritual father that Robert makes his most impassioned arguments. In taking on the role of spiritual fathers, bishops imitated their saviour, for as Robert maintained 'when such sons rebel against and resist the rebukes, reprimands, and corrections of such fathers, they also resist and rebel against God the Father, in that the abundance of his fatherhood is the source of the bishop's status as fathers'.[33]

By appropriating the language of fatherhood, bishops could thus embody a form of disciplinary authority. This was useful in so far as that bishops could use such language in different contexts, both spiritual and disciplinary; not only in respect of the laity in terms of pastoral care, but also to their clerical subordinates for which they had responsibility. More broadly, bishops, at least theoretically, had disciplinary authority over kings in spiritual matters, and thus the figure of 'bishop as father' could also be applied within the political arena. Such gendered language is one perspective in which we might think about episcopal authority. However, bishops did not only use familial images, and other metaphors with no gendered connotations were also frequently applied. What might be just as useful is to think about other ways in which religious leaders expressed ideas about hierarchy and obligation. In this respect, we should think about the relationship between episcopal authority and lordship.

Discussions of lordship are, as Susan Reynolds and others have demonstrated, inevitably also about how the concepts we use match medieval terminology. When terms such as *fideles* or *vassi* are employed within the sources, there is a temptation to think of them as technical categories; in fact, their meaning was often flexible and elastic.[34] Lordship entailed a theoretical system, in which a lord and his subordinates each had an obligation to support and protect each other. Whether one agrees with the assertion that medieval lordship reflected 'the personal experience of power' or not, the stress on the

ideology of lordship does offer a useful avenue for exploring episcopal power within the political realm.[35]

Even as reformers attempted to prevent bishops from appropriating symbols of secular aristocracy,[36] the language used to define relationships of power continued to be appropriated from one environment to the other; that is to say, the language of 'fealty' between a lord and his servant was often utilised within religious contexts that highlighted hierarchical ties within the Church.[37] As Thomas Bisson states:

> the Christian clergy and lawyers lived in a chiefly seigneurial world. They were the sons and brothers of barons and knights; they were all too familiar with the imperatives of lordship. They did not easily give up lordly habits of approbatory consultation. Synods were held by bishops and legates who were respected and addressed as lords.[38]

However, studies of episcopal lordship are often either focused on the institutional or administrative power of bishops vis-à-vis their dioceses (frequently through the nexus of religion and economy), or discuss episcopal lordship by distinguishing the 'secular' or political activities of bishops as distinct from their religious duties.[39] Such a dividing line is, of course, difficult to maintain; bishops were not only figures of religious authority, they were also lords in their own right. Consequently, they were involved in hierarchical relationships in which they themselves had obligations to their subordinates. From the eleventh century, as John Eldevick has contended, bishops 'established themselves as leaders within their dioceses, creating out of spiritual and secular lordships a unique kind of charismatic, non-royal rulership that shaped medieval society in profound ways throughout the Middle Ages'.[40] The tendency of earlier scholars to emphasise episcopal lordship or the political roles of bishops has prompted much recent work to stress the religious nature of their office, and the relationship of the episcopate to the Church reform movements or local piety, without always exploring the connections to the authority they wielded more generally. Ironically, it may be that this concentration has somewhat reiterated the distinction between a bishop's secular and religious roles, even if this dichotomy has always been present within the literature. Yet, as John Ott and Anna Jones write, to bishops of the Middle Ages 'such exercises would have seemed a curious example of selective envisioning of their office'.[41] We might consider, therefore, how medieval conceptions of power influenced expressions of, and attitudes to, episcopal authority.

The rhetoric of gender was often implicitly coded within medieval understandings of hierarchy.[42] Work by Fletcher and, more recently, Katherine Lewis, has explored how conceptions of masculinity or manhood could contribute to a king's authority.[43] The latter has suggested that a number of kingly characteristics were directly shaped by ideas that were coded in gendered ways—such as through an ascetic portrayal of self-control, for example. In what ways, therefore, did bishops present their authority or power

in gender-specific ways? The following case study attempts to address such questions, by focusing on an interim period of kingship and conflict in late twelfth-and early thirteenth-century Germany. Indeed, transitions between rulers can be a useful way of exploring the dynamics and power of political actors, and the tools with which they used to define their authority.[44] By centring the discussion on (arch)bishops within the political arena, we might complicate, yet at the same time help to disentangle, how we analyse gender and politics, and in so doing avoid reifying only those conceptions of masculinity which distinguish secular and religious men.

The Archbishops of Cologne: Conflict and Consensus in the Long Thirteenth Century

The long thirteenth century was a period of tumultuous change and transformation for the archbishops of Cologne. On at least two occasions, in the last years of the twelfth century, and later in 1257, these men would be instrumental in driving through political and constitutional measures that had a dramatic effect upon the German state and its rulers.[45] Their position and power owed much to their predecessors' successes. Since the early twelfth century, the archbishops of Cologne had begun a process of territorial consolidation: by the reign of Frederick Barbarossa (1122–1190), the archbishops not only had significant influence within their own diocese, but were also a major power within southern Germany more generally.[46] By the end of archbishop Philip of Heinsberg's time in office (*c.* 1130–1191) the archbishopric had a level of political, military and economic strength that was unrivalled among many of the other German princes.[47] Their position entailed a right to vote for a German monarchical candidate. Indeed, in theory, and sometimes in practice, German kingship was founded on an electorate of both secular and religious princes. However, this was complicated by the fact that kings often designated whom they wished to be their successor. Nonetheless, the archbishops of Cologne were central to this system, not only did they have the privilege of consecrating and crowning the chosen king at Aachen, they were also supposed to be responsible for directing the election. With such powers the men who were raised to this office were significant political figures in their own right, on a par and sometimes exceeding that of their secular peers; they also had considerable influence upon political decisions and, as such, they often became embroiled in disputes over monarchical succession.[48] Within their own diocese, they had to attend to and maintain their territorial rights, but also balance their interests with those of an increasingly influential cathedral chapter. Furthermore, throughout the thirteenth century, the archbishops were often in conflict with the ruling families of the City government of Cologne.[49] There were recurring engagements between the two, which finally came to a head in 1288 when the City gained its independence, becoming a Free City; from this point in time the archbishops of Cologne resided in Bonn rather than Cologne.[50]

Adolf of Altena: Kingmaker, Archbishop and Prince

One of the most significant periods in which we see an archbishop of Cologne become a major political player concerns Adolf of Altena's involvement in the succession dispute between the Welf's and the Staufen's, following Henry VI's death in 1197.[51] Although Henry VI had a son (later Frederick II), he was only an infant at the time. Philip of Heinsberg's successor at Cologne in 1193, Adolf I von Altena (sometimes referred to as Adolf of Berg), initially favoured the Welf candidate (Otto of Brunswick), but then switched his allegiance in 1205 and crowned the Staufen candidate Philip of Swabia, resulting in his excommunication by Innocent III. Earlier German historians have often looked upon his actions unfavourably. The nineteenth-century historian Julius Ficker, for instance, argued that 'the name of Adolf of Altena should be mentioned first when those men are listed who bear the primary blame for the collapse of the power and unity of the empire'.[52]

Some context is required to understand Adolf's position and his ongoing influence in these disputes. From 1194 Henry VI of Germany was seeking support for his plan to abolish the system of elected kingship and designation, and replace this with a hereditary system centred on his family line. This was titled the '*Erbreichsplan*', and to some extent was a consequence of Henry's wish for both the Holy Roman Empire and Sicily (which he had captured in 1194) to be united permanently under the Staufen line.[53] Many of the secular princes, however, were wary of this move from an elected to hereditary system of kingship, and thus Henry sought external assistance from the pope.[54] The current pope Celestine refused, and opposition to the hereditary system also grew in Germany, although the king managed to pressure the majority of the princes to agree to elect Frederick, Henry's two-year-old son. At a meeting in Worms at Christmas in 1195 and in Mainz in February two months later, Adolf was one of the few who refused to consent to Henry's plan. Adolf may have resisted the imposition of hereditary kingship because of the effect it would have on his archiepiscopal privileges, particularly his rights of coronation at Aachen. Stehkämper has argued, however, that this is not mentioned in the sources, and that instead his silence suggests he was more passive in resistance, perhaps secure in the knowledge that other German princes, particularly those from Saxony, would also oppose Henry's measure. Henry's plans, however, became moot with his death in 1197.

Following the king's death Adolf sided with Otto of Brunswick (from the Welf family), who he crowned on 12 July 1198 at Aachen. In part, Adolf's actions were reactionary, rather than proactive, as the Staufen camp had by 1198 chosen Philip of Swabia, a son of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and brother to the late Henry VI. He had been elected and crowned in Erfurt; but without the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier.[55] Adolf's choice of Otto, who was also the nephew of Richard I of England, was helped by Otto's initial readiness to renounce his claims to the Duchy of Westphalia, an area of Saxony that was held in fief by the archbishops of Cologne.[56]

His relationship with the English crown also helped his candidacy, because it guaranteed financial assistance, and as economic ties between London and Cologne were strong, the choice of Otto met with the approval of Cologne's city elite.

Immediately after Otto's election, Adolf sent a letter (dated late 1198/early 1199) to Pope Innocent III asking him to confirm this choice and requesting that he censure Philip of Swabia if the Staufen refused to recognise and obey Otto as king of Germany.[57] In hindsight, Adolf may have regretted this political decision as it provided a strong reforming pope with the chance to act as an arbitrator over the German crown. However, Innocent III initially prevaricated. It is likely that Innocent decided to bide his time, and consider to what extent the German princes supported Otto. It may also have been a realisation that his support was not viewed as an asset. At the end of 1200, the pope attempted a different tack, for the curia instructed their legate in Germany either to have the German princes propose a third candidate, or to accept Otto.[58] This measure failed. In response, Innocent III, finally acquiesced to Adolf's appeal and in March 1201 publicly confirmed the election of Otto of Brunswick, now Otto IV.[59] Yet the papal backing for Otto did not bring matters to a swift conclusion. Between 1198 and 1205, support for Philip would increase and spread, the exception being the Lower Rhine, which continued to be a stronghold for Otto; nonetheless, although Philip's military success would fluctuate, his candidacy gradually gained more momentum and validation. And, what was also becoming apparent was that Otto's principal supporter, Adolf, who had initially sought Innocent's backing, was himself having second thoughts.[60]

Adolf of Altena and Innocent III: A Failure of Diplomacy (1199–1205)

For the period 1199–1205, a number of letters survive that were sent from Innocent III to Adolf, archbishop of Cologne. Adolf's replies are no longer extant.[61] However, the letters addressed to him provide an insight into the breakdown in relations between Innocent III and Adolf, exhibiting ideals and conventions that were used to frame contemporary political relationships, and at times revealing the actors' motives and concerns. During the conflict between Otto and Philip, Innocent expended much of his resources on diplomatic efforts. Consequently his correspondence was a means by which he could shore up support for Otto in Germany, persuade those lords who wavered concerning Otto's legitimacy, and threaten those who remained obstinate.[62] His letters to Adolf must be seen, therefore, as part of a greater political endeavour, but one which was deemed to be significant because of the archbishop's status and resources, and because Otto's power base was centred upon Adolf's own sphere of influence, the Rhineland and the city of Cologne. Throughout his letters to Adolf, Innocent sought to convey his expectations of the archbishop, and in discussing Adolf's actions and

conduct he highlighted the various standards by which Adolf's authority was evaluated. Yet, such an understanding only functioned when both parties agreed upon their respective roles. Indeed, in his role as kingmaker Adolf had attempted to position himself as indispensable to Otto; in contrast, the pope regarded the archbishop as an extension (and thus representative) of the papacy's authority—as a subordinate to be commanded when called upon, and a diplomatic and political tool to be used when needed.[63]

From the very beginning of what is commonly referred to as the *Deutscher Thronstreit* (the German Throne-Dispute), relations between the pope and the archbishop of Cologne were not as harmonious as might be expected. In 1199, two years prior to publicly supporting Otto's claim to the German throne, Innocent received a missive from Philip's supporters which warned the pope of interfering with the rights of the empire. After responding in order to reject their claims, the pope composed a letter to Adolf in which his frustration regarding his knowledge of the state of affairs in Germany is evident.[64] At the letter's summation Adolf was criticised for having been slothful and negligent in not corresponding more regularly, and Innocent suggested that in future he should be kept up-to-date regarding the position of the German princes, the course of events and the negotiation processes between the two claimants.[65] It was not perhaps the sort of letter that Adolf, as a prince-bishop, had received very often. It was also in stark contrast to the correspondence between Otto and Innocent. Before the pope had made his decision in favour of Otto, the king's letters highlight how he consistently implored Innocent for support and guidance, promising to be firm and resolute in honouring the Church; and in one letter he is careful to apologise for not writing more. Otto was well aware how important it was to maintain Innocent's favour.[66]

This dynamic would persist in the years to come, so that while Innocent's letters to Otto contained encouragements and advice, the pope's letters to Adolf instead show how he was less than satisfied with the prelate's activities. Although at times using honey rather than a stick, Innocent's objective is resolutely clear: to persuade, flatter or more often reproach the archbishop regarding his commitment to Otto, and what was considered his lukewarm efforts at promoting Otto amongst the secular and spiritual lords of Germany. It may not have helped matters that some contemporaries were unsure of Adolf's loyalty. In the *Royal Chronicle of Cologne* for the year 1199, the annalist records a rumour that the archbishop of Cologne was suspected of switching sides.[67] This particular comment was placed within the text after the annalist had described how Philip had amassed a great army, and was intending to take his soldiers by ship down the Moselle river in order to lay waste and burn (*devastat et exurit*) the city of Cologne. Although we have to be careful of reading too much into this early statement, it does suggest that the strength of Adolf's dedication to Otto was questioned, a view of which Innocent was likely cognisant.

Adolf's position was insecure, and perhaps ironically it was made more so after Innocent III came out publicly in favour of Otto on 1 March 1201. Innocent was no doubt aware that his intervention would not be universally welcomed. In making his decision, a flurry of letters was sent to account for his verdict, not only to Otto himself, but to various German magnates and prelates, and further afield to the kings of France and England.[68] Adolf also received a letter in which Innocent pointedly advised Adolf to be careful to refuse what he had already rejected and approve what he had supported. In particular, now that Innocent had made his decision clear, Adolf was expected to be more emphatic about his endorsement of Otto and the legitimacy of the king's claims; in the pope's words, he needed to have 'a more fervent love for the king'. He thus advised Adolf to do all that he could to direct as many of the German princes as possible to Otto's cause.[69] The game had decidedly changed. Adolf was no longer only expected to persuade his peers of Otto's legitimacy, he was now also required to promote the king's candidacy based on Innocent's claims to authority.

Innocent's attempts to broker support through Adolf could retrospectively be considered to be naive, particularly as having recognised Otto, Innocent went on the offensive and on 3 July 1201 excommunicated Philip and his supporters. In response Otto's enemies sought to stress the novelty of Innocent's intervention in German politics and the degree to which this threatened the constitution. We can see that this had an effect because by October/November of 1201, Innocent had sent a series of letters to Otto's supporters in which he sought to disavow the rumours (and to his mind slanders) which circulated; these claimed that he wished to deprive the German princes of their right to free election. One of these letters was directed to Adolf and again suggests Innocent was unhappy with the archbishop's inability to curb the propaganda being disseminated by Philip's supporters. Innocent also criticised Adolf's current behaviour with regards to Otto, stressing the qualities that the archbishop was suspected of abandoning—*fides*, *devotio, constantia* and *fortitudo*. Innocent also reminded Adolf that he himself had elected and crowned Otto as Roman Emperor, and made clear that just as the pope was bound to Adolf in brotherhood (*fraternitati tenemur*), this was expected to be a relationship based on trust.[70] If Adolf had instigated events, he was expected to follow through with them; here Innocent quoted Luke's Gospel, 'This man began to build and was not able to finish'.[71] The warning was implicit, for the verse prior to this statement (14:29) stated that if a man began a foundation but did not complete it, he was certain to face ridicule. Moving on to another metaphor, Innocent stated that if Adolf was to move his hand from the plough at this point in time, after having been so firm to begin with, it would incur greater offence, as it would seem that Adolf had been deceiving Innocent throughout the entire process.

If the qualities Otto was required to have were similar, Innocent's letters to the king reflect a very different relationship—in certain respects, of

equals—of one leader speaking to another. In his correspondence to Otto Innocent took upon the role of wise counsellor, at once advising and cautioning the king. If Otto kept faith God would help crush the king's enemies. If he stayed strong, his enemies would not prevail. He must stay steadfast and consistent, mitigating any unjust suggestions or promises made in bad faith.[72] More practically Innocent also suggested ways in which Otto could induce the followers of Philip to his side and how important it was for the king to write to both his secular and ecclesiastical supporters.[73] The virtues Adolf was expected to have were the virtues Otto was expected to inspire in others.

For Innocent, therefore, while Otto was necessary, the secular and religious leaders of Germany were like satellites that could either maintain their orbit around the king, or crash and burn. Innocent had to contend not only with Adolf, but with a number of prelates. From 1202, his correspondence to John, archbishop of Trier, in which he repeatedly orders him to recognise Otto, also took an increasingly threatening tone.[74] Indeed, over the course of 1202 Innocent continued to complain about the lack of support from both the secular and spiritual lords of Germany, and the increasing success of Philip of Swabia's campaign. At this point in time, therefore, Innocent needed Adolf more than Adolf needed Innocent; the archbishop might be lukewarm in his support, but he was still deemed, for now, to be an ally. Thus in a letter dated 5 April 1202 Innocent took a more lenient tone and attempted to flatter Adolf.[75] In particular, Innocent sought to make a clear link between Adolf's devotion to his vocation and see with his allegiance and fidelity to Otto and the Roman Church. As he made evident, although Adolf might be tempted to stray from his path, such temptations would demonstrate his constancy once he had overcome them.[76] As a believer of authority and as one devoted to the honour and liberties of the Church of Cologne, which Adolf had powerfully and manfully (*potenter et uiriliter*) protected, the archbishop was unwavering in his devotion.[77] In order to persuade Adolf to remain steadfast politically, Innocent used conventional episcopal ideals; in particular, he suggested that as 'shepherds of the flocks of the Lord', (arch)bishops were expected to support their superiors, and defend their subordinates. However, by associating his fidelity to his superiors with his responsibilities as defender of his see, he was also making clear that the archbishop's reputation within the political sphere was inseparable from that of his religious position.

If we take a step back at this point, we can see that much of Innocent's language focused on the question of loyalty and the ties and expectations that bound particular men, in terms of their duties and responsibilities. Those in power could appeal to their subordinate based on the traits they were expected to exemplify; such qualities were linked to a man's social status and vocation, and thus their understanding of what it meant to be a man. Loyalty has, in previous studies, been viewed as 'one of the major characteristics of aristocratic masculinity'; this is in large part because knights or vassals were expected, as part of their position and status, to maintain their allegiance

to their lord.[78] Yet one could question why this is more often than not only gendered in relation to secular men. Indeed, loyalty and fidelity were equally lauded in depictions of churchmen. Perhaps the distinction was that loyalty could be defined from different perspectives, not just to one's superior, but also in relation to God, to the universal church, and to the institutions one belonged to or headed. Certainly, Innocent's depiction of Adolf as a powerful churchman who manfully defended his see's honour, and remained devoted and loyal to his church and emperor, suggests that these characteristics had a similar resonance, even if applied in relation to different environments. Indeed, the qualities and virtues that Innocent repeatedly stressed throughout his letters to Adolf, such as '*constantia*', '*fides*', and '*honor*', were concepts employed in both secular and religious spheres to delineate acceptable social codes, which also reinforced hierarchical bonds and understandings of service. There were variations clearly, but the virtues expressed were often similar: for example, in a letter to Otto's brother Henry of Brabant, Innocent remonstrated with the duke over his lack of loyalty in terms of his nobility, his familial ties and the oath of fidelity he had given the king.[79] An act of disloyalty would thus be articulated differently for men that did not share the same vocation, but both laymen and churchmen could bring shame and dishonour upon themselves, their families or their institution.[80]

Notions of hierarchical service did not of course always work effectively in practice. That they did not in the context of the Throne-dispute is evidenced by Innocent's repeated attempts to persuade Adolf to effectively support both his king and his pope. Because we only have Innocent's perspective, it is easy to assume that Adolf was solely responsible, but other sources suggest Otto was as much to blame for the deteriorating relationship between the two. The point at which there was a severe falling out between Otto and Adolf took place in 1202 after a meeting at Maastricht, where Adolf was called upon to mediate a dispute between the duke of Brabant (Otto's brother) and the count of Guelders.[81] One of the continuators of the *Royal Chronicle of Cologne* reports that after the king and archbishop returned to Cologne, a violent quarrel arose between the two. What is more, this apparently took place in front of the papal legate, the priors and the citizens of Cologne, and lasted for three days.[82] One cause for dissension between the two appears to be due to the king having violated the minting rights of the archbishop, and of introducing taxes—presumably to maintain a degree of financial independence.[83] With the mediation of the cardinal legate, the king promised not to interfere with Cologne's commercial interests in future, although this did not stop him subsequently pawning treasures from Cologne Cathedral. The fact that this was such a public display of discord suggest that the damage to their relationship was irreversible at this point; and because of where their power was located, both Otto and Adolf acted more like competitors than allies.[84] The differences between the archbishop and king had evolved over time, but the events following Maastricht appear to be the tipping point; as

Wolfschläger once suggested, 'all the indignation of the archbishop now came to a head'.[85]

Innocent would have been kept informed of these events by his legate. Following 1202, and the dispute between Otto and Adolf, a new component to Innocent's correspondence emerges. Previously, if the pope had alluded to Adolf's record in office, now in a series of leading questions Innocent went on to link Adolf's actions to the reputation of the Cologne Church. The idea that a bishop was a representative of a larger institutional legacy was a conventional way of remembering or recording a see's history. Adolf's position as archbishop, Innocent argues, makes him the embodiment of the see. He was but one man in a long line of former officeholders who had ascended to that bishopric, and he was expected to work towards the prestige and rights of his see over and above his own privileges. Thus, if, through his actions he brought shame upon himself, he also damaged the dignity and honour of his see.[86] Certainly, if appeals to Adolf's loyalty were not successful, the suggestion that Adolf's potential infidelity would lead not only to personal dishonour but act as a permanent stain to the honour of the Cologne Church, might have been thought to be more effective. We can see here also how reputation, like loyalty, was reshaped and repackaged here in ways which reflected upon Adolf's vocation. Within a polemical context, authority and reputation could also be linked to larger collective identities.

Innocent Betrayed: Adolf's Support for Philip of Swabia

The suspicion that Adolf was dissembling with the papacy would eventually be proved correct, although it is impossible to know the precise moment when the archbishop decided to withdraw his support for Otto. Certainly, after 1202, there are far fewer letters sent from Innocent to Adolf. One, dated December 1203, reveals that Innocent was still insisting that Adolf, who appeared to have almost abandoned Otto's cause, remain faithful. Again, he reminded Adolf that all his work to elect the king would be lost if he deserted him. Even when it was clear that Adolf had turned against Otto, the pope had at first attempted to change the archbishop's position. First, he put pressure upon Adolf's episcopal peers, sending a letter to the archbishop of Mainz, the bishop of Cambrai and the prior of Bonn to persuade Adolf to be steadfast in his loyalty for Otto.[87] Furthermore, Innocent had a number of allies closer to home, including the citizenry of Cologne and the canons of Cologne cathedral who had always supported Otto's candidacy. A letter was, therefore, sent to the ruling families of the city notifying them that sanctions against the archbishop would follow if Adolf refused to submit to a papal ruling.[88]

Innocent's pleas failed, and on 6 January 1205, Adolf would officiate at Philip of Swabia's second coronation at Aachen. Significantly, this coronation took place according to the principles of free election that Adolf had

originally supported, and that other German lords had been concerned were threatened by Innocent's intervention. Of course, on this occasion his archiepiscopal prerogatives of crowning and consecrating the king were also acknowledged.[89] In effect then, even in changing sides Adolf had managed to maintain the status quo and avoid any constitutional innovations. An elected kingship, rather than a hereditary one, was retained; the archbishop of Cologne continued his position as kingmaker, crowning not one, but now two German kings. For this, Adolf would not be remembered fondly by those who recorded Cologne's past. But in different circumstances Adolf's decision to pursue things to his own advantage might have been valorised. As Joseph Huffman has commented in reference to this period: 'There are as many motives for political action as there are political players. Yet all players were fundamentally seeking to defend their own status and prerogatives against any possible diminution.'[90]

Adolf had not anticipated Innocent III's response. Perhaps hoping that his decision to support Philip would provide a *fait accompli*, one that the pope would have to accept. Innocent was, however, quick to retaliate. Following the coronation of Philip, Innocent took a severe line with Adolf; in a letter dated 13 March 1205, the pope wrote to Adolf and made clear that the archbishop would be removed from his office if he did not travel to Rome in a month and submit to papal judgement.[91] As Adolf failed to answer the papal summons he was deposed as archbishop by 19 June 1205.[92] Innocent was particularly furious, because he viewed Adolf's actions as a betrayal. Furthermore, due to the initial lack of support for Otto in 1198, Adolf had drawn the pope into what had effectively become a domestic civil war. By 1205 Innocent was invested in Otto's candidacy, and had sought to promote the king in Germany. Adolf's treachery meant a loss of face, but also potentially a diminishing of papal influence in Germany and more broadly throughout Europe. It was such considerations that led to an outburst of papal anger: indeed, in a letter written to the canons of Cologne shortly after Adolf's excommunication he exclaimed: 'Would that he [Adolf] had never been born, this son of Belial, who has tumbled the church and the city of Cologne into destruction through his ignominious actions'.[93]

Faith, Honour and Gender

Although only a partial narrative, Innocent's correspondence with Adolf highlights the gradual deterioration of trust between these two individuals. In his insistence that Adolf maintained faith with him and Otto, Innocent framed Adolf's actions in accordance with contemporary understandings of the episcopal office. More broadly, Innocent couched his communication in a language of fidelity and service, a principal component of his ideology of papal power. Although it was not identical, such language had evolved with, and closely paralleled, secular understandings of fidelity. In short Innocent's

letters demonstrate a vocabulary understood and used by both secular and religious elites. This drew upon the themes of honour, fidelity and loyalty, which were owed to one's superiors; and conversely there was the expectation that subordinates would be protected, defended and advocated for.[94] In this respect, we can begin to perceive the links between being faithful and contemporary expectations of masculinity. This might not be the martial or heroic fidelity so often associated with medieval ideas of manhood, but it nonetheless reflected a broader set of ideals which valorised trust, faith and honouring one's oaths. Such values in and of themselves were essential for maintaining and upholding relationships, based on both horizontal and vertical ties between all social elites, religious or secular. Being faithful did not, therefore, diminish one's manhood; by keeping faith, one maintained one's status and reaffirmed the social order. Neither did this language of fidelity only apply to secular men—Adolf had previously kept faith, and as Innocent claimed, 'powerfully and manfully' defended his see's liberties and honour throughout his time in office. Nor was being faithful an act of passivity. As leaders of the 'faithful', high-ranking clergy also exercised a significant degree of disciplinary power. Such authority rested not on threats of violence, but instead to claims of religious and moral superiority, which provided sanction for medieval bishops to regulate, correct and reform members of the laity. But in the political arena they also had great scope to wield power.

This is not to deny that Adolf's vocation was not reflected in the way Innocent corresponded with him. By betraying Innocent, Adolf was shown to err on two levels, as any actions which personally dishonoured him could also have broader repercussions for the dignity of his episcopal see.[95] At least this is how we could interpret Innocent's polemic. Adolf's failure and Innocent's response should be situated within a political context where specific notions of personal and institutional dishonour could be used to persuade and influence people; such a discourse is not so tidily conceptualised by a conventional religious/secular dichotomy.

In assessing the dynamics of Innocent and Adolf's relationship within the succession dispute, the explicit role of gender may at first seem intangible or difficult to pinpoint, but this is largely because gender was combined with other characteristics in ways that defined people's identities. Much has been made in exploring how religious men's vocations made them in many ways separate to the principles and gendered standards with which secular men were appraised. This might still be true of particular contexts, and indeed of specific texts, whose purpose was either idealistic or didactic. Yet even a cursory examination of early thirteenth-century Germany suggests that those who held positions which combined temporal lordships and religious office were judged in similar ways to the secular peers of the realm. Archbishops such as Adolf would not have viewed their vocation as distinct from their political authority.

It might be worth thinking in respect of gender in what ways religious and secular men were judged according to similar understandings of political authority. How did these ideas intersect, or overlap in the realm of political action, and where might we see actual distinctions? What it meant to be a bishop was linked to contemporary understandings of how men ought to conduct themselves in power, which itself was informed by both secular and religious ideals. There was consequently a degree of overlap between what was expected of different kinds of men, in as much as the ideals of allegiance, obligation and loyalty were used to delineate relationships between superiors and subordinates.[96]

When religious men participated in the political realm, their actions could be framed according to different notions of masculinity depending on the context; whether it is appropriate in this sense to distinguish such ideas as 'clerical' or 'secular' masculinities is worth considering. Certainly, Marita von Weissenberg has suggested that a more appropriate dichotomy might be 'spiritual' and 'secular'.[97] This begs the question of the extent to which we can talk about distinct forms of masculinity in the political sphere, to what extent this was depicted within our sources, and whether we should instead think of how gender was conceptualised in terms of different gradations of hierarchy, status and power. In this respect, in thinking about gender and power in relation to both secular and religious men, we should be cautious that we do not miss out on the broader correspondences and ideas that were reproduced for both sets of men.

Notes

1. Initially edited in J. Strange, (ed.) *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, 2 vols (Cologne, Bonn and Brussels: Lempertz, 1851). An English translation is provided in H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, trans, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1921). The latest edition is Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, (ed.) and Germ. trans. N. Nösges and H. Schneider, 5 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). For quotation see Nösges and Schneider, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 1: 466–467: 'Omnia credere possum, sed non possum credere, quod unquam aliquis Episcopus Alemanniae possit salvari'.
2. Nösges and Schneider, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, 1: 466–467: 'Quid pene omnes Episcopi Alemanniae utrumque habent gladium, spiritualem videlicet et materialem: et quia de sanguine iudicant et bella exercent magis eos sollicitos esse oportet de stipendiis militum, quam de salute animarum sibi commissarum'. The 'Two Swords Doctrine' was originally used by Pope Gelasian I in a letter he wrote to Emperor Anastasius I in 494, in which he stated that the world was governed by royal authority and sacred authority. From the eleventh century, church reformers increasingly interpreted Gelasian's ideas to promote the superiority of Papal power over secular authority. It was also used, as here, to describe the often overlapping duties of medieval bishops. See I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), pp. 295–321.

3. I examine Caesarius' text in more detail in a forthcoming publication: M.M. Mesley, 'Monastic Superiority, Episcopal Authority and Masculinity in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*' in A. Höfert, M.M. Mesley and S. Tolino (eds) *Celibate and Childless Men in Power: Ruling Eunuchs and Bishops in the Pre-Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2017).
4. For discussion of the impact of episcopal ideals see S. Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern: Thorbeke, 2008). Even those theorising the ideals realised that bishops had to walk a balancing act in performing their duties. See, for instance, T. Head, 'Postscript: The Ambiguous Bishop' in J.S. Ott and A.T. Jones (eds) *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot and Burlington: Routledge, 2007), pp. 250–264.
5. See, for example, E.U. Crosby, *The King's Politics: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066–1216* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); R. Wickson, *Kings and Bishops in Medieval England 1066–1216* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); and B. Arnold, *Count and Bishop in Medieval Germany: A Study in Regional Power 1100–1350* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). A useful summary of recent debates about the political authority of bishops is L. Körntgen, 'Introduction' in L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds) *Patterns of Episcopal Power in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe* (Göttingen: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 11–16.
6. For a consideration of the relationship between the Emperor and the German Episcopate, see T. Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 347–374. For a pre-investiture comparison of France and Germany, see H. Hoffmann, 'Der König und seine Bischöfe in Frankreich und im Deutschen Reich, 936–1060' in H. Hoffmann (ed.) *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025* (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2000), pp. 79–127. Apart from Crosby and Wickson, works on late medieval England have also explored the participation of bishops in medieval government. See B. Thompson, 'Prelates and Politics from Winchelsey to Warham' in L. Clark and C. Carpenter (ed.) *The Fifteenth Century: Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain*, vol. 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), pp. 69–96; and the chapters in part I of M. Heale, (ed.) *The Prelate in England and Europe 1300–1560* (York: York Medieval Press, 2014). A very useful recent work that looks at these issues more broadly is J.S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050–1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015), esp. pp. 1–26.
7. For an original methodological approach see A. Höfert 'Introduction: The *Shared Focus* as a Tool of Pre-Modern Global History: Ruling Eunuchs and Bishops Between the Intersections of Power, Networks, Sacredness and Gender', in Höfert, Mesley and Tolino, *Celibate and Childless Men in Power*.
8. For example, scholars have explored how reform influenced the previously condoned military activities of bishops: T. Reuter, 'Episcopi cum sua militia: The Prelate as Warrior in the Early Staufer Era' in T. Reuter (ed.) *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser* (London and Rio-Grande: Hambledon Press, 1992), pp. 79–94. See also B. Arnold, 'German Bishops and their Military Retinues in the Medieval

Empire', *German History*, 7 (1989), 161–183. This was not, however, specific to Germany: C.M. Nakashian, 'The Political and Military Agency of Ecclesiastical Leaders in Anglo-Norman England', *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 12 (2014), 51–80. This chapter was written before I had access to the following recent works: C.M. Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England: Theory and Power* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016); and D.M.G. Gerrard, *The Church at War: The Military Activities of Bishops, Abbots and other Clergy in England, c. 900–1200* (London: Routledge, 2016).

9. Useful for this is I.S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1978); and K.G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2005). For the later period in Germany, see P.B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1216–1245: Watchmen on the Tower* (Leiden, New York and Cologne: Brill, 1995), pp. 90–183.
10. J.D. Cotts, 'Monks and Mediocrities in the Shadow of Thomas Becket: Peter of Blois on Episcopal Duty', *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001), 143–161. Both Peter's and Gerald's criticisms are also discussed in J.D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC: Catholic Univ. Press of America, 2009). Often their criticisms coincided with a critique of court culture.
11. Thomas Becket's murder in 1170 would provide an enduring legacy in which *libertas ecclesiae* and resistance to monarchical tyranny was invoked: see A. Duggan, 'The Cult of Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century' in Meryl Jancey (ed.) *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour* (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982), pp. 21–44; and J. Creamer, 'St Edmund of Canterbury and Henry III in the Shadow of Thomas Becket', in J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler (eds) *Thirteenth Century England XIV* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), pp. 129–140.
12. Assessing the German episcopate's loyalty to the German king, J.W. Bernhardt quipped that 'most bishops and abbots came from the nobility, and they did not give up their allegiance to family and kindred overnight': idem, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), p. 32.
13. Not only were German archbishops accorded a higher status as princes of the realm, they also governed large swathes of their own territories, sometimes with little monarchical oversight, and had much greater powers in relation to the cities within their jurisdiction. For the German territorial context see B. Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991); and J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship and Community, 950–1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012). The classic English-language study is E.N. Johnson, *The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate 919–1024* (Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska, 1932).
14. The text is edited by F. Zschaeck, (ed.) *Vita et Miracula Engelberti* in A. Hilka (ed.) *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach* (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1937). A useful study of Engelbert's death as depicted in the *vita* is J.E. Jung,

'From Jericho to Jerusalem: The Violent Transformation of Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne', in C.W. Bynum and P. Freedman (eds) *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 60–82.

15. T. Reuter, 'A Europe of Bishops: The Age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms' in L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds) *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe* (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 17–38; and see the comments by R.N. Swanson, '*c.* 1050: The Starting Point' in idem (ed.) *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity: 1050–1500* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. xxv–xxvi.
16. One particular difference was their relationship to their episcopal cities: see J.J. Tyler, *The Episcopal Exclusus in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).
17. A useful overview of their powers is discussed in B. Arnold, 'Episcopal Authority Authenticated and Fabricated: Form and Function in Medieval German Bishops' Catalogues' in Reuter (ed.) *Warriors and Churchmen*, pp. 63–78. A more in-depth study that looks at their political proximity to the court and their education is H. Zielinsi, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1984).
18. K. Leyser, 'A Recent View of the German College of Electors', in T. Reuter (ed.) *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 177–188.
19. B.E. Whalen, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 111–122. Still very useful for this background is G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Early Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993).
20. See for context H. Vollrath (2004), 'The Western Empire under the Salians', and B. Arnold, 'The Western Empire, 1127–97' in D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds) *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, *c. 1024–c. 1198 Part II* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), pp. 38–71 and 384–421 respectively.
21. Reuter, 'The Imperial Church System', p. 368.
22. T. Rymer, (ed.) and 2nd rev. (ed.) G. Holmes, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae…*, 20 vols (London, 1727–1735), vol. 1, pp. 622–623. See also the discussion of Germany's military traditions in L. Scales, *The Shaping of German Authority and Crisis, 1245–1414* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), esp. pp. 378–382.
23. B. Weiler, 'Bishops and Kings in England, *c.* 1066–*c.* 1215' in L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds) *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter / Religion and Politics in the Middle Ages* (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2013), p. 178.
24. For example, J.A. McNamara, 'The *Herrenfrage*: The Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050–1150' in C.A. Lees (ed.) *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 3–29. See also R.N. Swanson, 'Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation' in D.M. Hadley (ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 160–177; J. Murray, 'Masculinizing Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity,' in K.J. Lewis and P.H. Cullum (eds) *Holiness and*

Masculinity in the Middle Ages (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), pp. 24–42.

25. R.M. Karras, 'Thomas Aquinas' Chastity Belt: Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe' in L.M. Bitel and F. Lifshitz (eds) *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 52–67; and T. Adams, '"Make Me Chaste and Continent, But Not Yet": A Model for Clerical Masculinity?' in F. Kiefer (ed.) *Masculinities and Femininities in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 1–29. Some, however, have cautioned on seeing sex or sexuality as the prime marker of clerical masculinity: J. Thibodeaux, 'Introduction: Rethinking the Medieval Clergy and Masculinity', in eadem (ed.) *Negotiating Clerical Identities*: *Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 1–15; and D. Neal, 'What can Historians do with Clerical Masculinity? Lessons from Medieval Europe' in Thibodeuax, *Negotiating Clerical Identities*, pp. 16–38.
26. The following is useful in thinking outside the sexuality 'box': C. Fletcher, 'The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity? Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood' in J.H. Arnold and S. Brady (eds) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 57–75. See also idem, 'Manhood, Kingship and the Public in Late Medieval England', *Edad Media. Revista De Historia*, 13 (2012), 123–142.
27. The link has been made explicit recently in J. Thibodeaux, *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066–1300* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). Historians of celibacy seem less interested in this question. Indeed, Helen Parish rightly or wrongly relegated studies of masculinity that explored celibacy to one footnote: eadem, *Clerical Celibacy in the West: c. 1000–1700* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 123, n. 2.
28. For example, C.N.L. Brooke, 'Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050–1200' in idem (ed.) *Medieval Church and Society: Collected Essays* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1971), pp. 69–99; and M. Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek, 'Mandatory Celibacy and Priestly Ministry in the Diocese of Tournai at the End of the Middle Ages' in Jean-Marie Duvosquel and E. Thoen (eds) *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe: Studia in Honorem Adriaan Verhulst* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1995), pp. 681–692. And see the discussion of the relationship between masculinity and celibacy in relation to the Carolingian period by R. Stone, 'Gender and Hierarchy: Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845–882) as a Religious Man' in P.H Cullum and K.J Lewis (eds) *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), esp. pp. 30–33.
29. Fletcher, 'Whig Interpretation of Masculinity?', p. 59.
30. A point made in K.M. Phillipps and B. Reay, *Sex before Sexuality: A Premodern History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), p. 15.
31. For a useful exploration of the relationship between the use of gender in political polemic and changes in gender conceptions, see M. McLaughlin, *Sex, Gender and Episcopal Authority in an Age of Reform, 1000–1122* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010).

32. In addition to her 2010 study, see also M. McLaughlin, 'The Bishop as Bridegroom: Marital Imagery and Clerical Celibacy in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' in M. Frassetto (ed.) *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1998), pp. 209–237; and eadem, 'Secular and Spiritual Fatherhood in the Eleventh Century' in J. Murray (ed.) *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 25–44.
33. F.A.C. Mantello and J. Foering, trans., *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), Letter 127, at p. 413.
34. S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), esp. pp. 19–38; and eadem, 'Fiefs and Vassals after Twelve Years' in S. Bagge, M.H. Gelting and T. Lindkvist (eds) *Feudalism: New Landscapes of Debate* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 15–26. A point that Reynolds makes in the former, which is appropriate in this context too: 'the element of prescription in the sources needs analysis, not merely because prescription is not description and rules are always broken, but because the form and emphasis of the prescriptions may not reveal the full range or nature of the norms that mattered' (p. 28).
35. See T.N. Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 743–759; but also see the response by T. Reuter, 'The Medieval Nobility in Twentieth-Century Historiography' in M. Bentley (ed.) *Companion to Historiography* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 177–201. There is also a useful discussion of lordship and power in R.F. Berkhofer III, A. Cooper and A.J. Kosto, (eds) *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950–1350* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2005), esp. pp. 1–10.
36. T. Reuter, 'Nobles and Others: The Social and Cultural Expression of Power Relations in the Middle Ages' in A.J. Duggan (ed.) *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins and Transformations* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 85–100.
37. See G. Koziol, 'Christianizing Political Discourses' in J.H. Arnold (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press), pp. 473–489.
38. T.N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2009), p. 495.
39. For example, G. Dameron, 'The Church as Lord', in J.H. Arnold (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014), pp. 457–472; and A. Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization of Milling in Medieval England* (Farnham and Burlington: Routledge, 2014).
40. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, p. 5.
41. J.S. Ott and A.T. Jones, 'Introduction: The Bishop Reformed' in eidem (eds) *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 19.
42. It was not always the most important, but it was often present. As Rachel Stone has written, 'gender was only one aspect of wider social hierarchies, hierarchies which had specific moral duties attached': idem, 'Gender and Hierarchy', p. 33.

43. C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth, and Politics, 1377–99* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008); K.J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2013).
44. A point made in Körntgen, 'Introduction', p. 13.
45. The latter half of the thirteenth century and the importance of Cologne to the German elections of 1257 is covered in C.C. Bayley, 'The Diplomatic Privileges of the Double Election of 1257 in Germany', *English Historical Review*, 62 (1947), 457–483; and idem, *The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1949). See also the review article of Bayley's work by K.J. Leyser, 'A Recent View of the German College of Electors', *Medium Aevum*, 23 (1954), 76–87. The focus on Cologne's later archbishop is discussed within H. Stehkämper, 'Konrad von Hochstaden, Erzbischof von Köln (1238–1261)', *Jarhbuch des Kölnischen Geschictsvereins*, 36/37 (1961/2), 95–116.
46. For Frederick Barbarossa, see K. Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa and the Hohenstaufen Polity', *Viator*, 19 (1988), 154–176.
47. The background is laid out in detail in H. Stehkämper, 'Der Reichsbischof und Territorialfürst (12. Und 13. Jahrhundert)' in P. Berglar and O. Engels (eds) *Der Bischof in seiner Zeit, Bischofstypus und Bischofideal im Spiegel der Kölner Kirche: Festgabe für Joseph Kardinal Höffner, Erzbischof von Köln* (Cologne: Bachem, 1986), pp. 95–184.
48. For example, H. Stehkämper, 'England und die Stadt Köln als Wahlmacher König Ottos IV', *Köln, das Reich und Europa*, *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 60 (1971), pp. 213–224.
49. Such independence had begun as early as the eleventh century, for in 1074 the burghers rebelled again Archbishop Anno II's rule and formed the first city commune. The burghers would continue to be a significant force and sometimes thorn in the side of the archbishops of Cologne throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For the thirteenth century a useful article is: E. Ennen, 'Erzbischof und Stadtgemeinde in Köln bis zur Schlacht von Worringen (1288)' in F. Petri (ed.) *Bischofs-und Kathedralstädte des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1976), pp. 27–46. See also M. Groten, *Köln im 13. Jahrhundert: gesellschaftlicher Wandel und Verfassungsentwicklung* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), *passim*.
50. H. Stehkämper, 'Die Stadt Köln und die Schlacht bei Worringen', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 124 (1988), pp. 311–406.
51. For background information, see H. Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages: c.1050–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), esp. pp. 180–186.
52. J. Ficker, *Engelbert der Heilige: Erzbischof Von Koln und Reichsverweser* (Cologne: J.M. Heberle, 1853), p. 20.
53. The classic study is still E. Perels, *Der Erbreichsplan Heinrichs VI* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1927); but see more recently L. Vones, '*Confirmatio Imperii et Regni*. Erbkaisertum, Erbreichsplan und Erbmonarchie in den politischen Zielvorstellungen der letzten Jahre Kaiser Heinrichs VI' in Stefan Weinfurter (ed.) *Stauferreich im Wandel: Ornungsvorstellungen und Politik in der Zeit Freidrich Barbarossas* (Stuttgart: Thoerbecke, 2002), pp. 314–334.

54. See I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), pp. 516–522.
55. Adolf's disgust is demonstrated in G. Waitz, (ed.) *Chronica regia Coloneiensis (Annales maximi Colonienses)* (Hanover: Hahn, 1880): 'Hic ergo rumor et inhonestus eventus primores inferiorum partium graviter afflixit, eo quod indignum sibi et intolerabile videretur, si contra suam voluntatem Suevus regnasset. Constat tamen, quod ipse nuncios suos ad archiepiscopum Coloniensem cum precibus transmisit, multa offerens, sed plura promittens, si ad suam electionem animum vellet inclinare. Sed episcopus hoc sibi tutum non credens vel honestum, haec facere penitus recusavit', p. 163. Henceforth *CRC*.
56. For the chronology of the conflict I am indebted to Huffman and Stehkämper. For the broader context see M. Toch, 'Welfs, Hohenstaufen and Habsburgs' in D. Abulafia (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History V, c. 1198–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 375–404. Also relevant and still useful is A.L. Poole, 'Philip of Swabia and Otto IV' in H.M. Gwatkin and J.P. Whitney, *The New Cambridge Medieval History VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1936), pp. 44–79.
57. The edition I have used is: F. Kempf, (ed.) *Regestum Innocenti III papae super negotio Romani imperii* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregorina, 1947) (Henceforth *RIR*). The letters are also contained in A. Potthast, (ed.) *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874). For Adolf's letter, see *RIR*, 9, pp. 21–23.
58. J.C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To Root Up and Plant* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 69.
59. Innocent's public decision in favour of Otto is found in *RIR*, 39, pp. 118–119.
60. Innocent III had sent the legate Guy Poré, a former Abbot of Cîteaux and cardinal from 1200, to persuade the German princes to side with the Welf candidate, but he had little success. As Pixton states 'what victories he [Guy] did achieve were phantoms which required his constant attention to prevent backsliding and outright desertion': Pixton, *The German Episcopacy*, p. 152.
61. Apart from in *RIR*, 9, pp. 21–23; here Adolf asks Innocent to confirm Otto's coronation and take measures against Philip's followers.
62. A starting point for Innocent's letters is C.R. Cheney and W.H. Semple, *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III Concerning England (1198–1216)* (London: Nelson, 1953). Also of interest is L. Shepard, *Courting Power: Persuasion and Politics in the Early Thirteenth Century* (New York and London: Garland, 1999), pp. 75–94. In terms of ideology John Gilchrist has usefully argued that: 'The examples of the pontiff's ideology are too numerous and too consistent in their thrust for them to be any other than Innocent's own "current viewpoints," even if the chancery clerks had a hand in their formulation.' in 'The Lord's War as the Proving Ground of Faith: Pope Innocent III and the Propagation of Violence', in M. Shatzmiller (ed.) *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), p. 68. For a broad examination of Innocent's relationship to the temporal world see J.M. Powell, (ed.) *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?*, 2nd edn (Washington, DC: CUA Press, 1994).

63. For the reaction of bishops to Innocent's understanding of his authority see Moore *Pope Innocent III*, p. 53.
64. *RIR*, 14 & 15, pp. 33–42.
65. *RIR*, 16, pp. 42–43. See his last command: 'Ut autem interim a te negligentiam excutias et torporem, fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus status principum, rerum euentus, et negotiorum processus et per litteras et per nuntios intimare procures'.
66. See particularly *RIR*, 19, p. 52: 'Uerum audiuimus uerbum tuum, uidebimus litteras domini tui, deliberabimus cum fratribus nostris, et dabimus tibi responsum'.
67. *CRC*, p. 168: 'Inter hec Omnia fama Coloniensis archiepiscopi non erat integra, et suspectus habebatur, quod negociis manum valentius non apponeret, cum tamen revera gravissimum et impossibile ipsi fuisset cunctis principibus contraire et contra eorum voluntatem et consensum pro suo velle Romanum imperium disponere. Constabat enim, quia Otto rex omni pene terreno auxilio et humano solation destitutus, quantum ad respectum adversae partis, regnum aut imperium numquam optinere posset, nisi adiutorio solius dei'.
68. Letters 34–49 within the *RIR* are all dated to 1 March 1201, and are clearly part of Innocent's campaign.
69. The relevant section is taken from *RIR*, 39, pp. 118–119: 'Monemus igitur fraternitatem tuam et exhortamur in Domino et per apostolica tibi scripta precipiendo mandamus quatinus sicut hactenus, immo fortius quam hactenus in eius de cetero dilectione ac deuotione persistas, et ad honorem et profectum ipsius per te ac tuos efficaciter et potenter indendas, et quoscumque potes ad fauorem eius et fidelitatem inducas'.
70. *RIR*, 55, pp. 146–149: 'Nos quoque tue fraternitati tenemur, que uoluntate nostra plenius intellecta in suo proposito conualascens, tanto amplius in eiusdem regis dilectionem et deuotionem exarsit, quanto factum suum ex fauore nostro intellexit amplius roboari'.
71. *RIR*, 55, pp. 146–149: 'Hic homo cepit hedificare, et non potuit consumare'.
72. *RIR*, 57, p. 155: 'Quia uero in facto tuo perseuerantia opus habes, que in cunctis bonis operibus commendatur, oportet ut exhibeas te constantem, ne uel iniqua suggestione uel promissione peruersa te molliant'.
73. *RIR*, 57, p. 156: 'Quid autem pro te diuersis scribamus personis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis, per ipsarum litterarum rescripta tue poterit serenitati patere'.
74. Letters 68, 74 and 75 are all concerned with archbishop John of Trier's continuing disobedience.
75. *RIR*, 67, pp. 189–191.
76. *RIR*, 67, pp. 189–190: 'Passus est igitur Dominus te temptari, ut faceret in temptatione prouentum et constantiam tuam omnibus demonstraret'.
77. *RIR*, 67, p. 190: 'Ecce etenim iam apparet, quam sis ecclesie Romane deuotus, quam fidelis imperio, quam zelator honoris Coloniensis ecclesie, cuius tueris potenter et uiriliter libertates, quam etiam in proposito tuo constans, cum, quibusdam nutantibus, dicaris inflexibilis et inuariabilis permansisse'.
78. For this statement see R.M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 64.

79. *RIR*, 121, pp. 297–299: 'Sane suam ad nos idem rex querimoniam destinauit quod cum fidelitatis ei, etc. ut supra usque paterno desideremus affectu, nobilitatem tuam monemus et exhortamur attentius et per apostolica tibi scripta mandamus quatinus iuramentum eidem regi presititum, etc. usque seruare procures'.
80. A useful recent study on honour is C. Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013), pp. 54–90.
81. A synopsis of this event is given in R. Knipping, *Die Regesten der Ezbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1901), pp. 331–332 (1616). And also discussed in J.P. Huffman, *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066–1307)* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 186–187.
82. *CRC*, p. 200: 'Rege cum episcopo Coloniam regresso oritur inter eos gravissima dissension coram cardinali et prioribus et burgensibus et vix per triduum sedatur'. The chronicle is a complicated text but the following has been helpful: M. Groten (1997) 'Klösterliche Geschichtsschreibung: Siegburg und die Kölner Königschronik', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 61, 50–78.
83. Certainly, the annalist of the *Royal Chronicle of Cologne* pointed at this as a cause: 'yet the cause of this disturbance was concerning tallages and coinage, and unjust tax exactions and the violation of peace negotiations'.
84. Ibid.: 'Auditis autem allegationibus utrorumque, regis scilicet et episcopi, mediante legato, sub cuius iudicio hec agebantur, ipsorum utriusque derempta est dissensio, tali conditione ut omnis exactio violenta cassaretur et pax negociantibus'. That the mainly pro-Otto annalist included this short extract within the text highlights how contemporaries may have considered the King's actions as a serious infringement of Adolf's rights as a temporal lord within Cologne.
85. C. Wolfschläger, *Erzbischof Adolf von Köln als Fürst und Politiker (1193–1205)* (Munster: Coppenrath, 1905), p. 72.
86. *RIR*, 80, p. 217: Although there are a number of questions Innocent asks which all point to this link, an example is cited below: 'Quis preumeret ut, cum pro tuenda Coloniensis ecclesie dignitate ea feceris hactenus, ad que nullus predecessorum tuorum ausus fuerat aspirare, quod, nunc maculam in gloria tua poneres et retro respiceres et opus manuum tuarum uelles tam leuiter abolere?'
87. *RIR*, 113, pp. 280–282.
88. *RIR*, 117, pp. 290–292.
89. Knipping, *Die Regesten der Ezbischöfe*, p. 341 (1654).
90. Huffman, *Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy*, p. 197.
91. *RIR*, 116, pp. 286–290; see Knipping, *Die Regesten der Ezbischöfe*, p. 344 (1664); and finally for the chronicle's depiction of the excommunication, see *CRC*, p. 220: 'Circa ascensionem domini prefati episcopi a sede apostolica iudices constituti iterum Coloniam venerunt et in maiori ecclesia b. Petri apostoli coram clero et universo populo eundem Adolphum episcopum excommunicatum a papa pronuntiaverunt et per omnes convetuales ecclesias et parrochias civitatis, ut per singulos dominicales et sacros dies excommunicaretur, apostolica auctoritate districte preceperunt; hoc etiam in mandato habentes, ut, si infra mensem post denuntiationem sibi factam Romam ad

satisfactionem se non conferret, omni beneficio et officio destitueretur et alius dignus in loco eius eligeretur'.

92. The following provides a concise narrative of the events: Pixton, *German Episcopacy*, pp. 142–144. The following letters detail the actions taken by Innocent: *RIR*, 116, pp. 285–290; and 117, pp. 290–292.
93. Cited in Pixton, *German Episcopacy*, p. 134. A number of letters were addressed to the 'prioribus et cappellanis Coloniensibus': for example, *RIR*, 130, pp. 308–309.
94. I will not here explore the long debate about to what extent a 'feudal church' arose in the eleventh and twelfth century. An introduction to some of these arguments are presented in M. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 117–141.
95. See amongst others R.M. Stein, 'Sacred Authority and Secular Power: The Historical Argument of the *Gesta episcoporum*' in L. Besserman (ed.) *Sacred and Secular in Medieval and Early Modern Cultures: New Essays* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 149–221.
96. See C. Fletcher's important comments about reassessing clerical masculinity in 'The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity?', p. 69.
97. M. von Weissenberg, '"What Man are You?": Piety and Masculinity in the *vitae* of a Sienese Craftsman and a Provencal Nobleman' in P.H. Cullum and K.J. Lewis (eds) *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), p. 133.

Masculinity and Political Struggle in the Cities of the Crown of Castile at the End of the Middle Ages

Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer

Spanish historical research on the conception of masculinity in the Middle Ages is still relatively scarce.[1] Existing studies focus mainly on the transition from youth to full manhood, especially in the geographical area of the Crown of Aragon.[2] The bibliography on the Crown of Castile is even scarcer. One of the best-known issues here probably concerns the accusations levelled at King Henry IV (1454–1474) during the political crisis that ended in civil war in the mid-fifteenth century.[3]

This chapter sets out to try and fill this gap in part by approaching the subject from a different perspective. I shall take as my reference point the relationship between the cultural construction of masculinity and the exercise of political power at the local level in Castile at the end of the Middle Ages. I shall therefore concentrate, first of all, on examining the set of meanings and behavioural models associated with the construction of the masculine figure in literary and legal sources and compare these with definitions and behaviours found in social practice.[4] I shall then consider the links between masculinity and the exercise of local political power and, finally, how the constituent elements of the most widespread definition of masculinity served to formulate arguments with political content used in confrontations about local power.

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The Language of *Virilidad*

It is necessary to begin with some reference to the vocabulary used. The word *masculinidad* (masculinity) was not frequently used in medieval Castilian and the only instance earlier than 1730 in the Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE) [Diachronic Corpus of Spanish] can be found in a translation of Guy de Chauliac's *Magna Cirugia* of 1493.[5] Indeed, the first time the word occurred in a Castilian dictionary was in 1787, when it was defined as the quality that distinguished the *varón* (man in the sense of adult male), although with the special mention that it was a forensic term and not in common use.[6]

In medieval Castilian, the noun, *ombre* (man), had a double connotation. It was used to denote an individual of the male gender, but also in the extended sense of mankind. The preferred term for referring to individuals of the male gender was generally *varón*. To describe the behaviour that was expected of a man, the term *virilidad* (virility, manhood) was used, which derived from Latin, or the Castilian equivalent, *uso varonil* or *animo varonil* (manly use or manly spirit).[7]

The meanings of *varón* and *virilidad* were both clearly linked in medieval Castilian to the idea of strength and vigour. Medieval literature echoed the conception formulated by St Isidore, in which the *varón* was defined (in Spanish translations of the Latin) as 'la virtud de la fuerza' (the virtue of strength), thus pointing out that men exceeded women in strength and virtue.[8] This same type of association was repeated in the dictionaries that were compiled at the end of the fifteenth century; so, for example, in his *Universal vocabulario en latín y romance*, Alonso de Palencia equated the Latin word *virilis* with *varonil* (manly) and defined it as strong and sturdy.[9] The semantic content is very similar to the one offered some time later by Antonio de Nebrija's *Diccionario Latino—español*, where *virilitas* is translated directly as 'la fuerza del varón' (the strength of the *varón*).[10] In any case, manliness is understood in opposition to woman. The priest, R. Fernández de Santaella's *Vocabulario eclesiastico*, another dictionary compiled in this period, provided a telling definition of the Latin term *mollis*, namely 'un hombre que no tiene vigor de varon y es como hembra' (a man who does not have the vigour of a male and is like a female).[11] If we move away from dictionary definitions and look at the way the terms *virilidad* (virility, manliness), *viril* (virile), *virilmente* (in a virile way), or equivalents, were used in Castilian literature at the time, we find that these concepts generally refer to the idea of a man who acquits himself with spirit and vigour, often in contexts of war or conflict. So, they spoke at the time of acting *varonil y esforzadamente*, meaning 'in a manly and spirited way',[12] or used the concepts of *esfuerzo viril* (virile spirit) and *esfuerzo varonil* (manly spirit), which also refer to the idea of acting boldly or with daring.[13]

In medieval Castilian, though, the term *virilidad* was also used to refer to adult manhood. According to the classification of the six ages of man

compiled by Fernández de Santaella at the close of the fifteenth century, manhood or youth was the stage of life that followed adolescence and preceded old age and lasted from twenty-eight to forty-nine years old[14]; this reproduced therefore the traditional classification established by Isidore of Seville, but added a new term, manhood, to the stage of life that Isidore had defined as youth.[15] The concept of *virilidad* was thus associated with the ideal standard of behaviour expected of a man of adult age. Literature provides us with some additional examples that serve to illustrate it. For example, in the proem to his treatise *Bías contra fortuna*, dedicated to the count of Alba, Íñigo de López, marquis of Santillana (1398–1458) eulogizes the figure of the count in a way that reflects this opposition. In his tribute, he relates that, even when the count was young 'his manhood and nobility started to shine' (*comenzó el resplandor de su virilidad y nobleza*), so making it clear that there were standards of behaviour expected of an adult man to which the count was able to adapt in spite of his age.[16] In the chronicles, it is not difficult to find further examples of behaviours that were described as typical of the adult man. For example, when the Castilian translation of the chronicle of Aragon refers to Ramiro I, who succeeded to the throne in 1035 at the age of 18, it emphasizes that, in spite of his tender years, his actions were typical of an adult man rather than a young one. More specifically, it is stated that he conducted himself like a sensible, mature, well-balanced, magnanimous man, which, in short, conveys an idea of level-headedness and balance typically associated with an older person.[17] In the light of these considerations, it seems clear that the definition of virility or manhood had two levels of conceptual reference: those that alluded to ideas of strength and vigour, and those that referred to notions of balance and moderation, in other words, self-control.

Theoretical and Moralistic Analyses of Masculinity

In this context, the set of references and expected models of behaviour that separated the adult man from the young one found their support in medical doctrines, echoes of which can be detected in various types of work, such as 'mirrors for princes'.[18] So, for example, in the glossed translation into Castilian of *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome by Juan García de Castrojeriz, it was explained that, because of his hot-blooded nature, the young man had limited understanding, was inconstant, gullible and prone to lust.[19] At the end of the fifteenth century, Alonso de Palencia, following Pompeius Trogus, emphatically expressed the same idea when he stated that 'young men on the verge of manhood behave with the lust of goats' (*los mozos cercanos a la virilidad siguen la lujuria de los cabrones*).[20] Significantly, hypersexuality was not considered to be the ideal behaviour of an adult man and, as we shall see in Christian treatises on the matter, lust, in fact, made a man effeminate.

A similar thought underlies the portrayal of the woman as an imperfect man. According to one fifteenth-century Castilian *Cancionero* (an anthology

of poems): 'Woman is an animal that is said to be an imperfect man. Procreated in the absence of good natural heat, the source of all her afflictions' (*La mujer es un animal que se dice hombre imperfecto. Procreado en defecto de buen calor natural, de donde vienen sus males*).[21] This dominant view was even adopted by the mid-fifteenth-century woman writer Teresa de Cartagena; at the beginning of one of her treatises, she reflected that 'it pleased God to make the virile or manly sex robust and valiant, and the female one weak and of little vigour' (*plugo a Dios de fazer el sexo viril o varonil robusto o valiente y el femineo flaco e de pequeño vigor*).[22] Accordingly, it was considered that woman also tended to lust and lacked the temperance of man, which derived from his strength and vigour. Indeed, behaviour appropriate to men is often described in opposition to the characteristics attributed to women, who are regarded as chatterboxes, inconstant, weak and fearful, and from whom, therefore, constancy, firmness and courage were demanded.[23] This idea, expressed in numerous treatises, can be summarized in the expression: the woman who wants to be virtuous must have an *ánimo varonil* (manly spirit) in a woman's body.[24] In this connection, it is revealing that accounts of the martyrdom of women reproduce this idea when they relate how some of them faced torture with *esfuerzo varonil* (manly spirit and valour), therefore attaining honour and dignity by behaving in a way that was considered more characteristic of men.[25]

It should also be borne in mind that, alongside the opposition man/woman, the term *afeminado* (effeminate) existed in medieval Castilian and was used to refer to the man who did not follow the models of behaviour that defined masculinity and who had lost his *uso varonil* (manly use, manliness). They were said to be fearful, to avoid the company of men and to be always surrounded by women.[26] The underlying logic of this definition of effeminate, however, was not necessarily strictly sexual, but referred rather to the weakness and lack of vigour that set them apart from conduct appropriate for a man. The Franciscan, Francesc Eiximenes (1330 x 1335–1409), expressed it this way in the *Libro de las Donas*, written in Catalan and translated into Castilian in several versions, when he asserted that, in general, the effeminate man is one who is not able to resist temptation and so becomes weak.[27] He specifically stated, however, that what made a man effeminate was precisely lust, since it made him unfit for virtue and predisposed him to all the other sins.[28]

The moralizing terminology used in this kind of definition was repeated in works of quite different kinds. In one of them, the anonymous treatise *De las mujeres ilustres* (Of Illustrious Women), which tells the story of Cleopatra, Mark Antony is described as effeminate, because he shows that he is incapable of controlling his sexual appetites towards the queen of Egypt.[29] In other texts, however, there was another definition, less tinged with Christian morality, and the effeminate man was simply someone who was subject to somebody else's will and unable to assert his own. The marquis of Santillana offers

us an illustrative example in his *Provervios* (Proverbs), when he describes Solomon, king of Israel, in the final years of his life as 'effeminate or subject to the power of women' (*afeminado o sometido al poderío de la mujer*),[30] a description that was reproduced in similar terms in a number of *Cancioneros*.[31]

Somewhat more complex is Hernando del Pulgar's definition of effeminacy with respect to King Henry IV in the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (Chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs).[32] It is well known that, in the context of the civil war in Castile between 1468 and 1474, the king was subjected to an intense smear campaign.[33] The chronicler included a good number of the political arguments used to discredit him. He did not omit to mention the accusations of the queen's adultery that were made at the time, and which were used to question the legitimacy of the claims to the throne of her daughter, Princess Juana, and to benefit those of Juana's rival, the future Isabella the Catholic.[34] The chronicler also seems to make a veiled allusion to accusations of sodomy that circulated at the time, when he notes that the king was a lecherous man and 'prone to disorderly vices' (*proclive a vicios desordenados*),[35] although the central part of the chronicler's definition of Henry as effeminate stems from the fact that he handed his wife over to his favourite of his own accord.[36] Aside from the question of whether or not this was the precise argument used to confirm the illegitimacy of Henry IV's heir, it is difficult to avoid a sexual component in this definition. There is, however, a further complication since, to put it in a nutshell, what was expected of a man's behaviour was precisely that he should exercise control and authority over his wife. Indeed, according to one of the translations of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartolomaeus Anglicus, 'A man should rule his wife as the head does the members of the body' (*El hombre debe gobernar a la mujer como la cabeza a los miembros del cuerpo*).[37] It is no surprise, then, that King Henry IV was defined in the same passage as effeminate and unfit to rule.[38]

In sum, the element that seemed to have the most bearing on defining a man as effeminate was his inability to assert himself as a man. This circumstance may have included indications of a weak sexual drive, but also, conversely, his inability to curb his own impulses.

The definitions of ideal male behaviour in theoretical and moralistic works refer in the first instance to the notions of strength, vigour and firmness of will. The idea of firmness of will was forcefully projected onto the Christian ideal of self-control and the struggle against temptation and the passions, as can be clearly seen in fifteenth-century treatises. The *Razonamiento de armas de los Reyes Católicos*, a propagandistic panegyric exalting the figure of the monarchs, is a very good illustration of this.[39] This work stated, quoting St Gregory, that: 'the confused man (*hombre confundido*) is the one who does not have a robust heart and will. The good man (*buen varón*) should turn away from wrath and pride, typical of the weak man (*hombre débil*)'.[40] A man also had to be moderate in his speech.[41] Excessive talking was considered typical of inferior beings, such as women or Jews, who were on a par

with each other in terms of this weakness. In the end, it was thought that loquaciousness led to lying, so much so that, following St Bernard, Eiximenis asserted that it was impossible for a great talker not to be a great liar.[42] This was the opposite of what was expected of a man, who as we shall see, was also defined by his ability to keep his word. In the mid-fifteenth century, under influence of humanistic codes, a firm will and masculine vigour should also be expressed with emotional restraint.[43] Alfonso de Madrigal, known as the *Tostado*, made reference to the concept of *corazón viril* (virile heart) or *corazón varonil* (manly heart) to indicate that a man should suffer sadness in solitude, without bothering his friends. Weeping, wailing and whimpering were considered typical of women and inappropriate in the *corazón viril*.[44]

It goes without saying that models of masculinity of this type found in Christian moralists and writers were not only descriptive, but also prescriptive, to the extent that they tried to establish standards of behaviour. The inevitable question is in what way did the definitions of masculinity we find in such treatises differ with respect to the categories that prevailed in social practice?

Masculinity in Law and Judicial Discursive Practice

To understand how concepts of masculinity were applied in political practice, a different set of documents and a change of perspective are needed, beginning with the links that existed between the notions of *honra* (honour, in the sense of reputation and good name) and masculinity. The medieval notion of masculinity, or rather, the behaviour expected of a man, was in fact strongly connected with this concept of honour. It was a cultural mechanism in effect in Castile from the twelfth century at least, and was not at all the exclusive patrimony of the aristocratic elite and depended on public recognition,[45] to the extent that the notion of the *hombre honrado* (honourable man) had powerful resonance at all social levels. Honour was often equated with 'a man of good reputation' (*un hombre de buena fama*).[46]

Delineating the notion of *honra* is complex, although its links with the standard of behaviour expected of a man are reflected in a number of treatises. Thus, when, at the end of the fourteenth century, a mirror of princes pointed out that 'dishonour is typical of weak men' (*la deshonra es propia de los hombres débiles*), it linked honour (*honra*) directly with fortitude, and hence with the usual definitions of masculinity.[47] A similar definition, mediated by the category of virtue, can be found in the *Nobiliario Vero*, written at the close of the fifteenth century, in which it was stated that: 'Honour cannot be found in an evil, vicious man' (*El honor no puede estar en hombre malo y vicioso*), since it is 'the property of good and virtuous men' (*propiedad de los hombres buenos y virtuosos*).[48] At any rate, this assimilation of the concept of honour to the conduct expected of a man enables us to move closer to the set of cultural categories that were actually employed in practice, by studying

the most serious ways in which a man could be offended, namely, by studying *injurias* (insults or slander). Nor should it be forgotten that legislation in Castile gave equal weight to the Latin term *iniuria* and the Castilian *deshonra* (dishonour), in other words, the offence that damaged a man's honour.[49]

An analysis of the repertoire of such insults shows that those associated with masculinity coincided only partially with the ideals observed in literature, since other aspects were highlighted. Loyalty must have been a referential value that guided masculine conduct, and it can be observed in the typology of insults included in the thirteenth-century *fueros* (local laws). In accordance with Cuenca's *fuero*, which was one of the most influential because it was adopted by many localities, the most serious insults for a man were to be accused of lying, bearing false witness and especially, of *traición* (a term that covered any breach of trust or loyalty, such as betrayal or treason). The betrayal aspect was also stressed in royal regulations; in the laws promulgated by Alfonso XI, in 1348, it was defined as follows: 'Treason is the vilest thing and the worst that can befall the heart of man' (*La traición es la más vil cosa y la peor que puede caer en el corazón del hombre*).[50]

This view was still held at the end of the fifteenth century, and is reflected in numerous local bylaws.[51] According to those of Becerril de Campos, to be called a traitor was the worst insult that a man could receive, on a par with those of heretic and sodomite.[52] In other words, *traición* was not just a value that applied exclusively to the aristocratic elite, but was formulated as a standard of behaviour that could apply to any man. From early times, the conceptual content of *traición* went beyond the sphere of personal relations and included a notion of communal reciprocity. The *fuero* of Cáceres stated it quite clearly when it pointed out that the greatest cause of dishonour for a man was to be accused of betraying the *concejo* (council), a term that connoted two things: on the one hand, the institution of local government, but on the other, the community as a whole.[53] It was no coincidence that 'Death to the traitors!' was the most commonly heard cry in medieval revolts, denouncing behaviour that was considered damaging to the reciprocity required of those who governed with respect to the community that they governed.[54] The notion of betrayal was, in fact, right at the heart of the political arena, and was well understood by monarchs, who defined treason against the king as the most serious form of betrayal.[55]

A look at judicial documentation from later centuries allows us to confirm that those standards used to define manly behaviour remained in effect, and also supplies new nuances. As I have indicated, the insults of traitor or liar continued to be among the most serious offences; nonetheless, statements made by witnesses in lawsuits involving defamation add other elements that help define the appropriate behaviour expected of a man.[56] In the accounts that these witnesses gave—associated with expressions such as *ser un hombre de mala condición* (to be a man of low moral calibre; a nasty piece of work) or *ser el peor hombre* (to be the worst kind of man)—a whole series of

other behaviours were condemned, which reflected a certain advance in the Christian framing process and the survival of values linked to respect for lineage. The figure of the bad man was linked to conduct such as openly denying God or blaspheming, showing contempt for one's parents and ill-treating them, speaking presumptuously, drinking to excess, gambling and, finally, practising certain sexual behaviours considered illicit, such as having relations with virgins, married women, or with women related to him in some way,[57] in other words, indulging in sexual practices that could be detrimental to the honour of another man, whether a father, a husband or a close relative, and which meant a threat to social stability.

The cultural construction of masculinity, then, was linked to various sets of ideas that, more often than not, overlaid each other, although they could also come into conflict: it was linked firstly, to notions of strength, vigour and firmness of will; secondly, to notions of maturity, balance and restraint; while a third set revolved around loyalty and keeping one's word.[58] Indeed, if we leave out the more complex question of homosexual practices, what is surprising is the secondary role given to sexuality in these definitions.[59] It was scorned by moralists who considered lust to be a weakness symptomatic of weak men and women, and was regulated by a practice that prescribed a series of legitimate and illegitimate behaviours aimed at social reproduction.[60]

Manhood and Political Struggle

A second question for analysis concerns the relationship between the definitions of masculinity and the exercise of local authority. In principle, whoever governed the city had to conform to the standards of behaviour that were expected of an upright man; as it was recorded in the 1371 *Cortes* of Toro, mayors had to be *omes buenos e abonados e honrados* ('good, rich, and honourable men').[61] This matter was already present in the Isidorean tradition, according to which no man who was either bad or mad should carry out the tasks of government.[62]

Political treatises of the Late Middle Ages amplify this idea with shades of the Aristotelian ideals of temperance, self-control and moderation aimed at the attainment of justice. Of course, these treatises did not usually establish a direct relationship between behaviour that was appropriate for a ruler and the virtues expected of a man; nevertheless, their definition of the qualities of a good ruler was practically the same as the behavioural models for the virtuous man formulated in the same treatises. So, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo's mid-fifteenth-century treatise, the *Suma de la política*, established that the government of a city should be entrusted to men of mature years, who were characterized by their prudence.[63] This Aristotelian rhetoric of good government was permanently written into the Royal Regulations of 1480 at the *Cortes* of Toledo, where the profile of the local ruler was established: he had to be a prudent, God-fearing man, of good understanding and not covetous.

The good ruler had to be one able to control his passions and natural inclinations and be ruled and kept in check by reason.[64]

If we change perspective, however, and move on to address the image of the ruler presented in the corpora of local legislation, the political language changes. The link between the exercise of government and the appropriate behaviour for a man was not only maintained, but expressed through the category of honour. A brief review of some of the municipal bylaws in some localities will illustrate this statement. According to the bylaws of the small town of Boadilla de Rioseco, local government had to be exercised by 'six good men of good reputation, honour and conscience' (*seis buenos hombres de buena fama, honra y conciencia*).[65] In Bilbao, it was decided that local government had to be exercised by those men who were 'most honourable, distinguished, able and good' (*mas honrados e principales e habiles e buenos*).[66] In short, and as can be found in other municipal bylaws, local offices were 'offices of honour' (*oficios de honra*),[67] that is, positions that conferred honour at the same time as they demanded that those who held them be honourable. Even though the language changed, there was certainly an expectation that government had to be exercised by virtuous men, 'of good conscience' (*de buena conciencia*). However, as I have shown, the notions of honour and good reputation were also linked to expectations of manly behaviour. This association can be clearly discerned in some sayings of the time, which expressed the view that the mayor had to be a 'good man' (*buen hombre*).[68] It may perhaps be seen most clearly, though, in a series of verbal confrontations of which we have a record because they were included in lawsuits in which local mayors were accused of a lack of *virilidad* (manliness). Relatively frequently, this type of documentation provides us with examples of altercations, in which an individual confronted the mayor or a local council official, stating that he was just as much a man as he was, if not more. So, for example, when the mayor of the small village of Torre Don Milano was at a meeting held in the public square to deal with matters of local governance, he was rebuked by an individual who claimed that he was 'just as good a man as he was, or better' (*tan buen hombre o mejor que el*), and added contemptuously that at least he had not been a swineherd, referring to the mayor's humble origins.[69] An even more striking example occurred in the town of Támara at the beginning of the sixteenth century, where an individual confronted the mayor, proclaiming that he was just as much a man as the mayor with his staff of office, and even more of a man than the mayor if he put down the staff of office (which symbolized local authority).[70] In conclusion, local government presupposed, as well as represented, manly behaviour.

In practice, the ideal behaviour of the ruler required some standards of moral conduct, which were not very narrowly defined, as well as a certain physical presence that matched the ideal vigour with which manly behaviour was associated. This can be illustrated by an event in the hamlet of Quintanilla, close to the city of Valladollid, where the town council was in session; a

man burst into the municipal assembly and snatched the staff of office from the mayor, all the while rebuking him and calling him bald and drunk.[71] The episode should not be interpreted as a mere confrontation between neighbours but as showing an act with political content. The ideal local government officer not only had to behave in an upright fashion, but his image could not approximate too closely to the idea of decrepitude either. The municipal official also had to demonstrate the strength and firmness of will of a man, and, on this topic, we find no major differences between the accusations levelled at the mayor of a small village and those hurled, at the time, at King Henry IV. The point is perfectly illustrated by the campaign of rumours initiated in a locality in the Basque Country, where a local government official was accused of weakness of character and lacking in firmness, when it was considered that he was 'subjected to his mother's will' (*sometido a la voluntad de su madre*).[72]

In short, a look at political practice shows that the image of the leader of the council was constructed from a masculine point of view and shared in the repertoire of ideas associated with the idea of manliness. He was expected not only to act in defence of the common good, in accordance with the hegemonic political discourse about governing towns, but also had to behave like a man.[73] This explains the central role of strategies that questioned masculinity in confrontations over local power, either by making direct accusations or, more often, through smear campaigns that involved undermining the honour of the government leaders.[74] It is quite revealing that these defamatory campaigns did not concentrate on more or less vague ideals of virtue, but rather on characteristics that were clearly associated with the common perception of how a man should behave, and which could, in consequence, be used to disqualify him from office.

Among the most frequently cited reasons for arguing that a man was unfit for office are accusations of perjury, disloyalty and, finally, betrayal. Here are some examples. In the small village of Cuzcurrita del Río, at the end of the fifteenth century, the mayor was publicly accused of not having respected the oath he took as a local alderman. A similar situation arose in the local government of Tuesta, in the Basque Country, where an official was discredited even before he took possession of his post because he was considered to be a perjurer.[75] Failure to keep his word debarred a man from exercising authority.

One interesting aspect of strategies of political opposition is that they were often built by mobilizing referential values of masculinity rather than by deploying political arguments in the strictest sense. Thus, for example, in the town of Jaraiz de la Vera, in Extremadura, after a confrontation caused by an increase in local taxes, one individual publicly proclaimed in various parts of the town that 'there was not a mayor or alderman in the municipality who was not a perjurer' (*no había alcalde ni regidor en el municipio que no fuese perjuro*).[76] The significant aspect of this argument is that it was not set out in terms of the legitimacy of the tax, but instead stressed that the town officials

had failed to keep their word, which implied that there was a kind of reciprocity that was explicitly assumed and given effect by the oath sworn upon taking office.[77] The tiny hamlet of Venialbo provides another similar example. In 1498, the residents, dissatisfied with the way the payment of taxes had been allocated, joined together to depose the local ruling body.[78] They entered a meeting of the local council, and appointed others to replace it. It is significant that the councillors were not accused of poor governance but, once again, of perjury. This kind of action reveals, at the same time, that there were certain expectations about how local power should be exercised, or to put it another way, about some of the limits on the action of local power however much government positions were in the hands of the elites.[79] The important aspect for what concerns us here is the way that those expectations were expressed, using a political language that mobilized referential values of masculinity and, specifically, the need for a man to be seen to keep his word.

Accusations of cowardice were also used to discredit local rulers. This was the case in Valladolid, where several government institutions of the kingdom were located. Here, the Count of Ribadeo, an alderman in the city, was branded a coward and a traitor in several public conversations, a description that was also extended to his father, who held high office at the royal court.[80] On other occasions, such accusations of betrayal with the intent to tarnish honour circulated in the form of lampoons, in which a man's action was compared with images of the archetypal traitor figures, Judas and Lucifer.[81]

Other types of argument dwelt insistently on the fact that local authorities were unable to keep their own houses in order, arguments that were interspersed with accusations of moral corruption, such as allegations of adultery levelled at the wife of a local official. In Castile, it was a very common practice to place some horns on the door of the house of the person whose name they wanted to blacken.[82] The Spanish word *cornudo* (horned) refers to the complaisant, cuckolded husband. This had several implications. Female adultery, for a start, was considered to be the wife's betrayal of her husband; for the man, though, it carried a twofold stigma: one relating to his lack of physical vigour and the other to his inability to rule his own household. Hence, in the case of someone holding a position of authority, the accusation had political effects. It proclaimed publicly that he was a betrayed individual and lacked vigour—which in turn had its sexual connotation—and above all, that he was incapable of controlling the will of his wife and so was unfit for government.[83]

It should be remembered that, in the legislation of Castile, adultery was an offence that could only be reported by the husband or close relatives.[84] In other words, public accusations of wives behaving disloyally had no legal consequences, but did prove to be quite an efficient strategy for discrediting local government leaders. The town of Támara, near the city of Palencia, provides a very good case in point. Here, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, following a confrontation between two factions for control of the local

government, one of those defeated waged a veritable smear campaign that centred on the alleged adultery of the mayor's wife. We know that the wife's alleged adultery was the subject of many conversations and even that she was insulted in public, being called 'the biggest whore in town' (*la mayor puta del pueblo*). It also gave rise to a series of satirical popular songs vilifying her. Finally, some horns were placed in the public square of the town, alongside a lampoon that said that the mayor's wife had paid four men to have sex with her.[85]

A less frequent accusation, but with similar thinking behind it, was being associated in some way with the practice of sodomy. Accusations of sodomy had a deep-rooted tradition as a tool of political struggle. The relationship between sodomy and masculinity is complex and changing. The idea was already well established in the late Middle Ages that sodomy was a sin of lust against the order of nature that corrupted man.[86] In Castile, sodomy was punishable by death, but unlike some other places, it was preceded by castration, which had various implications in addition to the connotation of loss of virility.[87]

The accusation of being associated in some way with sodomy, let alone practising it, created an image of a morally corrupt man, which therefore made him legally ineligible to govern. This happened in the 1490s, in the city of Jerez de la Frontera. In the context of a confrontation between the members of the local government and the representative of royal authority in the city, the latter publicly proclaimed that the son of the council official who led the opposition had been convicted of sodomy. In fact, the trial for sodomy had still not taken place at that time and when it did finally take place, the defendant was acquitted. What the defamatory act set out to do, however, was to create a public effect. As the injured party himself eventually proclaimed in order to defend himself against the accusations, the aim had been to ruin his good reputation by accusing his minor son, who was under his paternal authority.[88] An example with similar connotations can be observed in the town of Medina del Campo, where members of the local elite bribed a mentally handicapped man to publicly proclaim that he had had sexual relations with a member of the local government belonging to the rival faction.[89] It was, of course, a dangerous matter to be accused of sodomy, although such accusations did not so much seek a conviction, which was pretty unlikely in the royal courts, as to discredit the party concerned.

Conclusion

This brief review shows that, despite the fact that many different ways of thinking operated in the definition of masculinity (which overlapped only in part), there was a close link between the exercise of public authority and the behaviour expected of a man. We could even go as far as to state that not only was authority constructed from a masculine point of view, but that

the masculinity of the ruler constituted a political language in itself. Indeed, criticism and strategies of opposition were able to circumvent the development of political arguments in the narrow sense, so that the conflict could be articulated by invoking a lack of respect for referential values of masculine behaviour. It was a sort of transversal strategy that could even affect the king himself, but which was also widespread in political conflicts at other levels of the scale, in cities and in much smaller localities. In every case, discrediting the man amounted to discrediting the politician. The procedures varied from rumour and defamation to insult and direct confrontation. It is quite significant, nonetheless, that the reasons chosen were, precisely, those that presented the most marked characteristics of masculinity and were most strongly associated with the ideal of masculinity that was observed in practice; those, in short, that, in the eyes of the public, clearly disqualified the local ruler from exercising power.

Notes

1. This chapter incorporates the results obtained as a result of the research project *¿El poder de la comunidad?: Lenguaje y prácticas políticas populares a fines de la Edad Media* (HAR 2011-30035), financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad del Gobierno de España.
2. Esp. M. C. García Herrero, 'Mocedades diversas: hacia un estudio de la juventud en la Baja Edad Media', *Memoria y Civilización*, 11 (2014), pp. 9–34, and 'Vulnerables y temidos: los varones jóvenes como grupo de riesgo para el pecado y delito en la Baja Edad Media', *Clio & Crimen*, 9 (2012), 105–134, studies along the lines of R.M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Press, 2003). See also earlier analyses of particular questions by: A. Furio, J. Mira and P. Viciano, 'L'entrada en la vida dels joves en el món rural valencià a finals de l'Edat Mitjana', *Revista de Història Medieval*, 5 (1994), 75–106, and M.C. Pallarés-E. Portela. 'Los mozos nobles. Grandes hombres, si fueran hijos solos', *Revista de Història Medieval*, 5 (1994), 55–74.
3. T. Azcona, 'Isabel la Católica bajo el signo de la revolución y de la guerra (1464–1479)' in J. valdeón Baruque, ed., *Isabel la Católica y la política* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2001), pp. 51–82; S. Ohara, 'La propaganda en la guerra sucesoria de Enrique IV', *Edad Media. Revista de Historia,* 5 (2002), 117–133; A.I. Carrasco Manchado, 'Enrique IV de Castila: esbozo de una representación de la propaganda política', *Orientaciones: revista de homosexualidades*, 2 (2001), 55–72.
4. For this, see the seminal study by C. Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth and Politics*, 1377–1399 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008).
5. *Traducción del Tratado de cirugía de Guido de Cauliaco*, ed. M.T. Herrera and M.E. González de Fauve (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997), fol. 161r.
6. E. Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario castellano con las voces de las ciencias y las artes y sus correspondientes en las tres lenguas francesa, latina e italiana* (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1787), vol. 2, p. 539.

7. For example, in A. Martínez de Talavera, *Corbacho*, ed. M. Ciceri (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1990), p. 296.
8. A compilation of the Isidorean tradition is found, for example, in V. Burgos, *Traducción de El Libro de Proprietatibus Rerum de Bartolomé Anglicus*, ed. M. Teresa Herrera and M. Nieves Sánchez, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1999, fol. 84r.
9. A. de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance*, ed. G. Lozano López (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992), cited from the online database Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE), http://www.rae.es. Accessed 15 June 2015.
10. E.A. de Lebrija, *Dictionarium* (Madrid: Exthypografia reiga, 1638), p. 444.
11. R. Fernández de Santaella, *Vocabulario eclesiástico*, ed. G. Lozano López (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992) cited from the online database, Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE), http://www.rae.es. Accessed 15 June 2015.
12. P. Díaz de Toledo, *Diálogo é razonamiento en la muerte del marqués de Santillana*, ed. A. Paz y Melia (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1982).
13. *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna*, ed. J.M. Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), p. 204.
14. R. Fernández de Santaella, *Vocabulario eclesiástico*, ed. G. Lozano (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992), cited from the online database, Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE), http://www.rae.es. Accessed 15 June 2015.
15. Isidoro de Sevilla, *Etimologías*, ed. J. Oroz Reta (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1967), vol. 2, p. 40.
16. I. López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santilla, *Obras completas*, ed. Á. Gómez Moreno, M.A.M. Kerkhof (Barcelona: Planeta, 1988), p. 272.
17. G. García de Santa María, *Traducción de la crónica de Aragón de fray Gauberto Fabricio de Vagad*, ed. J.C. Pino Jiménez (Madison: Hispanic Seminar of Medieval Studies, 2002). Cited from the online database, Corpus diacrónico del español (CORDE), http://www.rae.es. Accessed 15 June 2015.
18. The *Mirror of Princes* were texts offering advice to a king and other rulers on aspects on rule and behaviour.
19. *Glosa castellana al regimiento de príncipes*, ed. J. Beneyto Pérez (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos, 1947), vol. 1, pp. 297–301.
20. A. de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario*, fol. 195r.
21. *Cancionero castellano del s. XV de la Biblioteca Estense de Módena*, ed. M. Ciceri (Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1995), p. 56.
22. T. de Cartagena, *Arboleda De Los Enfermos. Admiracion Operum Dey*, ed. L.J. Hutton (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1967), p. 118.
23. M. de Córdoba, *Jardín de nobles doncellas*, ed. F. García (Madrid: Ediciones Religión y cultura, 1956).
24. Ibid.: 'en cuerpo mujeril debe traer ánimo varonil'.
25. *De las mujeres ilustres en romance*, ed. H. Goldberg (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), fol. 56r.
26. A. Martínez de Toledo, *El Corbacho*, ed. de M. Ciceri (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1990), p. 295.

27. *Traducción del Libro de las donas de Francesc Eiximenis*, ed. G. Lozano López (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992), fol. 57r.
28. Ibid., fol. 96r.
29. *De las mujeres ilustres en romance*, ed. H. Goldberg (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), fol. 89r.
30. I. López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, *Obras completas*, p. 236.
31. *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Íxar*, fol. 71r.
32. H. del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J.M. Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1943), p. 11.
33. On this question, see J.L. Martín Rodríguez, *Enrique IV de Castilla. Rey de Navarra, príncipe de Cataluña* (Hondarribia: Nerea, 2002), pp. 231–242.
34. A recent review appears in O. Villarroel González, *Juana la Beltraneja. La construcción de una ilegitimidad*, Madrid, Silex, 2014, pp. 33–42.
35. H. del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J.M. Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1943), p. 11. For the accusations of homosexuality against Henry IV, see A.I. Carrasco Manchado, 'Enrique IV de Castila: esbozo', pp. 55–72.
36. Ibid.
37. V. de Burgos, *Traducción de El Libro de Proprietatibus Rerum de Bartolomé Anglicus*, ed. M. Teresa Herrera and M. Nieves Sánchez (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1999), fol. 84r.
38. F. del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, p. 11.
39. For the way it was produced and its content, see A.I. Carrasco Manchado, 'El "armorial moralizado" de Antonio García de Villalpando: heráldica y propaganda de los Reyes Católicos', *En la España Medieval*, 1 (2006), 113–130.
40. A. de Villalpando, *Razonamiento de las Reales Armas de los Católicos Reyes don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. M. Teresa Herrera and M. Nieves Sánchez (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2000), fol. 60v: 'el hombre confundido es el que no tiene su corazón y su voluntad reciamente. El buen varón debe apartarse de la ira y la soberbia, propias del hombre débil.'
41. Ibid., fol. 233r.
42. *Traducción del Libro de las donas*, fol. 105v.
43. See B. Capp, '"Jesus Wept" but Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 224 (2014), 76–108.
44. A. Fernández de Madrigal, 'El Tostado', *Libro de amor e amicicia*, ed. M.T. Nieves Sánchez (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2000). On A. Fernández de Madrigal and the Aristotelian School of Salamanca in the fifteenth century see C. Flórez Miguel, 'El humanismo cívico castellano: Alonso de Madrigal, Pedro de Osma y Pedro de Roa', *Res publica: Revista de filosofÍa política*, 18 (2007), 107–139.
45. M. Madero, *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas* (Madrid: Santillana, 1992).
46. The notion of 'fame' (reputation, or *common fame*) has been the subject of controversy and there is a plentiful bibliography. At the end of the Middle Ages in the Crown of Castile, the equivalence between the concepts of *honra* (honour) and having a good reputation shows that reputation was a mechanism of public recognition, aside from any role it might play in court proceedings. For a recent review of the different positions and some similar conclusions, see C. Gauvard, 'Fama explicite et fama implicite: Les difficultés de l'historien face à l'honneur des petits gents aux derniers siècles du Moyen

Âge' in J.-P. Genet, ed., *La légitimité implicite* (Paris: Pubs. de la Sorbonne, 2015), vol. 2, pp. 189–206 and pp. 39–56.

47. J. Fernández de Heredia, *De secreto secretorum*, ed. J.M. Cacho Blecua (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2003), fol. 276r.
48. F. Mejia, *Nobiliario Vero*, ed. P. Giménez (Madison: Hispanic Seminar of Medieval Studies, 1992), fol. 36v.
49. *Las Siete Partidas de Alfonso el Sabio cotejadas por varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807), partida VII, título IX, ley I.
50. *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* (Madrid: Imprenta Rivadeneyra, 1847), p. 556.
51. *Fuero de Cuenca*, ed. R. de Ureña y Smenjaud (Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1935).
52. H.R. Oliva Herrer, *Ordenanzas de Becerril de Campos* (Palencia: Diputación de Palencia, 2003), p. 168.
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'By this My Beard Which Hangs From My Face': The Masculinity of the French Princes in the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War

Hugo Dufour

In the year 1411 the Armagnac faction had suffered one defeat after another at the hands of their rivals, the Burgundians, in the civil war which was overtaking the kingdom of France. As setbacks accumulated, divisions began to appear amongst their princely leaders. It is in this context that the *Geste des ducs Phelippe et Jehan de Bourgongne*, an anonymous chronicle written between 1410 and 1415, narrates an attempt by Charles, duke of Orléans, to moderate the bellicose attitude of Bernard of Armagnac, his father-in-law and the leader of the Armagnac clan.[1] But Charles is abruptly put in his place in these terms:

> Shut up, says Bernard of the Armagnac country;
> By this my beard which hangs from my face,
> I will have you, if God wills and I live,
> Crowned as King of France and lord of Paris.[2]

The anecdote illustrates a certain conception of masculinity associated with the practice of power. For Bernard of Armagnac as he is portrayed in this chronicle, young men at the beginning of the fifteenth century had no right to speak of matters of war, at least not in the presence of men whose masculinity was more complete, more explicit. Here it was the beard, masculine

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attribute *par excellence*, which distinguished the perfected man from the man who was still some way from completion.[3] The beard symbolised a man's capacity for military action. Facial hair, notably because it was visible to all, legitimised its wearer, enough at least that a count could impose silence on a duke. This passage, which portrays a moment in the civil war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, thus demonstrates the importance of paying attention to princely masculinity when we analyse the affirmation of political authority.

But before we analyse princely masculinity more closely and consider its implications for the practice of political power, let us briefly consider the historical context of these phenomena in late medieval France.[4] The men under consideration lived and acted in a tense political atmosphere. The kingdom of France in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries went through a period of intense political instability, in which the balance of power shifted swiftly and repeatedly, where alliances were made and broken at will, and where Fortune's favour for a prince never lasted for long. In this period the closest relatives of the king, known as the 'princes of the blood', argued amongst themselves and finally descended into mutual violence in a veritable fight to the death. Violence then spread progressively from the close confines of the court to the entirety of the kingdom, changing in the process from a simple set of disputes over individual rights into a full-blown civil war.[5]

It has to be said that the thirty years either side of 1400 were not lacking in difficulties: the king's madness; the assassination of his only brother by his cousin, duke of Burgundy and peer of France;[6] the formation of factions; the country eaten up by unemployed soldiers left to themselves; and, finally and worst of all, the kingdom almost taken over by the king of England.[7] These ills undermined the Crown's authority little by little, creating an environment more than fertile enough for hatred to flourish. This conflict amongst princes, usually placed in the wider context of the Anglo-French wars known as the 'Hundred Years War', is what the historiography calls the Armagnac-Burgundian war.

This war came about as a result of the chronic incapacity of the king of France, Charles VI.[8] The first tragic scene played out on a hot afternoon in August 1392, the year the king turned twenty-three, as Charles VI marched against Duke John IV of Brittany.[9] The king, already feverish, was suddenly seized by an attack of madness, striking out at the enemies he perceived around him. Several of his companions died of his blows before he could be brought under control. Charles then fainted, falling into unconsciousness for several days, leading many to fear he would die. This first attack, shocking enough in itself, had lasting consequences. The king's bouts of madness continued until the end of his life, destabilising the regime and leading the kingdom to the edge of chaos.[10] These attacks, which became longer and more frequent as the king became older, made it entirely impossible for him to govern.[11] For weeks and sometimes months the king was incapacitated, making

any communication with the outside world impossible. With the monarch weakened in this way, the control of the government and of the financial resources of the kingdom of France fell prey to many appetites.

A rivalry then emerged between the different members of the royal family. On the one hand, there stood the first of the princes of the blood, Louis of Orléans, the only brother of Charles VI who survived into adulthood. On the other, we find the dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, and, after his death in 1404, his son, John the Fearless.[12] Louis of Orléans, born in 1372, was an accomplished young man, who held the *apanage* of the duchy of Orléans. Of acknowledged intelligence, eloquence and powers of memory, he showed great piety as well as a pronounced taste for jousting and for other military pursuits. Yet this man, at first sight apparently so virtuous, was also, according to his enemies, an inveterate gambler, and a great lover of women.[13] According to Burgundian propaganda, Louis of Orléans was a 'whoremaster' (*putier*).[14] Philip the Bold, meanwhile, was by 1392 the true centre of power in France.[15] At fifty years of age he was an experienced man. He had fought at the battle of Poitiers in 1356 and had endured, alongside his father John II, more than four years in English captivity. He was above all one of the most powerful princes in the kingdom, the senior duke of the peers of France, made rich by the county and duchy of Burgundy and above all by the county of Flanders.[16]

The opposition between Orléans and Burgundy gradually grew, each one wanting to dominate the administration in order to control the resources of the royal demesne (the lands administered directly by the king).[17] From the first decade of the fourteenth century, Philip the Bold and Louis of Orléans sized one another up in a tense atmosphere created by the king's repeated attacks of madness. Influence was won by the man who knew best how to make his voice heard and who could manoeuvre most skilfully, making use of diplomacy and of force where necessary to accomplish his ends, wielding by turn words and the sword. Already in 1401, the duke of Burgundy had demonstrated his military strength in Paris, justifying his armed action after the fact as a protest against excessive taxation.[18] Without going into the detail of the stages by which opposition increased, let us note for the moment how clashes multiplied, and how the slide to civil war began in the first years of the fifteenth century.

The death of Philip the Bold in the spring of 1404 worsened the situation.[19] His son, John the Fearless, a few months older than Louis of Orléans, succeeded his father both in his title and in his quarrels. The personalities of the two cousins were diametrically opposed. John the Fearless had none of the qualities of the man of the world, neither elegance, nor charm, and especially no mastery of the codes of the court. According to Bernard Guénée, 'his good morals were as well established as the bad behaviour of his cousin [Louis of Orléans] was notorious. But he was ugly whilst the other was good-looking. He expressed himself as badly as the other was eloquent. He danced

poorly whilst the other danced well. He was as gloomy as the other was amiable'.[20] What was more, John lacked the authority of his father. He was only the cousin of the king, whilst Philip the Bold had been by turns the son, brother and uncle of a king of France. The game seemed lost, and already Louis of Orléans was emerging as the most prominent power broker in the kingdom. But John the Fearless had on his side both an iron will and great audacity. It was in this way that, by an unprecedented act, the noble quarrel became a bloody war.

On the evening of 23 November 1407, Louis of Orléans was on his way back from the house of Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, when, at the level of the old rue du Temple, the king's brother fell into an ambush. Injured in the arm and in the head, he died before help could be found. The subsequent inquiry quickly identified John the Fearless as the man who had ordered this deed, forcing the duke of Burgundy to flee to his Flemish lands. The scandal was enormous. It was a treacherous act, a murder committed by hired killers. It was also close to treason: an assassination within the same family of one cousin by another, just days after they had publicly made peace. After this crime, the civil war began in earnest between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians. It was to continue until the treaty of Arras in 1435. In the meantime, civil war raged across France, with murders, battles and fragile treaties following one another in rapid succession. On 10 September 1419, John the Fearless was assassinated on the bridge of Montereau-sur-Yonne by men from the Armagnac party.[21] We will not list here the events of this war in detail.[22] It should simply be observed that after the murder of the duke of Orléans, the kingdom of France embarked on a long period of instability, during which the sovereignty of France was often menaced by the English enemy.

For present purposes, it is important to note that this civil war was first of all a war between the princes of France. If the kingdom was pulled apart by war, it was above all the doing of these men. Philip the Bold, then John the Fearless his son, against Louis of Orléans and, subsequently, his heirs and his allies. Whether this struggle took place in the heart of Charles VI's court or on the field of battle, the princes were at the centre of events, in the role of a leader: leader of a household, of a party, and finally a leader in war. In the sources, the princes were placed centre-stage in the struggle between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians throughout the different situations – political, diplomatic and military – which it created. As a result, this period constitutes an ideal context in which to observe princely masculinity: in the struggle between the princes, the prince as a man was very much the focus of attention. He must show his ability to be the champion of a party, and for that he had to develop a certain number of abilities attached to his masculine persona in order to project his superiority. The quarrel between parties brought to the fore the competition between men.

The civil war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians is thus a privileged moment for observing the male competition between princes, and to

reflect on the historiographical blind-spot of the prince as a man. The idea is to reflect on the relationship between princely masculinity and the practice of political power. The question is to consider how the masculinity of princes was expressed in these troubled times, in what fashion, through what means, and for what aims. The aim is to show what new light the study of princely masculinity might shed on the political history of the kingdom of France. We will thus be able to see that the performance of masculinity was first of all a duty for the prince, who must show himself to be a perfect man in order to aspire to power. But the prince could also be attacked through his masculinity, if this could be portrayed as excessive or insufficient. His enemies tried to discredit the prince by discrediting the man. Finally, it needs to be acknowledged that perfect masculinity was not only an obligation for princes, not only a goal to be achieved, but also a tool for political legitimation. By a comparison between the funerary monuments of John the Fearless and Louis of Orléans, we can observe how the princes dramatised their masculinity, a model masculinity which can be seen to be multiple, revealing competing masculine ideals.

The Need to Affirm A Perfect Military Masculinity

An armed man on horseback, sword in hand, is surely the first image which comes to mind when we think of the lords engaged in the civil war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, as indeed more widely when we think of the nobles of the later Middle Ages.[23] As 'those who fight' (*bellatores*), in the famous division of medieval society into three estates, one of the most important duties of the princes of France was to make war.[24] As the first amongst the nobility, they had to cross swords with the enemy whenever necessary, and so put themselves at the service of the other two estates, 'those who pray' (*oratores*) and 'those who work' (*laboratores*). By exposing their bodies in battle, and in the pursuit of felons, they were to ensure peace and to protect the population.

This portrait of the prince as a man of war thus necessarily included that of a proficient fighter. To appear fully as an uncontested war leader, the prince had to show that he was capable of taking part in battle. The good prince was above all he who took up arms in person. This commitment to warfare carried with it physical implications, and with them repercussions for the body of the prince, which must attain a high level of beauty, and of warlike perfection.[25] For example, in the chronicle of Perceval de Cagny, Charles VI is described at the beginning of his reign as possessing an admirable body: 'In his youth, there was no knight, squire, or man of any estate, who was a better shaped man in his handsome noble body, handsome arms and legs of great strength and agility'.[26] If we believe this pro-Armagnac author, the perfect prince self-evidently possessed a perfect physical beauty, and a faultless body, which was best adapted for combat. Christine de Pizan says much the same

when she describes the king's brother, Louis of Orléans, and the young men who surrounded him:

> [Louis] is above all very pleasant, handsome in body and has a very agreeable and good physiognomy, gracious in his amusements. […] [His household] is today the retreat and refuge of the knighthood of France, of which he holds a noble and very fine court of young, handsome, good-looking and well-dressed men.[27]

Not only were both Louis of Orléans and Charles VI handsome, which is to say that they had gracious and powerful bodies, but they also possessed a more rigorous set of accomplishments appropriate for combat. The body here celebrated was the body put to the service of military matters. Nonetheless, vigorous as it was, this body was not that of a muscle-bound brute, but rather of a balanced man, who exercised self-control.

The control which a man had over his body also had to be shown in the ability with which he wielded arms, an expected and valued quality for a prince and his primary activity. Consider, for example, the testimony of Michel Pintoin, better known as the monk of Saint Denis, who composed his own portrait of Charles VI. In his chronicle, an important text for the understanding of the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century in France, the monk links robustness of body and military prowess. Charles was, on this testimony, 'very capable in archery and in throwing the javelin, enthused by warfare, a good horseman, […] he showed, as everyone agreed, a rare skill in all military exercises'.[28] Control of the body, a knowledge of arms: the ideal combatant took shape very much in a universe in which he must simultaneously restrain himself and surpass himself. In the process he affirmed for all to see his military and political authority through a military masculinity.

Physical strength was thus established as an identifying characteristic of a man of war, which also confirmed his masculinity. This strength often went as far as aggression and violence, but a kind of violence which was also valued. The man not only could but must show his strength, which constituted the 'founding quality of chivalry'.[29] 'This prince is of very noble courage and great will to the confusion of our enemies', said Christine de Pisan of the duke of Orléans.[30] She goes on to say that he had proved this 'by many valorous offers of combat'.[31] To be a good prince was thus to prove one's courage and skill in battle, by multiplying confrontations. The enemy must be attacked in his body, in his flesh.

The violence of the man in combat must go to the death: the death of enemies, certainly, but also one's own. The prince consciously risked his life on the field of battle. To fight was also to commit oneself totally, at the risk of death; a death which was thus valued, honoured and which could even be heroic.[32] To fight was to expose one's person and life in the service of one's cause or of one's lord. This desire for a commitment which went as far as death is clearly apparent in our sources at moments when the princes of the

civil war asserted their duty to act. In November 1408, that is to say one year after the assassination of the duke of Orléans, the king and the whole of the royal family took up residence in the city of Tours. The aim of this manoeuvre was clear: to contain the demands for power of John the Fearless by isolating him. The *Geste des ducs Phelippe et Jehan de Bourgongne* asserts that when he knew of their departure, John the Fearless protested his loyalty to Charles VI, promising God that he would sacrifice his life for the king if necessary:

> But by this Lord who resides in heaven,
> I will rather expose my body and all I am worth.[33]

Thus the brave duke of Burgundy made it a point of honour to risk his life to save that of the king.

The masculinity of the princes in the war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians was seen to be first and foremost a duty. To aspire to power, the prince had to display the characteristics of the most perfect masculinity. He had to prove that he was a man and, as a prince, that he was a man of war. The requirements this implied were many and various: to dominate his body, to master horses and arms, to participate directly in combat, to lead the offensive. The whole was inscribed in a system of values based on honour, the foundation of an ideal warrior masculinity towards which all the princes of this period aspired.

Discrediting a Prince by Attacking His Masculinity

Since perfect masculinity was a necessary part of the princely role, the failure of masculinity could provide a powerful weapon against the prince as man. By giving into excess, by abandoning himself to pleasure and by providing proof of weakness in this way, the man strayed from the right path and the prince was lost. In the context of civil war, masculinity thus entered fully into the political field, as a means of attack available to the warring parties. Attacking the masculinity of a prince was one way to discredit his political actions.

If attacks on princes took many different forms, focusing on lechery, cowardice or the real or supposed weakness of these men, the most powerful image of corrupted masculinity was the man of excess. 'Every time [that King Charles VI] recovered his reason, the undisciplined assembly of some of his courtiers […] incited him to every unfitting pursuit,' the monk of Saint Denis tells us.[34] The stern chronicler did not miss the opportunity to criticise the king's entourage, guilty in his eyes of too much levity. By constantly asserting himself with regards to others, by constantly attempting to be the first in everything and so to transcend his estate, the prince easily fell into abuse or excess. In this, there was danger, for every man could lose his reputation in this way, and even the honour in which he was held.

In this way, our sources condemn uncontrolled, unconstrained princely masculinity, notably in sexual matters, in such a way that outrageous masculinity can delegitimise the political authority of the prince. We can see this once more under the pen of the monk of Saint Denis, who includes in his account of the tragedy of the 'Ball of the Burning Men' (*le bal des Ardents*) a condemnation of the reduction of men to savages. The Ball in question took place on the night of 28–29 January 1393, just a few months after Charles VI's first public attack of madness. It was held on the king's orders to celebrate the remarriage of a woman of the queen's entourage. The whole court was present, and the great lords of France feasted there together. As was customary for the remarriage of widows and widowers, a ritual *charivari* or rough housing was secretly organised. The principle of the ritual was simple: the participants dressed and made themselves up as wild animals and then suddenly erupted into the heart of the feast, making savage noises in the hope of scaring the party-goers. According to the monk,

> They all, to speak briefly, went on dancing in circles with mimes and musical instruments until the middle of the night […] nevertheless, the king, who then too easily followed his heart, by the counsel of several young lords of the court, wanted to amuse himself with this [*charivari*].[35]

Unfortunately, what started as a laddish pleasantry ended in disaster. When the king and five of his companions covered themselves with animal hair to impersonate wolves or bears they used highly flammable pitch as an adhesive. This soon proved to be a disastrous idea, since as he was trying to identify one of the pranksters, Louis of Orléans held his torch too close to the latter's face. The unfortunate man was immediately set on fire, and the blaze quickly spread to his companions. Only two of them were not burned to death, one of whom was the king, whom the duchess of Berry recognised and rescued, smothering the flames with her voluminous dress.

Beyond the tragic burlesque of this scene, this event and reactions to it make it possible to observe the contemporary vision of the savage. Destructive, dangerous, even the impersonation of savagery here caused nothing less than man's perdition, the negation at once of his humanity, but also, more specifically, of his masculinity. Indeed, one detail in the narrative of the monk of Saint Denis is particularly striking, which although it is surely an invention of the writer nonetheless illustrates well the loss of masculinity suffered when men became wild.[36] In telling the story of their death, the chronicler insists in particular on the literal loss of the virility of the burning revellers:

> The devouring flames rose until they reached the ceiling […] the pitch had fallen drop by drop and been liquefied by the fire until it penetrated inside their bodies […] Their lower parts were thus penetrated inwards up to the navel, so that their genitals with their virile members fell bit by bit and inundated the floor of the hall with blood.[37]

The young lords became living torches, and their whole bodies suffered the attacks of the fire. That a cleric, normally more discreet on bodily matters, chose to insist on the loss of their genitalia, detaching themselves from their bodies and falling to the floor, deserves our attention. From the monk's point of view, the man who dressed up as an animal, effacing any trace of civility, also lost his virility. Far from being an individual of brute masculinity, exaggerated and in a certain way triumphant, as one might at first think, the wild man must, on the contrary, in the opinion of the very self-controlled monk, lose those attributes which are most directly masculine. To play at being wild was thus to lose one's 'man-hood' in the sense of one's humanity (being a man as opposed to a beast), but also one's status as a 'man' in the narrower sense of maleness, which as this passage portrays as nothing less than a castration. The episode shows us more broadly how the body, and more precisely the masculine genital organs, remained central in the definition of a man at the end of the Middle Ages. Without his virile attributes, the individual lost what defined him first of all as a man.

Wildness was thus condemned severely. And yet, our sources arguably show even greater contempt for another masculine sin: loss of control in the sexual domain. Lechery was held to be one of the principal causes of a man's ruin, since it destroyed not only his honour, but also drew him into the spiral of the vices. The unreasoned search for sexual pleasure was accused of all evils by moral commentators during Charles VI's reign. Philippe de Mézières (c. 1327–1405), for example, in his *Epistre lamentable et consolatoire* (1397) discussed the reasons for the disastrous defeat of crusading troops at the battle of Nicopolis in the previous year.[38] According to de Mézières, this was the fault of the evil influence of 'Queen *Luxure* [= sensuality], with her great power and dangerous entourage.'[39] Although Nicopolis was not directly part of the civil war then taking shape in France, it nonetheless involved several of its protagonists. The idea of a crusade against the Infidels was very much in fashion in the 1390s, and Philip the Bold was amongst its most enthusiastic supporters. He provided the largest French contingent for the expedition to Hungary led by his son, John the Fearless. Yet the crusade proved to be catastrophic in every way. The battle, on 25 September 1396, was a humiliating defeat for the French, of whom many were killed or, like John the Fearless, taken prisoner. For Philippe de Mézières, it was *Luxure* who had brought this about through the dangerous actions which came with her, since she:

> does not come alone to the host for she brings her chamberlains who are subtle and proud, that is to say Slothful Laziness, Sleepy Negligence, Sorcery and Divination […] Joyful Life is not forgotten, Often Lying and Flattery, False Appearance, Riots, Hatreds, Divisions and Quarrels until blood is shed and often until death.[40]

The account of the vices brought by fleshly sensuality does not end there. For Philippe de Mézières, a man lost himself especially through sexual sins: 'and

everywhere Gluttony, Making Bastards (who are reputed legitimate, by which ancient and noble lineages are corrupted), Fornication, Adultery and other vile and horrible sins on account of which God repents that he made man'.[41] *Luxure* is thus the mother of all vices.

We see a similar moralistic logic in the account of the same events by the monk of Saint Denis. If the desire of the crusaders to fight for God could only be praised, one of the reasons for their military loss was to be found, according to the chronicler, in the fleshly sins of these men of war. The chronicler claims that the men of faith who accompany the lords on this adventure implored them to live a virtuous life, advising them 'to drive out from the army ribald and frivolous whores, to stop adulteries and all kinds of fornication, to ban excessive feasting and drinking' and in general to flee all vices and above all that of lechery.[42] Yet the knights ignored them, living a licentious life. The chronicler observes bitterly that '[t]here were present in the camp certain ribald whores of light morals, with whom many committed adulteries and all kinds of fornication'.[43] For the monk, those who set out to vanquish heresy behaved like the worst of the impious, showing themselves to be committed to the pursuit of pleasure. The princes were the most guilty of all, since they at best closed their eyes to such practices, at worst encouraged them. In the eyes of the chronicler, it was above all this fatal laxity, approved by the princes, which led to the painful defeat suffered by the crusaders. By abandoning himself to the sin of lechery or by failing to condemn it, the prince betrayed not only his estate, showing himself unworthy of the rank he held in the world, but also the oath he had taken to serve and protect the people. In this way, he risked losing the basis of his political authority and endangered the whole structure of society.

A failure of masculinity could damage the prince, and expose him to virulent criticism. The prince was thus constantly obliged to attempt to maintain a perfect masculinity. On the other hand, perfect masculinity was not only a duty for princes, not only a goal to achieve, or to fail to achieve. It could also be the object of dramatisation, constructed by princes themselves to legitimate their political authority.

The Dramatisation of Princely Masculinity

The princes of late medieval France constantly dramatised their masculinity as part of their political self-presentation. This can be seen, for example, in the animals which they chose for their emblems. Through tapestries, clothing and accessories, the princes displayed the fetish animals which they found particularly symbolic.

If at the end of the Middle Ages, the lion was already considered to be the king of animals, in the case of Louis of Orléans it was, perhaps surprisingly, the wolf and the porcupine who came to the fore.[44] These two animals, although perhaps less bold and glorious, represented physical force and aggression just as well as the lion. They were displayed by the duke of

Orléans, notably in the design of valuable objects, as one can see, for example, in the inventory of Louis's jewels, which refers to 'the golden signet [ring] of my said lord, on which a wolf and a porcupine are engraved, weighing eight *esterlins* of fine gold; [...] a knife with a handle of black bone [...] in the pommel of which there is a wolf on the one hand and a porcupine in the other'.[45] The porcupine seems to have occupied a position of particular importance for Louis of Orléans. Indeed, this animal gave its name to the order of chivalry founded by the duke on 1394: the Order of the Camail (after a piece of chain mail armour covering the shoulders and neck), better known as the Order of the Porcupine. The porcupine should be seen here as a warlike symbol, since it was believed in the Middle Ages to be capable of firing its quills against over-insistent enemies. The motto associated with this emblem leaves no doubt of its significance, with its menacing promise: *Cominus et eminus* ('Close to and far away').[46] The symbolism of the wolf was even more explicit. The wolf was the animal who represented danger and fear.[47] Yet its image, although eminently negative, was nonetheless favoured by Louis of Orléans. A symbol of the most brutal violence edging on savagery, an image of the most warlike masculinity, the wolf also represented the resolute desire of the young brother of the king to impose himself by force against his enemy John the Fearless. The Burgundian prince was no less aggressive in attributing to himself the great merits and qualities of the lion.

More than simple symbols, or banal allegories, the animals became true personifications of the princes, who for many observers accurately embodied their qualities. Thus, Louis of Orléans was indeed, for some of his contemporaries, the wolf who coveted the crown, as was shown in a miniature produced by Burgundian propagandists following the assassination of the duke of Orléans (Fig. 1). This image was a manuscript illumination, placed at the head of the justification of the assassination of Louis of Orléans composed by the university master Jean Petit at the request of John the Fearless. This was an important text, since it sought to legitimise that deed to Parisian society, arguing that Louis's assassination was in fact a just and legitimate act of tyrannicide.[48] At the centre of this image, there is an open blue tent, decorated with golden *fleurs-de-lys*, emblem of the French monarchy. At the centre of the tent, a large *fleur-de-lys* supports a royal crown which a wolf, on the left, is trying to steal. On the right, a lion valiantly defends the crown, injuring the wolf with his paw. A couplet accompanies the image, explaining in four lines the image above it:

> Par force le leu rompt et tire
> A ses dens et gris la couronne,
> Et le lyon par très grant ire
> De sa pate grant coup luy donne.[49]

(By force, the lion tears away the crown with his teeth and claws, and the lion in great anger, gives him a great blow with his paw.)

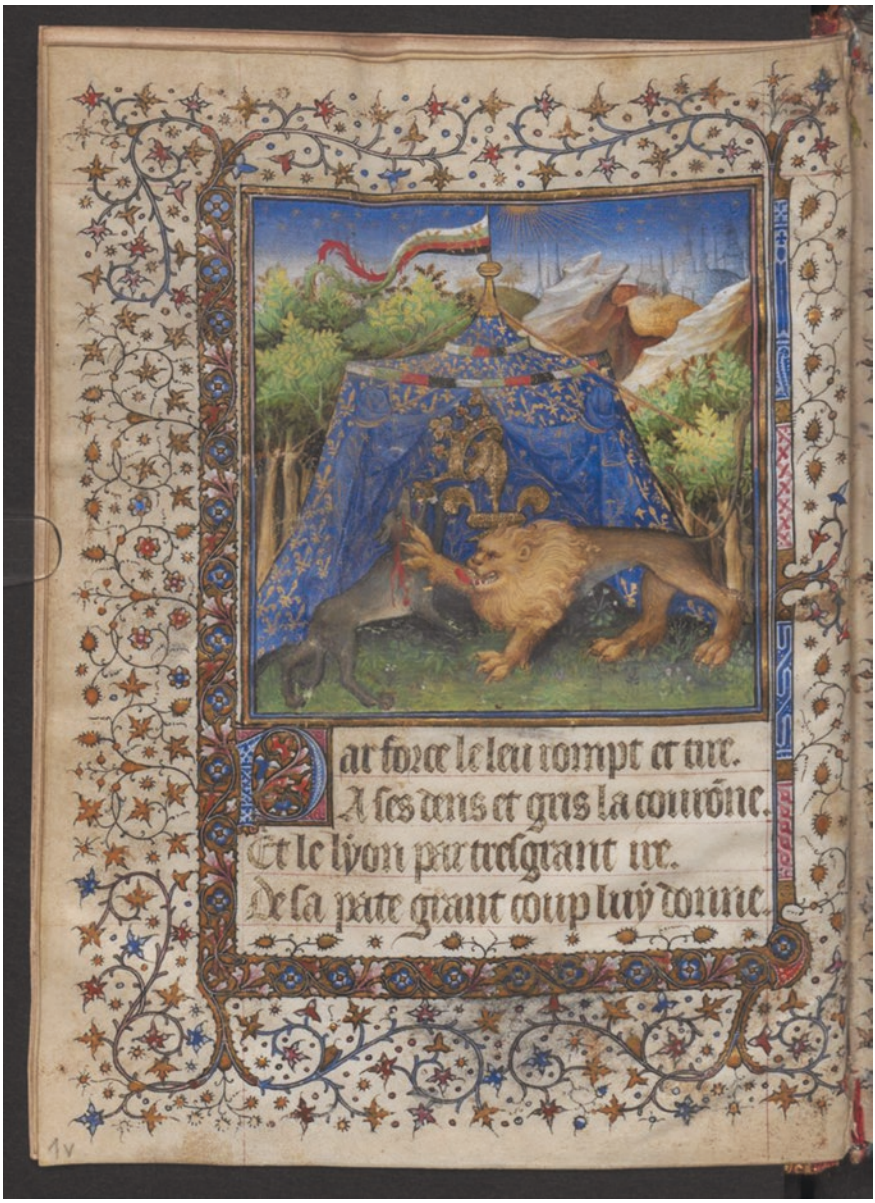

Fig. 1 The lion (John the Fearless) slays the wolf (Louis of Orléans). (*Justification de Monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne sur le fait de la mort du duc d'Orléans*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2657, f. 1v)

The combat between the two cousins, who were also two princes and rivals to the death, took on the appearance of a struggle between two wild animals. In this Burgundian miniature, the lion, John the Fearless, proud and generous,

presents himself symbolically as the protector of the king, the crown and the common good of France against the treacherous and vile wolf Louis of Orléans, a thief guilty of treason. By opposing two animals whose symbolic associations suggested competing claims for domination and lordship, since the one was undisputed king of all animals and the other was the undoubted lord of the forest, the miniature interpreted the death of Louis of Orléans as the predictable and indeed even natural consequence of a struggle for pre-eminence in the animal kingdom. A duel between rival dukes of the royal family which degenerated into a civil war, the conflict between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians was symbolically embodied in a confrontation in which the princes took on the appearance of wild beasts, adopting the fury of animality. The dramatisation of their masculinity by the princes was thus first transmitted by a demonstration of brute force, affirming once more the eminently warlike character of princely masculinity.

The politically constructed masculinity claimed by the princes of France should not be read as too monolithic, however. Indeed, their dramatisation of their own masculinity was not uniform but multifaceted, the expression of many different ideals. In the remainder of this chapter, I would like to focus on how this multiplicity was expressed through a comparison between the tombs commissioned by John the Fearless and Louis of Orléans. The opposition between the masculinities of the two principal protagonists of the civil war continued beyond the grave in their bodily representation in the effigies which adorn them. These sculptures, very common in the tombs of the powerful in the Middle Ages, served as a funerary monument by presenting in a realistic fashion a lord in recumbent position, on his back.[50] One aim of such monuments was to magnify the dead man in stone, to preserve the memory of his person, but also of his rank and his power.

Unfortunately for modern observers there is an intrinsic imbalance in the documentation of these two monuments. Whilst we can still fully enjoy the spectacle of the effigy of John the Fearless, for Louis of Orléans the task demands a particular effort of imagination. Whilst the tomb of the duke of Burgundy can still be seen in all its glory, coming alive through the sumptuous materials with which it is made—marble, alabaster, fine gold—the effigy of Louis of Orléans can only be reconstructed through an effort of the imagination, through the will of the duke dated to 1403.[51] Yet, despite the difference in the nature of the sources, from this incomplete documentation we can nonetheless attempt to analyse the opposing visions of princely masculinity visible in these effigies. We can see how two approaches to French princely masculinity at the beginning of the fifteenth century could be opposed even in the imagery of their tombs.

Let us first rapidly describe the two effigies. The first thing which strikes us is the diametric opposition between the two monuments in almost every regard. Take the effigy of John the Fearless: it is intentionally sumptuous, showing the duke in prayer, surrounded with signs of great wealth and affirmations of power (Fig. 2). At the foot of the duke there is a lion, a symbol,

Fig. 2 Claus de Werve, Jean de la Huerta and Antoine Le Moiturier, Tomb of John the Fearless and Marguerite of Bavaria. (Photograph © Hugo Dufour)

as we have seen, of sovereignty and power. He wears a long ermine robe, azure and gold in colour, a symbol of majesty and refinement. From this robe emerge the stone arms of the prince, clasped in prayer, but clad in armour, recalling his primary status as a man of war. Indeed, it is clear that he is a soldier of the faith, since his solid helm is held by angels. He wears a rich crown decorated with precious stones, and his head rests on a luxurious cushion.

If we turn from this magnificent composition to consider the last will of Louis of Orléans we find a diametrically opposed plan, unusual for the time, for a simple, bare tomb. '[I] will and ordain', Louis declares, 'that my body after my death be borne in its entirety to the Celestine monks of Paris', the same Celestine house in which the duke had founded a chapel in 1394, in expiation for his culpable frivolity during the Ball of the Burning Men.[52] But the duke's attachment to the order went further, for he also declares: 'I will and ordain that [dressed] in the said habit [of the Celestines] I shall be placed on a rope trellis directly in the earth without putting anything else on the said trellis […] with my face and my hands exposed.'[53] The image is striking in its severity. Not only did Louis take for his final clothing a simple monastic robe, not only did he wish to be returned to the earth as simply as possible, but what is more he refused a mortuary mask or any of the other ornaments which were normally placed on the bodies of the dead. The ceremony described by the prince shows the same desire for simplicity. So, for example,

if he accepts that his arms—the very emblem of his social person—should be present in the church, he requests that they be placed a distance away from his body, as if to free himself from the attributes of ducal power.

It must have seemed that it was a monk of the Celestines who was to be buried in this will, not a son of the king of France. The rejection of the attributes of power and of wealth culminates in the description of the effigy requested by the duke. For although Louis of Orléans did indeed intend to be represented on his tomb, he wanted to be portrayed in the monastic habit in which he would have wished to be buried: 'dressed in the habit of the Celestine monks'.[54] The austerity increases as the description continues, since the statue was to be figured 'having under the head a cushion of rough stone in the form and manner of a rock and at the feet instead of lions and other beasts another rough stone'.[55] For a pious man like Louis of Orléans, these words must also refer to the words of Christ to Saint Peter: 'You are Peter (*Petrus*), and on this rock (*petram*) I will build my Church'.[56] Louis thus wanted himself to be, for all eternity, the champion of the most sober faith, the herald of the most rigorous piety: a very different vision from the magnificence of the duke of Burgundy's tomb.

What do these monuments tell us about princely masculinity? First, that the man portrayed in the tomb of John the Fearless was a confident and established prince, a lord in full possession of his means: a mature man, in the prime of life; and above all, a duke of royal blood who exposed, through an omnipresent even ostentatious luxury, a masculinity founded on power. Strength, wealth and grandeur were everything. It was a glorious display, a burst of magnificence, the last roar of the most powerful prince of the kingdom of France. The man in the monument imagined by Louis of Orléans was to be, on the contrary, a man of retreat from the world, of renunciation, of a return to simplicity. In death, Louis no longer thought of himself as a prince. Nothing was to distinguish him from any other man, nor to draw attention to his place in the world, the closest man to the king after his children. Alive, he was second only to the king; dead, he wanted only to be seen as a sinner amongst sinners. This belated turn to the religious life, after all a common practice amongst the great during the Middle Ages, took place through a total symbolic effacement which is surprising in such a prince: a strange renunciation of the riches of the world and of the powers he had wielded there.

The princely masculinity which is projected by one or the other of these two effigies presents two different and fundamentally antagonistic faces. As both try to signify the piety of princes, the statue of John the Fearless develops a masculinity which is above all warlike, founded on the idea that a prince who must assert himself over all through force and power. The duke chose to show on his effigy, in gilded copper letters, an inscription recounting his titles in full, recalling for all eternity the very high place which he held in the world:

> Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders and Artois and of Burgundy, Palatine, Lord of Salins and of Malines, son of the late most high and most powerful Philip, son of the King of France, duke of Burgundy, and founder of this church.[57]

By contrast, the masculinity of the monument to the duke of Orléans projected a spirituality, or at least an intellectualisation of his own person, which seems absent in the effigy of John the Fearless. It is specified in Louis's will that his effigy should hold a manuscript, a clear symbol of the cultivation and good taste of a man often praised by contemporaries for his mastery of letters. 'And I should hold in my two hands a book', which would also present a message for all eternity: 'in which shall be written […] into your hands O Lord I commend my spirit' – the last words of Christ on the cross according to Saint Luke.[58] If the presence of these words on an effigy is perhaps not surprising, the symbolism is still powerful. With this book and this citation, Louis of Orléans presented himself as the humble creature of God, but also as the image of Christ himself, addressing the Lord as He did. At the same time new Christ and simple sinner, great prince and modest monk, Louis of Orléans's plans for his effigy express a paradoxical masculinity, based at once on the most absolute humility and on the most symbolically valued religious references.[59]

As the philosopher Jacques Rancière puts it: 'The monument is that which speaks without a word, which instructs us without intending to instruct us, which carries memory by the very fact of only being concerned with its present.'[60] In the words of the will of Louis of Orléans, and in the tomb monument of John the Fearless, these lords do indeed instruct us, one last time, on how princely masculinity might be defined in their period, showing us how multifaceted it could be.

Conclusion

To return to one of the questions with which we began: what can the study of princely masculinity contribute to our understanding of the civil war which broke out in the kingdom of France in the early fifteenth century? When we study the masculinity of princes what we see above all is the obligation to be a man. Ideal masculinity appears to be a political duty for a prince, who must always attempt to reach this perfection in order to complete his mission, that of wielding power in medieval society. This is true when the prince is at war, but not only that, and it can also be seen in other aspects of the prince's life: at court, during the hunt, and even in his religious life. This duty, if it is not respected—if his masculinity is found to be imperfect, or incomplete—is thus transformed into a weakness which damages the prince, who sees his political authority attacked all the more because his masculinity is contested. We have seen how this can be the case in the performance of wildness or savagery and in uncontrolled sexuality, we have been able to observe it in the criticisms

aimed at a bad man-prince: the hubris of the warrior, gluttony, cowardice, treachery and even inactivity and lack of vigour. Finally, this case study has made it possible to see how masculinity can form part of a conscious strategy to affirm political authority, princes deliberately dramatising different ideal masculinities in order to glorify themselves, and so to affirm their power. The study of princely masculinity thus provides a new perspective for the historian of the civil war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, by illuminating a new aspect of the exercise of their political authority.

Notes

1. M. le baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *La Geste des ducs Phelippe et Jehan de Bourgongne: Chroniques relatives à l'Histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne* (Brussels: Hayez, 1873). This chronicle is described in this edition, pp. i–iv.
2. *Geste des ducs Phelippe et Jehan de Bourgongne*, ll. 7302–7305: 'Taisiés-vous, dist Biernars de l'iermignac païs;/ Par ceste moie barbe qui me pent à mon vis, / Encore vous feray, s'il plest Dieu et je vis / Roi couronner de France et segneur de Paris'.
3. J.-M. Le Gall, *Un idéal masculin? Barbes et moustaches (XVe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Payot, 2011), and R. Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 4 (1994), 43–60.
4. For a detailed presentation of the politics of this period, see B. Guenée, *Un meutre, une société. L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans. 23 novembre 1407* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992) and idem, *La folie de Charles VI: roi bien aimé* (Paris: Perrin, 2004). See also B. Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons, La maudite guerre, 1407–1435* (Paris: Perrin, 2009); F. Autrand, *Charles VI: la folie du roi* (Paris: Fayard, 1986); and Richard Famiglietti, *Royal intrigue: crisis at the court of Charles VI, 1392–1420* (New York: AMS Press, 1986).
5. On the transformation of the political conflict between princes into civil war, see Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons*, pp. 211–271.
6. On the assassination and its consequences, see Guenée, *Un meutre, une société*, pp. 176–179, 180–231.
7. On the development of the quarrel on a national level, see Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons*, pp. 133–208.
8. On this topic, see the work of Bernard Guénée entirely dedicated to the king's madness: Guenée, *La folie de Charles VI, Roi Bien-Aimé*. See also Autrand, *Charles VI*, pp. 289–328. On Charles VI's weakness see also C. Fletcher, 'Charles VI and Richard II: Inconstant Youths' in Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the 2005 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. V. Davis and J. Boffey (Sean Tyas: Donnington, 2009), pp. 85–101.
9. On the attempted assassination of Olivier de Clisson at the origin of this affair, see Autrand, *Charles VI*, pp. 271–288.
10. Guenée, *Un meutre, une société*, p. 140.
11. For the chronology of the attacks, see Guenée, *La folie*, pp. 113–128.
12. For more information on the principal actors of this war, see in particular the portraits of the princes in Guénée, *Un meurtre, une société*, pp. 121–151. For

more detailed biographies of the dukes of Burgundy, see R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: the formation of the Burgundian state* (New York: Longmans, 1962) and idem, *John the Fearless: the growth of Burgundian power* (New York: Longmans, 1979).

13. See Guénée, *Un meurtre*, pp. 143–144.
14. Ibid., p. 144.
15. Ibid., pp. 152–175.
16. Autrand, *Charles VI*, pp. 384–409 and Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons*, pp. 23–30.
17. This idea is developped by Jacques Paviot: 'the dukes took advantage of the king's weakness not only from a political point of view, but also from a financial point of view, by having themselves granted or by granting themselves increases in their pensions, rents, gifts, the right to raise taxes […] Philip the Bold was the most profligate […] His son John the Fearless could not benefit from similar liberality. As for Louis of Orléans, he depended more than the others on the generosity of his brother Charles VI.' See J. Paviot, 'Le mécénat des princes Valois vers 1400' in E. Taburet-Delahaye (ed.), *La création artistique en France autour de 1400* (Paris: École du Louvre, 2006), pp. 21–22.
18. On Philip the Bold's show of force in 1401, see Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons*, 64–68.
19. Guénée, *Un meurtre, une société*, pp. 165–175.
20. Ibid., p. 145.
21. On the assassination of John the Fearless, see Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons*, pp. 265–271.
22. On the course of the war, see Schnerb, *Armagnacs et Bourguignons*, pp. 211–271.
23. C. Thommasset, 'Le médiéval, la force et le sang' in *Histoire de la virilité: De l'Antiquité aux Lumières* vol. I, ed. G. Vigarello (Paris: Seuil, 2011), 139–178; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp. 19–66.
24. On this, see G. Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, trans. B. Bray (New York: Pantheon, 1983); idem, *William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry*, trans. R. Howard (London: Faber, 1985).
25. For the need for physical perfection as one of the foundations of noble identity, see R. Averkorn, 'Les nobles sont-ils toujours beaux? Quelques remarques sur les descriptions des personnages dans les chroniques médiévales dans la Péninsule Ibérique' in *Le beau et le laid au Moyen Âge*. Communications présentées au quatrième colloque du CUERMA (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2000), pp. 27–44.
26. *Chroniques de Perceval de Cagny*, ed. H. Moranvillé, Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris: Laurens, 1902), p. 102: 'En son jeune eage, n'avoit en son royaume chevalier, escuier, ne homme de quelque estat qu'il feust, homme mieulx formé de beau corps gent, beaux bras et jambes de grant force et de grant ligierté'.
27. Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, ed. S. Solente (Paris: Champion, 1936), pp. 171–172: '[Louis] est en toutes choses tres advenant, bel est de corps et a tres doulce et bonne fizonomie, gracieux en ses esbatemens. […] [Son hôtel] est au jour d'ui le retrait et reffuge de la

chevalerie de France, dont tient noble court et moult belle de gentilz hommes jeunes, beaulz, jolis et bien assesmés'.

28. [Michel Pintoin], *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, vol. I, ed. L. Bellaguet (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1839), pp. 564–565: 'sagittandi et jaculandi usum habens familiarem, promptus fuit ad arma, ad equum agilis, […] et in omni exercicio militari omnium judicio quasi singularis'.
29. Thomasset, 'Le médiéval, la force et le sang', p. 142.
30. Christine de Pizan, *Livre des fais*, ed. Solente, pp. 170–171: 'Ce prince est de tres noble courage et grant voulenté sur la confusion de noz annemis'.
31. Ibid., p. 171: 'par maintes autres offres valeureuses d'armes'.
32. Thomasset, 'Le médiéval, la force et le sang', p. 160.
33. *La Geste des ducs*, ed. Lettenhove, ll. 2650–2651: 'Mais par celi Segneur qui ou ciel est manant / Ançois esposeray mon cors et mon vaillant'.
34. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, vol. III, pp. 28–29: 'Sane quociens recuperabat sanam mentem, quorundam aulicorum indiscinapla concio ipsum […] ad omnem morum indecenciam incitabat'.
35. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 64–67: 'qui omnes, breviloquio utens, cum mimis et instrumentis musicis usque ad noctis medium tripudiendo choreas continuaverunt. […] nichilominus rex, qui tunc cor facile nimis sequebatur, de consilio decurionum juvenum, hanc per se exequi voluit'.
36. At least according to Franck Collard, who speaks of a 'fantasme'. See F. Collard, '1393. Le bal des Ardents' in *Histoire du monde au XVe siècle*, ed. P. Boucheron (Paris: Pluriel, 2009), p. 292.
37. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, vol. II, pp. 66–69: '[…] flammas voraces ad tectum usque tendere attendisset, […] si quis picem distillantem et igne liquefactam corporum usque ad interiora penetrate […] Inferiores quoque partes, et usque ad umbilicum introrsum sic penetravit, quod genitalia cum virgis virilibus frustratim cadencia sanguine madefacerent pavimentum'.
38. Philippe de Mézières, *Une Epistre lamentable et consolatoire, adressée à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis (1396)*, ed. P. Contamine and J. Paviot (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 2008).
39. Philippe de Mézières, *Une Epistre lamentable*, p. 106: 'la royne Luxure, de sa grant puissance et de sa mesnie perilleuse'. In this period 'luxure' connoted both what we mean by 'luxury' and 'lechery'. See C. Fletcher, 'Corruption at court? Crisis and *luxuria* in England and France, c. 1340–1422' in S. Gunn and A. Janse (ed.), *The Court as a Stage* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 28–38.
40. Philippe de Mézières, *Epistre lamentable*, p. 107: 'ne vient pas seule en l'ost car elle ameine ses chamberieres qui sont subtilles et fieres, c'est assavoir Peresse oyseuse, Negligence l'endormie, Sorcerie et Divinacion, […] Joyeuse Vie qui n'y est pas obliee, souvent Mentir et Flaterie, Faulx Semblant, Riotes, Haynes, Divisions et Controversies jusques au sang respendre et souvent jusques a la mort'.
41. Ibid.: 'et partout Gloutonnie, Creacion de bastars qui sont reputez legitimes, par lesquelx les anciennes et nobles lignies sont corrumpues, Fornicacion, Adultere et autres vilz et orribles pechiez pour lesquelx Dieu se repenti qu'il avoit fait homme'.

42. *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, vol. II, pp. 484–485: 'ut fatuas et leves mulierculas ab exercitu sequestrarent, adulteria et omne fornicacionis genus inhiberent, commessaciones et ebrietates […] vitarent.'
43. Ibid., p. 499: 'In castris eciam quedam fatue et animo leves muliercule habebantur, cum quibus adulteria et omne fornicacionis genus nonnulli excercebant'.
44. On the lion: M. Pastoreau, 'Nouveaux regards sur le monde animal à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Micrologus*, 4 (1996), p. 47.
45. F.M. Graves, *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis Ier, duc d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, sa femme* (Paris, 1913), pp. 109–110: 'le signet d'or de mondit seigneur ou il a taillé un leu et un porc espy pesant VIII esterlins d'or fin; […] un coustel a manche de noire corne […] dedans le pommel l'un d'un loup l'autre d'un porc espy'.
46. C. d'Orlac, 'Les chevaliers du Porc-Épic ou du Camail, 1394–1498', *Revue nobiliaire, héraldique et biographique,* new ser., 13 (1867), 337–350.
47. G. Ortalli, 'Animal exemplaire et culture de l'environnement: permanences et changements' in J. Berlioz and M.A. Polo de Beaulieu, *L'animal exemplaire au Moyen Âge, Ve-XVe siècles* (Rennes: Presse universitaires de Rennes, 1999), p. 45.
48. For more on this document, which permitted John the Fearless's return to power, see Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, pp. 188–201.
49. Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, pp. 170–173.
50. On realistic representation, see E. Antoine, 'Les arts sous Charles VI' in *Les arts sous Charles VI: l'exposition du Louvre. La Bourgogne au temps de Philippe le Hardi*, Dossiers de l'art (Dijon) 107 (Paris: Faton, 2004), p. 14.
51. An effigy of Louis of Orléans can be seen in the royal necropolis at the abbey of Saint Denis, but it does not date from the period of the civil war. Much later in date, it is more a memorial than a true funeral monument, since it was ordered in 1500 by King Louis XII, grandson of Louis I of Orléans. For the will on which the present analysis is based, see F.M. Graves, *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis Ier, duc d'Orléans et de Valentine Visconti, sa femme* (Paris: Champion, 1913), pp. 199ff.
52. Ibid., p. 199.
53. Ibid.: 'je veulx et ordonne que oudit habit je soye mis sur une cloye a la pure terre sans aucune chose mettre sur ladite cloye […] ayant mon visage et mes mains descouvertes'.
54. Ibid., p. 199: 'vestue de l'habit des Religieux Celestins'.
55. Ibid., p. 200: 'ayant desoubz la teste en lieu de oreiller une rude pierre en guise et manière d'une roche et aux piedz en lieu de lyons ou d'austres bestes une autre rude roche'.
56. Matt. 16:18. In the Vulgate: 'et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam…'
57. F. Baron, S. Jugie and B. Lafay, *Les Tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Somogy, 2009), p. 231: 'Duc de Bourgoigne Comte de Flandre d'Artois et de Bourgogne, Palatin, Seigneur de Salins et de Malines, Fils du feu très hault et très puissant Philippe fils de Roy de France Duc de Bourgoigne fondeur de cette Eglise'.

58. Graves, *Quelques pièces*, p. 200: 'et que je tiengne en mes deux mains un livre ouquel soit escript […] in manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum'. Cf. Luke 23:46.
59. Another effigy of Louis of Orléans was also planned by Valentina Visconti in 1408. The intentions behind this second document are very different from those which motivated Louis of Orléans in 1403. Beyond the fact that this is an order for two effigies—Louis and his wife—the project is more luxurious and clearly contradicts the earlier will of the duke, with plans amongst other things for luxuriously ornamented statues and figurative animals at their feet. See Graves, *Quelques pièces*, pp. 253ff.
60. J. Rancière, 'L'inoubliable', *Figures de l'histoire* (Paris: PUF, 2012), p. 26: 'Le monument est ce qui parle sans mot, ce qui nous instruit sans intention de nous instruire, ce qui porte mémoire par le fait même de ne s'être soucié que de son présent'.

Monarchy and Masculinity in Early Modern England

Susan Doran

Scholars have long understood that multiple and often competing meanings of masculinity existed in early-modern England, the status and experience of manhood being dependent on factors that included age, social group, economic independence, and sexuality.[1] But how do monarchs fit into this analysis? Did the hegemonic concepts of manhood that applied to their specific social group—adult noblemen and gentlemen—apply equally to kings? Or were monarchs a special category, men whose masculinity was thought distinct in particular respects?[2]

So far, most historians have bypassed this question. Generally they have taken the concept of manhood for granted, and instead examined the impact of patriarchal expectations on individual early-modern English monarchs. Glenn Richardson, for example, discussed the young Henry VIII's strategies for establishing a patriarchal authority among his councillors and asserting his capacity to lead men in war.[3] Tatiana String illustrated some of the ways that the adult Henry expressed and projected his physical strength and sexual potency as key signifiers of masculinity.[4] Suzanna Lipscomb, meanwhile, argued that the King suffered severe gender anxiety in 1536 when his sexual

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potency was impugned during Anne Boleyn's trial for adultery.[5] Moving on to the early Stuarts, Michael Young investigated James VI and I's masculinity and sexuality, concluding that the King's relationships with men were indeed homosexual;[6] while in his recent study of Charles I, Richard Cust considered how the King was influenced by issues of male honour and codes of manly conduct in his relations with the aristocracy.[7]

In this chapter, rather than focusing on an individual king, I offer an overview of the relationship between monarchy and manhood in England from the mid-1530s until the outbreak of the Civil War. In the first section I examine what manly qualities were associated with the ideal prince, discuss how far they were the norms applied to other men of similar rank, and illustrate some ways that early-modern kings tried to live the part. In the second section, I explore the strategies taken when the sitting monarch did not fit the bill. After all, England was ruled during this period by four monarchs who deviated from the manly ideal on biological or other grounds: the boy-king Edward VI, Queens Mary and Elizabeth, and James I who was accused by his critics of effeminacy, even sodomy. Here I conclude that underage and female rulers were viewed as less threatening to the political and social order than an adult king libelled as effeminate.

The Ideal Prince

The characteristics and virtues of the ideal prince were transmitted in a variety of textual genres, including pedagogical works, manuals for princes, and historical writings. The image remained, moreover, for the most part traditional and conventional throughout this period. Despite Machiavelli's radical advice to princes that they become practitioners of dissimulation, deceit, and *paradiastole,* the dominant image of the model prince in early-modern England remained firmly rooted in chivalric ideals and classical teachings, revitalized by Erasmian thought.[8]

'A King is masculine, which the Grammarians call the more worthie gender', declared Samuel Purchas in a sermon of 1622, and certainly the perfect early-modern ruler was envisaged as male both in his physical attributes and princely virtues.[9] For the most part, princely masculinity did not differ significantly from the hegemonic manliness prescribed for adult nobles and gentlemen. It was just that a king had the greatest responsibility to display manly prowess, virtues, and authority. Not only was he a model for other men but, more important still, as the head of the body politic any failure on his part to maintain gender norms and fulfil a manly role could infect the whole state with effeminacy and disorder.

Understood as superior to the bodies of women, boys, and beasts, the male physiognomy could be a signifier of the strength, power, and moral leadership associated with good kingship. Most obviously, the penis—known as 'the 'virile member' or 'yard'—signified fecundity and potency, and as a result exaggerated codpieces were displayed prominently in the portraits of Henry VIII and his royal contemporaries.[10] By the reigns of the early Stuarts,

however, codpieces had fallen out of fashion, and instead pointed doublets and breeches drew attention to a man's haunches and private parts.

Hair on the head remained a marker of manhood throughout the period. Because it was thought to reflect 'the heat and humor' of the 'principall part' of the upper body, 'grosse, bristled and shorte hair' denoted strength and boldness, while thin hair signified fearfulness and indicated 'an effeminate minde for the lacke of bloud'.[11] Conversely, baldness in men could suggest infirmity or the decrepitude of old age, or even indicate moral depravity.[12] Unsurprisingly then, in his later years Henry VII was depicted with bushy hair in his portraits, while Henry VIII always wore a hat that covered what remained on his pate. In the next century, Charles I had flowing hair; fashions changed but a full head of hair for courtly men remained masculine.

As compensation perhaps for thinness on top, Henry VIII sported a beard in later portraits, for by the mid-1530s facial hair had come to be imagined as a sign of potency on account of the belief that 'the heat and moysture' caused by the production of semen in the testicles rose through the body to become a beard.[13] Perhaps with more justice, broad shoulders were said to 'declare that man to be strong', and 'the backe large, strong, wel brawned, & boned, declare a manlye nature: & contrarye, a feminine nature'.[14] According to Aristotle's advice to princes: 'He that hath a large brest/thycke sholdres/and bygge fyngers/is hardy/wyse/gentyll/and of good wytte'.[15] In half-length royal portraits, therefore, Henry VIII and his royal contemporaries filled the available space with their upper torsos, while in the Whitehall Mural, the broad-shouldered Henry VIII overshadowed his narrow-shouldered father and the two female queens. By the late 1620s, however, such visual signifiers of this aspect to royal manliness were fast disappearing, and in Van Dyke's portraits, the king embodied masculine virtues rather than physical strength. Unlike Henry VIII, Charles I did not fill the frame, but instead he elegantly tamed his horses or displayed his potency through begetting a family.[16]

The qualities of the mind that the ideal king should possess were derived largely from classical sources. Plato had described the best rulers as philosopher kings whose reason qualified them to rule over lesser men; and while Aristotle favoured rule by the *aristoi* (the best men), he agreed that it was their possession of reason that made them suitable for governing. Reason allowed rulers to subjugate their passions and exercise virtue, the manly nature of which was made obvious by the etymological root of the Latin word *virtus*, coming from vir, meaning man, rather than *homo*, meaning mankind.

Of the four cardinal virtues, temperance and prudence were especially linked to reason, as they were thought to be located in the mind.[17] Temperance, it was frequently asserted, kept desire 'under the yoke of reason', while prudence was 'an enemie to ignorance, the key of knowledge'.[18] Since reason was perceived as dominant in men, while unrestrained passions were viewed as a characteristic of women and boys, these two virtues were most

strongly associated with manhood. Moreover, they were in at least one sense the pre-eminent virtues, because it was believed that the golden mean was achieved when prudence and temperance were applied to all other qualities. So, justice combined with temperance enabled rulers to avoid both tyranny and the indiscriminate, inappropriate mercy that arose from the pity found in a 'womannishe nature'.[19] Fortitude—courage united with prudence—was 'the meane betwixt the two vices, boldnes and timidity' (the latter of course also associated with a womanish nature); while magnanimity combined with prudence and temperance produced the mean between prodigality and 'extreame niggardnesse' (both thought to be vices of women throughout this period).[20]

Nonetheless, the cardinal virtues were usually personified as female in both visual and written texts. James I called temperance the 'Queene of all the rest' in that 'wise moderation, that first commaunding your selfe, shall as a Queene, command all the affections and passions of your minde'.[21] Less enthusiastically, temperance was described elsewhere as 'a sad and sober Matron, a prouident guide and wise Nurse'. Aristotle named Prudence 'the mother of vertues', while John Lydgate had called her 'the wyse dame'.[22] Justice was termed 'the Lady & Queen of all other vertues'.[23] Inevitably, fortitude—valour in a good cause—was more usually considered male (the Greek word for fortitude—*andreia*—coming from *andros,* meaning manliness, was associated with a fighting spirit on the battlefield).[24] Nonetheless, Plutarch offered examples of 'women who have shewed manly courage in sundry dangers', while fortitude—in the sense of mental strength in the face of adversity—was often applied to biblical heroes, such as Esther and Judith.[25] Reason and wisdom had, similarly, long been personified as female in both paintings and texts. Furthermore, in the debate about women's capacities—known as the *querelle des femmes*—a number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist writers argued that women could exercise reason and, with the appropriate education, could even achieve a measure of wisdom.

Yet, despite this degree of flexibility, it was men—particularly princes, nobles, and magistrates—who were expected to possess and display the virtues dependent on reason. Temperance, for example, was vital in a king, because 'he cannot be thought worthy to rule and command others, that cannot rule and dantone [i.e. train, subdue] his owne proper affections and vnreasonable appetites'.[26] The acquisition of these virtues could not be left to nature, however. Boys needed education and training to nurture virtue and ward off a propensity towards vice: only then could they become men.[27] Again, this was especially true for princes: 'Learning is that strong guard, that defendeth Princes against the deceitfull inticements of prosperity, power, honour, riches, and whatsoeuer else praecipitates greatnesse (blindfolded in the Cimerian darkenesse of ignorance) to an irrecouerable downefal'.[28] By the 1540s, a liberal arts education was the recommended route for virtue: from the study of Greek and Latin languages, history, and philosophy, a boy would learn ethics, the glorious deeds of great men, the art of rhetoric,

and the principles of good governance. Music, astronomy, and mathematics would incline him to virtue as well as teach sciences useful for the state.[29] Additionally, good tutors could instil in boys the love of learning that was so much admired in past emperors and successful generals, such as Alexander the Great, Marcus Aurelius, Julius Caesar and Scipio. For this reason, contemporaries commended Henry VIII not just for his own learning but also for taking care to appoint tutors 'well esteemed for virtue and learning' to teach his son.[30] Likewise, James I's abilities as a scholar and writer were highly praised, while in *Basilikon Doron* (the advice book that he wrote for his elder son and had printed in multiple copies on his accession to the English throne in 1603) the king publicized the care he was taking to provide Prince Henry with a 'godly and virtuous education'. Unusually, though, James departed from the liberal arts model, and warned his son against becoming 'a passe-master' of the *ars rhetorica* (other than history), 'for that cannot but distract you from the points of your calling'. Study, he went on, should be 'not for knowledge nakedly' but mainly for utilitarian purposes.[31]

Initiation into manliness went beyond formal education. All fathers were expected to 'be a true example' to their sons and to impart the skills, habits, and practices associated with manliness. Consequently, printed advice books written by fathers for sons offered instructions on a wide variety of matters including the selection of a wife, control of speech, maintenance of reputation, and avoidance of over-drinking.[32] Conduct books addressed to parents similarly urged them to cultivate in their sons 'manly' virtues and behaviour. Wise fathers, wrote Thomas Elyot, encouraged temperate behaviour in their sons by 'some tyme exhortynge, another tyme menasynge, other whyles desyrynge, in lyke wyse counsaylynge, eftsones promysynge, or other wyse alluringe'.[33] All these works implicitly recognized that the fulfilment of the manly role and display of manly qualities was an ongoing process, and that an adult male's failure to uphold them at any time was not only an affront to his personal honour, but also a threat to patriarchy and the social order. For this reason, as the head of the body politic and example to their people, princes had an even greater obligation to perform as men throughout their lives. Unsurprisingly, then, some conduct books were dedicated to princes, and at least one of them was 'borrowed from' the *Basilikon Doron*.[34]

In offering guidance about a young man's outward appearance and conduct, courtly and princely manuals urged their subjects to be 'manly & not effeminate'. In dress they should be 'comely', although the exact form that this should take, it was recognized, varied from court to court. Writers simply tended to advise that monarchs and their courtiers should use 'a discreet moderation in their apparayle', and avoid new fashions and 'new fanglenesse' or any mode of dress that might seem 'womanish'.[35] Cross-dressing or womanly clothes were proscribed. King James told his son to: 'specially eschew to be effeminate in your cloathes, in perfuming, preening, or such like: and faile neuer in time of warres to bee galliardest and brauest, both in clothes and countenance'. Henry's nails and hair should be kept short, again

to avoid effeminacy; his speech should be plain, and the use of 'mignard and effeminate tearmes' was to be totally avoided.[36]

For pastimes, princes were urged to pursue 'virile' recreations, including hunting and hawking. These activities—which were recommended for all gentlemen—denoted manliness because they were dangerous, required courage, and offered training in martial skills. Failure to participate—indeed enjoy them—implied effeminacy: one of the weaknesses attributed to Richard II in *A Mirror of Magistrates* was that he: 'liked least to Tourney or to Just [joust]' and instead his 'fancy' was drawn 'To Venus sporte'.[37] Indeed, for a prince, the practice of horsemanship—as shown at the tourney—was the most desirable physical activity. As James I told his son: 'it becometh a Prince best of any man to be a faire and good horse-man.... And therefore vse such games on horse-backe, as may teach you to handle your armes thereon; such as the tilt, the ring, and low-riding for handling of your sword'.[38] Hunting—especially with hounds—provided the best practice for martial skills. Following Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which 'setteth downe a faire paterne, for the education of a yong king', James recommended hunting rather than hawking on the basis that nothing 'resembleth the warres so neere as hunting doeth, in making a man hardie and skilfully ridden in all grounds'.[39]

A martial outlook was certainly considered imperative for princes. Despite the influence of humanist discourse that praised peace and placed a premium on civilian pursuits, military culture remained strong throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Histories and military manuals lauded the honour and fame that individual soldiers achieved on the battlefield through acts of bravery, and some writers feared that too long periods of peace would allow effeminacy and moral decay to enter the body politic.[40] Francis Bacon was but one to postulate that:

> No Body can be healthefull without *Exercise*, neither Naturall Body nor Politique. And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Just and Honourable Warre is the true *Exercise* . . . a Foraine Warre is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serveth to keepe the Body in Heath: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt.[41]

Even those who disagreed and drew attention to the miseries of war recognized that it was sometimes necessary for monarchs to take up arms for a just (or at least legal) cause.[42] That most peace-seeking of kings—James I—accepted in principle that monarchs had a duty to defend their subjects from 'the wronge of any forraine prince without' and 'reuenge and free them of forraine iniuries done vnto them'.[43]

Unlike other men, princes had a special religious duty to govern and be seen to be governed, 'in godly wayes', theoretically an instruction that could apply equally to men and women.[44] But, when during the long Reformation authors maintained that a Christian prince should 'direct his subiectes vnto the Law and testimonies of God', they were not only moving into

contested territory but recommending a magisterial role in the Church that was thought appropriate only for men.[45] After the 1530s, when English monarchs were declared to be God's vicegerent in the realm, Henry VIII and later James I looked to the Old Testament for models of godly kings who would lay down the doctrines for his subjects, oversee the clerical order, and purge abuses from the Church. Furthermore, English monarchs were said to have sacral powers of healing that were derived from Christ and viewed as a continuation of his ministry: as such, like all priestly functions, they were thought male in nature. Although many Protestants condemned royal thaumaturgy as superstitious, curing the King's Evil (scrofula) by royal touch continued throughout the sixteenth century, was reformed by James I, and enjoyed a staggering revival under his grandsons.[46]

Unsurprisingly, living up to all these ideals of manhood could be a source of gender anxiety.[47] But perhaps the greatest anxiety about fulfilling manliness arose around issues of sexuality. Although Christopher Fletcher has demonstrated that in the medieval period 'the logic of manhood was not organized around sexuality' and Susan Amussen has also questioned its centrality in early-modern England, the manly reputation of early-modern kings owed much to their sexuality in relation to fertility, sexual performance (especially) impotence, and potential dishonour through cuckoldry.[48] Only in the matter of fornication was there a more limited association with a manly reputation.

Siring healthy sons was an important duty for monarchs, especially if they had no brothers to continue the dynastic line. Although mothers were often blamed for miscarriages and early infant deaths, medical tracts held men accountable for childlessness in certain cases. Infertility could occur when the male body was too hot or too cold so that 'his seede is either hote, & as it were burned, or else cold, thinne, waterie and feeble'. Men were also responsible when their penis was of an inappropriate size: 'thicker then it ought to be: or because the men be halfe geldinges, & haue a very short yard, so that they can not cast their seede into the innermost place of the matrice'.[49] A man's inability to satisfy his wife sexually was another contemporary explanation for infertility, since conception was supposed to occur when both partners released seed in joint orgasms.[50] Biological failure, therefore, could affect *any* man's reputation—not only a king's—and become a source of male anxiety and shame. Conversely, fecundity was a source of male pride.[51]

No early-modern monarch until Charles II proved infertile. However, Henry VIII's lack of a male heir before 1537 caused him such anxiety that it changed the course of English history, though admittedly his concern probably had little to do with issues of masculinity. On the other hand, Charles I's failure to father a child during the first five years of his marriage may well have contributed to both his underlying insecurities and contemporary perceptions that he was a child and unfit to rule.[52] Once children were born, a king's fecundity was celebrated in poetry, portraits and masques not only because political stability was thereby secured but also to mark the ruler's role as a patriarch. Henry's eventual success in begetting a male heir was

celebrated in Holbein's Whitehall mural, the family painting of c.1544, and the portrait of Prince Edward as a toddler that contained a legend reminding viewers of the virtues of his royal father. Once his childless years were over, Charles I commissioned Van Dyck to paint three group portraits and two individual studies of his children during the 1630s as well as a huge canvas of the royal family in 1632—known as the 'Greate Peece'—that depicted the King as both a 'loving paterfamilias' and upholder of the social order.[53] In poetry too, Charles and Henrietta Maria were habitually celebrated as 'good breeders', and royal power was equated with sexual potency and patriarchal authority.[54]

Male impotence did not necessarily impugn a husband's manhood, since explanations for the disorder during this period usually focused on the humoral incompatibility of the couple.[55] Nonetheless, failure to perform sexually was a source of youthful ribaldry and subject of shame for all men. Presumably for this reason, a marriage annulment was rarely sought on grounds of male impotence.[56] Consequently, when in 1540 Henry VIII admitted to select courtiers that he had been unable to consummate his marriage to Anne of Cleves, he put the blame entirely on her person, saying 'her breasts [were] so slack and other parts of her body in such sort, that he suspected [i.e. doubted] her virginity'.[57] Evidently fearing that the king's honour would be touched if the truth became common knowledge, the official explanation for the subsequent annulment was that parliament had petitioned Henry to investigate the marriage's validity, and then it was found null by reason of Anne's prior contract to the marquis of Lorraine.[58]

Patriarchy also required men—and especially kings—to keep women in good order. Failure to restrain and control the sexuality of dependents—wives, daughters, and female servants—impugned a man's honour and undermined his authority.[59] The alleged adulteries of Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard that turned Henry VIII into a cuckold were a source of shame that, judging from his behaviour, affected him deeply.[60] Unsurprisingly, he tried to salvage his own reputation by savaging theirs. Anne was found guilty of promiscuity and incest, and tainted with witchcraft, a woman therefore outside all human control; Katherine was said to have 'prostituée a sept et a huict' before her marriage and 'persévéré à sa lubricite' (continued her incontinence) once queen.[61] This tactic seems to have worked: rather than gloating at his rival's discomfiture, Francis I comforted him with the sentiment that 'la légerièreté des femmes ne peult en riens obliger l'honneur des homes, et que la honte ne s'estend plus avant que sur ceulx qui commettent le péché' (the lightness of women cannot bind the honour of men, and that the shame is confined to those who commit the crime).[62]

It was common knowledge that many kings were sexually active, taking mistresses and fathering bastards. Edward IV's adulterous affair with Jane Shore was so well known that it became the subject of Elizabethan and early Stuart poems, ballads, and a play, though admittedly writers focused

on her tragic end under Richard III rather than her relationship with the king.[63] Henry VIII had at least two mistresses and recognized one bastard son who was given the surname 'Fitzroy'; his reputation did not seem affected by these early adulteries. Nonetheless, such behaviour was not publicly admired as a sign of manliness. On the contrary, moralists condemned lechery as not only 'a fylthie synne', but also a vice that 'maketh the man feminine', since 'incontinence' in sexual matters was said to be a form of intemperance, a failure to exercise self-control.[64] It was, in this vein, that James I cautioned his son against fornication before marriage and the 'filthy vice of adulterie' thereafter. He also pointed to the dire personal and political consequences that could result from the siring of children out of wedlock. His own grandfather, James told Prince Henry, had been punished for the sin of lechery by the early death of his only two legitimate sons while his bastard son, the Earl of Moray, 'bred the wracke of lawfull daughter and heire'.[65] Whether Prince Henry would have followed his father's advice is anyone's guess, but James's second son certainly did. Charles I publicized his devotion and fidelity to his wife as part of his self-image as the ideal royal patriarch.

This overview suggests there was little that distinguished the ideal early-modern prince from other males of noble or gentle status in terms of their manliness. Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century kings were expected to exhibit the same manly physique and virtues that were valued in all men of good birth. However, as the head of the state, it was far more important that a king lived up to these ideals. As Francis Bacon explained, effeminacy in the natural body could all too easily seep into the state and result in weakness or tyranny. So what happened when the monarch was not a man?

Minority and Female Rule

While kings attempted to live up to and display the manly ideal, three rulers in the sixteenth century were not biologically men: Edward VI and his two half-sisters.

Crowned aged nine, Edward never reached his seventeenth birthday, thus, according to contemporary criteria, he had still not entered manhood by the time of his death; indeed he had barely left childhood and entered the period associated with youth or adolescence. Furthermore, since Henry VIII's will had stipulated that Edward would only achieve his full majority when aged eighteen, Edward died legally a minor, and as a result his own will bequeathing the throne to Lady Jane Grey lacked validity.

Following earlier precedents, Edward was anointed and crowned at his accession as if he were an adult. He was presented with the regalia of monarchy, crowned with the traditional three crowns, and seated on the chair of St Edward the Confessor; he received homage from bishops and peers of the realm, and took the coronation oath (revised only on account of religion). The ceremony was not significantly curtailed to suit his 'tendre age', as the

Privy Council had previously announced.[66] Thereafter, Edward participated in all royal rituals and ceremonies: presiding at the investiture of new peers, the opening of parliament, and the reception of foreign dignitaries. Furthermore, as he grew older, Edward enjoyed the masculine pursuits of hunting, and 'running at the ring'. In other words, he presented himself at court as a manly figure.

His subjects also had the opportunity to see him in that light. One side of Edward's Great Seal shows him wielding a sword and on horseback, while on half-crowns he is also portrayed on horseback but in a more stately pose, holding an upright sword. Illustrations on the frontispiece of various books depicted him as an adult king, whether seated in council, holding the insignia of his office, or distributing bibles to his subjects in the manner of Henry VIII on the Great Bible.[67] In portraits, Edward's face was fresh and beardless but he had broad shoulders, adopted the manly stance of his father, and usually grasped a dagger in his right hand.

In other ways too, Edward was depicted as an adult king. In order to create stability and prevent challenges to governmental decisions, his legal position as a minor needed to be downplayed and his royal authority enhanced. The wording of the royal injunctions introducing changes in religion, for example, declared they were introduced by Edward's 'supreme aucthoritie' and according to his own will and pleasure.[68] Letters patent were similarly issued in his name, and the historiated E in some of them depicted the king enthroned holding sceptre and orb.[69] This representation implicitly accorded with the legal fiction and 'mystical' concept known as the King's Two Bodies. Affirmed by jurists early in Elizabeth's reign, the principle differentiated between—but fused together in the royal person—the natural, mortal body of a monarch (subject to all its defects, including age and sex) and the immutable body politic. The result was that 'no Act which the King does as King, shall be defeated by his Nonage' and 'what the King does in his Body politic, cannot be invalidated or frustrated by any Disability in his natural Body'.[70]

The Edwardian regime, however, did not explicitly use the two bodies principle to justify its introduction of religious innovations during the minority. Countering Catholic opponents, who declared the Protestant reforms invalid because of the King's minority status, the Protestant response was to compare Edward with 'godly' boy-kings of the Old Testament, especially Josiah who initiated an assault on pagan images and altars.[71] Additionally, they made much of the King's precocious maturity to justify religious change. As early as 1548 Nicholas Udal declared:

> howe happye are we Englishmen of suche a Kyng, in whose chyldehood appereth as perfeict grace, vertue, godly zele, desire of literature, grauitie, prudence, iustice, & magnaniraitie, as hath heretofore been found in Kinges of most mature age, of ful discrecion, of auncient reigne, and of passing high estimacion?[72]

Likewise the preacher Hugh Latimer pronounced the following year: 'What people are they that saye the Kynge is but a chylde? … Hys maiestye hath more Godlye wytte and vnderstandynge, more learnynge and knowledge at thys age, then xx of hys progenitors'.[73] The boy-king—because of his godly nature—was a man in all but actual years.

During the reigns of his Protestant successors, praise of Edward continued along similar lines. In Sir John Hayward's Jacobean history, Edward was no hot-headed youth, but showed 'alwaies great iudgment in measuring his words by his matter', and 'many noble and high virtues sparckled in him, especially *Clemencie,* Courage, Care, and knowledge in affaires of state'.[74] Protestants such as Hayward portrayed the godly King's death as a tragedy that deprived England of a manly and zealous monarch. It also represented God's punishment, for it left England with a queen regnant (Mary I) who in the Protestant mind-set showed all the worst qualities of womanliness, namely superstition in religion, lack of leadership, and over-dependence on a foreign husband. Her female body soon became a synecdoche for her reign: barren, inclined to hysteria, and subject to ill-health.[75]

Until the twenty-first century, historians took a similar line dismissing Mary as a 'histrionic' and 'profoundly conventional woman'.[76] Recently, however, her rule has been reassessed, and a new historical Mary has emerged with qualities compatible with contemporary ideas of good kingship, not least the fortitude she displayed during the 1553 accession crisis and 1554 rebellion led by Sir Thomas Wyatt. In today's readings, Mary was not a weak woman, but a queen who successfully exercised the prerogatives of her male predecessors. Indeed she introduced a statute asserting that a female ruler was equal in power and authority 'to any other her most noble Progenitours Kinges of this Realme', while her marriage treaty with Philip of Spain confirmed her retention of full monarchical powers, leaving him as consort to his wife.[77]

Furthermore, Mary retained male symbols of power and royal rituals adapted to the reality of a female monarch. Her royal entry into London on 3 August 1553 was no different from those of former kings, except that 'a grette company of ladys' accompanied her in the procession. Her coronation followed the traditional rites for crowning and anointing a ruling king, while in the role of a sacral monarch Mary blessed cramp rings (a prophylactic against certain diseases), touched for the King's Evil, and washed the feet of poor women on Maundy Thursday. As under Edward, the 'mystic fiction' of the King's Two Bodies assisted the process; that Mary's coronation sermon could be entitled 'The obedience which is due to the king' shows this concept at work.[78]

Mary's assumption of kingly duties was, therefore, in theory at least, no threat to the patriarchal order. Furthermore, any gender anxieties at the sight of a woman fulfilling them were dulled once Mary married. Her choice of husband—Philip of Spain—might have been unpopular, but a married queen

seemed less of a threat to patriarchy than a woman who exercised kingship alone. Although never more than a king consort, coins depicted Philip as joint ruler with a single crown hovering over both princes' heads. Furthermore, while he was in England Philip performed the more masculine aspects of ceremonial kingship. He had wanted to be crowned king of England, but because of English opposition to his coronation he had to be satisfied with this restricted, though still important, role. He acted as the queen's proxy in the rite of bestowing knighthoods and presided over the Order of the Garter, sitting in the sovereign's stall for the feast-day of St George and taking Mary's place in the procession. He staged the first tournaments of the reign and participated in the tilts and other martial sports. Then in July 1555, the king-consort led out an English army under the command of the Earl of Pembroke to fight on the continent against France.[79]

When Elizabeth I took the throne, she had no consort to offer a manly face to monarchy. It is now generally accepted that Mary provided precedents for her half-sister, but did the Virgin Queen's unmarried state pose a threat to her ability to carry out traditionally masculine duties? Elizabeth, herself, performed chivalric rituals, attending grand musters, watching tournaments, and presiding over the Order of the Garter—even buckling the garter on some recipients' legs. Once again, the concept of the King's Two Bodies was a key device used by the queen and her subjects to meet the challenge of female rule. It allowed her to project idealized feminine qualities, such as maternal care, modesty, and a love of peace, alongside the masculine attributes of kingship. In a public declaration of her proceedings during the first decade of her reign, for example, Elizabeth asserted that while her inclination was for a 'naturall and private Dulcenes [i.e. leniency]' towards her subjects, she nonetheless used the 'Administration of Justice for the suppressing of Malefactors'.[80] Similarly, in a closing speech to parliament in 1593, she spoke of the 'love and care' she bore her subjects and admitted to a womanly 'weaknesse' for peace, but she also protested: 'I never feared: and what feare was, my heart never knew', and she additionally declared her commitment to justice.[81]

Her subjects followed suit. In dedications, authors addressed her most commonly as 'our most gracious sovereign, Lady, Queen Elizabeth' merging her male office and female gender. Additionally she was called 'most dreadfull and soveraigne Queene', 'most worthie and renowned Soveraigne', 'most lawful Prince and Gouernour', a 'gracious Princesse', 'an Empresse', and 'our mother the Quene', likewise combining male and female titles.[82] Nor was it unusual for writers to attribute to her one person a mixture of qualities, some considered feminine and others masculine. Geoffrey Fenton, for example, wrote of the Queen's 'compassion' (feminine) together with her 'moderation of minde', and her governing 'according to the law of measure and right' (masculine).[83] Poets, such as Maurice Kyffen praised her as a lover of peace, yet a 'Terror vnto Foes', and for displaying 'Rigor of Iustice, in Reuenging Lawes' yet 'Mylde by her Mercy'.[84]

Because of the convention that the cardinal virtues were personified as female, it also proved possible for the Queen to be portrayed as their royal embodiment, even though they were usually associated with manliness. Although not a common motif, Elizabeth was visually depicted alongside the cardinal virtues: on the frontispiece of the quarto edition of the 1569 Bishops' Bible, Justice and Mercy (standing in for Temperance) were shown crowning the enthroned Queen while Fortitude and Prudence look on; and in a portrait of 1598 commissioned by the Corporation of Dover, Elizabeth was positioned before a pillar on which were medallions of all the cardinal and theological virtues. On her death, an epitaph included prudence, temperance and justice among her virtues, though it omitted fortitude, perhaps because of her gender.[85] Likewise, Sir Roger Wilbraham wrote in his journal that Elizabeth (like her male successor) was 'the admiracion to princes' in prudence, justice, and temperance.[86]

Despite the panegyrics, some of Elizabeth's male subjects chafed at accepting certain aspects at female rule. Soldiers felt disaffected by what they perceived as her failure to appreciate and reward martial men. Thomas Churchyard, for instance, implicitly compared Elizabeth unfavourably with Henry VIII, in whose reign: 'All Cheualrie was cherished, Soldiours made of, and manhoode so muche esteemed, that he was thought happie and moste valiaunt, that sought credite by the exercises of Armes, and dissipline of warre'.[87] Many Catholics could not stomach the notion of a woman as supreme governor of the Church of England, even though she did not have the power to preach or administer sacraments. Virtually all Protestants criticized her for what they saw as her 'excessive' mercy towards Catholics, a quality they viewed as feminine. As one author explained, they all feared 'least her clemencie extend vnto persons of the disposition of the frosen snake, which the pitifull husbandman cherished by the fire, vntill she offered to sting his children'.[88] Councillors often complained of the queen's lack of resolution, while during the war against Spain, the Earl of Essex and his partisans bewailed rule by a woman who had no martial aspirations or experience.[89] These gendered criticisms of the Queen, however, reinforced rather than undermined gender identities by reaffirming the supremacy of masculine values.

Although it has sometimes been suggested that courtiers were emasculated by their need to show subservience to a woman, a manly culture thrived at Elizabeth's court. It remained a masculine space, where male pursuits were sponsored and valued. Hunting—especially the more vigorous 'hunting at force'—was a favourite royal pastime, and tournaments were held regularly before 'an infinite number of people'.[90] Participants, moreover, took the challenges seriously and practised skills that were a good preparation for the early-modern form of warfare that required 'speed, mobility, accuracy of aim and quickness of eye'.[91] The feast day of the Order of the Garter was important in the royal calendar, and the knights marched in the procession at Whitehall

as military commanders with their retinues. Even the culture of courtly love that was directed at the Queen asserted masculine values, for a knight's willing submission to his lady actually affirmed his patriarchal power and social prowess. He could be a slave to his lady but not to his sexual appetites.[92] In all these ways, and more, female monarchy was easily accommodated within the dominant masculine aristocratic culture of the age.

An Effeminate King?

The accession of James I was greeted with relief and joy. Yet, although word on the street was that England was sick of a female ruler, the contemporary panegyric welcoming the new king did not principally focus on his gender.[93] On the contrary, the main themes of this literature were James's legitimacy, his Protestantism, and the peaceful union of the two realms of England and Scotland. James's siring of sons was a recurring subject of praise, though not so much to exalt his manliness as to express satisfaction that a secure succession was assured.[94] Nonetheless, joy at the accession of a male was usually implicit, and sometimes explicit, in the printed eulogies. One song, for example, rejoiced that 'God hath sent vs now a King', declaring too that 'All Countries wel may sing /England hath now a king', the implication being instead of a queen.[95] And as the Venetian representative in London testified: 'At this beginning of his reign, the king's virtues are represented as heroic and he is said to lack no kingly quality'.[96] He was right: according to one poet, James was:

> … endued with such royall parts
> Both of his body, and his princely mind
> Of manhood, prowess, learning, wit and arts…[97]

and this sentiment was echoed elsewhere.

A number of eulogies went still further by making a gendered contrast between James and Elizabeth. Some poets made the simple comparison between the 'mayden-Queene' who had just died and 'a manly King' who now took her place.[98] Another, however, painted James as a warlike figure who would:

> More then could by a mayden Queene be done.
> In which attempt, when Justice gives the word,
> I then desire to use a Souldiers sword:
> And in my heart thus much I contemplate,
> I shall not need the lines effeminate…[99]

In person, too, James immediately made a manly impression. Following the rules that he had laid down in *Basilikon Doron*, he dressed modestly, signifying his majesty only with the chain of diamonds round his neck and a great

diamond in his hat.[100] On his way down to London, he displayed a masculine decisiveness in making appointments, issuing orders for reforms, and commanding the summary execution of cutpurses and other criminals 'on his royal warrant alone'.[101] His eagerness to participate in the hunt displayed the king's athleticism and daring; and when it attracted some criticism, it was defended as a sign of manliness. So, Cecil told Archbishop Hutton: 'as it was a praise in the good Emperor Trajane to be disposed to such manlike and active recreations, so ought it to be a ioye to us to behold our King of so able a constitution' doing the same.[102] In his first speech to parliament, James—like Elizabeth—declared himself married to the realm, but his famous assertion that 'I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is My lawful Wife: I am the Head, and it is My Body' expressed a patriarchal authority that her statements lacked.[103]

But it did not take long for disillusionment with James's conduct and policies to set in. When this occurred, critics fastened on what they perceived as a lack of manliness in his character. Criticisms of the King's 'Liberalitie'—especially towards his fellow-Scots—implied that he was incapable of manly self-restraint. This Cecil had appreciated early in the reign when he had silenced one critic by declaring that the King 'doth daylie use convenient moderation' in his distribution of gifts and favours.[104] When James failed spectacularly to limit his expenditure and stay within his income, his councillors began to treat him as a child, intervening directly to put a stop to his grants.

James's handling of international affairs also resulted in a questioning of his manliness. England's peace-treaty of 1604 was not popular but most politicians accepted it as inevitable. However, during the 1620s, quite a different order of criticism arose over his refusal to fight against Spain in support of the Protestant cause and the dynastic rights of his son-in-law, the deposed Frederick of the Palatinate, and over his negotiations to arrange a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles: 'it appeared plainelye that the kings base feare was the cause of his lukewarmnes [towards Spain]', wrote Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his diary. Sir John Oglander was still more blunt, writing in his commonplace book that 'King James was the most cowardly man that ever I knew'.[105] Although public discourse had to be more circumspect, anti-Spanish pamphleteers riskily conveyed the same opinion. In *Vox Coeli,* the author John Reynold imagined King Edward VI asking: 'But is it possible King Iames feares Spaine?' and Prince Henry replying: 'It seemes so, for else he would neuer loue it so excessiuely'. Responding to James's claims to be seeking an honourable peace by negotiation, Reynolds called upon parliament to tell the King: 'Agesilaus said, that words are feminine, and deeds masculine, and that it is a great point of honour, discretion, and happines for a Prince, to giue the first blowe to his Enimies'.[106]

As part of their critique, Reynolds and other pamphleteers contrasted James unfavourably with Elizabeth. Unlike her, they claimed, James not only refused to commit to war but had also failed to strengthen the fleet and armed forces. As one anonymous satirist bewailed in *Tom Tell-Troath*:

> These thinges are the more irkesome unto us, by reason wee did least expect them at your Maiesties hands. For who would have thought that wee should have lost, but rather infinitely gained, by changing the weaker sexe, for your more noble, to be our commanders?

There was nothing wrong in seeking peace in itself, the anonymous author continued, but 'the excesse' of it 'hath long since turned vertue into Vice and health into sickness' and made 'us suspect that your peaceble disposition all this while hath not proceeded so much out of Christian piety and love of Iustice as out of meere Impotency and desire of ease'.[107] James, it seemed, was leading his country down the dangerous road of effeminacy.

However, it was James's relationships with men that did the most damage to his reputation as a manly king. His fondness for Robert Carr, later Earl of Somerset, had provoked gossip and 'whispered scandals', but once George Villiers, later duke of Buckingham, captured the king's attention and affections, innuendo and sometimes direct accusations about James's sexuality became more open, barbed, and even alarmist. Sodomy was perceived as effeminate because it allegedly arose from unbridled lust, intemperance and a failure at self-governance.[108] Its presence in a prince could therefore corrupt his people; but, even worse, as a crime 'abhorr'd of God ', it could incur divine wrath and thereby endanger the state.[109]

During the 1620s James became both the butt of widely circulated satire and the target of serious criticisms on grounds of his sexuality. One poem took the form of an allegory that imagined Buckingham as Ganymede and James as Jove in a relationship that 'hath turned/Love's pleasure arsy-versy'. James was portrayed as the dominant partner in the relationship, but because Jove 'swaies the emperiall Scepter', his intemperate sexual infatuation had dire results: mockery of the monarch, dissension among the 'Demy-Gods', and disorder in the cosmos.[110] Another poem—'The King's Five Senses'—was somewhat subtler in that it took the form of a prayer, asking God to protect James from various sins, including those associated with a Ganymede. The stanza concerning 'Seeing', for example, prayed that he might be protected from 'such a face whose excellence /may captivate my sovereign's sense', while that concerning 'Feeling', similarly prayed for James's preservation from 'such a smooth or beardless chin/As may provoke or tempt to sin'.[111] Even Catholics—who favoured James's international stance—found humour in his predilection for beautiful young men. The mock Latin encomium *Corona Regia* attacked James on a variety of grounds but especially for the unmanliness he showed in his desire for attractive youths, the anonymous author joking that whereas Christ said 'suffer little children and come unto me', James called on the prettiest [*formosissimos*] boys to come unto him.[112]

The alleged sodomy—whether true or not—seemed true not least because of what was perceived as the transgressive nature of James's court. Even before Buckingham came on the scene, Jacobean anti-courtier discourse affirmed that 'the Courts of Princes are giuen to fornication, adultery

& rauishments', while one contemporary correspondent described James's court as lacking 'good order, discretion, and sobriety' and displaying 'wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance'.[113] Various scandals, such as the Lake affair and the earl of Suffolk's indictment for corruption, revealed councillors and courtiers to be ill-disciplined in terms of their lust or greed.[114] Undoubtedly, the cause of greatest damage was the Overbury trial (1615–16) in which Somerset and his wife Frances were accused of poisoning the courtier Sir Thomas Overbury, for it exposed the court as a den of sexual licence and female unruliness, and thus corroded James's image as a patriarch. Two decades later, Simonds D'Ewes reminisced that the Overbury affair 'gave many satirical wits occasion to vent themselves into stingy libels'.[115] These 'stingy libels' were an integral part of England's political culture under the Scottish king.

On Charles I's accession, immediate attempts were made, and with some success, to repair the damage to James's reputation and reassert 'monarchical claims to sacred and explicitly Protestant kingship'.[116] But Buckingham's reputation could not be retrieved. Nonetheless, because of England's entry into the war against Spain, neither Charles nor Buckingham faced accusations of unmanliness. Instead, Caroline discourse transformed the duke from a Ganymede to a traditional evil favourite, one who appropriated immense royal power and proved capable of murder. As for Charles, after Buckingham's assassination he soon settled into the role of royal patriarch. However, it was a role that brought him a new set of difficulties, allied as it was to his absolutist tendencies!

Conclusion

An unmanly king was imagined as far more dangerous to the state than were underage or female monarchs. When there was effeminacy in an adult king, the 'body politic' was seemingly unable to efface the 'defects' of the 'body natural'. Since women were 'the weaker vessel', the feminine frailties that queens supposedly displayed were considered natural, if undesirable. However, an adult king's consistent failure to enact manly virtues was viewed as unnatural, a subversion of patriarchy, and moral corruption at the head of the body politic; as a corollary, fears developed that his feminized nature would seep into and corrupt the body politic.

In consequence, gender anxieties contributed greatly to the venomous political atmosphere under James I, especially during the early 1620s. The king's 'frantic passions' and effeminacy seemed to explain the corruption of the court, the peace policy, the drift towards 'popery', and general political neglect. Some Jacobean writers also argued that cross-dressing and a lack of manliness in the realm reflected conduct at court.[117] It would be an exaggeration to pronounce that there was a 'crisis of masculinity' at this time; but there does appear to have been a crisis in James's monarchy that was expressed in gendered terms.

Notes

1. S.D. Amussen, '"The Part of a Christian Man": The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England', Amussen and M. A. Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 213–233; C. Belsey, 'Feminism and Beyond', *Shakespeare Studies,* 25 (1997), 32–41; A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003).
2. Christopher Fletcher has raised this question for late medieval kingship in 'Manhood, Kingship and the Public in Late Medieval England', *Edad Media*, 13 (2012), 123–142.
3. G. Richardson, 'Boys and their Toys; Masculinity and Material Culture in the Sixteenth Century', in S. McGlynn and E. Woodacre (eds), *The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 183–206.
4. T.C. String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), esp. pp. 68–76.
5. S. Lipscomb, *1536: The Year that Changed Henry VIII* (Oxford: Lion, 2009) and 'The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Crisis in Gender Relations', in T. Betteridge and S. Lipscomb (eds), *Henry VIII and the Tudor Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 287–308.
6. M.B. Young, *King James VI and I and the History of Homosexuality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000). This view has been nuanced, indeed challenged, in A. Bellany and T. Cogswell (eds), *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2015), pp. 7–15, 19–22.
7. R. Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013).
8. *Il Principe,* written *c.*1513, was first printed in 1532 and translated into English in 1640. Anti-Machiavellian discourse was evident from the late 1570s. For the influence of *Il Principe*, S. Anglo, *Machiavelli: The First Century* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 102–114, 356–371.
9. S. Purchas, *The Kings Towre and Triumphant Arch of London* (London, 1623), p. 49.
10. H. Crooke, *Microkosmographia* (London, 1615), p. 271. Crooke, however, contested Aristostle's conclusion that a woman was an imperfect male. For Henry's codpiece, see String, *Art and Communication*, pp. 71–72.
11. *Batman Vppon Bartholome* (London, 1582), fo. 35; B. Della Rocca Cocles, *A Brief And Most Pleasau[n]t Epitomye of The Whole Art of Phisiognomie* (London, 1556), ch. 10, no sig; T. Hill, *The Contemplation of Mankind* (London, 1571), fo. 20^{v}. Beards are more fully discussed in W. Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006).
12. A. Korhonen, 'Strange Things Out of Hair: Baldness and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *SCJ*, 41 (2010), 371–391.
13. T. Hill, *A Pleasant History Declaring the Whole Art of Phisiognomy* (London, 1613), p. 146.
14. Cocles, *The Whole Art of Phisiognomie*, sig. E2 and no sig.
15. [*Thus Endeth the Secrete of Secretes of Arystotle*] (London, 1528), sig. J1.

16. K. Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 144–146, 148.
17. 'Basilikon Doron', in *The Political Works of James I,* ed. C.H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1918), pp. 37–38; C. Valerius, *The Casket of Jewels,* trans I.C. (London, 1571).
18. H. Crosse, *Vertues Common-wealth* (London, 1603), sigs. C2$^{r\&v}$, B3$^{r\&v}$; 'Basilikon Doron', p. 37. The quote about Temperance was originally from Plotinus. For prudence see T. Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor* (London, 1531).
19. J. Aylmer, *An Harborowe* (London, 1559), sig. H3^{v}. See also M. Villeponteaux, *The Queen's Mercy, Gender and Judgment in Representations of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 3–4.
20. Valerius, *Casket of Jewels*, ch. xxxii; 'Basilikon Doron', p. 38.
21. 'Basilikon Doron', p. 37.
22. J. Higgins, *The Falles of Unfortunate Princes* (London, 1619), sig. A3; J. Lydgate, [*Explicit Liber Primus de Curia Sapiencie*] (London, 1480), no sig.
23. Crosse, *Vertues Common-wealth,* sigs. C2$^{r\&v}$, B3^{v}.
24. For fortitude as 'the most proper vertue belonging to a man … called Manlynesse', see J. Bossewell, *Workes of Armorie* (London, 1572), fo. 6^{v}.
25. Plutarch, *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, The Morals,* trans P. Holland (London, 1603), p. 482.
26. 'Basilikon Doron', p. 12.
27. According to Plutarch, in *The Philosophie*, p. 3: 'to make a man perfectly vertuous, three things ought to concurre, Nature, Reason and Vsage'.
28. P. Scot, *A Table-booke for Princes* (London, 1621), p. 19.
29. A. Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Sixteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014), pp. 94, 140, 229–250.
30. W. Kempe, *The Education of Children in Learning* (London, 1588), sig. C3^{v}; R. Rainolde, *A Chronicle of All The Noble Emperours of the Romaines* (1571), no sig; T. Elyot, *The Image of Gouernance* (London, 1541), sig. b; J. Hayward, *The Life, And Raigne of King Edward The Sixt* (London, 1630), p. 3.
31. 'Basilikon Doron', pp. 3, 38–40. See also Pollnitz, *Princely Education,* pp. 317–373.
32. For example, *Sir Walter Raleighs Instructions to his Sonne, and to Posterity* (London, 1632); *The Counsell of a Father to his Sonne, in Ten Seuerall Precepts Left as a Legacy at his Death* (London, 1611).
33. T. Elyot, *The Education or Bringinge Vp of Children, Translated Oute of Plutarche* (London, 1532), sig. F^{v}.
34. P. Scot, *A Fathers Aduice or Last Will to his Sonne* (London, 1620), sigs. A2$^{r\&v}$, A4.
35. W. Goslicki, *The Counsellor* (London, 1598), p. 136; T. Elyot, *The Governor* (1580), fo. 91^{v}; T. Hoby, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castillo* (London, 1561), sig. Niiii- Pii.
36. 'Basilikon Doron', p. 46.
37. W. Baldwin, *A Myrrour for Magistrates* (London, 1575), fo. 17^{r}.
38. 'Basilikon Doron', pp. 48–49.
39. *Cyrupaedia,* Book 1 chapter 1. Xenophon's work on Cyrus, first published in English in 1552, went into at least four editions before 1640.
40. R. Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Modern Warres* (598), sig. A2.

41. F. Bacon, 'Of The True Great-nesse of Kingdomes and Estates', in M. Kiernan (ed.) *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, XV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), p. 97.
42. P. Scot, *Table-booke for Princes* (London, 1621), pp. 172–187.
43. 'Basilikon Doron', p. 28.
44. *The Secrete of Secretes* (London, 1572), sig C^{v}.
45. A. Rush, *A President for a Prince* (London, 1566), sig. L ii.
46. S. Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2015).
47. Gender anxiety has attracted much scholarly attention, following M. Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996).
48. C. Fletcher, 'The Whig Interpretation of Masculinity? Honour and Sexuality in Late Medieval Manhood', in S. Brady and J. H. Arnold (eds), *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 57–75; Amussen, '"The Part of a Christian Man"'.
49. P. Barrough, *The Methode of Phisicke* (London, 1583), p. 157. For further examples, see J. Evans, '"It is Caused of the Womans Part or of The Mans Part": The Role of Gender in the Diagnosis and Treatment of Sexual Dysfunction in Early Modern England', *Women's History Review*, 20 (2011), 439–457; H. Berry and E. Foyster. 'Childless Men in Early Modern England', in their *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), pp. 169–173.
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51. Berry and Foyster, 'Childless Men', pp. 167–168.
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Manhood and the English Revolution

Ann Hughes

When royalist regiments went into battle in the early stages of the English Civil War, many marched under banners that mocked parliament's Lord General, the earl of Essex. They were not laughing at his military prowess, but at his embarrassing marital experience; one banner read 'Cuckolds we come', while others used pictures of horns, the characteristic emblem for a cuckold. Essex's first marriage had been annulled in 1613 for non-consummation through the earl's impotence, freeing his wife to marry a favourite of James I; the son born to his estranged second wife in 1636 was widely believed to be the result of an adulterous affair. The earl's misfortunes were widely publicised: a royalist tobacco-seller in Hereford was reported to have placed a pair of horns on a block of his tobacco, calling it 'Essex's head and horns'.[1] Sexual slander, particularly when so well founded in biography, had real political force. Could a man who had failed so utterly to control his disloyal and unfaithful wives be an effective political or military leader in a political culture where profound connections were drawn between a man's capacity to control his household and his ability to serve the broader polity?

Political historians have been slow to interrogate the conventional association of politics with men: rather they 'have either taken for granted, or noted without comment, the equation of political status with manhood in the seventeenth century'.[2] On the other hand, the increasingly rich scholarship on early modern masculinity has rarely addressed politics directly, although this work offers many insights relevant to political life.[3] Male superiority over

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women was validated by conventional interpretations of Christian religion, by medical understandings of the body and sexuality, and by dominant versions of custom and history. Within these frameworks, female subordination and obedience were essential to social and moral order. Ideally men were stronger, braver and more rational than women, and it was their capacity for rational self-mastery above all that qualified them for authority over others. But as recent work has stressed, these qualities were not automatic, they had to be inculcated through education, example and practice, and they had to be continually strived for, or demonstrated through contrasts with women, and with other men. Women were not always easy to control, while struggles between men were marked by competing understandings of true manliness. A man's duty to defend his honour and his authority courageously and even with violence, risked compromising his rational self-mastery. The ambitions of monarchs and the increasing stress for elite men on state service as a means of demonstrating manly virtues, involved negotiating the boundaries between disinterested loyalty and effete subservience, and prompted urgent discussion of the relative importance of martial valour, godliness and learning for an ideal 'public man'. Historians now stress 'the multiplicity and contingency of male identities': masculinity was perpetually 'anxious', and 'unstable' although these complexities also made male superiority flexible, capable of perpetual renewal and thus ultimately resilient.[4]

The associations between proper manliness, and political legitimacy were thus more complex than they first appear. Contemporaries as much as historians did assume that politics, in its narrowly formal sense at least, was normally or ideally a male preserve, but this did not mean that political authority was available to all men. Rather, it was the preserve of some men who had the social status and personal qualities that made them truly manly. Across society, in Anthony Fletcher's words, 'the household was the arena above all in which a man displayed his masculinity', and household headship was usually the basis for participation in the broader community, but not all men were able to establish the independent households necessary for such display.[5] For elite men who aimed at influence in their localities or at the heart of government in court and parliament, there were tensions over which aspects of manliness best qualified them for authority: learning or martial courage, independence or loyalty. Defining true political manliness was never straightforward in 'normal' times, but it became particularly fraught in civil war. The essence of masculinity was inevitably challenged by any war, for each side was bound to claim that 'no other men were as manly as their men'.[6] But the intimate traumas of civil war brought further complexities for 'martial manliness' in early modern Europe was closely associated with loyalty to the 'patria', or fatherland, and with the defence of true religion. In the English civil war men fought over different versions of both religion and fatherland, contesting to the death where the proper grounds for legitimate political service lay.[7] As literary scholars as well as historians have demonstrated the war raised questions about male identities as much as it involved debate over constitutional and theological issues.[8]

Gender, Civil War and Early Modern Political Culture

The right, indeed the duty to hold formal public office, and the right to bear arms, were key markers of elite masculinity in early modern England. The identification of political agency with manhood was justified in early modern England within two broad frameworks, both founded on the inferiority of women, that were not entirely compatible in abstract logic, but were in practice nonetheless often held together. The first was based on a distinction between public and private life; the second on a parallel and often causal connection between authority, particularly fatherly authority in the family, and political, especially monarchical power. The Elizabethan humanist Thomas Smith outlined the fundamental assumption, derived ultimately from Aristotle, of a division between the domestic and the political, that he justified through the natural distinctions between men and women:

> We do reject women, as those whom nature hath made to keep house and to nourish their family and children, and not to meddle with matters abroad, nor to bear office in a city or commonwealth, no more than children and infants.[9]

On the other hand, monarchy in particular was associated with the power of a husband or father in the household. As Cynthia Herrup has explained, 'the household at once illustrated and legitimated the benefits of monarchy', while in Michael McKeon's terms, 'patriarchalism entailed an analogy between the state and the family that legitimated each institution by associating it with the "naturalness" of the other'.[10] At its broadest, the analogy between the family and the polity justified all relationships of subordination and obedience through the biblical injunction in the fifth commandment to 'Honour thy father and thy mother'. It was most specifically deployed to justify authoritarian monarchy. *Patriarcha*, the most elaborate discussion of this approach by Sir Robert Filmer, circulated only in manuscript until 1680, but his *The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy* (1648) was a direct contribution to civil war debates. Here Filmer insisted: 'Neither Eve nor her children could either limit Adam's power or join others with him in the government … It was God's ordinance, that supremacy should be unlimited to Adam, and as large as all the acts of his will; and, as in him, so in all others that have supreme power.'[11]

In both frameworks, the male monopoly on politics was less secure than it first appeared. Smith's distinction between the public and the private became blurred when he proceeded to exclude hereditary forms of rule from his categorical statements. Here women (and children) might acquire ruling positions: where 'the authority is annexed to the blood and progeny, as the crown, a duchy, or an earldom'; there 'the blood is respected, not the age nor the sex … These I say have the same authority although they be women or children in that kingdom, duchy or earldom, as they should have had if they had been men of full age'. Smith optimistically hoped that in practice women

or children would have 'the counsel of such grave and discreet men as be able to supply all other defects'. Similarly in a patriarchal framework, drawing on the fifth commandment, the possibility was open that 'mothers' might demand obedience, in the absence of fathers. Furthermore, neither classical humanists nor patriarchal thinkers assumed that all men could or should wield political authority. England was a patriarchal society not in a simple sense that it subordinated women, but that it gave some men authority over other (younger, poorer) men as well as over women and children. Smith outlined the levels of office-holding appropriate to propertied men from yeomen (middling landowners) and urban citizens to the great nobility, and then turned to poorer groups who, in theory, had 'no voice nor authority in our commonwealth, and no account is made of them but only to be ruled … yet they be not altogether neglected'. The most substantial amongst poorer men, as Smith acknowledged, frequently held local office as churchwardens and constables and were involved in legal processes as jurors.[12] At this most basic level it was generally agreed that office holding in towns, villages and trade or craft guilds, should be the preserve of heads of respectable, economically self-sufficient households, with some, even if modest, property. These would almost certainly be married men, for an active and competent wife was essential at most social levels to the maintenance of stable households. Indeed, single men, unless they came from the highest ranks of society, were often regarded as less than fully adult; marital status was usually crucial to full participation in the community. Here again, any fixed distinction between a public and a private world disappears. Familial comparisons resonated with many who did not necessarily agree that an analogy with fatherhood validated absolute monarchy. There was wide agreement that a man's capacity to control his household was crucial to his status in the world beyond. It was within the household that men demonstrated the rational self-mastery, and prudent control of obedient wives, children and servants, that fitted them for service and office in the broader polity. Here we see the relevance of cuckoldry to Essex's qualities as a general (even if his appointment shows the connections were not always decisive), and his experience was shared by many humbler men, the targets of village shaming rituals of couples when their wives were unruly or unfaithful.[13]

Current scholarship insists that male identities are not natural or given, but the product of complex social, cultural and political processes. Male political identities are no exception; effective political agency was an aspiration, something to be earned. In the first place the inferiority and consequent subordination of women, established in theory by God and nature, proved more complex in practice. Women might inherit forms of authority through the deaths of their husbands or the absence of male heirs; they frequently had informal influence in their communities, and not all wives were chaste, silent and obedient. Indeed married men and women ideally inhabited a state of mutual interdependence; men required their wives to be obedient, but also

to be effective supervisors of servants and children, and active contributors to the welfare of the household; a completely subordinate wife was of little use. Male superiority was thus a complex balancing act of dominance and dependence. In any case the ideal manly estate of married householder was out of the reach of many poorer men, who could not afford to marry and set up independent households.[14] The social and economic changes of the century before the English civil war brought increased economic inequality, and greater numbers of poor. As many as a fifth of people in the seventeenth century never married, and spent a lifetime in dependence on others, as servants or wage-labourers.[15] The male aspiration to self-sufficiency motivated much popular protest. When men took direct action against enclosure, for example, they were in part demonstrating 'a compensatory masculinity', seeking to protect their wives and children, and opposing developments that were making it more difficult for them to do this.[16]

Thus tensions and anxiety surrounded early modern male political identities in 'normal' times, while war—particularly civil war—brought further complications. War always both threatens and enhances fundamental aspects of masculinity.[17] Amongst the qualities of an ideal man, courage ranked highly although it was always in tension with the need for self-control. War allowed men to demonstrate bravery to the highest degree, but there were terrible risks: the danger that men would fail to meet expectations or lose control, as well as the ever present possibility of dissolution through maiming or death. William Bridge, a parliamentarian preacher, hinted at both possibilities and dangers when mobilising volunteers. Bridge's own allegiance affected his argument, but the basic dilemmas were common to both sides. Bridge took his text from the Old Testament commander Joab's exhortation to his troops: 'Be of good courage, and let us play the men'. He then discussed the threats to 'good' courage; worldliness 'doth effeminate and set a man below himself', while 'a fierce, angry, revengeful disposition' was denounced as false courage, and specifically as 'a vaunting, bragging, boasting Cavalierism'. Bridge's insight that brave manhood was a role that had to be consciously performed, and his careful delineation of the boundary between true manly courage and uncontrollable anger, vividly highlight the ways in which civil war intensified the uncertainties surrounding political masculinity.[18]

The absence of men at war usually offers new opportunities to women, and complicates gender hierarchies. In the English civil war, as many as a tenth of all men spent some time in arms; this broke the convention that only elite men bore arms, and had inevitable consequences for all families.[19] Women took on greater responsibilities for their households while many also played an active part in religious and political upheavals. Much blood and much treasure were spilt in the war; the death rate has been estimated as greater, proportionate to a much smaller population, than that in the First World War, while taxation rose to perhaps ten times pre-war levels.[20] The practical burdens of war, and processes of mobilisation and side-taking

contributed to a remarkable variety of religious and political creativity and speculation in which gendered understandings played a part. Men, most of whom were husbands and fathers themselves, defied a king whose rule was conventionally legitimated through analogies with fatherhood. The king was defeated in war, tried and executed in the name of the people; this inevitably raised the question of how far patriarchal authority in the family was connected to patriarchy in the state.[21] Most people might agree on the proper arrangements for family life but they did not agree on what this meant for politics. The border between the household/family and the state was disputed, and the commonplace challenged that political obedience was derived from forms of subordination regarded as natural or God-given.[22] Where service in the polity was regarded as a key marker of elite masculinity, civil war was profoundly problematic, for it was not at all clear where honest, legitimate public service was to be found. Civil war shattered homosocial bonds, as men who had been neighbours, university friends, or colleagues on the magistrates' bench faced each other on the battle field. As Brendan Kane, has written 'gender relations are among the intimate building blocks of all politics', and a civil war is an intimate political conflict, that generates profound reflection and distress.[23] What was it to be a truly manly English man? Could familiar gendered identities and hierarchies be preserved? Civil wars involve personal dilemmas and threaten family unity; in an early modern patriarchal framework, in particular, they prompt recourse to gendered imagery and comparisons as tools of interpretation. The traumas of intimate division in England were often rendered in cheap print representations of monstrous births and monstrous bodies, unrest signified as grotesquely female.[24] Male political identities were contested from the highest level—the manliness of the king—to the lowest, as radical parliamentarians dismissed or reconstructed household authority as a basis for men's political participation.

The King

Challenging Charles I's fitness to rule involved denying his proper manliness; a man in thrall to a foreign, Catholic wife, could not be effective either as man or king. Thus when the republican Lucy Hutchinson wrote that Charles I 'married a papist … to whom he became a most uxorious husband', this was not praise.[25] At the battle of Naseby, the king suffered a decisive military defeat, but the propaganda coup gained by parliament through the seizure of Charles' private correspondence was equally damaging. After some hesitation parliament publicised choice extracts from letters between Charles and Henrietta-Maria, adding editorial comment for readers who might have missed the point, explaining that 'the Queen appears to have been as harsh, and imperious towards the king, as she is implacable to our religion, nation and government'. The editors concluded: 'it is plain, here, first, that the king's counsels are wholly managed by the queen, though she be of the weaker sex, born an

alien, bred up in a contrary religion, yet nothing great or small is transacted without her privity and consent'. They concluded that Charles was therefore 'a prince seduced out of his proper sphere', behaving in a way 'unbeseeming' for a man who claimed to be 'the tender father of his country'. A newsbook made the point more emphatically: 'It were ridiculous in a private man, much more a king, to submit to his wife upon every trifle'.[26] This was to recast the familiar language of public and private worlds. Royalist valorisation of the court as a sphere where women had an acknowledged role, and public authority and private relationships interacted, was countered by parliamentarian denunciations of it as a suspiciously private, feminised sphere. While parliament argued that this unprecedented revelation of the royal correspondence was justified precisely because Charles's private behaviour rendered him unfit for public authority, Royalists defended a different distinction between public and private life, attacking an intrusion into marital intimacy. In the process they also, perhaps opportunistically, defended the Queen's right to a public influence:

> In what wild brains this madness first began!
> They're wondrous angry, cause the Queen's no man.
> For sirs forbear, do not the world perplex:
> Reason and judgement are not things of sex.
> Souls and their faculties were never heard,
> To be confined to the doublet and the beard.[27]

It is likely that parliament won the propaganda battle in 1645 but royalists were more successful after 1649 in gaining political support through an effectively personal presentation of Charles I as a noble martyr. Martyrdom as an identity needed careful management for it might be seen as an abject, passive and perhaps a feminised or effeminate stance.[28] As we shall see, republican writers, led by John Milton, presented Charles in these terms and there is some evidence of royalist disquiet, but in the main the association of the dead king with the sufferings of Christ had powerful resonances.[29] The crucial presentation of the martyred king was in *Eikon Basilike*, a volume drafted by Charles himself to justify his proceedings since 1640, and revised for publication after his death. The book was the 'publishing sensation of the century', with almost twenty editions within a month of the regicide, and continued success for the rest of the century. In *Eikon Basilike*, Charles used his personal qualities as a good husband and father to present himself as a benevolent father to his people. One chapter was in effect a book of advice to his eldest son, Prince Charles, in the style of a common genre through which male values were transmitted through the generations, while later editions included a poignant account of Charles's farewell to his younger children on the eve of his execution. In passing, Charles dealt with the publication of his private correspondence, attacking as contrary to honour, civility and nobility, 'the malice of mine enemies' in exposing his private letters to public view.

Yet he was unashamed of the picture of his marriage disclosed to the public: 'since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to God's omniscience) should be discovered to the world'. He offered eloquent praise to Henrietta Maria for 'her sympathy with me in my afflictions' and used his constancy to his wife to underline for readers his equally staunch defence of law and religion.[30] Other royalist writing took up the same themes: under Charles I, England had been:

> The Paradise of Europe, the pattern of piety, *beati populi*, a blessed people; where our king like sun in the firmament, by his bright rains of honour gave light to our prosperity, where the Queen like the moon kept just motion in her orb and received her light from that fountain of justice her loyal-hearted spouse; where their progeny as numerous as the planets kept their royal station in this earthly heaven.[31]

Here a fruitful, properly ordered royal family represented a political alternative, a harmonious, patriarchal monarchy in contrast to a chaotic, post-regicidal republic.

Cavaliers and Roundheads

For the king's followers and his parliamentarian opponents alike, slurs on the enemy's manhood were a core element in political conflict and in identity formation. Political identities emerged through interactions between self-representation and enemy smears. Men measured themselves against other men, but they also focused on how effectively men controlled 'their' women. Each side felt they had the manliest men and the most loyal and honest women. When royalists defending the Queen denied that reason was confined to the 'doublet and the beard', they pointed to the importance of the body, dress and deportment in rival constructions of manhood. Cavaliers and Roundheads were constructed as utterly different in their bodies, dress and characteristic behaviour, each side extending earlier stereotypes of the effeminate courtier or the sober, religious hypocrite. As one pamphlet explained, you could recognise a Cavalier 'By his clothing, by his posture, by his discourse or language, by his associates and his bastard brood, by his actions'.[32] The Bible taught that 'if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him'.[33] The Cavalier stereotype combined 'violent aggression and effeminate display'; as typified in the hostile verse, 'Upon the roaring Cavalier':

> Bless us! Why here's a thing as like a man,
> As nature to our fancy fashion can
> Beshrew me, but he has a pretty face,
> And wears his rapier with indifferent grace.
> Makes a neat congie, dances well, and swears;
> And wears his mistress' pendant in his ears.

> But strip off his rags, and the poor thing is then
> The just contempt of understanding men.[34]

Despite their 'pretty faces', royalists were defined by their opponents as embodiments of improper and excessive manliness, as 'swearing, roaring, whoring' cavaliers, who exulted in their excesses: 'we will drink, and be drunk, and whore and be damned, and will not be beholding to God to save us … we had rather be in hell with our comrades, than in heaven with the Roundheads'.[35]

While royalists were unmanned by debauchery and whoredom, Roundheads in Cavalier propaganda were emasculated through cuckoldry, in a parallel sexual smear. If promiscuous Cavaliers had too much sex, repressed Roundheads had too little. Again, bodies and clothes were important signifiers of the central characteristics of parliamentarian men. The short hair and big ears of Roundheads made it easier for them to hear their blasphemous preachers, while their long noses suggested their hypocritical lust, and 'promiseth an easy appetite to some good work towards the younger sisters'. These cuckolds had horns that were as long as their ears and noses. Roundheads' clothes along with their slovenly short hair and long nails suggested their low birth and a mimicking of continental Calvinist style: 'the roundness of the ruff, the length of the doublet, and the shortness of the breeches being a habit correspondent to the pictures of the Apostles in the Geneva print'.[36] These were stereotypes of course, but influential and plausible ones. Some Cavaliers at least embraced an identity of insouciant, swaggering gallants who liked a drink, while parliamentarian propaganda welcomed and transformed Roundhead identity: 'If a man have a religion in him, then (say they) he is a Roundhead … . He that is no swearer, curser, cheater, drunkard, whoremaster, quarreller, he is scandalized with the name of a Roundhead … indeed every honest man is now called Roundhead.'[37]

Each side believed that their male enemies had failed to establish control over 'their' women who demonstrated a transgressively active role in public affairs: royalists stressed the seditious religious activities of parliamentarian women while parliamentarians focused on the feminine intrigues of the court. Royalists believed that parliamentarian men, like their General, were likely to be cuckolds, a fate they linked to Puritan sexual hypocrisy. Royalists harped on the horrors of women's public preaching, presented as a common London practice, and they lighted on Lady Anne Waller, wife of the parliamentarian general Sir William, as the archetypal Puritan harridan. The royalist newsbook, *Mercurius Aulicus*, claimed that if Sir William Waller tried to discuss religion with his wife 'her ladyship would rebuke him, saying, peace Master William, you know your weaknesses in those things, since which time Sir William hath ever gone for the weaker vessel'. Parliamentarians came to Lady Anne's defence, contrasting her godliness with the deceitful whores on the king's side: 'She is not like your court-madams, *Aulicus*; uses no oil of talc, no false teeth, no wanton frisking gate, no caterwauling in Spring Gardens

[a notorious site of London prostitution]. She bestows not all her time upon her body and leaves none for the soul'.[38] If royalists suggested parliamentarian men were bullied by their religious wives, parliamentarians believed royalist men were unmanned by their dependence on conspiratorial bawds, or (led by the king himself) by their fawning love for unworthy, foreign papists. The royalist court was a hotbed of feminised intrigue, both political and sexual, with the Queen at the head of a pack of 'court countesses' and the characteristic royalist woman was a conspirator. Here Katherine Stuart, Lady Aubigny, played a parallel role in parliamentarian pamphlets to that occupied by Lady Anne Waller in the royalist press. Lady Aubigny had been involved in an abortive plot to raise the city of London for the king in May 1643, but as late as 1646 she featured in the parliamentarian imagination, with her portrait the centrepiece of a parliamentary broadside identifying their most notorious royalist enemies.[39]

In a late intervention into debates about true political manhood, the parliamentarian poet George Wither, writing after the regicide, presented the bodies, dress and demeanour of royalists as un-English, in order to discredit monarchy as a whole. Wither argued that the tyrant Charles I had made his 'Lords and courtiers' into slaves, so that the 'king's mere creations' were pitiful specimens compared to the 'Bold barons' of former ages. Those bold men had been 'Lords over, not apes unto the French'; their faces were scarred and their hair 'powdered with dust and dewed with sweat and blood', whereas the Cavaliers followed French fashions for black patches on their faces, and 'perfumed powders and jasmine butter' on their hair. Parliamentarian men, on the contrary, represented both old English honour and the values of republicanism.[40] At the most general level, then, royalists and parliamentarian men might represent contrasting visions of Englishness.

Republican Alternatives

Parliamentarian rejection of the legitimation of patriarchal monarchy through the comparison with fatherhood logically implied a reinforcement of the ill-defined boundary between private life and public service. The distinction was most decisively evoked by committed republicans on the parliament's side, influenced by classical histories critical of monarchical rule. As the republican journalist John Hall insisted: 'As for the antiquity from Adam it is true before his fall his dominion was large and wide … economically not despotically over his wife and children, But what is this to civil government?'[41] The poet John Milton similarly distinguished sharply between kings and fathers: in his 'Defence of the English People', published (in Latin) in early 1651, Milton insisted that 'Fathers and kings are very different things … our fathers begot us, but our kings did not, and it is we, rather, who created the king. It is nature which gave the people fathers, and the people who gave themselves a king.'[42] Nonetheless a man's role as head of his household was relevant

to Milton and other republicans. Fatherhood was not the ground of political authority but it was through prudent mastery of their households that men demonstrated the independence, rationality and public-spiritedness that fitted them to be republican citizens. On the other hand, a man's concern for his household should be carefully moderated and might be sacrificed in some contexts, for it was a womanly failing to put private interests or personal affections before the public interest. In republican thinking the private tended to be gendered female, the public male. Hence Milton's intemperate denunciations of Charles as an inadequate man and ruler were driven by more general anxieties about the ways in which civic liberty might be undermined by domestic subservience. He denounced *Eikon Basilike* as an 'idolised book', 'polluted trash'. Charles's letters revealed his fatal weaknesses as husband and king:

> He ascribes rudeness and barbarity worse than Indian to the English Parliament, and all virtue in his wife, in strains that come almost to sonneting. How fit to govern men, undervaluing and aspersing the great counsel of his kingdom, in comparison of one woman. Examples are not far to seek, how great mischief and dishonour hath befallen to nations under the government of effeminate and uxorious magistrates, who being themselves governed and overswayed at home under a feminine usurpation, cannot but be far short of spirit and authority without doors, to govern a whole nation.[43]

Milton's argument about the dangers of dependence thus extended far beyond the failings of the king: only men who were free from slavery, from subservience to another, could act effectively as citizens, and one of the most dangerous forms of subservience was the unnatural dependence on a woman: 'For in vain does he prattle about liberty in assembly and market-place who at home endures the slavery most unworthy of man, slavery to an inferior'.[44] Milton understood that manhood was not an automatic attribution of maleness, but had to be taught and strived for. Hence he wrote of the ways that education would encourage manly virtue and lead young men to become 'worthy patriots'.[45] In *Areopagitica*, his attack on pre-publication censorship, Milton insisted that independence, rationality and authority were compromised if a man 'is not trusted with his own actions'. Such a man was no better than 'a fool or a foreiner', 'a punie with his guardian' if he was subject to 'the correction of his patriarchal licencer'. A true man was not foolish, foreign or subject to paternal supervision.[46]

Milton's political writings vividly demonstrate the hyper-masculinity of mainstream republicanism, characterised by an emphasis on public service as the preserve of rational men, and distinguished from a private, domestic world that too easily might compromise men's ability to discern where the public interest lay, and their capacity to act on it. The gendering of republicanism and monarchy was evident in debates over the regicide. Revulsion at Charles' execution was often expressed through images of sorrowful women;

Milton had no time for this—dismissing female laments as the hypocritical whining of 'Court Ladies, not the best of women; who when they grow to that insolence as to appear active in state affairs, are the certain sign of a dissolute, degenerate and pusillanimous commonwealth'—but for most people it was an effective tactic.[47] Similarly, John Cook, the prosecutor at Charles' trial, denounced monarchy itself as a form of feminised irrationality, at odds with natural hierarchies. It was ridiculous for men to 'enslave themselves to the arbitrary and lawless lusts of one man and his posterity, whether they be idiots, children, knaves, thieves, murderers, fornicators, gluttons, drunkards, idolators or women'. Cook's gendered language had its ambiguities, for he figured Justice and Liberty as females who had been ravished by the king, and he believed women were more godly than men. Like Milton, however, he denied them a role in the state: 'though never so wise, religious, and merciful (as by reason of the tenderness of their spirits and want of temptation, I believe there are more godly women then men in the world) yet it is against the law of God and Nature to make millions of men subject to the commands of a woman'.[48] Republicanism thus reinforced the essential manliness of politics.

Claiming Rights for Men

Milton and other republicans shared the widespread assumption that it was within self-sufficient households that men demonstrated their fitness for citizenship. In 1647, however, radical soldiers at the Putney Debates made political claims that challenged both household status as the grounds for male political participation and the biblical foundations of obedience in the state. How had this come about? In the first place, we can point to the capacity for creative, radical developments within parliamentarianism. The English civil war, or Revolution, was much more than a struggle between (largely male) elites; the Parliament might present its aims in part as the rescue of the king from his evil counsellors, but it also claimed to be the representative of an ill-defined 'people' and to be fighting a godly war for true religion. On these grounds, Parliament appealed to a broad range of the population for support, mobilising them through a range of texts and actions, informed by the strategic deployment of cheap print to inform, debate and convince. Rival interpretations of the parliamentarian cause emerged in the course of the civil war, with dramatic consequences for politics and religion. A variety of religious sects denied the need for a state church and an educated clergy, and called for religious liberty, while others argued for an expansion of the political nation beyond propertied, male elites. The so-called 'Levellers' argued for a drastically decentralised state with broad male participation, and for a newly constituted English polity, established through popular consent in an 'Agreement of the People', while a utopian, economically egalitarian group known as Diggers took possession of St George's Hill in Walton, Surrey to demonstrate

the need for the earth to become a common treasury for all.[49] Parliament's appeals were not directed only to heads of households; in unprecedentedly sustained fashion, all men were invited to become political actors. Restrictions of age, marital status or wealth that operated in some spheres—voting, or formal office holding, for example—and at some times, were not relevant here.[50] Oath-taking, for example, was one important means of mobilisation. The Protestation Oath of May 1641, in effect a vow to defend the parliament's cause, was to be taken by all men aged over eighteen, and women were invited to take it in some communities. Similarly, the Solemn League and Covenant, an oath supporting a religious and political alliance between the English parliament and the Scots, was imposed on all men over eighteen 'as well lodgers and inhabitants' as householders. Again, this was taken quite frequently by women. Petitioning, initially for the king or the parliament, and increasingly through the 1640s, for different versions of the parliamentary cause, was rarely confined to householders. There are many examples of collective petitioning by women and by usually subordinate 'young men' or apprentices. Some of these young men's petitions linked their demands to what was probably the most important legitimation of broader male political agency, sacrifice in military service:

> Remember you not with what cheerfulness and alacrity our fellow-Apprentices, the glory and flower of the youth of this Nation, and multitudes of ourselves yet surviving, ran into your assistance out of a conscientious intent, to uphold and maintain the fundamental constitution of this Commonwealth … that the people should not be bound but by their own consent given to their Deputies in parliament.[51]

Military service was frequently connected with commitment to the religious sects that had emerged within the de facto toleration of the 1640s and 1650s. Although most religious sects supported conventional views on gender and social hierarchies, they also insisted on the primacy of the individual conscience and on the true church as a voluntary congregation of believers. Consequently household relationships might be compromised if wives, children or servants developed religious affiliations different from husbands, fathers and masters.[52] Many sectarian preachers and leaders were young, unmarried men; many had been soldiers. Edmund Chillenden, one of these, dedicated a pamphlet in support of lay preaching 'to the Reader, especially my fellow brethren and Saints, commanders and souldiers with me in the army'. He argued that a godly man might be young and inexperienced in matters of the world, but 'no novice or youngling in the schoole of Christ'; he might be poor but 'God is no respecter of persons, but gives his gifts by his spirit to whom he pleaseth'.[53]

More negative experiences during the civil war also challenged the connection between male household authority and political participation. A costly civil war intensified the developments that made it difficult even in settled

times for men to achieve the ideal 'estate' of manhood, as heads of stable households. Men suffered from the economic dislocation that accompanied the war, from the terrible economic circumstances of the later 1640s, and, in many cases, from the physical consequences of wounds and disease.[54] The absence of men at war or their consequent disabilities meant more responsibilities for women, and significant numbers of women found autonomy in religious sects or political activism. To some men, then, household headship became a more fragile basis for political agency, even as positive roles seemed to be offered by parliamentarian mobilisation. As already suggested, military service in particular prompted claims to male political authority. In self-image and self-presentation if not always in reality, parliament's army was an army of volunteer citizen soldiers, serving not for money but for the people's rights and a godly cause. In 1647, the Army declared that they were not a 'mere mercenary army' but a body that had fought for the people's liberties (including religious liberty).[55] They were a patriotic citizenry, bearing arms as a vocation, for a cause, not as a marker of elite masculinity or as paid cannon fodder. When parliament refused to acknowledge the soldiers' grievances or to grant them a political role, the Army revolted and at Putney in October 1647, the Army Council (attended by representatives of the rank and file as well as officers) debated the future of the kingdom, independently of Parliament. Here one of the radical spokesmen, Colonel Thomas Rainborough, made a famous and dramatic claim: 'For really I think that the poorest he that is in England has a life to live as the greatest he; and therefore truly, sir, I think it's clear that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government'.[56] His more moderate opponent General Henry Ireton argued that political agency, represented here by the parliamentary franchise, should be confined to 'settled men', or men of some property, and he appealed to the fifth commandment, the biblical injunction to 'honour thy father and thy mother' as a natural ground for subordination and obedience. Rainborough would have none of this, and sought, not entirely clearly, to establish some distinction between natural and civil authority:

> With respect to the divine law which says 'Honour thy father and thy mother', the great dispute is who is a right father and a right mother? I am bound to know who is my father and mother … I would have a distinction, a character whereby God commands me to honour them. And for my part I look upon the people of England so, that wherein they have not voices in the choosing of their governors—their civil fathers and mothers—they are not bound to that commandment.[57]

Rainborough and his allies claimed natural rights as rational men and as citizens, not as heads of household, while the more moderate Ireton worried about the dependent poor. For Ireton, independence was key: 'If there be anything at all that is a foundation of liberty it is this, that those who shall

choose the law-makers shall be men freed from dependence upon others'.[58] This prompted outrage amongst radical soldiers, with one retorting, 'there are many thousands of us soldiers that have ventured our lives. We have had little propriety in the kingdom as to our estates, yet we have a birthright … I wonder we were so much deceived. If we had not a right to the kingdom we were mere mercenary soldiers'. At many points Rainborough insisted that while a man could lose 'that which he has for the maintenance of his family' he should not lose 'that which God and nature has given him'. What God, in particular, had given men, was 'This gift of reason [which] without other property may seem a small thing'. Rainborough's interventions amounted to a drastic claim that men's political agency was not based on any prior authority over women and children or over younger or less powerful men, but on God-given, natural qualities and rights.[59]

Civil War radicalism was driven by a powerful sense that the people who had adhered to parliament should get some recompense for all the blood and treasure that had been spilt in the war. This animated soldiers most obviously, but other groups also sought political and religious change. Not all radicals were so ready to reject comparisons with household authority. The civilian democratic movement, the Levellers, frequent if sometimes uneasy allies of army radicals, was more equivocal. Leveller programmes tended to imply manhood suffrage but they also worried greatly about men's capacity for staunch, honourable political action if they were dependent on others and in the last reiteration of their written constitution, the Third Agreement of the People, they proposed a parliamentary franchise for 'all men of the age of one-and-twenty years and upwards (not being servants, or receiving alms, of having served the late king in arms or voluntary contributions)'.[60] Authors of Leveller pamphlets usually described themselves as substantial men, solid householders with wives and servants who shared their views and their sufferings at the hands of an increasingly tyrannical parliament, and offered such identities to readers. Amongst Leveller leaders, John Lilburne was usually described as a gentleman, William Walwyn as a merchant, and William Larner as 'A Free man of England and one of the Merchant-taylors company of London'. While in prison, Larner explained that his family faced ruin if he could not 'have his liberty and be permitted to follow his calling for the maintenance of himself, wife and family'. Inability to provide for his family, made Larner 'worse than an infidel, but woe be to them that are the causes thereof'. For Larner, as for many other Levellers, the tyranny of parliament was exposed by their assault on honest households; Rainborough, in contrast, condemned those who refused political rights to men who could not support households.[61] Furthermore, Lilburne in particular was not above contrasting his own staunch, rational commitment to the cause of liberty with his wife's weak and irrational desire for compromise and safety, in passages that have some similarities with Milton's.[62]

An even more drastic contrast with Rainborough is with the egalitarian commonwealth proposed by Gerrard Winstanley, the Digger leader, in his last, utopian tract. This was written after the defeat of collective Digger activism and took the form of an appeal to Oliver Cromwell, the commander of the army, to effect political and social change. Understandings of gender within Winstanley's writings as a whole are more complex than a focus on this tract suggests, but here his commonwealth was based firmly on reinvigorated patriarchal households.[63] For Winstanley, as for absolutists, the origins of government were with 'Adam the first Governor' because he was 'the first Father', 'the first link of the chain magistracy', with children giving consent, in almost Hobbesian terms: 'A Father in a family is a Commonwealths officer, because the Necessity of the young children choose him by a joynt consent and not otherwise'.[64] Winstanley poignantly recalled the failure of his London business during the war years, leading to his dependence on waged labour: 'And now my health and estate is decayed, and I grow in age, I must either beg or work for day wages, which I was never brought up to, for another; when as the Earth is as freely my Inheritance and birthright, as his whom I must work for'. Winstanley's solutions to the problems of political manhood were very different from those of Rainborough. The long-term economic vulnerability of aspirant heads of household, intensified by the burdens of war, along with his distinctive social and religious vision, came together in Winstanley's ideal society: a reconstituted natural patriarchy ordered by age as well as gender. The patriarchal household was taken for granted as the basis of Winstanley's commonwealth: families shared resources but lived separately: 'And if any man offer to take away a mans wife, children, or furniture of his house, without his consent, or disturb the peace of his dwelling, he shall suffer punishment as an Enemy to the *Commonwealths* Government'. No man could be a householder until 'he hath served under a Master seven years' so 'that every Family may be governed by stayd and experienced masters, and not by wanton youth'. Officers in Winstanley's commonwealth were to be over forty 'experienced men … men of courage, dealing truly, and hating Covetousnesse', with ancient men, over sixty, taking superior positions. Winstanley seems to have thought that one problem with mid-seventeenth-century England was that it was insufficiently patriarchal. In this new world, if a father died before his children were of age, or if he was 'weak, sick, or naturally foolish', the children would be transferred to a family in the same trade. Winstanley does not mention mothers here; and his proposal is patriarchy as wish-fulfilment. As many as a fifth of all households in Winstanley's England were headed by women, because most people thought it normal for a woman to run her household and bring up children if the husband and father were absent or dead. This was precisely why a completely subordinated wife was at best a mixed blessing.[65]

Conclusions

The English Civil War exacerbated the tensions already present in understandings of political manhood, particularly in probing the boundaries between personal qualities or domestic authority on the one hand, and public service in the polity on the other. Conflicts over true political manliness underline the ways in which masculinities are always multiple, and always subject to negotiation and contest. There was no simple division here between hegemonic and subversive understandings of what it meant to be a political man; elite assumptions were shattered, while many contradictory challenges were mounted to monarchical and elite male politics.[66] Although the parallel between familial and political authority was questioned and sometimes rejected, there was no straightforward development to some 'modern' notion of an increasingly sharp distinction between public and private worlds. The unpicking of the conventional analogy between familial and political authority in the mid-seventeenth century did not remove the force of the comparison as revealed in the recourse to Filmerian patriarchalism in later Stuart conflicts over monarchical power.[67] The boundary between the family and the state remained a contested one. As McKeon has suggested, however, the analogy between household and polity could not after 1649 be taken for granted. There is an air of artificiality or self-consciousness in later discussions that is missing before the 1640s. The civil war was not only a conflict over which elite men should wield conventional political power, or over adherence to specific political and religious programmes or manifestos; it roused intimate and troubling anxieties over identity and agency, questions of passion and emotion to which gender was fundamental. Men worried about how they matched up to other men, and they also faced remarkable examples of female activism in religious sects, collective petitioning, conspiracy and military support. Here we should note that many of the developments that encouraged broad political participation by men, might also have been taken to apply to women. Women took oaths, petitioned the parliament, read and wrote pamphlets; but the question of their formal political agency was never raised. Indeed many radical men explicitly contrasted their rationality, and their natural birthright with the natural or God-given disabilities of women. Edmund Chillenden argued that the scriptural prohibition against women preaching in itself meant that all gifted men could preach; while petitioning apprentices insisted that their dependence was age-related and thus temporary, in contrast to the permanent, natural subordination of women. There is some support here for the classic feminist critique of liberal democracy, that enlarged claims for male political rights (for brotherhood as opposed to fatherhood) go hand in hand with a stronger insistence on the natural distinctions between men and women, albeit that we also know that negotiations of gender identity and gendered hierarchies are more complex than this.[68] Certainly women remained visible in political life at the court of Charles II and their informal

influence persisted in their communities and particularly in religious contexts. Rival elite male political identities were frequently expressed in sexualised terms after 1660, with a monarch and a court characterised by a novel libertinism that rejected Puritan discipline and resisted conventional notions of civility. It was many generations, however, before claims for the political agency of humbler men were renewed.

Notes

1. A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 103. I have drawn heavily on material in this book for this chapter.
2. H. Smith, *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England*, *1640–1832* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), p. 113.
3. Important surveys of work on early modern masculinity include Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What have historians done with masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History c. 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005) pp. 274–280; and T. Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *History Compass* 12 (2014), pp. 685–693. Valuable studies include A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour*, *Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999); A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
4. A. Shepard and G. Walker, 'Gender, Change and Periodisation', *Gender and History* 20 (2008) pp. 453–462, at 456; R. Cust, 'The "public man" in late Tudor and early Stuart England' in P. Lake and S. Pincus, eds. *The Politics of the Public Sphere in early modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 116–143; C. Jackson, 'Memory and the Construction of Elite Masculinity in the Seventeenth-Century Autobiography of Lord Herbert of Cherbury', *Gender and History* 25 (2013), pp. 107–131; M. Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); B. Smith, *Shakespeare and Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
5. Fletcher, 'Manhood, the Male Body, Courtship and the Household in Early Modern England', *History*, 84 (1999), pp. 419–436, at p. 431. For the difficulties in establishing households see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 97–99, 247–252.
6. A.M. Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 5.
7. For an instructive contrast with wars between states see A. Marklund, 'The manly sacrifice: martial manliness and patriotic martyrdom in Nordic Propaganda during the great Northern War', *Gender and History* 25 (2013), pp. 150–169.
8. Hughes, *Gender*, ch. 3. For vital studies by literary scholars see: D. Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics during the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); J. de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (Basingstoke:

Palgrave, 2004); Su Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of the Family in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

9. Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. M. Dewar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 64.
10. C.B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 70; Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 11.
11. J.P. Sommerville, ed. *Filmer, Patriarcha and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 138.
12. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, pp. 64, 76–77.
13. For the complexities of family life see B. Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); for shaming rituals: M. Ingram, 'Ridings, rough music and the "reform of popular culture" in early modern England', *Past and Present* 105 (1984), pp. 79–113.
14. P. Crawford and S.H. Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
15. K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities. Economic Life in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), for the general economic developments. For their implications for men, Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood* is crucial. See also H. Berry and E. Foyster, 'Childless men in early modern England' in Berry and Foyster, eds. *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 158–183, for ways in which men might compensate for the lack of familial roles.
16. J. Walter, 'Faces in the crowd: Gender and age in the early modern English crowd', in Berry and Foyster, eds. *Family*, pp. 96–125, at 103.
17. See in particular, S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh, eds. *Masculinities in Politics and War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
18. William Bridge, *A Sermon Preached unto the Voluntiers of the City of Norwich* (London, 1643) pp. 6, 8–11.
19. For war and gender in general see J.S. Goldstein, *War and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); for the impact of the English civil war: B. Donagan, *War in England 1642–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
20. Hughes, *Gender*, pp. 4–9.
21. Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family*, p. 7.
22. S. Wiseman, '"Adam, the father of all flesh": Porno-political rhetoric and political theory in and after the English Civil War', in J. Holstun, ed. *Pamphlet Wars* (London: Frank Cass, 1992) pp. 134–157.
23. B. Kane, 'Masculinity and political geographies in England, Ireland and North America', *European Review of History: Revue européene d'histoire* 22.4 (2015), pp. 595–619.
24. Hughes, *Gender*, pp. 130–134.
25. Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. N.H. Keeble (London: Everyman, 1995), p. 67.
26. *The King's Cabinet Opened* (London, 1645), sig A3r, A4r, pp. 38–39, 43–44; *Mercurius Britanicus*, 14–21 July 1645.
27. *A Satyr Occasioned by the Author's Survey of a Scandalous Pamphlet Intituled the Kings Cabinet Opened* (Oxford, 1645), pp. 4–6; by Martin Lluellyn, See

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A Man's Sphere? British Politics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Matthew McCormack

The study of masculinity is now well established within the discipline of history, but its impact has been uneven. As the essays in this collection show, historians of different periods, regions and topics have often explored it in quite distinctive ways. The study of masculinity in British politics is a case in point. This is a national context where gender clearly plays a huge role in political culture, but the particular ways in which the histories of gender and politics have developed in Britain has meant that a dedicated history of political masculinities has struggled to take off. This chapter will survey work that has been done in this field and I will get into this question by reflecting on my own experiences of working across masculinity and politics over the last two decades. We will see that the field has very specific contours in modern British historiography, with particular chronologies and accounts of historical change. The second half of the chapter will then survey the key themes in the literature and will consider how the field is poised to develop in future.

Like many historians of masculinity, I did not start out as one. My PhD thesis began as a political study, exploring the emotive idea of 'independence' in the Georgian period. Like many postgraduate students in the 1990s, I was influenced by the linguistic turn's approach to social description and political traditions,[1] and so I was seeking to explore the role of an important keyword in political life. As the doctorate became more focused on the notion of

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citizenship—how the legitimate political subject was defined socially, and how membership of the political nation was experienced—it became clear that the project was really about masculinity: how citizenship was associated with certain sorts of men, and how it excluded women and certain other men.[2]

By the time I finished my PhD I saw myself as a gender historian, but I found myself in a corner of gender history that was not very heavily populated. In British historical studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the study of masculinity and politics was virtually a non-topic. The gender blindness of mainstream political history almost goes without saying, and this is likely the case in other national historiographies too. Men were ubiquitous—the MPs, the voters, the 'great men' and the 'men of letters'—so their gender was not considered worthy of note. The universal subject of political history is implicitly public and male. At the dawn of the eighteenth century, liberal contract theory consigned women to the invisibility of the private sphere,[3] and to this day, most political histories of the period replicate this assumption.

Where British masculinities were concerned, the neglect of politics was all the more frustrating because it should not have been the case. Early interest in masculinity in Britain came partly from the men's liberation movement of the 1980s, where activists sought to critique the 'power we had inherited as men': this was emphatically a pro-feminist endeavour, since patriarchal roles and relationships were damaging to women and men alike.[4] At the same time, academic feminists increasingly argued that men's roles were historically defined rather than fixed, shifting their focus to the cultural category of 'gender'.[5] The role of men in the public sphere was explored brilliantly in Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's foundation text for British gender history, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the British Middle Classes, 1780–1850* (1987). Having engaged with the topic at its birth, however, British gender history rarely returned to it. Davidoff and Hall themselves published further key essays,[6] and there were also notable studies focus focusing on nineteenth-century labour history[7] and the twentieth-century Conservative party.[8] These pioneering works were not really followed up by other scholars, however, or joined up into a coherent field. Throughout the 1990s, therefore, the histories of masculinity and politics in Britain largely continued on their separate paths.

Arguably, the reasons for this lay in the prominence of the concept of 'separate spheres' in British women's history, and in the attempts to critique it that were bound up with the emergence of gender history. Within academic feminism, men's dominance of the public sphere was the corollary of women's subordination of the private. Since the pioneers of women's history were seeking to rescue women's experience from historical invisibility, critical attention was necessarily focused on the private sphere. The development of gender history often involved critical reflection on the methods and politics of women's history,[9] and this work often emphasised the ways in which separate spheres did not apply in practice.[10] Therefore gender histories of politics showed how women were present in the public sphere; and early work on British masculinities showed how men were present in the private world of the home. So the study of public masculinities continued to be sidelined,

although there is a huge amount that it could gain from both of these literatures. Work on women and politics has highlighted the social and informal aspects of political life that are so often overlooked by mainstream political history.[11] And John Tosh's manifesto for the history of masculinity emphasised that the home—the focus of his seminal *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (1999)—could only be understood in a triangular relationship with work and political association.[12]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the study of masculinity was very fashionable in British historical studies and a favourite topic for conferences. For example, the 'Father Figures: Gender and Paternity in the Modern Age' conference at Liverpool John Moores University in 2003 got a huge response to the call for papers: this was a sign of how far the history of masculinity had come and, in particular, was tribute to the impact of Tosh's work on the Victorian family man.[13] Given the focus of the conference, papers on the 'public' side to masculinity were inevitably in a small minority. There was some discussion of how the critique of 'separate spheres' had possibly thrown the baby out with the bathwater, in losing sight of the need to distinguish—and to understand the links—between these two gendered areas of activity.[14] When I organised a conference on 'Public Men: Political Masculinities in Britain, 1700–2000' the following year, the number of proposals was much more modest, but was nevertheless excitingly rich.[15] Tellingly, the vast majority of speakers were graduate students: usually a good sign of an emerging field. Besides historians of gender and/or politics, the conference attracted historians working on art, the police, empire, literature and economics. Indeed, many 'historians of masculinity' would in fact regard that as being a secondary disciplinary identity and employ 'masculinity' as a problematic alongside other considerations within historical studies. Far from being a handicap for the field, this oblique approach instead cautions against reifying something that is in fact provisional and slippery, and which is inevitably informed by other aspects of human experience.

Early work on British political masculinities therefore promised a significant new field of historical investigation. Although important studies have appeared over the last decade, however, the field remains somewhat diffuse and its impact on the wider historiography has been limited. This is possibly because the field still struggles to justify its existence. Do we really need more histories of 'great men'? Why is it 'new' to study an area of history that has always been dominated by men? And is there a danger that feminism could lose out by diverting its energies to study it?[16] It is therefore necessary to take stock of the field and to make a renewed case for its usefulness.

Periodisation

Historians of political masculinities work across two fields that have very different attitudes towards periodisation. Political historians are very comfortable talking about long-term change, in relation to questions such as state development, political movements and ideological traditions. Whig and

Marxist accounts of British political development had very clear teleologies and their influence continues to be felt. Even the 'new political history' that sought to critique them can be accused of turning Whig history's optimistic narrative on its head, in suggesting that individual freedom was in fact restricted by the onward march of liberalism.[17]

Historians of masculinity are, by contrast, less comfortable with the *longue durée*, and not just because they work in a less established field. The history of masculinity is, in part, a product of the cultural turn in historical studies, which usually concerns itself with deconstructing metanarratives rather than building them up. Its subjective and personal subject matter often lends itself to article-length case studies (such as the contributions to this collection) that focus on individuals, moments or crises. John Tosh has protested that this 'has the effect of dissolving any sense of trajectory or process' and that historians need to restore the long view in order to discern the 'large themes, which may not be visible to the cultural analyst working on a particular moment in time'.[18] He proposed that the history of gender in the nineteenth century should be linked to those of industrial development and imperial expansion in order to restore such a perspective—but surely the history of politics offers at least as good an opportunity (and without the Marxist underpinnings).

Nor is cultural history necessarily the problem here: a handful of book-length studies have since combined gender and politics chronologies in order to explore the long view.[19] Indeed, probably the most ambitious recent attempt to think about masculinity across periods and borders is very much in the mould of cultural history. Christopher Forth's *Masculinity in the Modern West* takes issue with the notion of 'crises of masculinity' and argues that masculinity has never been 'non-critical'. He argues that, when men become 'modern', they become distanced from the conditions of struggle and discomfort that constitute authentically 'masculine' practices and habits.[20] In terms of politics, his perspective is particularly useful when considering political movements whose stated aim is to 'reclaim' masculinity, such as revolutionary movements of the eighteenth century, muscular Christianity or popular imperialism in the nineteenth, or fascism in the twentieth.

Where the history of masculinity is concerned, however, there remain obstacles to working across periods. Masculinities look very different in different periods of history. Historians of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries tend to emphasise an anxious, godly and patriarchal model of manhood; whereas historians of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries instead emphasise a more fluid masculinity that is flamboyant, sexualised and publicly validated. This may signify a cyclical pattern in the history of masculinity—an ebb and flow between two fundamental poles (not that these features are mutually exclusive: it is possible to be both godly and sexualised, for example). Or it may instead simply be the case that different sorts of historians work on different centuries and therefore find it difficult to look beyond

their period silos. In British studies, the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries have long been dominated by social and economic history. By contrast, the eighteenth and twentieth centuries were relatively neglected until recently, so interdisciplinary cultural studies rushed into fill the vacuum.[21] This arguably accounts for the unevenness of the attempt to take stock of the field in the 2005 special feature on masculinities in the *Journal of British Studies*, where Tosh's plea to reclaim the history of masculinity for Victorian social history sat uneasily with Michèle Cohen and Michael Roper's use of cultural methodologies on the adjoining centuries.[22]

Nevertheless, it is possible to sketch the broad contours of political masculinity in Britain over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the beginning of the period, masculinities were relatively fluid, within a scheme of sex difference that was on a sliding scale.[23] A range of masculine identities were available—such as the libertine, the polite man or the *homo religiosus*—and men were adept at performing different personas in different situations.[24] These personas did not necessarily define who you were, and a politician's private morality was not regarded as having a bearing on his public life. As such, the primary political masculinity of the early modern period was that of the courtier, who possessed the refined and codified manners of the European aristocracy. Paul Langford has shown how elite politicians in the early eighteenth century adopted an 'if you've got it, flaunt it' attitude: portraits of statesmen like Sir Robert Walpole displayed them in all of their official glory, 'robed, ribboned, decorated'.[25] The code of politeness carried refined manners further down the social scale, but the gentry and the middling sorts tended to adopt a plainer and more businesslike attitude towards masculinity, as embodied in their new uniform, the sober three-piece suit.[26]

As the century wore on, those excluded from the centre of power became more assertive in their criticisms of the establishment. They argued that they were more deserving of office than the narrow ruling elite, and often did so in terms of nationalism and gender. They asserted the rights of 'the country' and 'the people' against those who were culturally foreign: denizens of the German court who were addicted to fine French foods and Italian opera. This went hand in hand with accusations of 'effeminacy'—not femininity or homosexuality as such, but a failure of the moral qualities associated with virtuous masculinity.[27] By asserting that the political 'ins' were unpatriotic and morally degenerate, the political 'outs' simultaneously undermined the current establishment's right to rule and trumpeted their own. This highly gendered political culture drew heavily on classical republicanism, which asserted that the true source of power in a state lay in its citizenry of substantial householders. The strength of the polity lay in the virtue and vigilance of these citizens, since a weak populace could be overawed by an oppressive ruler or foreign threats. The crucial masculine quality of this citizenry was 'independence', based upon landed property, martial capability and love of liberty: people in a dependent relationship, such as women, children, the poor or the infirm, did

not have the freedom of conscience or action to stand up for the public good. Historians of political thought such as J.G.A. Pocock have long argued for the influence of neoclassical republicanism in this period,[28] but gender historians have shown just how far it impacted on everyday society and politics. The Georgian patriarch—with his property, his parliamentary vote and his 'little republic' of a household—was apt to identify with these ideals.[29]

The period of the Seven Years War (1756–1763) can be seen as a watershed in several respects. The early stages of the war went badly for Britain, so 'patriot' criticisms of the ruling establishment reached a new height. Admiral Byng failed to engage a larger French fleet, leading to the fall of Minorca, and became the symbol of the unpatriotic and unmanly ruling class. The government attempted to scapegoat Byng, court martialling him for cowardice and executing him on the deck of his ship, but this did not head off the wider critique. Anti-establishment politics focused on the movement to reform the militia, which revelled in the image of the manly householder who would defend all that was dear to him as a husband, a father, a patriot and a Protestant.[30] The politician who benefitted most from the sense of crisis was the Elder Pitt, who rode to power on a wave of patriotic enthusiasm. The first 'popular' prime minister, 'The Great Commoner' projected a masculine image that was patriotic, sincere and above the blandishments of party politics.[31]

Several gender historians point to George III's accession in 1760 as the specific turning point: political events can therefore drive gender change.[32] George installed the Tories and ejected the Whigs, and those who were now excluded from government became assertive in their criticisms of it. In particular, John Wilkes used print journalism and demotic election contests in order to appeal to the extra-parliamentary nation. Wilkes reworked the old opposition 'patriotism' in increasingly radical ways, so that even humble men could imagine themselves as citizens who deserved rights such as the vote. His own colourful hypermasculinity became central to his cause. His virulent xenophobia was a populist stance against the Scottish prime minister Bute, his fondness for duelling and militia service underlined his martial credentials, and even his libertine sexuality came to embody his commitment to political liberty.[33] At the same time, Marilyn Morris argues that the beginning of George III's reign represents a sea change in terms of the personalisation of politics: 'Young, British-born and chaste, the king raised expectations of national moral regeneration.' Unlike his predecessors, he became a popular and identifiable figure, with a reputation for marital fidelity and virtuous domesticity—issues that, Morris argues, would hardly have been relevant to a monarch or statesman in the early eighteenth century.[34]

Arguably George III anticipated the way British politics was going, because after the 1770s politicians were increasingly required to be virtuous in both their public and private lives.[35] The catastrophic loss of America plunged the nation into a bout of soul searching, and attention focused once

again on the moral fitness of elite politicians. Even John Wilkes had to reinvent himself as a 'reformed rake' and a family man when he sought to become Lord Mayor of London. For Dror Wahrman, the fallout from the American War created a crisis of identity for Britons. He characterises the later eighteenth century as a time of 'gender panic', when the loose and playful identities of the early modern world were finally closed down and replaced with a modern notion of self: your social being was expected to reflect who you actually were in biological, sexual and racial terms.[36] Wahrman's chronology complements other chronologies within the histories of gender, sexuality and medicine, which suggest that fluid notions of gender difference were replaced by a strict binary scheme in which women were subordinate and conjugal heterosexuality was the norm. Men's political dominance was therefore justified not by tradition and biblical precept, but was declared 'natural' by the new science of the Enlightenment.[37]

The French Revolution had profound implications for politics and gender in Britain. Politics became polarised between radical supporters of Revolution and conservative defenders of the status quo. This was the heroic age of working-class radicalism celebrated by Marxist historians like E.P. Thompson, where proud artisans railed against industrialisation and injustice, and educated themselves in the rights of man. Gender historians such as Anna Clark have presented a less heroic picture, suggesting that Thompson marginalised women in his narrative, and that his artisans were hostile to female labour and were given to misogyny and violence.[38] Indeed, when radicals talked about the rights of 'men', they often meant just that. In order to make the case that all men possessed the 'independence' required of political personhood, they lumped together women, minors and the insane as 'dependent' people who lacked the required situation and capability. Redrawing citizenship in inclusive social terms often meant being exclusive in terms of gender.[39]

Loyalist ideas about gender were no less significant. Desperate to mobilise civilian men for military service against the threatened French invasion, the establishment appropriated patriotism from the radicals, presenting martial citizenship as the masculine ideal—a model of citizenship that excluded women, who were instead presented as helpmeets and objects to be defended. Women's historians have long identified the 1790s as being at the root of nineteenth-century gender codes.[40] George III responded to the French Revolution's assault on traditional hierarchies by 'endorsing a model of manliness based on familial responsibility'.[41] The Tory counter-revolution combined with evangelical Christianity to imbue the new middle classes with an ideology based upon domestic virtue, industry and godliness. Only a virtuous nation that protected its womenfolk could hope to prevail against the atheists: 'separate spheres' was therefore a highly political ideology rather than a social structure as such. Nor was it just reactionary, since it was also a way for the middle classes to trumpet their moral superiority to those socially

above and below them, and thence to push for political rights to match their newfound economic power.

The radical movement rallied at the close of the Napoleonic Wars, which brought about widespread unemployment and economic dislocation. Men who had served their country in war argued that they had performed a key duty of citizenship, and so deserved its rewards.[42] The climax to post-war radical activity was the Queen Caroline Affair of 1820, when George IV attempted to divorce his estranged wife prior to his coronation. Political historians long failed to take this 'affair' seriously, since it appeared to epitomise the worst excesses of royal sex scandals. Gender historians, however, have shown how these ideas about masculinity were 'not merely an adjunct to more serious political concerns… they *were* political in themselves'.[43] Radical and Whig critics of the establishment were able to mobilise a huge popular movement behind Caroline, which highlighted important issues such as legal oppression, women's rights within marriage and the unrepresentativeness of parliament. Moreover, ideas about sex and gender gave their critique much of its appeal. George treated Caroline unchivalrously and failed to establish a harmonious household: his private failings were central to his public reputation. Within the *dramatis personae* of popular melodrama, George was portrayed as a debauched aristocratic villain, Caroline an innocent heroine, and her (male) champions as chivalric heroes. Clark argues that the affair was a turning point in political aesthetics, as satire came to be replaced by melodrama: the 1820s saw the last hurrah of scabrous, bawdy Georgian satire and ushered in a more respectable political culture.[44] This involved a new model of statesmanship that was very different to the court politician of old. Langford suggests that the nineteenth-century legislator was 'discreet in manner, unpretentious in appearance, reserved if not cold, keeping his warmth for his home and hearth, disdainful of men and their wants, devoted to public duties'.[45]

When parliamentary reform finally came in 1832 it was similarly concerned with domestic respectability. The Whig Reformers had a very clear idea of those to whom it wished to give the vote, since they believed that greater political liberty consisted not of giving the vote to more people, but to the right people, whom they deemed able to exercise it responsibly. So although the size of the electorate expanded by about 50 per cent, it became more socially exclusive: the old haphazard system of local qualifications (in which many working people could vote) was superseded by a uniform property qualification (which intended to give the vote to middle-class men). The dividing line between citizens and non-citizens was the old constitutional benchmark of 'independence', now reworked for an era of domestic propriety. Voters should not only possess property, but should be 'married men and the fathers of families', since their familial and domestic situations guaranteed their respectability, responsibility and capacity for government.[46] Moreover, the electoral citizen was legally defined as being male for the first

time. Political historians who regard the 1832 Reform Act as having a crucial role in defining the Victorian citizen make much of this, but Kathryn Gleadle has queried its impact in practice. Women could not vote anyway under the old system; the parallel Reform Act for Scotland had no such proscription; and the same parliament passed the 1831 Vestries Act, which did allow female participation.[47] Either way, gender history informs a key moment in the British political chronology: did 1832 represent progress (Whig history), continuity (revisionism) or an attempt to restrict political freedom (new political history)?

Working men who had long campaigned for the vote were not rewarded in 1832, so radical energies in the 1830s and 40s focused on Chartism. Chartism has a huge status in labour history since this was the first nationwide working-class political movement. It was long interpreted as a proto-socialist movement with social and economic goals, but more recent political historians have emphasised its political nature and its debt to the old radical movement.[48] Their goal was the People's Charter, which made exclusively political demands: they believed that the vote was the key to achieving change, since a representative parliament would pass good laws, which would result in a fairer society. Like their radical forebears, however, they believed that voting was the preserve of men: only men possessed the crucial quality of independence, now reworked to encompass labour as well as property. Chartists deployed a gendered rhetoric that celebrated the male breadwinner and the benefits for women of domestic respectability.[49] In R.W. Connell's terms, they arguably positioned themselves in a 'complicit' relationship with the hegemonic masculinity of the middle classes, rather than challenging it.[50]

Chartism had fizzled out by the 1850s but the reform tradition continued in the Victorian Liberal party. Parliamentary reform was back on the agenda in the 1860s and the story of how the Second Reform Act of 1867 came to be passed dominates Victorian political historiography. Whig historians try to claim the Act for the progressive Liberal tradition and Tory historians celebrate the way that Benjamin Disraeli outwitted the Liberals to pass a Conservative Bill instead, but gender historians have presented a more sceptical interpretation of the Act. Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall brought the perspectives of empire, masculinity and women to the debates of 1867, showing how the Act 'defined the Victorian nation' in terms of race, class and gender. The citizen of 1867 was the British working man, and people who failed to meet these three criteria were deemed unsuitable for citizenship.[51] On the other hand, the parliamentary history of women's suffrage did begin in earnest, when the Liberal MP and feminist John Stuart Mill proposed that 'man' should be replaced with 'person' in the wording of the bill. Women's suffrage is usually the point in British history when political historians start to take gender seriously, since women were seeking to participate in the official structures of politics with which political history tends to be concerned. Even here, however, masculinity is crucial. Ben Griffin has proposed

that we can only understand the political fortunes of women's suffrage if we attend to the masculinity of the men who were voting on these issues in parliament, since suffragism struck at the heart of the patriarchy in which MPs (of all people) had a stake.[52]

The new mass electorate transformed political culture since political parties had to change the basis of their appeal and the way that they communicated. Gender history has shed light on the differences between Liberal and Tory political cultures in this period, since they arguably projected competing models of masculinity.[53] Nonconformists and former Chartists found a home in Gladstone's Liberal Party. Gladstone became a cult figure among many working men, who identified with his work ethic, his moral character and his belief in rewarding self-improvement and combating privilege.[54] Working men who found the Liberals too censorious instead gravitated towards the Conservative Party of Benjamin Disraeli, who had the polar opposite masculinity to his rival across the dispatch box. His flamboyance and romanticism was projected onto his party, which created a heady brew of monarchism, imperial nationalism and popular Anglicanism. If a working man wished to have a drink, bet on a horse or doff his cap to his betters, then those were his rights as a freeborn Englishman.[55] The Conservative Party was also notably more welcoming to women and brought hundreds of thousands of women into its ambit via the Primrose League. This is not to say that the late-Victorian Conservative Party was a hotbed of feminism: rather they were pragmatic about whence they drew their support, and they appreciated the role that elite women had always played in electioneering (something that became all the more important when the electoral rules tightened in 1883). The Liberals were by contrast more doctrinaire in their gender politics. Although they harboured prominent feminists like Mill, they also included some key anti-suffragists and represented a continuity of the radical tradition that protected the rights of the male breadwinner. This emphasis was even more pronounced in the gender politics of the Trade Unions and the nascent Labour Party. We therefore have to look to the nineteenth century if we are to explain why proportionately more women were drawn to the Conservative Party in the twentieth.[56]

At the close of the nineteenth century the world of electoral citizenship was symbolically male, but this did not always play out in practice. The Third Reform Act of 1884–1885 appeared to grant universal male suffrage, but stringent residency requirements excluded around 40 per cent of adult males. The old ideal of the householder citizen remained, so mobile workers, male servants, bachelors who did not have their own home, and soldiers in barracks remained excluded. The latter was especially ironic, since this era of strident imperialism celebrated martial attributes in men. Sonya Rose argues that 'brute force and military service took the place of property, independence and respectability in the public culture of masculinity and citizenship'.[57] This aligns with John Tosh's chronology for Victorian manliness, whereby in

the latter stages of the century men turned their backs on domesticity and revelled in fantasies of imperial adventure.[58] Although radicals had argued for a century that service to the nation should be rewarded with the vote, common soldiers had to wait with women until after the First World War to become full citizens.

Themes

This brief synthesis shows that, although work on British political masculinities has often been diverse and compartmentalised, it is possible to connect it up into a coherent field. Moreover, if we combine chronologies from the histories of politics and gender, we can think about change over the *longue durée*. With this perspective, various long-term changes can be discerned over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the evolving gendered definition of the electoral citizen; the increasing sense that masculinity and femininity are incommensurate categories with different spheres of activity; the changing model of masculine statesmanship; and the increasing sense in which a man's private life is relevant to his public one. At the same time, we can also see key continuities: the 'radical continuum' from early radicalism via the Liberal Party into the Labour Party, with all of its associated masculinism; the enduring influence of classical notions of virtue and corruption; their equation of citizenship with household proprietorship and forms of 'independence'; and the persisting power of military citizenship, along with the failure to align political citizenship with men who actually serve. In general, although the precise bases and manifestations of it may change, the fundamental connection between politics and masculinity is assumed throughout the period.

Further themes could be developed from this survey. The account of citizenship here is mostly concerned with its changing definition and its representation in public discourse. But we also have to bear in mind that citizenship is a lived condition. Rose argues that the language of citizenship 'produces political subjectivities' which people enact and feel.[59] Given that citizenship involves membership of a community, strong emotions come into play when that community is under threat—one reason for the enduring power of military citizenship in Britain. Studies of women's citizenship also remind us that citizenship is a day-to-day experience, and Gleadle argues that historians need more dialogue with sociologists and psychologists if they are going to develop a nuanced understanding of such 'micro-level' political interactions. She further cautions that political historians often read sources too literally, giving a misleading impression of a totally masculine public sphere. For example, women may not be listed as attendees at political dinners, but they might well have attended after the food for the speeches. Or Victorian authorial conventions often mean that a man is named as the author of a political treatise, which might well have been the product of collaboration with other family members.[60]

As such, there are opportunities for the history of masculinity to say more about the nature of political practice. Masculinity is at its most concrete at the level of the corporeal, and the *bodiliness* of British politics is often striking. The rough-and-tumble of the parliamentary election contest provided an arena where the manliness of aspiring public servants was put to the test. We mostly associate this with the age of Hogarth, but Kit Good and Jon Lawrence have shown how this persisted into the nineteenth century and beyond.[61] The canvass is still a spontaneous and interactive arena where politicians are expected to think on their feet, and to deal with physically or verbally aggressive ambushes from the public.

Political speaking, too, is a physical act. Griffin notes that 'the masculinity of politicians was constantly being assessed, not only by reference to what they said, but also by their dress, deportment and manners'.[62] It is all too easy to forget this when our sources for political speeches from this period are texts on the page. Occasionally, these sources give an impression of how a speech was performed, giving us an insight into the bodiliness of political speaking. For example, take this report of Robert Grant speaking at the 1830 Norwich election: 'Mr. G's stature is lofty, and his deportment grave and commanding. —His voice and manner are alike dignified, and his style copious and rich. There is something peculiar in his manner of address that cannot fail to secure the attention of his hearers.'[63] Illustrations of political speakers show just how theatrical verbal communication could be in a period when the body was seen as a window on the soul. Gladstone was an avid student of John Walker's *The Academic Speaker* (1797), which provided illustrations of the bodily attitudes that convey the ideas being spoken: sketches of Gladstone speaking in the Commons suggest that he put these prescriptions into practice.[64] Recent works have shed light on the specific rhetorical culture of the British parliament and its implications for masculinity.[65] In particular, the choice of the term 'maiden speech' is telling, suggesting that it is 'something akin to that first trip to a brothel in the company of male relations or friends for performance of that act that will make him a man'.[66]

Masculinity can provide similar insights into the world of political ritual. Ritual is one area of British history where political historians have long had to engage with sociological methodologies. For example, Frank O'Gorman's classic essay on election rituals and ceremonies predates historical interest in political masculinity, but forms the backdrop for more recent work that has tried to think about the gendered nature of electoral performance.[67] Histories of political women have highlighted the ritual aspects to the sociable side to politics in this period, notably the gendered activities of visiting and entertaining.[68] Masculinity is especially interesting in homosocial contexts such as associations and dinners, or when studying the meetings that radicals and loyalists alike held in taverns.[69] Drinking rituals can shed light on the emotional (and chemical) ways in which political bonds are created between men. Karen Harvey has explored the world of the eighteenth-century punch party, where men from the middling sorts would gather privately to drink from a large

decorated bowl. She cautions that sociable experiences like this are difficult to reconstruct, but the strict rules and rituals of such occasions nevertheless shed light on unwritten masculine codes.

This brings us to the history of material culture, since Harvey places a lot of emphasis on the punchbowl itself. The cost of the bowl and its liquid contents tell us about the sorts of men who would have participated, and the rich decorations on the bowls commonly reference all-male political associations like militias, guilds or clubs. Furthermore, the materiality of the bowl tells us about its use and effect: 'circular and open bowls enable sharing and coming together', as would the practice of passing the bowl from man to man.[70] Objects therefore have agency and perform cultural work. In some political contexts, objects can have clandestine meanings: objects with hidden images or texts, or references that would only be meaningful to fellow initiates, helped to sustain the underground movements of Jacobitism and Jacobinism.[71] More overtly, public memorials and keepsakes like tokens and medals commemorated men's involvement in loyalist and military associations.[72]

Rituals take place within spaces, and approaches from the spatial turn can shed light upon the gendering of politics. The 'separate spheres' interpretation lent itself to thinking about the home as a space, but as an apolitical one, so gender historians and political historians alike were long remiss in considering this aspect. But Zoe Dyndor's recent study of electioneering in the eighteenth century shows that the home space could be a very political arena. The receiving of candidates into the home was a ritualised process; and in certain boroughs, the question of whether a dwelling would confer a vote was spatially defined, hinging on questions like whether it opened directly onto a street, or whether a pot could be boiled within. At election time, these spatial questions had big implications for a male householder's access to electoral citizenship, or a female landlady's ability to influence proceedings (and to earn extra rent).[73] Various everyday domestic rituals could have a political character, such as the reading of news, writing letters on behalf of the family, or family prayers.[74] Shifting from the micro to the macro, the geography of political activity is also important. The history of masculinity has generally been very urban in its focus: this is understandable, given that topics like homosexuality, politeness or bourgeois domesticity usually presuppose an urban backdrop. Early attempts to integrate masculinity into a wider political narrative often let the urban experience stand for the nation as a whole, without really thinking about the specificity of its conditions.[75] The rural, however, is making a comeback. Harvey notes that eighteenth-century masculinities should encompass 'the patriotic country squire or the backbench Tory', as well as more colourful urban figures like the fop or the man of the coffeehouse.[76] And our understanding of gender and politics in the nineteenth century has also been enhanced by recent studies of the rural gentry.[77]

This section has largely focused on forms of political practice, since much of the best recent work on British political masculinity has used this approach, and suggests that the field has the potential to develop further in this way.

The history of masculinity need not therefore be limited to representation—but, at the same time, political historians should not dismiss the insights of the linguistic turn, or lose the ability to read language in a nuanced way. One final question that a recent study has raised is the role of political rhetoric in masculinities. Stephen Moore has explored the Admiral Byng controversy, which gender historians have argued was part of a wider panic about gender relations and the moral fibre of the ruling class. Moore, on the other hand, argues that Byng's alleged effeminacy was rather a 'rhetorical strategy' by a government that was determined to scapegoat him: gender was not 'the central trope motivating public discussion, nor was the discussion reflective of a broader concern for waning masculinity'.[78] In this instance I disagree: in general, the cultural historian in me is minded to assume that, where gendered rhetoric is present, then it is likely to be having an ideological effect. The history of political masculinities cannot be boiled down to deliberately chosen words and images: if nothing else, these can only have an effect within a political culture where gender is important. But political historians are well placed to assess the intentionality in statements of masculinity. When Gladstone posed for a photographer in his shirt-sleeves and resting on an axe, he knew what image he was seeking to convey and endeavoured to control it.[79]

In conclusion, the question mark in the title is employed advisedly, since it is necessary to query the way that men in British politics have traditionally been studied. Politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was long regarded as 'a man's sphere', but work on gender and masculinity over the last quarter-century has done much to nuance our understanding of men's political roles. We have seen that there is much to be gained in openly critiquing something that is silently assumed. This can help us to understand both men's historical dominance and the nature of the British political system—and, indeed, it often demonstrates that the public sphere was by no means as uncomplicatedly male as our sources would often have us believe. The study of political masculinity is therefore a feminist endeavour, rather than being a threat to it. Equally, work on political masculinities has the potential to inform the history of masculinity more widely, since politics is a field where ideology *and* practice are both crucial: the history of masculinity need not then be restricted to representation, or to the short term. Although the field remains somewhat underdeveloped, work on British political masculinities in this period suggests that it could yet be a very significant area of historical investigation.

Notes

1. J. Vernon, 'Who's afraid of the linguistic turn? The politics of social history and its discontents', *Social History* 19: 1 (1992), 81–87.
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This became *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2005).

3. C. Pateman, *The Sexual Contract: Aspects of Contractual Liberalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).
4. V. Seidler (ed.), *The Achilles Heel Reader: Men, Sexual Politics and Socialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. ix.
5. J. Scott, 'Gender: a Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review* 91: 5 (1986), 1053–1075.
6. See their respective collections *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (London: Polity, 1995) and *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (London: Polity, 1992).
7. A. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London: Rivers Owen, 1995); K. McClelland, 'Some Thoughts on Masculinity and the "Representative Artisan" in Britain, 1850–1880', *Gender & History* 1 (1989), 164–177.
8. J. Lawrence, 'Class and Gender in the Making of Urban Toryism, 1880–1914', *English Historical Review* 108: 2 (1993), 629–652; David Jarvis, 'The Conservative Party and the Politics of Gender, 1900–1939', in M. Francis and I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880–1990* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), pp. 172–193.
9. A. Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, 36: 2 (1993), 383–414.
10. See, for example: M.J. Petersen, 'No Angels in the House: the Victorian myth and the Paget Women', *American Historical Review*, 89: 3 (1984), 677–708; R. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650–1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), pp. 305–318.
11. K. Gleadle and S. Richardson (eds.), *Women in British Politics, 1760–1860: The Power of the Petticoat* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); A. Vickery (ed.), *Women, Privilege and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).
12. J. Tosh, 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity?', *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994), 179–202.
13. A selection of papers from the conference were published as T.L. Broughton and H. Rogers (eds.), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2007).
14. Karen Harvey has since explored how men's statuses, roles and material experiences in the house related to politics in *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
15. A selection of papers from the conference were published as M. McCormack (ed.), *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2007).
16. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and Anna Clark reflect on these issues in the preface to their collection *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2007), p. xvi.
17. For example: J. Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture 1815–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

18. J. Tosh, 'Masculinities in Industrialising Society: Britain, 1800–1914', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2004), 330–342 (p. 330). Tosh has subsequently expressed his concern that cultural history has become '*the* historical paradigm' and has argued that the history of masculinity should instead return to 'its moorings in social experience': 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?', in J. Arnold and S. Brady (eds.), *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 20, 31.
19. A. Clark, *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); McCormack, *Independent Man*; Harvey, *Little Republic*; B. Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); H. French and M. Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, 1660–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Marilyn Morris, *Sex, Money & Personal Character in Eighteenth-Century British Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).
20. C. Forth, *Masculinity and the Modern West: Gender, Civilisation and the Body* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 3–5.
21. This is reflected in professional bodies for historians in Britain. Whereas historians of the nineteenth century are strongly represented in the Social History Society, their eighteenth-century counterparts tend to gravitate towards the interdisciplinary British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies.
22. 'What have historians done with masculinity? Reflections on five centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies* 44: 2 (2005) featuring contributions by Alexandra Shepard, Karen Harvey, Michèle Cohen, John Tosh and Michael Roper.
23. T. Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).
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25. P. Langford, 'Politics and Manners from Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 94 (1997), 103–125 (p. 109).
26. D. Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
27. P. Carter, 'An "effeminate" or an "efficient" nation? Masculinity and eighteenth-century social documentary', *Textual Practice* 11: 3 (1997), 429–443.
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29. McCormack, *Independent Man*; Harvey, *Little Republic*.
30. M. McCormack, 'The New Militia: War, Politics and Gender in 1750s Britain', *Gender & History* 19: 3 (2007), 483–500.
31. K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 193.
32. Clark, *Scandal*, p. 15; McCormack, *Independent Man*, p. 80.
33. J. Sainsbury, *John Wilkes: The Lives of a Libertine* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006).
34. Morris, *Sex, Money & Personal Character*, p. 59.
35. Griffin, *Politics of Gender*, p. 39.
36. D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

37. Laqueur, *Making Sex*.
38. A. Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 2–5.
39. McCormack, *Independent Man*, pp. 207–208.
40. C. Hall, 'The early formation of Victorian domestic ideology', in S. Burman (ed.), *Fit Work for Women* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 15–32.
41. Morris, *Sex, Money & Personal Character*, p. 59.
42. L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 318.
43. L. Carter, 'British Masculinities on Trial in the Queen Caroline Affair of 1820', *Gender & History* 20: 2 (2008), 248–269 (p. 265).
44. Clark, *Scandal*, p. 219.
45. Langford, 'Politics and Manners', p. 118.
46. M. McCormack, 'Married Men and the Fathers of Families: Fatherhood and Franchise Reform in Britain', in H. Rogers and T. Broughton (eds.), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 43–54.
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51. C. Hall, K. McClelland and J. Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
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53. M. McCormack and M. Roberts, 'Chronologies in the History of British Political Masculinities, c. 1700–2000', in McCormack (ed.), *Public Men*, pp. 187–202 (p. 194).
54. E. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
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58. Tosh, *Man's Place*, ch. 8.
59. Rose, 'Fit to Fight', p. 133.
60. Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens*, pp. 4, 14, 63, 225.
61. K. Good, '"Quit Ye Like Men": Platform Manliness and Electioneering, 1895–1939', in McCormack (ed.), *Public Men*, pp. 143–164; J. Lawrence, *Electing Our Masters: The Hustings in British Politics from Hogarth to Blair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
62. Griffin, *Politics of Gender*, pp. 188–189.
63. *The Norwich Election Budget* (Norwich, 1830), p. 18.
64. R. Cleaver, 'Some Gladstonian Attitudes: Sketches in the House of Commons' (1898), reproduced in Peter Jagger (ed.), *Gladstone* (London: Hambledon, 1998), frontispiece.

65. C. Reid, *Imprison'd Wranglers: The Rhetorical Culture of the House of Commons 1760–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Griffin, *Politics of Gender*, ch. 6.
66. Morris, *Sex, Money & Personal Character*, p. 80.
67. F. O'Gorman, 'Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies: The Social Meaning of Elections in England, 1780–1840', *Past and Present* 135 (1992), 79–115; Vernon, *Politics and the People*; McCormack, *Independent Man*, ch. 2; Good, 'Quit Ye Like Men'.
68. See n. 10, above.
69. K. Navickas, 'The "Spirit of Loyalty": Material Culture, Space and the Construction of an English Loyalist Memory, 1790–1840' in A. Blackstock and F. O'Gorman (eds.), *Loyalism and the Formation of the British World 1775–1914* (London: Boydell, 2014), pp. 43–59 (p. 57).
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71. M. Pittock, 'Treacherous Objects: Towards a Theory of Jacobite Material Culture', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34: 1 (2011), 39–63.
72. Navickas, 'Spirit of Loyalty', p. 58.
73. Z. Dyndor, 'Wives, Widows and Witnesses: Women and their Involvement in the 1768 Northampton Borough Election', *Parliamentary History* 30: 3 (2011), 309–323.
74. Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens*, p. 187.
75. M. Roberts, *Political Movements in Urban England, 1832–1914* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2008).
76. K. Harvey, reviewing McCormack, *Independent Man* at http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/530. Accessed 10 December 2010.
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'I Tremble Lest My Powers of Thought are not What They Ought to be': Reputation and the Masculine Anxieties of an Eighteenth-Century Statesman

Henry French

In this chapter, the efforts of one man, the Norfolk landowner, MP and cabinet minister William Windham, to live up to his own expectations of what a statesman should be in the later eighteenth century, and the damage that his reflections on those efforts caused to his posthumous reputation, are examined. It will explore these reflections and their subsequent reception as a case study of aspects of masculine identity and political leadership in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain.

As G.J. Barker-Benfield and Philip Carter have emphasised, debates about sensibility and politeness in the eighteenth century had the concept of *sincerity* at their core.[1] Although the controversy over *Lord Chesterfield's Letters* after 1774 did not ignite this concern, it reiterated and focused long-standing fears that efforts to 'civilise' elite masculinity, by stressing self-possession, self-presentation and self-control, would create men who were insincere, deceptive and therefore dishonourable.[2] Men destined for public life were taught repeatedly and consistently that virtue could ultimately only come from within.[3] This required eternal vigilance. Within the Windham family, Benjamin Stillingfleet, tutor to William's father (William Windham I, 1717–1761), had written injunctions in verse form in the 1730s:

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> But the main stress of all our Cares must lye,
> To watch ourselves with strict and constant Eye…
> For he who hopes a Victory to Win,
> O'er other Men, must with himself begin:[4]

In fact, despite an expensive education, and high hopes among his peers, Windham senior never distinguished himself in public life.[5] His only son William II (1750–1810) did, but throughout his life wrestled with the concept of sincerity, and the high expectations and standards that such a rule induced. It was never enough for him to *appear* to be the most refined, eloquent, accomplished, learned and poised man in his circle. Rather, Windham constantly chastised himself for falling short of these standards, and for the ever-present danger that he might settle for being less than he aspired to be. As will be shown, this was a recipe for neurotic indecision as much as a spur to greater things.

Windham's example also illustrates the interior struggles inherent within the formation of elite masculine identities in the public sphere. Ben Griffin has illustrated these processes convincingly for the second half of the nineteenth century, and their relationship to the question of female suffrage.[6] He demonstrates that masculine norms saturated contemporary rules of political behaviour and politicians' value judgements about their peers and themselves. This created a 'widely supported normative ideal of masculinity' within parliamentary life, from which it was difficult and politically dangerous to deviate.[7] This ideal was policed externally, by 'public heckling, humiliation and ostracism' within the Commons, and internally by the collective association of political masculinity with the 'class-specific notions of gentlemanliness' that governed modes of speech, comportment and normative behaviour.[8] Windham's struggles show that although some constituent components of 'gentlemanliness' changed between the 1780s and the 1880s, it functioned as the primary tool of normative (self-)diagnosis among the political elite in the eighteenth as well as the nineteenth century.

Ironically, such normative continuities also led to the destruction of Windham's posthumous political reputation. While he was fairly successful in concealing his constant daily self-examination and habitual indecision from his political contemporaries, when these were revealed by the publication of his Diary in the mid-nineteenth century permanent damage was done to his reputation as a 'statesman' and an exemplar of elite masculinity. The nature of this damage adds another layer to our understanding of elite masculinity and the values of political power and leadership over the course of the 'long' nineteenth century. The analysis in this chapter suggests that while Windham's political opinions were soon regarded as anachronistic and reactionary, the standards by which his 'character' as a masculine political actor was judged remained fairly constant into the early twentieth century. William Windham the eighteenth-century statesman judged his capabilities and qualities by most of the same criteria that commentators, politicians and historians used to undermine his status a century later. In this respect, Windham provides a case

study that illustrates the long-term continuities in masculine identities that lay beneath more immediate changes political values and rhetoric.

The Perfect English Gentleman

By the time of his death in 1810, William Windham's public reputation had gelled into a fairly consistent form. In many respects, he was regarded by his contemporaries as a paragon of elite masculinity. Few dissented in print from the verdict expressed in *The Weekly Entertainer* of 16 July 1810.

> He was at once the Scholar and the Christian, or to say everything in one simple term, he was the perfect English gentleman.[9]

His friend Edward Malone described him as 'unquestionably the most distinguished man of the present time', and (alluding to the deaths of Pitt and Fox), 'in many respects, not inferior to the most admired characters of the age that is just gone by'.[10] Malone justified this opinion by reference to each element of Windham's life and career. Born in May 1750, Windham was the only child of William Windham and Sarah Lukin. The Windhams had acquired the Felbrigg estate in north Norfolk in 1461,[11] building the Hall in the 1620s,[12] and serving as MPs, JPs and militia colonels in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[13] William's father had been a very accomplished polymath, educated in Geneva,[14] and at Eton, William Jr.

> Was generally acknowledged to surpass all his fellows in whatever he took to perform; in addition to his superiority in classical attainments, he was the best cricketer, the best leaper, swimmer, rower, skaiter [sic]; the best fencer, the best boxer, the best runner, and the best horseman, of his time.[15]

(In fact, Windham appears to have left Eton under a cloud, having taken part in a riot by pupils in 1766).[16] At Oxford, he was 'highly distinguished for his application to various studies; for his love of enterprise, for that frank and graceful address, and that honourable deportment, which gave lustre to his character through every period of his life'.[17] In the 1770s and 1780s, Windham had lived at the centre of social, cultural and political life in London. He was a friend of Samuel Johnson, James Boswell and Sir Joshua Reynolds.[18] He had been one of the last people to speak to Johnson a few days before his death. He was a close friend and staunch political ally of Edmund Burke, earned his parliamentary spurs in the impeachment of Warren Hastings in 1788, and had then broken with the Whigs and Charles James Fox to serve with Pitt in the 1790s, ending up as 'Secretary-at-War', responsible for running guerrilla operations in revolutionary France using a rag-bag of émigrés and exiles.[19] In addition, he had also found time to be a good friend and correspondent of the actress Sarah Siddons,[20] as well as a robust defender of bare-knuckle prize-fighting and bull-baiting.[21]

However, the panegyrics to Windham published between 1810 and 1812 need to be seen in the partisan context of the final years of the Napoleonic wars. Although the loyalist authors admitted that Windham's opinions were sometimes wilful, anachronistic or hopelessly romantic, particularly in relation to the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy or the Peninsula campaign, they championed his sincerity and consistency. In fact, Windham had been criticised repeatedly for political inconsistency, or even lack of principle in, first, leaving the Opposition in 1792, joining the cabinet in 1794, and then for breaking with Pitt in 1801, and speaking harshly of him after his death in 1806.[22] A pro-Whig political commentary published in 1804 noted that when Windham left the opposition in 1793 'it must be frankly confessed that Mr W. at this period was very unpopular… [and] considered by some as utterly devoid of principle'.[23] Since then 'neither as a politician nor as a patriot hath he of late years (at least according to the Oppositionists) added much to his celebrity'.[24]

Obituary writers sought to retrieve his reputation by emphasising the purity of his motives, and his incorruptible character, erudition, manners and self-control. *The New Annual Register* asserted that:

> …hardly any public man has less differed from himself than Mr Windham has done. From the outset of his career to the close of it, he was the uniform enemy of parliamentary reform. In his zeal for the improvement of the army, his attachment to the crown and aristocracy, and his protection of the real comforts of the common people, he will be found to have been equally consistent.[25]

However, the author was forced to admit that Windham 'altered his mind on the question of the slave trade', and came to oppose its immediate abolition.[26] More ingeniously, the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggested that although Windham's overriding desire to preserve 'the Constitution in its original purity' had led him initially to support the opposition, when they failed to endorse the government's efforts to preserve it by declaring war on France, 'it may be said, that the opposition seceded from him rather than that he seceded from them'.[27] The *Edinburgh Annual Register* was slightly more balanced. It noted that

> whatever may have been the errors of Mr Windham's judgement… that, though there was no set of men in the state, to whom his independent politics had not caused at some period occasional offence, there was not an individual of his acquaintance, in or out of government, who did not uniformly retain… an unqualified respect for the purity of his motives.[28]

In the late Napoleonic years, then, Windham's reputation settled as being one of masculine firmness of character and opinions, even in the face of prevailing political opposition and popular opinion. These led him to espouse ideas

that were regarded by some contemporaries as eccentric, such as his determined advocacy of bare-knuckle boxing or bull-baiting, or his opposition to parliamentary reporting.[29] Similarly, although his speeches were praised for the 'logical connection and judicious disposition of his arguments', they were sometimes described as too digressive and 'metaphysical'.[30] Sir John Sinclair commended Windham's 'fluent and copious, elegant and impressive, easy and natural' speaking style, but admitted that his 'mode of reasoning was, perhaps, too subtle and refined' for a parliamentary audience.[31] Yet, such traits were depicted as evidence of 'the easy independence of Mr Windham's character', free from concerns of party or popularity.[32] Similarly, his personal poise, good manners, erudition and bravery were held up as a model for others.

> … if the country had been required to produce… some individual who was at once eminent for learning, taste, eloquence, wit, courage, and personal accomplishments, the choice must have fallen on Mr Windham. He was The Admirable Crichton of his age and country.[33]

How Useless! How Unproductive! How Joyless!

Windham's diary, which he kept between 1784 and his death in June 1810, presented a very different, much less sure-footed, and much more tortured personality, beset by self-doubt and an inability to live up to his own high ideals. Even during his life, others had observed curious inconsistencies in Windham's personality. The portrait painter Joseph Farrington described him as:

> … a man of a very restless temper. Changeable, and determined in little matters. He will ride, He will walk, He will do neither – doubting & uncertain.[34]

Farrington also noted the hostility that Windham generated by his attack on Pitt, during the latter's final illness,[35] and recorded Sir George Beaumont's judgement that in cabinet Windham had been 'wavering & indecisive there was no end to His doubts'.[36]

In fact, Windham had more time for self-examination and reproaches in the years before he joined Pitt's ministry in 1794. In the first ten years of the diary, though, three themes recurred. The first was Windham's preoccupation with the continued pursuit of his literary, historical, philosophical and mathematical studies. On 8 February 1784, he reproached himself for having done nothing about them since the start of the year:

> Not an attempt made to resume mathematics; no Latin written, little read; no Greek even looked into, no translation; no progress made in any author; nothing but a little odd information collected, of history, physiology, and biography.[37]

That autumn, Windham revisited Oxford, and lamented that in the thirteen years since his departure, he had not improved his knowledge or his scholarship further. This led to a deeper reflection on how he had frittered away the intervening years.

> Other men, if they have been idle, have been happy; others, if they have sacrificed the hopes of future good, have sacrificed them to present enjoyment. To what have I sacrificed them?[38]

He repeated these concerns in January 1785, noting that he had failed in studies 'requiring continued application. A man may be a poet, an essayist, and a philosopher, who lives that way, but he cannot be an historian, a philologer, nor a mathematician'.[39] The problem was that he found it very difficult to settle into a steady working routine. He bewailed his neglect. 'How different is the state of each period as it actually happened! How useless! How unproductive! How joyless! How unsatisfactory!'[40] It is interesting that at this stage in his life, possibly influenced by Johnson's recent demise, Windham judged his performance much more as a scholar than as a public figure or politician. As Windham admitted to his correspondent Mrs Crewe in 1790, he often found himself 'a politician among scholars, and a scholar among politicians'.[41]

Even in 1790, when he was more established as an MP, he had resolved 'to apply for a certain number of hours each day and for a certain number of days', to read Sophocles, 'some Pindar, then a book of Thucydides, then a large portion of Homer, taking Plutarch perhaps at the same time; either then, too, or after, I must take a good many plays of Aristophanes'.[42] He was amazed that such a scheme had not occurred to him before. 'What infatuation, bordering upon madness, that in the number of years that have rolled over my head, such a trial should never have been made!'[43] A year later, though, he was again lamenting his sins of omission.[44]

Windham was concerned to pursue such studies for two reasons. On the one hand, he believed that he had a personal destiny and duty to develop this knowledge to its utmost, because he had shown real abilities in understanding and criticising classical literature, and in mathematics, at school and university. In addition, his friendship with Johnson, and his continuing membership of the Literary Club, projected him into an intellectual milieu in which sustained scholarship was expected. On the other hand, Windham also believed that the application required for intense study was beneficial to him in establishing a healthy working regimen, of getting up early, concentrating on meaningful pursuits, and avoiding intemperate habits, *and* because it trained his mind and memory for Parliamentary speaking and public life. Study focused his mind on concrete objectives, and promoted 'that exertion and vigilance which I used to employ in the government of my own thoughts'.[45] This mental discipline was particularly necessary to focus his thoughts, mobilise his memory and formulate his arguments in Parliamentary debates.

If Windham was concerned to ensure that ambitions were not sabotaged by his working regimen, a second area of concern was his physical health. After being debilitated by a three-month bout of illness in the autumn of 1779, caused by catching a chill while on duty with the county militia, Windham kept a close watch on his health, and his 'weak frame'.[46] He made a close association between his physical and mental 'powers', perhaps because he was aware that the strains inflicted by his 'habit of indecision' sometimes had physical repercussions. So, for example, in June 1787, he noted that he had begun the day feeling 'particularly strong and clear, but lost some of the advantage by a foolish contest with myself, whether a wish of exercising my horse before dinner… should be indulged or not'.[47] The following day he recorded that he had been 'low in spirits and feeble in mind' as a consequence.[48]

His desires for a more stable, consistent working routine arose partly on health grounds, in order to generate what he termed a better 'feel'—that is, mental and physical confidence.[49] Although he never quite acknowledged it, Windham perceived that he felt better when he had least time to dwell on his concerns. Caught up in the impeachment proceedings against Warren Hastings in April 1787, he observed 'that the period of my attendance there was a very happy one. The causes which made it so must, one would think, be mental'.[50] The necessity of having to deal with an immediate political issue gave him a sense of purpose that he found was otherwise often lacking. 'A thousand inabilities which I have admitted to operate against general study were overruled by the strong necessity under which I then acted'.[51]

Over time, Windham's concerns about his health focused on two areas, both of which were of direct relevance to his public career. In September 1791, he expressed concern about his memory. More than once within the previous three or four years, he had been 'seized with sudden suspensions of the power of recollection, which have made me [suppose]… my memory was not so good as it had been', particularly in remembering names.[52] Recently, this deficiency appeared to have become 'so considerable as to leave little doubt of a change either permanent or temporary', filling Windham with 'alarming apprehensions'. Secondly, after returning from his visit to the front lines in Belgium in the summer of 1793, Windham detected a 'symptom, which is altogether new, and not a little alarming, of a relaxation in the organs of speech, so as perceptibly to affect my pronunciation'.[53] By March the following year, this had 'increased to such a degree, as to become a considerable inconvenience, besides the apprehensions which it may naturally excite'.[54] Again, these symptoms had such obvious implications for Windham's public life, because it led him to 'distrust' his own abilities and produced 'a disinclination… to talk'.

Neither of these complaints got any worse, but both were symptoms of the constant scrutiny to which Windham subjected himself, and of his preoccupation with his own abilities, and the ways in which (consciously

or unconsciously) he was not fully realising them. This linked to the third theme, Windham's constant scrutiny of his own *performance* as a man in public, and the constant questioning of his own reactions and inclinations. Although he acknowledged his rhetorical skills, he continued to suspect his own abilities, and sought constantly to improve. In June 1785, he recorded that he had been 'in no good state to speak' when he rose to address the House, but had 'contrived somehow to steady and recover', so much so that it was the 'fashion to talk of what I did as a rather capital performance'.[55] For Windham this was simply:

> A strong proof on what cheap terms reputation for speaking is acquired, or how capricious the world is in its allotment of it to different people. There is not a speech of mine which, in comparison with one of [Sir Philip] Francis',[56] would either for language or matter, bear examination for one moment; yet about my performances in that way a great fuss is made, while of his nobody speaks a word.[57]

In fact, Windham tended to berate himself either for speaking well in the House without adequate preparation, or for not speaking when he felt he should have done. In 1798, he observed that his 'infatuation in not speaking exceeds all that I have ever known', and criticised his own behaviour, even though the debate had turned out as he had wished.

> My regret arises not merely from what I have lost, but from the distrust excited of the effect of any resolution I can form on any occasion and of the power of acting in the moment.[58]

This distress resulted partly from passing up opportunities to shape the course of events, but also from a more deep-seated concern about his courage and resolve in both public and private matters.

This linked back to his frustrations about his inability to motivate himself in his scholarly endeavours. He realised that his 'habit of indecision' was corrosive, because 'it wastes my time, consumes my strength, converts comfort into vexation and distress, deprives me of various pleasures and involves me in innumerable difficulties'.[59] More significantly, Windham constantly looked for signs of irresolution, or lack of courage, in his actions and reactions. In July 1793, he accompanied the duke of York to the battlefields of Flanders. He rode about the front lines, in places where soldiers had been killed, but had avoided engaging directly in an action nearby. He acknowledged that it would have been regarded as absurdly risky for a government minister to become involved in the fight, 'yet I felt something below what some might have expected'.[60] Later, he reflected that 'I cannot help viewing myself in the character of a man, who has fallen in some measure below, what was expected from him'.[61]

In these instances, and in his public performances in the House of Commons, Windham was concerned to validate his behaviour by its

consistency. For him, the difference between a good speech and one that was merely well received was that the former had to rest upon sufficient preparation, organisation and thought. Its effect had to reflect the effort that went into it, rather than the simple luck of going well. Similarly, the proper projection of his public authority, as an MP or a minister, had to be founded on an inner self-command in the face of challenges or danger. Although he was self-critical to the point of neurosis, he was driven by the constant desire to ensure that public acts were based upon private virtues. In this sense, Windham's conscious performance as the 'finest gentleman of his age' was designed to accentuate and project *inner* values, and not to apply a hypocritical veneer to an unregulated private life.

A Rocket of Which One Cannot Predict the Course

Windham's diaries ran to more than twenty volumes, and covered the whole of his political career, from 1784 until his death after an operation in 1810. Selections from them were published in January 1866, edited by a relative, Cecilia Anne Baring, wife of Henry Baring of the banking family. These have been checked against the surviving originals, and although the published extracts form only a small proportion of the total, they focus accurately on entries that reveal Windham's reactions, thoughts and beliefs.[62] In the preface, Baring recorded that she had been given the volumes of the diary by her brother, William Howe Windham, shortly before his death in 1854.[63] Although she admitted that the journal was, 'in truth chiefly a record of Mr. Windham's health and feelings, made for himself alone, which can hardly be supposed to possess much general interest', she hoped that the public would find 'many passages interspersed in it, strongly indicative of his character, which I trust I shall be forgiven for wishing to rescue from oblivion'.[64]

The account itself was met with considerable interest in the 1860s, because of Windham's enduring reputation as a Georgian 'statesman'. By then his main legacy was his reputation as a great parliamentary orator and phrase maker, 'an able, honest and indefatigable senator' whose speeches were 'bold and masculine',[65] recalled most recently in Lord Brougham's *Historical Sketches* of 1855.[66] Even so, *The Edinburgh Review* reflected that, 'to our generation, Windham the politician begins to be a forgotten name', because 'his rank, though considerable, was secondary, and secondary men, like secondary events, lose their public interest'.[67] The remark for which he was best remembered was probably his comment in March 1790 about electoral reform in the context of the French Revolution that one might as well think about repairing the roof in 'this hurricane season'.[68]

Brougham's recollections of Windham alluded to his reputation for inconsistency (particularly moving against the abolition of slavery, and from opposition to joining Pitt's ministry in 1794), and his contrary political opinions. Brougham noted Windham's 'love of paradox', which was so often 'the rock

on which he … made shipwreck in debate'.[69] He thought that Windham's intellectual nature meant that his mind was too open to doubt or contrary opinions for him to be an effective politician who identified a course of action and stuck to it. This tendency to 'doubt and balance' could be 'fatal to vigour in council, as well as most prejudicial to the effects of eloquence, by breaking the force of his blows'.[70] Sir John Sinclair had also drawn attention to 'that singular indecision, for which, notwithstanding his superior talents, this extraordinary man was remarkable'.[71] Ultimately, Brougham believed Windham's 'hesitating disposition' made him more of a 'follower, if not a worshipper' or those whose opinions were firmer, notably Samuel Johnson and Edmund Burke, who 'were the deities whom he adored'.[72] At the same time,

> the indomitable bravery of his disposition, and his loathing of everything mean, or that savoured of truckling to mere power, not infrequently led him to prefer a course of conduct, or a line of argument, because of their running counter to public opinion or the general feeling.[73]

This manifested itself with his reactionary hostility to abolitionism, parliamentary reform or public education. Brougham's recollection was, therefore, ultimately a recapitulation of the image that had prevailed particularly during Windham's final decade. It chimed almost exactly with the verdict of the *Weekly Entertainer* written a month after Windham's death, which noted that 'his intrepidity, both personal and mental, occasionally verged into obstinacy; into a kind of defiance which there was no bending, and with which there was no dealing'.[74]

Windham's Diary supported many of these value judgements, but also revealed a very different, much less dashing character, which reviewers in 1866 found rather disconcerting. This was admitted in the introduction written many years earlier by George Ellis. He noted that its pages were filled with melancholy introspection:

> … a disease which, without much hastening his death, might deprive life of all its enjoyments… The corroding anxiety which had thus fastened on his mind, explains that sudden air of dejection which was observable even in his gayest moments, that "dread of competition, and habitual distrust of his own abilities" of which he often expresses his consciousness, and that hesitating indecision which formed such a singular contrast with the general firmness of his manly and intrepid character.[75]

This was a theme that was highlighted in reviews of the Diary, which were published in the spring and summer of 1866. For some commentators, such as the one in the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Sciences & Art* the Diary was a considerable disappointment, because it contained,

> little more than the bald jottings of the houses at which he dined, and of the company whom he met there; of the books which he read… and finally, of the

> reflections which occurred to him, as they do to everybody else who keeps a diary, upon broken resolutions, wasted time, and unexecuted plans.[76]

Worst of all, though 'every page is crammed with the names of famous persons', the diary revealed 'nothing about them… If he had recorded ever so briefly what they had talked about at these gatherings, or what he thought of this or that trait in his eminent associates, his Diary would have been a great deal more entertaining'.[77]

Other reviewers noted the same 'lack of general interest', but made a virtue out of it. The two most perceptive, thoughtful reviews were published in *The Examiner* of 30 June 1866 and the *Edinburgh Review* the previous April. *The Examiner* repeated that the Diary 'tells very little about the writer's public life', as might have been expected. Instead, it noted that the record seemed primarily to be a litany 'of the points that seemed to him most helpful to a true understanding of his own character'. However, the reviewer went on to doubt even this:

> It may be questioned whether the diary did give him any help at all; it is quite clear that it does not show him as he appeared to the world during his lifetime… It only agrees with the public estimate of his character in one respect, though that is the most important of all, – it shows how painfully and earnestly he strove, in little things and great, to be a good and honest man… Full of self-reproaches and self-examination, it gives a distorted and, sometimes, ludicrous view of his character, but it does show very curiously, and much to the profit of all who read it, that "the finest gentleman of his age" made himself so by keeping a close watch on all his steps, by punishing himself for every little slip, and by persistently goading himself to further progress.[78]

The *Edinburgh Review* developed the theme of Windham's obsessive self-examination, describing Mrs. Baring's 'very singular little volume' as 'a journal of the diagnosis of a mental constitution much diseased', by habitual self-doubt, lack of self-confidence, indecision and prevarication, and repeated hypochondria.[79] Windham's 'odd self-tormenting way' subverted many of the facets of character on which his existing reputation had been based. He was remembered as a paragon of 'country' virtue, but 'the duties of Norfolk society bored him extremely'. He had shown himself to be a passionate defender of fighting and hunting, but his diary revealed that 'he was not a passionate or even habitual sportsman'.[80] His reputation was as a dashing dare-devil, ready to fly in a balloon, jump into a mob, or go to the front lines without hesitation, yet 'the same suspicion of his own manliness beset him whenever he experienced … a new "sensation" in the way of danger'. As the *Review* reflected, 'this is probably the case with most men; but then they do not record their remissness in their diaries'.[81]

Yet, the reviewer thought that the Diary was actually a hopeful volume, because it revealed how 'by very slow degrees' Windham had been

able to 'throw off this chronic complaint, insomuch that, after many a year of incessant grappling with this strange fiend who besets him, he seems at last to repel the assaults with greater and greater ease'.[82] The Diary helped to explain those 'peculiarities in Windham's mind and ways, which baffled observers of his own time', by showing that 'his vacillation of purpose was constitutional… part of that fearfully delicate mental organisation of which these pages afford so many other evidences'.[83] The *Review* suggested that, in fact, the French Revolution, and the subsequent war, had caused Windham to snap out of his self-absorption, with the moral that 'such besetting afflictions really are, in many cases, mere phantoms; that they will gradually disappear… wearing themselves out, imperceptibly'. The end result was that 'the poor hypochondriac' was transformed 'into a healthy and self-reliant man'.[84]

In the absence of much personal correspondence, it is difficult to know whether Mrs Baring had expected or hoped for this kind of response. While rescuing Windham from oblivion, she had also undermined much of his reputation as an effortless orator, imperturbable statesman, and a polished and learned socialite. For some commentators, Windham was devalued by the revelations about his inadequacies and insecurities. For others, his historical interest was enhanced, but primarily as an illustration of the pathologies of public life. Either way, as Windham the man became better known, his position as one of the stars of Pitt's 'ministry of all the talents' began to appear less secure.

Part of the problem was revealed a decade later, in *All The Year Round*. In 1877, the journal founded by Dickens and continued by his eldest son, Charles, carried a short article on the Windham Diaries. The periodical's editorial stance retained an echo of Dickens' 1830s 'radicalism', in satirising the kind of political opinions that Windham appeared to represent. It reported that publication of Windham's Diary had been welcomed by 'survivors of the good old sort', rather than:

> Degenerate persons, who took no interest in the noble art of self-defence… and entertained a squeamish feeling respecting bull-baiting, cock-fighting, badger-baiting, and dog-fighting…[85]

The diaries would give such lily-livered types 'an opportunity of reading the inmost thoughts of "one of the right sort", of a buck, a blood, a dandy, a Corinthian of the Corinthians'. The journal was able to caricature Windham in this way because, in many respects, his opinions, behaviour and values now appeared anachronistic, and attractive to only the most hide-bound reactionaries. The 'perfect English gentleman' was now a model from a different era, as well as 'a very second-rate' politician.[86]

In fact, the journal's subsequent discussion of Windham's life and character was much more nuanced, echoing that of the *Edinburgh Review* a decade earlier. It depicted Windham as an illustration of 'the principle advocated by Dr Oliver Wendell Holmes, who points out that man is manifold', with an

interior life that might often be at odds with his exterior image.[87] The essay followed reviewers' reaction to the Diary, noting that Windham's preoccupation with 'self-culture' had ensured that 'that praiseworthy pursuit' had been 'so frantically undertaken as to become a perpetual torture'.[88] It also focused on how Windham was able to maintain different personae simultaneously, so that:

> … this amateur of prize-fights could be the same man who, in the privacy of his own library, took himself severely to task for want of application and incapacity for continuous thought…

This meant that 'the gay, the gallant, the witty Windham, as he appeared to others', could also be 'the hard student demanding of himself a rigid account of the employment of every day'.[89] In this sense, the journal found Windham interesting precisely because his diary revealed a man who defied the one-dimensional behavioural stereotypes on which many popular characterisations were based. In the language of the 1870s, it showed that it was possible for a man to be both 'hearty' and 'aesthete'.

Despite this depiction of more positive sides to Windham's character, his reputation as a vacillating neurotic became entrenched thereafter. In the *English Historical Review* in 1912, John Holland Rose considered the relationship between Windham, Pitt and Burke during the 1790s.[90] In sketching out Windham's character, Holland Rose echoed the judgements of the Diary's reviewers in 1866. While he 'sustained with dignity the character of a cultured and warm-hearted gentleman', the Diary provided evidence that 'there was something wanting in Windham'.

> Restlessness and self-examination impaired alike his health and his capacity for decision and action. His studies, as he was painfully aware, led to no definite results; and in the political arena his critical aloofness weakened his powers of eloquence and enthusiasm which should have carried him to the highest rank.[91]

Rose followed the judgements of Windham's contemporaries so closely that his comments paraphrased those of memoirists such as Sir John Sinclair, on Windham's 'refined and subtle' Commons' speeches.[92] He concluded that for all his intellectual abilities, rhetorical powers and social graces, Windham's credentials as an effective political operator and model 'man-of-action' were undermined by the revelation of his insecurities and introspection. Indeed, Rose thought 'Windham's moods were so various and perverse' that he could 'scarcely be trusted' as a reliable contemporary observer.[93] In his introduction to the 1913 edition of Windham's letters, the Earl of Rosebery passed a judgement that was even starker. He observed that historically, Windham 'was fated to be something of a suicide', because his Diary had 'dealt an almost mortal blow to his own reputation'.[94] He believed that although Windham had 'set store by it, as if, one would think, he regarded it as a sure base for

his future fame… any judicious friend would have put it without hesitation behind the fire'. For the former Prime Minister, Windham's Diary offered 'an explanation of why he did not achieve more in public life'.[95]

> It is full of vacillation on the smallest points of conduct, full of morbid self-reproach on every subject, and in a minor degree disfigured by a lavish use of the distressing substantive 'feel' almost if not quite peculiar to himself.[96]

Writing from experience as a party leader, Rosebery summed up Windham's character by emphasising that 'his prime quality was independence, at once the choicest and the least serviceable of all qualities in political life', added to a penchant for being 'excessive in enthusiasm, excessive in resentment'.[97] This led to Windham being, ultimately, 'a rocket of which one cannot predict the course', whose oratory was a powerful, but ill-directed weapon, spurred on by his 'one burning enthusiasm, the crusade against Jacobinism'.[98] It was left to Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer, Norfolk historian and successor to the Windham's seat at Felbrigg, to try to rehabilitate William Windham and the Windham family in a series of publications after the First World War.[99]

Conclusion

Perhaps appropriately, therefore, William Windham presents a paradox—someone who strove so desperately to fulfil all the prerequisites for masculine authority and leadership, that the very monitoring of his efforts eventually undid all his hard work, by revealing it to *be* hard work. This was all the more ironic, because it occurred just at the point where Windham's actual life and personality were beginning to fade, leaving the record of his speeches and his political actions (the end results of all his agonising) to represent his historical legacy.

Clearly, Windham was something of a neurotic, many of whose personal relationships were quite difficult, and who could appear to be a rather self-absorbed loner outside the ranks of London high society.[100] It is interesting to note that contemporary observers commented on many of the behavioural traits that Windham recorded critically in his Diary. Yet, these only became decisive for Windham's reputation when the diaries revealed the extent to which they were embedded in his personality, and how they had consumed his energies. It was one thing for a politician to be flawed but to battle on regardless. It was another for that politician to sabotage himself repeatedly *because* he was so wrapped up in his own flaws and faults.

Windham provides a fascinating example both of the workings of elite masculinity, but also of contemporary and later attitudes to male leadership and power. Contemporaries and later reviewers isolated positive qualities in his character—his personal and moral bravery, adherence to principle, intellectual strengths, oratorical skills, social graces and style. These pointed to more fundamental and relatively unchanging positive masculine

traits—courage, honour, virtue, wisdom and authority. They recognised that these values were *performative*, in that they were as much extrinsic as intrinsic—they had constantly to be exercised, repeated and rehearsed. This required all men, but particularly men in public life, to remain watchful over their behaviour, values and beliefs.

Windham's Achilles heel, however, was that his watchfulness became paralysing, because he was so obsessed with doing the right thing, or behaving to the highest standards, that this undercut the actual performance of these values. Reviewers were particularly scathing because the objects of many of his concerns appeared to be insignificant details, rather than larger moral questions or judgements. Absorption in such details was unworthy of the 'statesman' whose mind should be on higher things, or at least, larger issues. In this sense, his reputation was devalued not just because his assured elite poise was undermined by the evidence of his constant fretfulness, but also because his inability to distinguish the important from the unimportant in personal matters seemed now to explain the quixotic political behaviour that had sometimes baffled his contemporaries.

To nineteenth- and early twentieth-century observers, Windham's Diary confirmed him in the 'second-rank' of Georgian politicians, because it exposed a deep-seated flaw in his 'character', that left him unable fully to realise a set of values that they, too, regarded as highly desirable within a political elite with which they could still identify (independently wealthy, highly educated, white male politicians). As Ben Griffin has noted, the norms embedded in 'class-specific notions of gentlemanliness', within political life were always highly constructed and heavily policed.[101] While these changed during the nineteenth century, as ideals of masculine 'vigour' or 'virtue' became separated from the violence and sexual licence accepted in Windham's era, they were manifested through the same balancing act—in which a series of acquired and contrived dispositions and behaviours were made to appear innate and 'natural'. By illustrating the amount of effort and anguish that went into this construction, Windham's diary devalued his positive qualities in the eyes of such observers—his struggles showed that he did not quite make the grade, despite all his erudition, social graces, and (above all) his rhetorical power and political daring.

To us, perhaps, the significant points are, first, that they still judged Windham's performance as a 'public man' according to criteria that he would have recognised and understood, and second, that Windham's frantic 'self-culture' did not provoke any significant reflection on the ways in which elite authority and power might always be a conscious, and constructed, social performance. Public men continued to be judged according to very conservative interpretations of masculine value-systems well into the twentieth century. Arguably, the conservatism of such normative standards also fed into the classical political history of the first generation of Rankeian professionals such as Holland Rose. Such judgements tended not to be influenced by the growth

of the disciplines of psychology and psychoanalysis in the later nineteenth century.[102] The inclusion of the subconscious would have required an admission that politicians' actions might not be fully explicable, according notions of rational self-interest or conventional behavioural norms, however well this would have explained the failures of William Windham. Such recognition could only occur after 'masculinity' (the norms governing the performance of socially constructed male-ness) was separated in historical discourse from 'man' (the supposedly 'natural' historical agent, whose norms were usually those of white Anglo-American elite males). Like William Windham's self-fashioning, this is a process that remains incomplete.

Notes

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5. R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg The Story of a House* (London: Hart-Davis, 1962), pp. 112–158.
6. B. Griffin, *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain. Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), esp. pp. 164–200.
7. Griffin, *Politics of Gender*, p. 188.
8. Griffin, *Politics of Gender*, pp. 192, 196.
9. 'Memoir of the late Right Hon. William Windham', *The Weekly Entertainer*, 50 (16 July 1810), p. 564.
10. E. Malone, *A Biographical Memoir of the late Rt. Hon. William Windham* (London: John Nichols, 1810), p. 13.
11. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, p. 22.
12. Ibid., p. 35.
13. Ibid., pp. 38–77, 90–94; E. Griffiths, 'William Windham's Green Book 1673–1688', *Norfolk Records Society*, 66 (2002), pp. 4–31.
14. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, pp. 112–158; French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, pp. 106–111, 152–154.
15. Malone, *Biographical Memoir*, p. 8.
16. Norfolk RO WKC 7/61/32 404 X 3 (Thomas Dampier to Sarah Windham, 7 Mar. 1766).

17. Malone, *Biographical Memoir*, p. 9.
18. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, pp. 168, 177, 181–183; R. W. Ketton-Cremer, ed., *The Early Life and Diaries of William Windham* (London: Faber & Faber, 1930), pp. 253–274.
19. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, pp. 192–198; Earl of Rosebery, *The Windham Papers* vol. 1 (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1913), pp. 280–285.
20. Ketton-Cremer (ed.), *Early Life*, pp. 275–276.
21. Windham wrote a letter, signed 'Athlete' to *The Morning Chronicle* in defence of prize fighting, 15 August 1788; see also K. Downing, 'The Gentleman Boxer: Boxing, Manners and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England', *Men and Masculinities*, 12 (2010), p. 345; R. Ungar, 'The Construction of the Body Politic and the Politics of the Body: Boxing as Battle Ground for Conservatives and Radicals in Late Georgian England', *Sport in History* 31 (2011), 366–371. I am grateful to Matthew McCormick for this reference.
22. *Monthly Review*, pp. 227–228; 'Life and Genius', pp. 8, 10, 13; 'Review of New Publications', *Gentleman's Magazine*, (Oct. 1812), 363.
23. A. Stephens, ed., *Public Characters of 1801–1802,* vol. 4 (London: Richard Phillips, 1804), p. 320.
24. Ibid., p. 327.
25. 'Latter Part of the Life, Death, and Character of Mr Windham', *The New Annual Register* (January 1812), p. 52.
26. Ibid.
27. 'Speeches in Parliament of the Right Hon. William Windham', *Gentleman's Magazine* (October 1812), p. 362.
28. 'A Review of the Life and Genius of the late Right Hon. William Windham', *Edinburgh Annual Register* (1812), i.
29. Farrington recorded that Windham's attack on press reporting of Commons' debates in March 1810 ensured that 'when Windham now rises to speak all the reporters strike work'. J. Greig, ed., *The Farrington Diary by Joseph Farrington RA* Vol. V 1808–9 (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1925), 23 March 1810, p. 28. Ungar notes that Windham's defence of boxing was consistent with his desire to create a counter-revolutionary armed citizenry rather than a standing army. Ungar, 'Construction of the Body Politic', 369–371.
30. Greig, *Farrington Diary*, xxxix.
31. Sir J. Sinclair, *The Correspondence of the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair Bart.* (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1831), pp. 141–142.
32. 'Speeches', *Gentleman's Magazine*, pp. 361–362.
33. 'Speeches in Parliament', *Monthly Review*, p. 53.
34. J. Greig, ed., *The Farrington Diary by Joseph Farrington RA* Vol. III: 1804–6 (London: Hutchinson, 1924), 30 September 1804, p. 7.
35. Ibid., 18 April 1806, p. 193.
36. Ibid., 4 December 1807, p. 230.
37. Baring, *Diary*, 8 February 1784, p. 4.
38. Ibid., 27 October 1784, pp. 25–26.
39. Ibid, 10 January 1785, p. 40.
40. Ibid., 5 November 1784, p. 26.
41. R. G. Thorne, ed., *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790–1820*, V (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), p. 608; the 'weathercock'

gibe was made by Whig balladeers during the Norfolk elect ion of 1806, when Windham revived his opposition to Pitt. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, p. 215.

42. Baring, *Diary*, 19 July 1790, p. 204.
43. Ibid., p. 204.
44. Ibid., July 1790, p. 231.
45. Ibid., p. 231.
46. T. Amyot, *Some Account of the Life of the Right Honourable William Windham intended as a preface to his speeches in Parliament* (London, 1812), p. 10; Norfolk Record Office WKC 7/82 404x4 (Notes by Felbrigg Steward William Cobb on illness of William Windham, September–December 1779).
47. Baring, *Diary,* 15 June 1787, p. 117.
48. Ibid., 16 June 1787, p. 118.
49. Ibid., 8 April 1787, p. 105. See also Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, p. 168.
50. Ibid., 7 April 1787, p. 104.
51. Ibid., 4 April 1787, p. 104.
52. Ibid., 5 September 1791, p. 207.
53. Ibid., 25 August 1793, p. 289.
54. Ibid., March 1794, p. 303.
55. Ibid., 1 June 1785, p. 77.
56. John Cannon, 'Francis, Sir Philip (1740–1818)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004). Francis was later reputed to be author of the 'Junius' letters of the late 1760s, and (like Windham) was involved in the impeachment of Warren Hastings.
57. Baring, *Diary*, pp. 77–78.
58. Ibid., 4 January 1798, p. 385.
59. Ibid., 6 April 1785, p. 48.
60. Ibid, 19 July 1793, p. 284.
61. Ibid., p. 286.
62. Most of Windham's original diaries are held by ING Barings Archive, London DEP 207.3.1-60 (covering the years 1784, 1786–1801, July 1802–October 1803, September 1803–March 1806, June 1806–May 1810). The volume for 1785 is held by the Norfolk Record Office MC 2296/1 952x7. The extracts were published as H. Baring, ed., *The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham 1784 to 1810* (London: Spottiswoode, 1866). Three earlier journals survive, covering the years 1772–1774, 1773–1775, and his journey to Norway in 1773. Norfolk Record Office WKC 6/464-466 464x4.
63. William Windham married Cecilia Byng in 1798, but had no children. He left the Felbrigg estate to William Lukin, the eldest son of his half-brother, George William Lukin (son of Sarah Windham by her first marriage). Lukin adopted the name Windham on inheriting it from Cecilia Windham in 1824. He was Cecilia Baring's father. Ketton-Cremer, *Felbrigg*, pp. 220–235.
64. Baring, *Diary*, vii.
65. G.G. Cunningham, ed., *Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen from Alfred the Great to the latest times* (Glasgow: Fullarton, 1836), VIII, i, p. 97.
66. Henry, Lord Brougham, *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III*, I (London: Griffin, 1855), pp. 299–305.
67. *The Edinburgh Review*, Apr. 1866, p. 558.
68. Thorne, ed., *House of Commons 1790–1820*, p. 609.

69. Brougham, *Historical Sketches,* p. 301.
70. Ibid., p. 300.
71. Sinclair, ed., *Correspondence*, pp. 137–138.
72. Ibid., pp. 137–138
73. Ibid., *Correspondence*, p. 301.
74. 'Memoirs of the late Right Hon. William Windham', *Weekly Entertainer*, 50 (July 1810), p. 562.
75. 'Preface by Mr Ellis', Baring, *Diary*, xix.
76. *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Sciences & Art*, 28th Apr. 1866, p. 513.
77. *Saturday Review*, 28th Apr. 1866, p. 513.
78. *The Examiner*, 30th Jun. 1866, p. 406.
79. *The Edinburgh Review*, Apr. 1866, p. 558.
80. Ibid., p. 568.
81. Ibid., p. 569.
82. Ibid., p. 558.
83. Ibid., pp. 560–561.
84. Ibid., p. 582.
85. 'A Fine Old English Gentleman', *All The Year Round*, 10 Nov. 1877, p. 321.
86. Ibid., p. 321.
87. Ibid., p. 321.
88. Ibid., p. 323.
89. Ibid., p. 326.
90. J. Holland Rose, 'Burke, Windham and Pitt', *English Historical Review*, 27 (1912), pp. 700–701.
91. Ibid., p. 701.
92. See n. 31 above. J. Holland Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War* (London: Bell, 1911), p. 160.
93. Rose, *William Pitt*, p. 380.
94. *Windham Papers*, xvi.
95. Ibid., xvii.
96. Ibid., xvii.
97. Ibid., xviii.
98. Ibid., xix–xx.
99. See Ketton-Cremer, *Early Life*. My copy (purchased second-hand) is inscribed by Windham Baldwin, younger son of Stanley Baldwin, as a gift to his mother Lucy, January 1931, showing that Windham still had currency as a Conservative role model or talking-point.
100. Norfolk RO WKC 8/84/13 William Windham to mother Sarah Windham n. d.; WKC 7/84/3 9th Oct. 1779; WKC 7/84/6 26th Jan. 1783; WKC 7/84/11 (11 July 1784); J. Greig, ed., *The Farrington Diary by Joseph Farrington RA* Vol. VII 1811–14 (London: Hutchinson, 1927), 7 Sept. 1812, pp. 107–109.
101. Griffin, *Politics of Gender*, p. 196.
102. See M. S. Micale, *Hysterical Men. The Hidden History of Male Nervous Illness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2008), pp. 162–228.

Antonio Canova's Statue of King Ferdinand IV and the Gendering of Neapolitan Sovereignty

Allison Goudie

In the early months of 1800 Naples was reeling from the upheaval of the Revolution that had taken place the previous year, and the brutal counter-revolution that had brought to an end the short-lived Parthenopean Republic. While revolutionaries were being hanged in the Neapolitan White Terror, plans were underway to trumpet the Bourbons' triumphant return to power in the visual arts. Antonio Canova, at that point the most celebrated and sought-after artist of the day, was commissioned to produce a colossal portrait of the restored King Ferdinand[1]; it was intended for installation in the Museo Borbonico, the repository of Neapolitan cultural patrimony established under Ferdinand's reign. Naples had lost many works of art and antiquities during the Revolution of 1799, some of which had been taken by the French to Rome (to await their transfer to Paris), where the similarly short-lived Roman Republic had been established. Canova's statue of Ferdinand was therefore

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envisaged as the figurehead of both a royal and cultural homecoming after the brief, but traumatic, revolutionary hiatus. In the event, the vicissitudes of Neapolitan sovereignty as the Napoleonic period progressed meant that it would be two decades before the statue—by that time representing a thrice-restored king—was finally delivered. The resulting work today occupies the position originally intended for it, installed in 1822 as the centrepiece of the main staircase of the Museo Borbonico, now the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Fig. 1).[2] Elevated on a pedestal that is in turn raised above the level of the first landing of the staircase, the figure of Ferdinand strides forward, his right arm outstretched, engaging the visitor who has entered the museum and proceeds to the first floor. Just as the masterpieces of antiquity assembled here are made available for the public thanks to his tutelage, so, the statue declares, the visitor entering the museum under his outstretched arm will thrive as his subject.[3] If he or she had the 1824 guidebook to the museum in hand, they would read: 'With respect to the statue's artistic merits, the name of its maker is enough to elicit laudation.'[4]

The work was certainly lauded by Carl Ludwig Fernow, who described it as one of Canova's most exquisite[5]; this is a telling assessment, however, given that the critic was one of Canova's very few contemporary detractors, and the remainder of his *Über den Bildhauer Canova und dessen Werke* serves to dim the more rhapsodic tone of the literature on the sculptor that dominated at the time[6]. Canova's champions, meanwhile, had little to say of the statue in comparison to his other works, a judgement upheld in subsequent scholarship. In the words of the French royal librarian Antoine Claude Pasquin (known as Valery), writing in the 1830s, the work was 'little worthy of Canova'[7], claiming that 'the author [Canova] had the good taste not to like this figure'[8]. Harold Acton's labelling of the statue as a 'marble monster', 'which the sculptor's devotees regarded as a blot on his otherwise blameless career' may be characteristically hyperbolic[9], but it is true that, by and large, the Canova canon has not quite known what to make of this portrait.[10] Perhaps one of the reasons why the statue of Ferdinand has been such an aberration in the Canova scholarship is because it presents us with what should be a conventional, symbolically sound royal portrait in the grand tradition, but which, instead, has proven semiotically unstable on account of the unusual gender status it has been perceived to inhabit. While in the 1824 guidebook Ferdinand is described as being 'dressed heroically',[11] by the time of the publication of another guidebook in 1893, the statue had become 'Ferdinand IV. Colossal marble statue representing the Bourbon King as Minerva'.[12] This gender-bending reading was upheld some 80 years later in what remains the most recent and comprehensive catalogue raisonné of Canova's oeuvre, Mario Praz and Giuseppe Pavanello's *Opera completa* (1976), which listed the work as '*Ferdinando di Borbone come Minerva*'.[13]

To be sure, the contemporary correspondence between Canova and the court of Naples makes no mention of an allusion to Minerva, and most literature on the work contemporary to Canova's lifetime or shortly thereafter

Fig. 1 Antonio Canova, *Ferdinando I di Borbone* (installation view), marble, height 360cm. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Naples. Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli

typically cites its title simply as '*King Ferdinand IV of Naples*'.[14] It appears, however, that the Minervan reading of the statue had well and truly taken root by the end of the nineteenth century at the latest. Following on from the 1893 guidebook to the Naples Museum, in an article published in 1896, Giuseppe Ceci refers to the statue as 'the colossal statue of Ferdinand IV, masquerading [*travestito*], is the correct word, as Minerva'.[15] Another article published in the same journal the following year by Antonio Filangieri di Candida responded to Ceci's and pointed out the precariousness of the Minervan reading, but it persisted nonetheless.[16] Only close to a century later did Detlev Kreikenbom pause to question the received interpretation of the statue as a representation of Ferdinand dressed up as a goddess, unpicking the Minervan reading with a weighty analysis of the diverse classical iconography incorporated into the statue.[17] Yet rather than simply dismissing the Minervan reading outright, it is worthwhile considering why it might have emerged in the first place. In what follows, the statue of Ferdinand is explored in a broader visual cultural context in an attempt to tease out the possibilities and limits of the use of Minerva in images intended to legitimate male rule. By then turning to consider the statue in light of caricatures that satirized the gender dynamic between Ferdinand and his wife Maria Carolina, it will be argued that the Minervan reading became attached to the statue not for how it legitimated Ferdinand's rule, but for how it chimed with an image of Ferdinand's leadership as dependent on the 'masculine' strengths of his wife.

The statue of Ferdinand was the first in a succession of full-length portraits of the contemporary European ruling elite—most particularly the Bonapartes—that Canova executed in the turbulent decades following 1800, all of which would depict their sitters *all'antica*.[18] Of these, *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker* (London, Apsley House) has undoubtedly attracted the most attention, but the comparative obscurity into which the statue of Ferdinand has fallen does not do justice to its contemporary status, which saw it regarded—notwithstanding the sitters' relative positions of emperor and king—in parallel with the statue of Napoleon. Both were colossal in scale, and both intended for exhibition in their respective national museums, the Museo Borbonico in Naples and the Musée Napoléon in Paris. One contemporary biographer, Pier-Alessandro Paravia, has Canova transfer his chisel seamlessly from working on the portrait of Ferdinand to that of his adversary, Napoleon: 'summoned … to Paris to take his portrait, the great artist, having just raised his chisel from the colossal statue of Ferdinand IV King of Naples, had to direct it to that of Napoleon'.[19] Of most relevance to the present context, both sculptures are also revealing for their respective engagement with the intersection between leadership and masculinity at a historical moment that marked both a turning point in understandings and representations of masculinity, and a particularly fraught episode in the tradition of royal portraiture as a vehicle for communicating legitimacy.[20] Scholars have explored in depth how the statue of Napoleon became enmeshed in complex preoccupations

around the role of the male nude in the post-revolutionary period as at once virile and homoerotic,[21] and how Canova's emphasis on the highly refined surface qualities of his sculptures was perceived to be 'corruptly feminising sculpture'.[22]

The statue of Ferdinand is, on the face of it, much less problematic, and unlike its counterpart which was banished to storage by its sitter upon delivery, was ultimately installed as intended. Clothed in armour and mantle, which cover much of Ferdinand's flesh, the male figure here is at much less risk of being sensualized. And yet it is precisely from the costume that the statue's semiotic instability and the potential for its designation as a portrait of Ferdinand 'as Minerva' derives. While the combination of a helmet and a Medusan head emblazoned on Ferdinand's armour might on the face of it suggest a Minervan guise, as Kreikenbom has pointed out, the antique iconography of Minerva in fact called specifically for an aegis, worn over her garments[23]; Ferdinand instead wears a full suit of ceremonial armour, albeit somewhat disguised by his mantle (the lower edges of the pteryges can be discerned from underneath the mantle in the carving of the drapery). Adorned with the head of Medusa, the breastplate in Canova's statue follows a long-standing custom in the history of armour as an expression of masculinity, as Carolyn Springer has explored in the context of the Italian Renaissance.[24] Nonetheless, Ferdinand's costume remains indecisive and eludes one coherent paradigm. Sporting the armour and boots of a Roman general, a mantle somewhere between that of a Greek God and a Roman emperor, and a Grecian helmet crowned with laurels, Ferdinand's 'guise' upon closer inspection presents an eclectic pick-and-mix of antique decoration and one that is potentially indecisive as to what specific leadership qualities it seeks to communicate. Contemporary descriptions of the statue reflect the ambiguity of its iconography. Some skirted the issue by referring simply to the 'heroic style', much like the 1824 guidebook to the museum,[25] while others read in the statue a specifically 'Roman warrior'.[26] For the *New Monthly Magazine* from 1829, in its biting satire of the piece, the statue is a literal, if confused, panoply of antique references. The work is described as drawing on both Greek and Roman sources[27] and displaying both male and female attributes:

> The "Mars Gradivus," or the allegorical portrait of the late King of Naples, is a sort of domino for the anti-military figure and face of that *bon-vivant* sovereign. Meleager, with the head of a wild boar, would have been more appropriate. Canova executed it with a smile. The statue is a huge, pillar-like Caryatid kind of a concern, with a long slaty mantle, topped by way of capital, with a helmet, from under which peeps out the royal physiognomy in all the vigour of its original ugliness. The helmet, too, is Greek – the true Pericles or Minerva; the armour such as Julius Caesar or Marcus Aurelius would not have disdained to wear. But riches will not make a Helen; nor an entire armoury a Mars. Ferdinand stares through every part; the gross animal man grins and leers in every feature.[28]

The ambiguity of the statue's antique references aside, to compare Ferdinand with the traits of Minerva would not necessarily have been extraordinary.[29] As goddess of wisdom, war, statesmanship and the arts, Minerva could serve a similar function to female personifications such as that of Justice which features prominently as a large statuette in a portrait of Ferdinand by Giuseppe Cammarano (Caserta, Palazzo Reale). Dating from 1815, the year of the Bourbon restoration following nearly a decade of Bonaparte rule of Naples, the painting asserts the legitimacy of Ferdinand's rule over his kingdom (indicated by the synecdoche of Vesuvius pictured in the background) as one framed by Justice—indeed almost literally in the way in which the statuette appears to 'bless' Ferdinand with her scales.[30] In a tableau of statuettes by Filippo Tagliolini (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte) understood as an 'Allegory of the Restoration'—in this case probably the restoration following the collapse of the Parthenopean Republic—the figure of Minerva flanks, in a supporting role alongside other allegories, that of Ferdinand who is positioned at the pinnacle of the group in 'heroic guise' not dissimilar to that worn in Canova's statue.[31] Some 30 years earlier, Anton Raphael Mengs had painted a statue of Minerva into the background of a portrait of the fresh-faced Ferdinand (Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional), in an attempt to lend some measure of authority to the young king, who only a few years earlier had reached his majority.[32]

That the appropriation of Minerva in the visual assertion of legitimacy of male rulers was not only unproblematic, but self-evident, is demonstrated by her supporting role in portraits of both Bourbon and Bonaparte kings in the tussle for the sovereignty of Naples during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In an 1808 portrait by Jean-Baptiste Wicar of Joseph Bonaparte (Château de Versailles), the king rests his right hand against his imposing desk, upon which are collected a set of inkwells and plumes, Joseph's bicorn hat with patriotic rosette face-up, and a miniature copy of the famous *Minerva Giustiniani* (Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti), then in Joseph's personal collection.[33] Sculpture and owner turn in towards each other, as if mirroring one another, this bizarre emulation between Joseph and his Minerva 'symbolically evok[ing] the wise administration of King Joseph'.[34] Outside, a shaft of light from the heavens illuminates an imperial eagle that watches over as the 'genius of the arts', accompanied by cherubs representing Architecture, Painting and Sculpture, bounds towards the entrance of the Palazzo degli Studi (the location of the Museo Borbonico) in an allegorical representation of the important work Joseph contributed during his brief tenure as king to get the museum properly up and running.[35] Joachim Murat, who succeeded Joseph as King of Naples in 1808 when the latter was installed by Napoleon as King of Spain, similarly drew on the figure of Minerva as a means of legitimating Bonaparte rule over the Kingdom of Naples. Positioning himself as an enlightened advocate of reform, Murat initiated the *Exhibition of arts and manufacture* to promote local industry; serving as a prize was a bronze medal (Naples, Museo Artistico Industriale), the recto displaying Murat's profile, replete with his distinctive, virile shock of hair, complemented on the verso by a full-length

seated Minerva, her right hand raising a laurel crown and her left leaning on a shield.[36]

Moreover, the appropriation of the figure of Minerva in the struggle between Bourbon and Bonaparte rule over Naples was undertaken not only at an iconographic level but also at a physical, military one, in the form of the looting of cultural patrimony as part of the spoils of war. Shortly before the French invaded Rome in 1798, the *Pallas of Velletri* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), a colossal Athena/Minerva figure, had been unearthed near the town of Velletri and had quickly gained fame as a superlative example of ancient statuary. It is of the same antique type as the *Minerva Giustiniani* and certainly the two were associated at the time.[37] The *Pallas* was claimed on behalf of the French Republic only to in turn be 'captured by the King of Naples'[38] when Neapolitan Bourbon troops marched on Rome in autumn 1799. The *Pallas*' presence in Naples was, however, short-lived; when French forces again threatened the Kingdom of Naples the statue became a pawn in the 1801 Treaty of Florence, ultimately resulting in its being shipped in 1802 from Naples to Paris, where it remains to this day in the Louvre.[39] In France, the image of the *Pallas* was then appropriated to promote the Napoleonic project; thus, a medal celebrating the Code Civil depicted on the recto the imperial effigy of Napoleon dressed in a toga, crowned with laurels and with a scroll (presumably the Code) in hand, and on the verso a representation of the *Pallas of Velletri* with the additions of a staff in her right hand and a scroll to match Napoleon's in her left.[40]

It may have been the *Pallas of Velletri* that the author in the 1829 *New Monthly Magazine* had in mind when describing the helmet worn by Ferdinand in Canova's statue as 'the true … Minerva'. Valery, who might have encountered the *Pallas of Velletri* in the Louvre, similarly goes on to read the statue of Ferdinand as a Minervan figure when describing the Museo Borbonico in his 1839 *Historical, literary, and artistical travels in Italy…*:

> In the middle of the grand staircase, of excellent design, a colossal statue … represents King Ferdinand as Minerva; the old monarch's features are truly grotesque under the casque and with the aegis of Pallas.[41]

Writing in 1898, Alfred Gotthold Meyer singles out the *Pallas of Velletri* specifically when he describes the statue of Ferdinand in his monograph on Canova as 'all too strangely reminiscent of the Pallas of Velletri'.[42] Certainly, the two statues share an ostensibly comparable composition, led in particular by the distribution of weight onto the left leg in both statues, the common outstretched right arm[43] and complemented by similar helmets. The tussle over the ownership of the *Pallas of Velletri* was ongoing while Canova was devising the composition of the statue of Ferdinand, and it has been suggested that Canova's statue not only appropriated the iconography of the *Pallas of Velletri*, but that it functioned as a sort of replacement for the prized antiquity, which Ferdinand had been forced to cede to Napoleon.[44] In this reading of the statue, the artistic appropriation of the antique prototype

functions as a sort of symbolic compensation for the physical appropriation of that same prototype from the sitter.[45] While it seems clear that the final form of the statue of Ferdinand had been decided upon already by the end of 1800,[46] before the fate of the *Pallas of Velletri* had been determined, this does not preclude the possibility that the ancient prototype had some bearing on Canova's design for the statue, nor that for the viewing public, Canova's statue would not take on a 'replacement' function.[47]

Nonetheless, it would have been highly unusual for such a 'replacement' to be fused with a portrait, not to mention a portrait of a sitter of the opposite sex to the figure in the antique original. Indeed, in the various examples of the use of images of Minerva in asserting the legitimacy of male rulers, from paintings by Mengs and Wicar to statuettes and medals, the qualities of Minerva are appropriated through citation, maintaining a distinction between male ruler and goddess; their bodies, crucially, are discrete in a way that Ferdinand's appropriation of 'Minerva' in Canova's statue is not. The implications of the latter can be illustrated by considering the manner in which the gender dynamic in the relationship between Ferdinand and his wife Maria Carolina was portrayed in a contemporary French caricature, *The Throne of Naples overthrown by the French Army* (Fig. 2). Dating from around 1806, the year of the Napoleonic take-over of Naples under Joseph Bonaparte, it

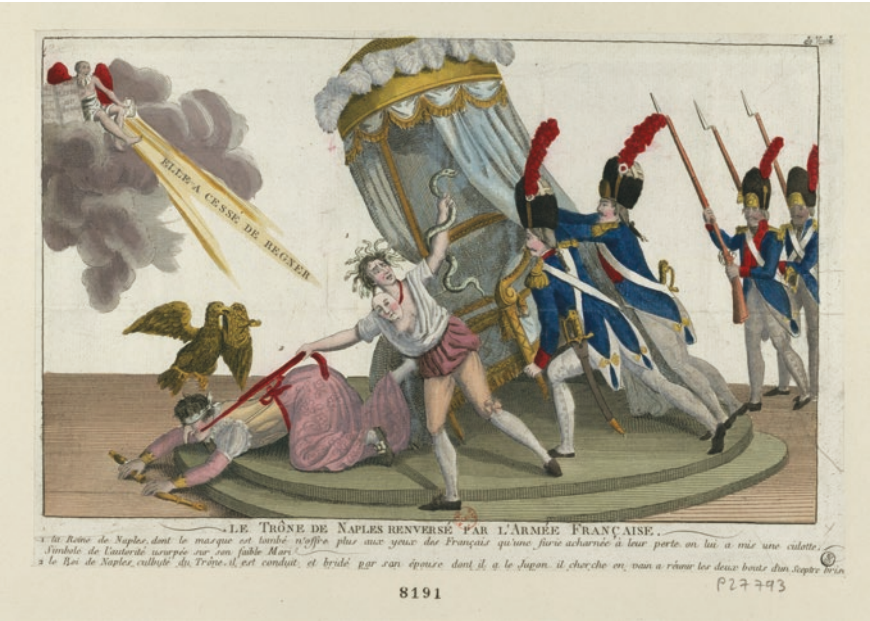

Fig. 2 Unknown author, *Le Trône de Naples renversé par l'Armée Française*, coloured etching, 18 × 29.5 cm. Collection de Vinck no. 8191, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. *Source* Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica

exploits a perceived muddying of the distinction between male and female bodies that casts Ferdinand's masculinity, and by extension his ability to rule his kingdom, as fundamentally compromised.

We see the plush throne of Naples, set on a dais, being toppled by French troops and unseating Ferdinand and Maria Carolina who are dressed in matching pink and orange-yellow colours, indicating their inseparability as a sovereign unit. As per the caption, 'the French Imperial Eagle removes his [Ferdinand's] crown' ('*l'Aigle Impériale Française lui enleve sa Couronne*'), while from the heavens in the top left-hand corner of the print the figure of Time, an hourglass in one hand and the 'Book of Fate' ('*Livre du Destin*') marking the year 1806 in the other, casts a ray of light with the message, 'she has ceased to reign' ('*Elle a cessé de regner* [sic]'). The feminine pronoun 'she' ('*elle*') refers specifically to the queen as the perceived dominant partner and as the true bearer of the reins of Naples; the reins/reigns pun (which functions in the original French as well as in English) is played out in the way in which Ferdinand is shown bridled on a leash clutched by Maria Carolina.[48] '*She has ceased to reign*' might also be an almost verbatim quote from the announcement in the *Bulletin de la Grande-Armée* of the French invasion of Naples, in which Napoleon is quoted as declaring 'the Queen of Naples has ceased to reign'. The blame for this invasion, triggered ostensibly by Maria Carolina's breach of a neutrality pact with France, is laid solidly with the queen:

> General Saint-Cyr is marching swiftly towards Naples, to punish the treason of the queen, and throw from the throne this criminal woman, who, so shamelessly, has violated everything that is sacred among men.[49]

It is therefore not simply the Bourbon rule of Naples, the ancien régime, being toppled here, but also Maria Carolina's alleged power over her largely complicit and ineffectual husband. The *renverser* being undertaken in the caricature exposes Ferdinand and Maria Carolina's carnivalesque inversion of what was regarded as the 'natural' gender hierarchy.[50]

Feminist scholarship has demonstrated how the French Revolution may be framed in terms of restoring and defending the polarization of the sexes and the primacy of masculine virtue, seen to have been compromised under the ancien régime, which was characterized by its effeminacy.[51] The depiction of the ancien régime as one long carnival of '*travestimento*'[52] is emphasized by the masks worn by the Neapolitan sovereigns, Maria Carolina's already dangling around her neck and Ferdinand's reminiscent of commedia dell'arte masks (the exaggerated nose also insinuates his popular moniker, *Il Re Nasone*). Underlining the information provided in the visual description, the caption informs the viewer that while Maria Carolina is dressed in breeches, 'symbol of the usurped authority over her feeble husband' ('*Simbole de l'autorité usurpée sur son faible Mari*'), Ferdinand wears Maria Carolina's skirts. He is blindfolded, apparently turning a blind eye to his wife's influence, and 'tries in vain to join the two ends of a broken sceptre' ('*cherche en vain a réunir les deux bouts d'un Sceptre brisé*'). The broken sceptre is a clear symbol

of castration, corroborated by Maria Carolina's Medusan head of snakes, and the serpent she brandishes in her left hand, which similarly both reference castration.[53] Ferdinand's inability to control his wife—a symbolic castration—is equated, so the argument goes, to his inability to rule his kingdom.

There existed therefore a significant parallel between the popular image of Maria Carolina and her sister, Queen Marie-Antoinette of France, not least as it pertained to their relationships with their respective husbands, Ferdinand and Louis XVI.[54] The Marquis de Sade, having visited Naples, compared already in the 1770s the relationships of Maria Carolina and Marie-Antoinette to their respective husbands in his *Voyage d'Italie*. In his 'Portrait of the queen of Naples'[55] Sade observes:

> She is seven years older than the king,[56] and one notices it easily from all the control that she tries to exercise over his mind. One does not need to inform the French that this is the genius of the House of Austria.[57]

This comparatively tame, and largely not inaccurate account of Maria Carolina would be reincarnated in the most extreme terms in 1797 in Sade's *Histoire de Juliette, ou les Prospérités du Vice* (*The Story of Juliette, or Vice Amply Rewarded*).[58] Here, echoing the depiction of Marie-Antoinette in libelous French pamphlets, Maria Carolina's control over her husband—or rather his inability to exert his 'natural', masculine control over her—sees Maria Carolina transformed into a wanton (proto-)sadomasochist.[59] According to Sade, Ferdinand shares many of Maria Carolina's vices, and is by no means impotent (unlike Louis XVI). However, Sade also weaves in a plot by Maria Carolina to kill Ferdinand with the help of her lover, the protagonist Juliette, and thereby seize full power for herself. Maria Carolina expresses her desire to 'poison this this dreadful man, to become regent',[60] and signs an assurance for Juliette:

> I will steal all my husband's treasures, and give them as a reward to she who will provide me with the poison necessary to send him to the other world. *Signed*, C.[Charlotte][61] of L.[Lorraine], Q.[Queen] of N.[Naples] [emphasis original][62]

Sade's relationship with the politics of the French Revolution and its aftermath is a complicated one,[63] but his writing was certainly not condoned by the Convention and Directory, and the *Histoire de Juliette* was censored under Napoleon. Nonetheless, Maria Carolina's rumoured lesbianism was held up as shorthand for her tyranny, inseparable from her Messalinic humiliation of her husband, by both Revolutionary pamphlets and supposedly by Napoleon himself. In his *Lettres sur la révolution française* (1793) and *Mémoires secrets et critiques des cours, des gouvernemens, et des moeurs des principaux états de l'Italie* (1794), Giuseppe Gorani, a Milanese aristocrat who had put himself at the service of the French Republican Convention, makes quite clear that the engine of despotism in Naples is Maria Carolina, who exercises undue control over her inept husband.[64] He accuses Ferdinand of not taking a stand against his wife's '*libertinage*',[65] which includes

'*tribaderie*',[66] and maintains 'the queen of Naples combined all the lechery of a Messalina with the motley tastes of a Sappho'.[67] Napoleon, in one of his more vitriolic attacks on Maria Carolina, is also said to have complained in a similar fashion, 'not only is she worse than Messalina but she is also a lesbian'.[68] Eleonora de Fonseca Pimentel, a prominent figure of the Parthenopean Republic and executed following the Bourbon restoration, labels Maria Carolina an 'impure tribade' in a libelous sonnet from 1798 in which Maria Carolina's fate is projected to echo that of Marie-Antoinette's.[69]

Maria Carolina's supposed lesbianism is relevant to the statue of Ferdinand because the figure of the lesbian in the late eighteenth century occupied a shifting, liminal identity between male and female[70]; in *Le Trône de Naples renversée par l'Armée Française* the force of the fall suffered by Maria Carolina and Ferdinand has caused her shirt to gape open, her breast flopping out to belie her masculine disguise, while at the same time the mask that slips from her face is androgynous, revealing a more masculine visage to an otherwise female body.[71] This involuntary exposure of Maria Carolina's perceived true nature is reprised in another French caricature, also from 1806, titled *Treason, unmasking itself, leads the Queen of Naples to her destiny* (Fig. 3). While

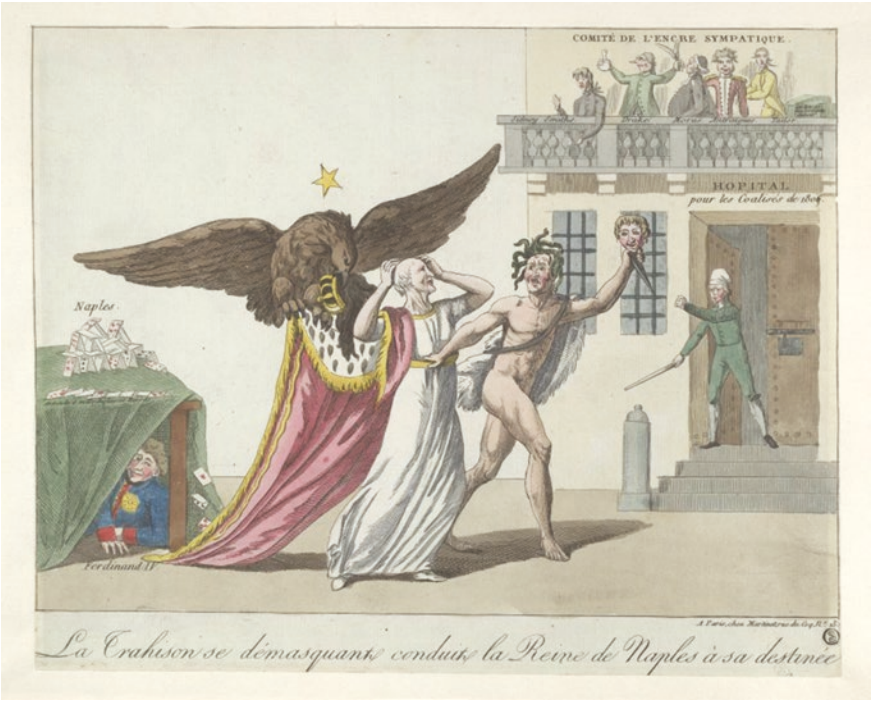

Fig. 3 Martinet (publisher), *La trahison se démasquant conduit la Reine de Naples à sa destinée*, 1806, 23.2 × 28.5 cm. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Curzon b.07 (038)

a pathetic figure of Ferdinand hides gleefully under a table on top of which a house of cards labelled 'Naples' wobbles precariously, Maria Carolina is reluctantly dragged centre stage by an androgynous Medusan fury (cast here as an alter ego of Maria Carolina—she is 'unmasking herself', '*se démasquant*'). Her mask-like female face has been removed by a dagger-like blade to reveal another, more masculine, face that bears the hallmarks of a likeness of Julius Caesar,[72] the portrait *tout-court* of tyranny. As was the case in French caricatures and politico-pornographic pamphlets before and during the Revolution, the queen's abominable body is the locus of tyranny and depravity.[73]

The debunking of Maria Carolina's disguise in these caricatures—paired in each case with the passivity of her husband—highlights the gendered nature of dissimulation in the contemporary ideology. Dissimulation was considered particularly symptomatic of the tyranny of women, inseparable from their powers of seduction, by which they exercised a corrupting influence over men.[74] In a prescient observation in his *Voyage d'Italie*, Sade describes Ferdinand as 'without dissimulation',[75] while one of the central accusations levelled at Marie-Antoinette when she was brought before the Revolutionary Criminal Tribunal in October 1793 was of 'having taught the king how to dissimulate'.[76] As Lynn Hunt has demonstrated, this accusation derived from an anxiety about women's increasing role in the public sphere—an anxiety expressed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in terms of a sort of trans-gendering: 'unable to make themselves into men, the women make us into women'.[77] The reading of Canova's statue as 'Ferdinand in the guise of Minerva' assumes a surrendering on Ferdinand's part of his image to female dissimulation—a reading entirely in keeping with a popular perception of Maria Carolina that was preoccupied with her encroaching on the male throne.

The execution of Marie-Antoinette in October 1793 coincided with the outlawing of women's clubs in France; that is, women's formal exclusion from involvement in politics. As Hunt explains, this was accompanied by a decision to replace the allegorical female figure of Marianne with the virile figure of Hercules in French revolutionary iconography:

> [The outlawing of women's clubs] preceded [Jacques-Louis] David's proposal for a gargantuan [Herculean] statue by only a few days. In the eyes of the Jacobin leadership, women were threatening to take Marianne as a metaphor for their own active participation; in this situation, no female figure, however fierce and radical, could possibly appeal to them. Hercules put the women back into perspective, in their place and relationship of dependency. The monumental male was now the only active figure.[78]

Although only occasionally acknowledged in the secondary literature, the contemporary correspondence surrounding the commission of Canova's statue of Ferdinand reveals that it was, for a time at least, under consideration as part of a larger sculptural programme which included the figures of

both Hercules and Maria Carolina. Shortly after the initial commission of the statue of Ferdinand, another commission, initiated in 1795 by a Neapolitan courtier but now abandoned due to the economic fallout from the revolution,[79] became available, prompting Domenico Venuti,[80] superintendent of the projected Museo Borbonico, to propose acquiring it with a view to displaying it together with the statue of Ferdinand. The work in question was Canova's *Hercules and Lychas* (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna), conceived as a modern response to, and on the same scale as the famous *Farnese Hercules* (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale),[81] which Ferdinand had inherited via his paternal grandmother, Elisabetta Farnese. The latter had been among the works seized in Naples by the French during the Parthenopean Republic and transferred back to Rome (presumably to be taken from there to Paris), only to be returned again to Naples upon the Bourbon restoration. Venuti saw in Canova's *Hercules and Lychas* a violent and virile expression of royalist righteousness. He deemed it

> applicable to the current era; the overthrowing of democracy by royal strength could not be better expressed than by Hercules throwing Lychas into the depths of the sea. This work, with an allusive inscription, would be an eternal example to the good and strike terror in the wicked.[82]

In addition, Venuti also proposed that the statue of Ferdinand be expanded to include the figure of Maria Carolina, with a view to the two sculptural groups functioning as pendants.[83] We can only speculate as to why the idea of adding the figure of Maria Carolina to that of Ferdinand never came to fruition, but Venuti had suggested the provision of viewing the models and designs of the full group prior to completing the contract for it,[84] and already by early 1801 it had seemingly been decided that the statue would remain a single-figure piece, featuring only Ferdinand.[85]

The envisaged extension to the statue of Ferdinand would presumably have increased its bulk so that it would balance that of its proposed metaphorical pendant in *Hercules and Lychas*, and thereby better mirror its triumphant message. Moreover, it would also have served to keep delineations of gender discrete, 'put[ting] the wom[a]n back into perspective', as Hunt puts it, relative to her husband. Such is the effect, for example, of a print, probably roughly contemporary with the initial genesis of Canova's statue, made after a painting then in the collection of Diego Naselli, the dedicatee of the print and the general who led the Neapolitan army's 'liberation' of Rome in 1799 (Fig. 4). Here, both king and queen are depicted, their spatial distinction from one another neatly balancing the composition.[86] Shown seated, Maria Carolina assumes a traditional position of authority in group portraiture, but her outstretched right arm, gesturing towards her husband acknowledges her husband's official position, something to which she often paid lip service. It is then Ferdinand who, in an active, upright position, in turn casts a protective gesture (not dissimilar to that in Canova's statue) over a model of St Peter's

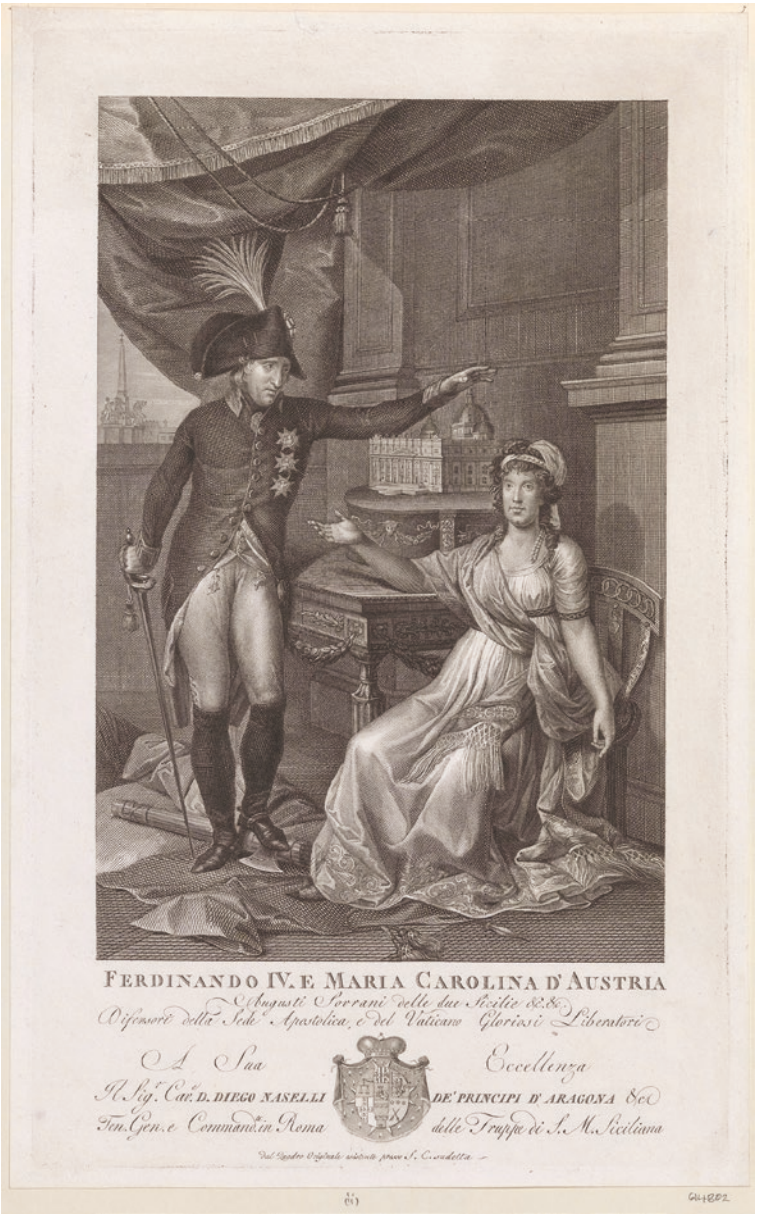

Fig. 4 *Ferdinando IV e Maria Carolina d'Austria* (King and Queen of the Two Sicilies), engraving. *Source* Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017

Basilica while trampling the revolutionary fasces underfoot. By contrast, excluding Maria Carolina from a concrete position in Canova's sculptural group therefore opened up the possibility for her appearance by association, controlled not by sculptor or patron, but by an audience well versed in the popular image of the relationship between Ferdinand and Maria Carolina as perpetuated in the caricatures from 1806.

The many instances in which the image of Minerva was put in the service of visual assertions of rule by Bourbon and Bonaparte kings of Naples alike demonstrate how a male ruler's appropriation of a powerful female figure could function as an expression of his masculinity, or at least a pronouncement of qualities that legitimated his position of leadership. Yet such an appropriation functioned only so long as the image of the male ruler remained discrete from that of the female deity. As soon as the appropriation becomes bodily, however, an element of masquerade and dissimulation is introduced which serves only to underline the disconnect between sitter and guise rather than assimilate it, the statue of Ferdinand being, in the words of the *New Monthly Magazine*, 'a sort of domino' through which the king 'stares'.[87] Rather than functioning to legitimate Ferdinand by endowing him with the qualities of leadership embodied by the figure of Minerva, then, his perceived appropriation of her in fact exposes his lack of precisely those qualities.[88] The reading of Canova's statue as Ferdinand 'in the guise of Minerva' and not simply in a generic male 'heroic' guise therefore threw into relief a perceived shortcoming in Ferdinand's masculinity that was consistent with his portrayal in many nineteenth-century histories of Naples and memoirs of the period that in many respects still shape the popular image of Ferdinand today. While Ferdinand was portrayed as possessed of 'almost Herculean strength',[89] and a 'keen sportsman and a boon companion', he was supposedly 'as little inclined to persecute his subjects as to put himself out of his way to guard them', and had inherited 'faults of omission'.[90] The latter were offset by Maria Carolina, who was 'endowed with very different qualities', and having 'inherited the masculine energy of her mother [Empress Maria Theresa] … exercised a predominant influence'.[91] While such assessments of the gender dynamic between Ferdinand and Maria Carolina served a different purpose to the French prints, they shared a common assumption of a lack in Ferdinand's leadership qualities that was compensated for by his wife's assertion of her own 'masculine' qualities. In the words of an apologist of Maria Carolina:

> A woman of great feminine beauty, but of a masculine understanding … Maria Carolina was mated to a very weak prince … [whose] feebleness rendered necessary, in the troublous times in which their lot was cast, an assertion of her masculine strength.[92]

Thus to read Canova's statue of Ferdinand as being in the guise of Minerva, despite every indication that the iconography of the costume was simply intended as a masculine 'heroic guise', would have resonated with an

audience attuned to a popular image of Ferdinand whose leadership rested on the masculine qualities of a female figure. What is at stake in the reception history of the statue is then not so much Ferdinand's appropriation of a female deity to legitimate his rule, but Minerva—the powerful female figure—appropriating the portrait of Ferdinand.

Notes

1. There has been some uncertainty in the literature about when the statue of Ferdinand was commissioned, however various contemporary sources converge to confirm that it was commissioned in 1800: a letter from the Neapolitan Interior Ministry referring to the statue of Ferdinand having been commissioned 'around the year 1800' ('verso l'Anno 1800') (Biblioteca civica di Bassano del Grappa, Carteggio Canoviano, lettera 315, Letter from the Marchese Simmari(?) to Antonio Canova, 21 June 1815); the print made after the work c. 1818–1819, which would have been overseen by Canova and which features a note describing the statue as having been 'commissioned in the year 1800' ('Statua in marmo alta palmi diecisette Romani ordinata l'anno 1800'; See Grazia Pezzini Bernini and Fabio Fiorani (eds.), *Canova e l'incisione*, exh. cat. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome, and Museo Civico di Bassano del Grappa (Ghedina & Tassotti: Bassano del Grappa, 1993), cat. 36, p. 147); and the classification of the statue under 'Anno 1800' in the 'Chronological catalogue of Antonio Canova's sculptures, published by command of HRH the Prince of Bavaria', which was overseen by Canova ('Catalogo cronologico delle sculture di Antonio Canova pubblicato dietro richiesta di S.A.R. il Principe di Baviera Roma MDCCCXVII—Presso Francesco Bourlié con licenza de' superiori', in Hugh Honour (ed.), *Antonio Canova: Scritti* (Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato: Rome, 1994), p. 402).
2. The statue was removed from this central position during the Risorgimento, relegated first to storage in 1861, and later, in 1886, re-exhibited in the *Sala del Canova* alongside casts of other works by Canova including his portrait of Napoleon and that of his mother, Letizia Bonaparte (see note 18). Antonio Filangieri di Candida, 'Ferdinando di Borbone. Statua del Canova nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli', *Napoli Nobilissma*, vol. 6, no. 12 (December 1897), p. 180.
3. Cf. Carl Ludwig Fernow, 'Über den Bildhauer Canova und dessen Werke', in Carl Ludwig Fernow, *Römische Studien* (H. Gessner: Zürich, 1806), vol. 1, p. 190; and Detlev Kreikenbom, 'Canovas Ferdinand IV. von Neapel: Minerva, Imperator oder griechischer Staatslenker?', in Klaus Gallwitz and Herbert Bock (eds.), *Städel-Jahrbuch*, vol. 13 (Prestel: Munich, 1991), p. 230.
4. 'Rispetto al merito d'arte della statua, basta il nome del suo autore a farne l'elogio.' Real Museo Borbonico (Stamperia Reale: Naples, 1824), vol. 1, n.p.
5. Fernow, p. 190.
6. Cf. Fred Licht, *Canova* (Abbeville Press: New York, 1983), p. 107.
7. [Antoine Claude Pasquin] Valery, *Historical, literary, and artistical travels in Italy, a complete and methodical guide for travellers and artists*, trans. C.E. Clifton (Baudry's European Library: Paris, 1839), p. 442.
   The English translation is an expanded version of the original French, published in 1832: [Antoine Claude Pasquin] Valery, *Voyages historiques et*

littéraires en Italie, pendant les années 1826, 1827 et 1828; ou l'Indicateur Italien (Le Normant: Paris, 1832).

8. Valery, *Historical, literary, and artistical travels in Italy*, p. 442.
9. Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples (1734–1825)* (Methuen: London, 1956), p. 415.
10. The exception is the one sustained analysis of the work by Detlev Kreikenbom (see note 3).
11. *Real Museo Borbonico* (1824), vol. 1, n.p.
12. Domenico Monaco, *A Complete Handbook to the Naples Museum according to the New Arrangement with Plans and Historical Sketch of the Building and an Appendix relative to Pompeii and Herculaneum*, ed. E. Neville Rolfe, 6th ed. (Naples, 1893), p. 34.
    Earlier editions of the guidebook (1886 and 1888) refer to the statue only as the 'statue of Ferdinand IV, made originally for the grand staircase of the museum.'
    Domenico Monaco, *A Complete Handbook to the Naples Museum according to the New Arrangement with Plans and Historical Sketch of the Building and an Appendix relative to Pompeii and Herculaneum*, ed. E. Neville Rolfe, 4th ed. (Naples, 1886), p. 28.
    Domenico Monaco, *A Complete Handbook to the Naples Museum, according to the New Arrangement with Plans and Historical Sketch of the Building and an Appendix relative to Pompeii and Herculaneum*, ed. E. Neville Rolfe, 5th ed. (Naples, 1888), p. 31.
13. Mario Praz and Giuseppe Pavanello, *L'opera completa del Canova* (Rizzoli: Milan, 1976), cat. 137, p. 108. The same title is used in *Canova e l'incisione*, cat. 36, p. 147.
    Christopher Johns refers to the statue as '*Ferdinand IV with the Attributes of Minerva*' (Christopher M.S. Johns, *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1998), p. 125) and '*King Ferdinand IV of Naples*, depicted in a gender-bending role as Minerva' (Christopher M.S. Johns, 'Portrait Mythology: Antonio Canova's Portraits of the Bonapartes', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Autumn 1994), p. 121). Licht cites the title as 'Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, in the Guise of Minerva' (Licht, *Canova*, p. 107), and elsewhere refers to 'Ferdinand-Athena' (Fred Licht, 'Canovas Monumentalplastik', in Herbert Beck, Peter C. Bol, and Eva Maek-Gérard (eds.), *Ideal und Wirklichkeit der bildenden Kunst im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Gebr. Mann: Berlin, 1984), p. 170); Micheli refers to the work as '(unconsciously?) a "transgender" statue' (Maria Elisa Micheli, '*Iudicum et ordo*: Antonio Canova and antiquity', in Jane Fejfer, Tobias Fischer-Hansen, and Annette Rathje (eds.), *The rediscovery of antiquity: the role of the artist* (Museum Tusculanum Press: Copenhagen, 2003), p. 288).
14. The publications on Canova by Leopoldo Cicognara, Melchior Missirini and Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi all refer to the statue as 'Statua colossale di Ferdinando IV, re di Napoli', or very close variations thereof.
    See Leopoldo Cicognara, *Biografia di Antonio Canova* (Giambattista Missiaglia: Venice, 1823), p. 60; Melchior Missirini, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova* (Nicolò Bettoni: Milano, 1824), vol. 1, p. 5; and p. 167; and Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi, *Opere di scultura e di plastica di Antonio Canova* (Niccolò Capurro: Pisa, 1824), vol. 4, p. 121.

The title used for the statue in these publications can be traced back to the 'Catalogo cronologico delle sculture di Antonio Canova …', and hence Canova himself (see note 1 of this essay). This list refers to the statue of Ferdinand as 'Statua colossale rappresentante *Ferdinando IV*, re di Napoli [emphasis original]'.
'Catalogo cronologico delle sculture di Antonio Canova pubblicato dietro richiesta di S.A.R. il Principe di Baviera Roma MDCCCXVII', p. 402. In the index of works mentioned in his essay on Canova, Fernow lists the statue of Ferdinand as 'Porträtstatue des Königs von Neapel, kolossal; in Marmor.' Fernow, p. 245.

15. 'la statua colossale di Ferdinando IV, travestito—è la parola propria—da Minerva'.
Giuseppe Ceci, 'La chiesa di S. Francesco di Paola e le statue equestri di Carlo III e Ferdinando I', *Napoli Nobilissima*, vol. 5, no. 7 (July 1896), p. 105.
16. Filangieri di Candida, p. 177.
17. Kreikenbom, passim.
18. These include *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker* (Apsley House, London); *Letizia Ramolino Bonaparte, Madame Mère* (Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection); *Pauline Bonaparte as Venus Victorious* (Rome, Galleria Borghese); *Empress Marie-Louise as Concordia* (Parma, Galleria Nazionale); and the equestrian monuments of Carlo di Borbone (originally intended to depict Napoleon) and Ferdinand IV (Naples, Piazza del Plebiscito). For a brief indication of the field of mixed-genre portraiture in the eighteenth century, see Johns, 'Portrait Mythology', p. 116; and Johns, *Politics of Patronage*, pp. 93–96.
19. 'Chiamato adunque a Parigi a pigliarne il ritratto, dovette il grande artefice, a pena levato lo scarpello dalla statua colossale di Ferdinando IV. re di Napoli, rivoglierlo a quella di Napoleone.' Pier-Alessandro Paravia, *Notize intorno alla vita di Antonio Canova giuntovi il catalogo cronologico di tutte le sue opere* (Giuseppe Orlandelli: Venice, 1822), p. 29.
20. On the former, see, for example, George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1996), esp. ch. 2 and 3; on the latter see, for example, Todd Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David* (Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, PA, 2006); and Allison Goudie, 'The sovereignty of the royal portrait in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe: Five case studies surrounding Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples' (University of Oxford, D.Phil. thesis, 2014).
21. See, for example, David O'Brien, 'Antonio Canova's *Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker* and the Limits of Imperial Portraiture', *French History*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 354–378; and more broadly Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation* (Thames and Hudson: London, 1997) and Satish Padiyer, *Chains: David, Canova, and the Fall of the Public Hero in Postrevolutionary France* (Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park, PA, 2007).
22. Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2000), p. 45.
23. Kreikenbom, p. 227.
24. Carolyn Springer, *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 2010), pp. 55–60.
25. 'Ferdinand IV. King of the Two Sicilies' in *The works of Antonio Canova, in sculpture and modelling, engraved in outline by Henry Moses; with descriptions by*

the Countess Albrizzi. And a biographical memoir by Count Cicognara (Henry G. Bohn: London, 1849), vol. 1, n.p.
Missirini similarly describes the figure as 'attired in heroic drapery' ('vestito con eroico panneggiamento'). Missirini, p. 167.

26. 'Canova and his Works', *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*, New Series vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1820), p. 381.
27. See also Fernow, pp. 189–190.
28. 'Walks in Rome and its environs—no. XVI. Roman Art—Canova', in *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 1829, part I: Original Papers (Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley: London, 1829), p. 32.
29. Giuseppe Pavanello cites something of a precedent in a sixteenth-century illustration of *François I as a composite deity* (attributed to the Maître des Heures d'Henri II, c. 1545, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris), in which the French king is covered in an array of mythological iconography (much more brazen than that in Canova's *Ferdinand*), citing not only Minerva, but also Mars, Diana, Amor (Eros) and Mercury.
Giuseppe Pavanello, 'Canova e Napoli', in Fernando Mazzocca and Gianni Venturi (eds.), *Antonio Canova: La cultura figurativa e letteraria dei grandi centri italiani—2. Milano, Firenze, Napoli* (Istituto di ricerca per gli studi su Canova e il Neoclassicismo: Bassano del Grappa, 2006), p. 287.
Pavanello provides the only engaged attempt to account for the perceived Minervan iconography in light of the contemporary political situation surrounding the commission. Pavanello, 'Canova e Napoli', pp. 286–287.
30. For this painting, see Giulio Brevetti, 'Tra-Volti dalla Restaurazione. La ritrattistica dei Borbone delle Due Sicilie da Ferdinando I a Francesco II', *Temi di Critica e Letteratura artistica*, no. 8 (31 December 2013), para 4, and Fig. 1.
31. *Civiltà dell'Ottocento*, exh. cat. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, and Palazzo Reale, Caserta (Electa Napoli: Naples, 1997), vol. 1, cat. 2.19, p. 87.
On the relation between Tagliolini and Canova, see Alvar González-Palacios, *Lo scultore Filippo Tagliolini e la porcellana di Napoli con un catalogo delle opere* (Umberto Allemandi: Turin, 1988), pp. 14–15; and cat. 44, p. 166. The Tagiolini statuette is in fact one of a number of images of Ferdinand *all'antica* in which the costume broadly resembles that in Canova's statue but which have never been interpreted as the king 'as Minerva'. See also Ferdinand's costume in a *grisaille* 'cut-out' (Caserta, Palazzo Reale), possibly used in a court celebration or masque, showing the king and queen together with Minerva (see especially *Caserta e la sua Reggia: Il Museo dell'Opera e del Territorio* (Electa: Naples, 1995), cat. 125, p. 136; and Giulio Brevetti, 'Regina di Quadri: L'Iconografia Pittorica di Maria Carolina', in Giulio Sodano and Giulio Brevetti (eds.), *Io, la Regina: Maria Carolina d'Asburgo-Lorena tra politica, fede, arte e cultura* (Mediterranea: Palermo, 2016), pp. 228–9); and Antonio Manno's painting *Ferdinando IV riceve lo scettro a Palermo per la riconquista del Regno di Napoli* (see Massimo Pisani, 'Precisazioni e un'aggiunta per Antonio Manno: un problema di iconografia borbonica', *Storia dell'arte*, no. 89 (1997), pp. 126–30; Massimo Pisani, *Ritratti napoletani dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento* (Electa: Naples, 1999), cat. 89, pp. 122–3; and Brevetti, 'Regina di Quadri', p. 234).
32. For this painting, see Steffi Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs 1728–1779* (Hirmer: Munich, 1999), vol. cat. 133, p. 201.

33. For this painting, see Maria Teresa Caracciolo, Giulia Gorgone, Cristina Cannelli (eds.), *Jean-Baptiste Wicar: ritratti della famiglia Bonaparte*, exh. cat. Museo Napoleonico, Rome, and Museo Diego Aragona Pignatelli Cortes, Naples (Electa: Naples, 2004), cat. 2, p. 56. On the provenance of the *Minerva Giustiniani*, see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1981), cat. 63, pp. 269–270.
34. *Jean-Baptiste Wicar*, cat. 2, p. 56.
35. *Jean-Baptiste Wicar*, cat. 2, p. 56.
36. *Civiltà dell'Ottocento*, p. 113.
37. Carlo Fea, *Miscellanea filologica critica e antiquaria* (Crispino Puccinelli: Rome, 1836), p. 87. See also Haskell and Penny, cat. 69, p. 285.
    Catalano maintains that Canova's statue of Ferdinand recalls both the *Pallas of Velletri* and the *Minerva Giustiniani*. *Civiltà dell'Ottocento*, cat. 15.6, p. 309.
38. 'conquista del Re di Napoli'.
    The secretary to the Neapolitan Bourbon general Emanuele Bouchard, as cited in Marco Nocca, 'La statua rapita: il nuovo "Palladio"', in Marco Nocca, *Dalla vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri* (Palombi: Rome, 1999), p. 52.
39. On the provenance and broader significance of the *Pallas of Velletri*, see the two volumes published on the occasion of the bicentenary of the rediscovery of the sculpture: Marco Nocca, *Dalla Vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri* (Palombi: Rome, 1997), and *Pallade di Velletri: il mito, la fortuna* (Palombi: Rome, 1999). See also Haskell and Penny, cat. 69, pp. 284–286. For a detailed account of its fate during the military and diplomatic skirmishes between France and Naples in the years 1798 and 1802, see especially Nocca, 'La statua rapita', pp. 49–57, and also Haskell and Penny, pp. 112–113.
40. On this medal, see Lisa Zeitz and Joachim Zeitz, in *Napoleons Medaillen* (Michael Imhof: Petersberg, 2003), cat. 37, p. 100; Marco Nocca, 'La Pallade a Parigi', in *Dalla vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri*, pp. 73–74; and p. 88, n. 7; and Edward Edwards in *The Napoleon Medals: A complete series of the medals struck in France, Italy, Great Britain and Germany, from the commencement of the Empire in 1804, to the Restoration in 1815, engraved by the process of Achilles Collas, with historical and biographical notices* (Henry Hering: London, 1837), p. 8. See also Nocca, 'La statua rapita', p. 59; and p. 71, n. 117; and Haskell and Penny, in *Taste and the Antique*, cat. 69, p. 285.
    The image of Napoleon on the recto is after the statue by Antoine-Denis Chaudet, installed with great fanfare in the assembly chamber of the Corps Legislatif in 1805. Edwards cites a date of 22 September 1804 for the medal (p. 8); according to Lisa Zeitz and Joachim Zeitz, however, it dates from 1808 (cat. 37, p. 100).
41. Valery, *Historical, literary, and artistical travels in Italy*, p. 442.
42. 'Freilich allzu seltsam an die Pallas von Velletri erinnert'. Alfred Gotthold Meyer, *Canova* (Velhagen & Klasing: Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1898), p. 52. See also Gérard Hubert, *La Sculpture dans l'Italie Napoléonienne* (Éditions E. de Boccard: Paris, 1964), p. 78; and Filangieri di Candida, p. 177.
43. The arm of the *Pallas of Velletri* is actually partially a restoration, which Vivant Denon, Director of the Musée Napoléon, considered incorrect. See Tiziana Ceccarini, 'Pallade di Velletri', in Nocca, *Dalla vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri*, p. 23; Marco Nocca, 'Il ritrovamento della Pallade', in *Dalla vigna al*

Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri, p. 45, n. 25; Nocca, 'La Pallade a Parigi', p. 88, n. 7; and *Dalla vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri*, Appendice 1, Fonti n. 62, p. 160.

44. Nocca, 'La statua rapita', pp. 65–66, n. 73. See also Nocca, 'Fortuna della Pallade di Velletri', in Nocca, *Dalla vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri*, pp. 96–97; and Micheli, pp. 285–286. For a counterargument, see Kreikenbom, esp. pp. 227–230.
45. There were precedents: for example, in response to Napoleon's removal of the famous *Venus de' Medici* from Florence to Paris, King Louis of Etruria commissioned Canova to produce a copy, from which the sculpture that would later become known as the *Venus Italica*—a modern rendition of the ancient prototype—eventuated.
    Johannes Myssok, 'Die "tröstende" Kopie. Antonio Canovas "Neue Klassiker" und der Napoleonische Kunstraub', in Tatjana Bartsch, Marcus Becker, Horst Bredekamp, and Charlotte Schreiter (eds.), *Das Originale der Kopie: Kopien als Produkte und Medien der Transformation von Antike* (Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, 2010), pp. 107–108. See also note 47.
46. There are various contemporary accounts from late 1800 and early 1801 that refer to models of different stages of completion of the statue of Ferdinand.
    See the diary entry of the sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti for 7 November 1800, as cited in Appendice I, Fonti n. 42, in Nocca, *Dalla vigna al Louvre: la Pallade di Velletri*, p. 147 (see also Nocca, 'La statua rapita', pp. 65–66, n. 73; and Nocca, 'Fortuna della Pallade di Velletri', p. 96); Archivio di Stato di Napoli (hereafter ASN), Ministero degli Affari Esteri 4292, 94, Letter from Giuseppe Zurlo to John Acton, 13 December 1800 (see also Angelo Borzelli, *Le relazioni del Canova con Napoli al tempo di Ferdinando I e di Gioacchino Murat: Memoria con documenti inediti* (Emilio Prass: Naples, 1901), p. 8); and Letter from Domenico Venuti, as cited in Borzelli, p. 9. For further discussion, see Goudie, p. 151.
47. Similarly, while Canova's *Perseus* has often been thought of as a replacement, or 'placeholder' for the *Apollo Belvedere*, which had been removed from the Vatican by the French in the late 1790s, in actual fact the commission itself, which largely predates the French campaigns in Italy, was not initiated within the political context of French looting of Italian cultural patrimony. Although it was certainly conceived of as in competition with the *Apollo Belvedere*, as Johannes Myssok points out, this was on an exclusively aesthetic level, and it was only later when the commission changed hands and was destined to embellish the Foro Bonaparte in Milan that it took on a political charge. Only when, at the eleventh hour, Pope Pius VII purchased it for himself and installed it on the very plinth that had been vacated by the *Apollo Belvedere* when that sculpture was taken to Paris did it take on its status as a replacement.
    On the development of the Perseus, in particular its politicization, see Myssok, 'Die "tröstende" Kopie', pp. 97–101; and p. 107.
48. This motif recalls those used in two further satires against the royal Neapolitan couple. The first is an imaginary 'tableau allegorique', the description of which apparently circulated in Naples in the years c. 1790 with much success. It apparently depicted Ferdinand as a puppet driving a cabriolet in which sit Maria Carolina and her alleged lover, John Acton. In this case, Ferdinand

holds the reins of the cabriolet, but he does so only on the orders of Maria Carolina, who directs her husband, pointing with her finger the route he must follow.

See Joseph Gorani, *Mémoires secrets et critiques des cours, des gouvernemens, et des moeurs des principaux états de l'Italie* (London, 1794), vol. 1, pp. 256–257.

The second is another real French caricature relating to the events of 1806, titled *Pitt jouant des marionnettes, ou les Anglos-Napolitanos ambulans* ('*Pitt playing puppets, or the mobile Anglo-Neapolitans*'). Here, Ferdinand and Maria Carolina are depicted as marionettes controlled by William Pitt the Younger, who perches on the shoulders of George III. The Neapolitan sovereigns share the stage with another group of marionettes intended to be the 13,000 British soldiers stationed in Naples as part of the Third Coalition, and a marionette-officer, possibly representing John Acton. A sign in front of the stage curtains reads, 'Today the great anglo-neapolitan troupe presents as a finale the third performance of the deposed king preceded by the hurried embarkation' ('Aujourd'hui la grande troupe anglo-napolitano donnera pour la cloture la troisieme représentation du roi détroné précedée de l'embarquement précipité'), and among the audience are three men in various French military uniforms, one drawing his sword while the others have stones at the ready to throw. The marionette depicting Ferdinand is slumped asleep in a chair—limp and impotent—while it is Maria Carolina who, standing rigid and upright, engages in conversation with the officer, again portraying her clearly as the dominant partner in the relationship between herself and her husband, even if she is also seen as a puppet of Britain.

On this caricature, see Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (Trustees of the British Museum: London, 1947), vol. 8 (1801–1810), cat. 10519, pp. 403–404; and Marcel Roux, *Un siècle d'Histoire de France par l'Estampe 1770–1871. Collection de Vinck: Inventaire Analytique* (Paris: Maurice Le Garrec, 1929), vol. 4 (Napoléon et son temps), cat. 8190, p. 456.

49. 'Le général Saint-Cyr marche à grandes journées sur Naples, pour punir la trahison de la reine, et précipiter du trône cette femme criminelle, qui, avec tant d'impudeur, a violé tout ce qui est sacré parmi les hommes.'

    Bulletin de la Grande-Armée, 5 nivôse year 14 (26 December 1805), in *Campagnes de la Grande-Armée et de l'Armée d'Italie, en l'an XIV (1805)* (Librairie Economique: Paris, 1806), p. 347. See also Egon Caesar Conte Corti, *Ich, eine Tochter Maria Theresias: Ein Lebensbild der Königin Marie Karoline von Neapel* (F. Bruckmann: Munich, 1950), p. 505.

50. In her account of the figure of Maria Carolina as a female foil to Napoleon, Waltraud Maierhofer quotes Joan Landes' *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*: 'The metaphor of "the reign of women" signified the corruption of society at its heights. (By implication, only a corrupt and inadequately virile ruler would allow himself and his kingdom to be disarmed by the exercise of female power).'

    Landes, as cited in Waltraud Maierhofer, 'Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples: The "Devil's Grandmother" Fights Napoleon', in Waltraud Maierhofer, Gertrud M. Roesch, and Caroline Bland (eds.), *Women Against Napoleon: Historical and Fictional Responses to his Rise and Legacy* (Campus: Frankfurt, 2007), p. 71. For Landes' original, see Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*

in the Age of the French Revolution (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, NY, 1988), p. 27.

51. This is an enormous subject, the complexity of which cannot be done full justice here. It is in essence the topic of Landes' seminal *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. See also Dorinda Outram's exploration of the topic as it is borne out in relation to the human body, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1989).
52. The term used by Bassi to describe Ferdinand's guise in the statue by Canova. Elena Bassi, *Canova* (Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche: Bergamo, 1943), p. 22. See also note 15.
53. See Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 1999), p. 169.
54. The parallel between depictions of Maria Carolina and Marie-Antoinette (more direct than that between Ferdinand and Louis XVI) has been noted by Cinzia Recca, 'Maria Carolina and Marie Antoinette: Sisters and Queens in the Mirror of Jacobin Public Opinion', Royal Studies Journal, vol. 1, no. 1 (2014), pp. 17–35; Mladen Kozul, *Le Corps dans le monde: Récits et espaces sadiens* (Peeters: Leuven, 2005), p. 145 (with particular reference to Sade's *Histoire de Juliette*); Mirella Mafrici, 'Un'austriaca alla Corte napoletana: Maria Carolina d'Asburgo-Lorena', in Mirella Mafrici (ed.) *All'ombra della corte: Donne e potere nella Napoli borbonica (1734–1860)* (Fridericiana Editrice Universitaria: Naples, 2010), p. 51; Daniela Danna, *Amiche, compagne, amanti: Storia dell'amore tra donne* (Arnoldo Mondadori: Milan, 1994), pp. 89–91; and Alessandro Coletti, *La Regina di Napoli: La vita appassionata di Maria Carolina, protagonista di splendori e miserie del Settecento napoletano* (Istituto Geografico De Agostini: Novara, 1986), p. 146.
55. 'Portrait de la reine de Naples'.
    D.A.F. marquis de Sade, *Voyage d'Italie ou Dissertations critiques, historiques et philosophiques sur les villes de Florence, Rome, Naples, Lorette…*, ed. Maurice Lever (Arthème Fayard: Paris, 1995), vol. 1, p. 179.
56. This detail is incorrect; Maria Carolina was born in 1752, and Ferdinand in 1751.
57. 'Elle a sept ans de plus que le roi, et l'on s'aperçoit aisément de tout l'empire qu'elle cherche à prendre sur son esprit. Ce n'est pas aux Français qu'il faut apprendre que c'est le génie de la Maison d'Autriche.' Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, p. 179.
58. [Donatien Antoine François de Sade], *La Nouvelle Justine, ou les Malheurs de la Vertu, suivie de l'Histoire de Juliette, sa soeur* (Holland, 1797), esp. vols. 9 and 10.
59. The role that Sade's *Histoire de Juliette* played in constructing and perpetuating the vocabulary of defamation directed at Ferdinand and Maria Carolina in caricature has not yet been accounted for sufficiently in the literature, and requires further investigation.
60. 'Empoisonner ce vilain homme, devenir régente'. *Histoire de Juliette*, vol. 10, p. 10.
61. Sade refers to Maria Carolina by her true name, and that with which she signed letters.

62. 'Je volerai tous les trésors de mon mari, et les donnerai pour récompense à celle qui me fournira le poison nécessaire à l'envoyer dans l'autre monde.
Signé, C.[Charlotte] de L.[Lorraine], R.[Reine] de N.[Naples].'
Histoire de Juliette, vol. 10, p. 12.
63. On this in the context of the depiction of Marie-Antoinette as a lesbian, see Elizabeth Colwill, 'Pass as a Woman, Act like a Man: Marie-Antoinette as Tribade in the Pornography of the French Revolution', in Dena Goodman (ed.), *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen* (Routledge: New York, 2003), p. 151.
64. J. Gorani, *Lettres sur la Révolution Française* (Guillaume Junior: Paris, 1793); and Gorani, *Mémoires secrets et critiques*. On Gorani's writing about Maria Carolina and their implications for her historiography, see especially Recca, pp. 26–32.
65. Gorani writes, referring to Maria Carolina's alleged affair with Acton, 'Sometimes he [Ferdinand] said that the tiara of kings often only serves to make more visible the horns with which his forehead is laden [an image of cuckoldry]; but that it is better to suffer the debauchery of queens than to make scandals of it that would compromise the dignity of the throne' ('Quelquefois il dit que la diadême des rois ne sert souvent qu'à rendre plus visibles les cornes dont leur front est chargé [an image of cuckoldry]; mais qu'il vaut mieux souffir le libertinage des reines que d'en venir à des éclats qui compromettroient la dignité du trône'). Gorani, *Mémoires secrets et critiques*, vol. 1, p. 97.
66. Gorani, *Lettres sur la Révolution Française*, p. 85. See also p. 86; and *Mémoires secrets et critiques*, vol. 1, pp. 98, 248.
67. 'la reine de Naples réunit toute la lubricité d'une Messaline aux gouts hétéroclites d'une Sapho.'
Gorani, *Mémoires secrets et critiques*, vol. 1, p. 98.
68. 'non soltanto è peggiore di Messalina, ma è anche lesbica.'
Napoleon, as cited in Danna, p. 168.
69. See Elena Urgani, *La vicenda letteraria e politica di Eleonora de Fonseca Pimentel* (Città del Sole: Naples, 1998), pp. 102–104.
70. On this topic, see Colwill.
71. The fact that there is no semblance of an actual physiognomic portrait here is significant, as it underlines the generic nature of 'the queen's body'—be it Marie-Antoinette's or Maria Carolina's—as a scapegoat.
72. See, for comparison, the *Statue héroïque, dite* Jules César, start of the first century CE, marble, height 204 cm, Collection Borghèse, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
73. The literature on the depiction of Marie-Antoinette in defamatory and pornographic media is vast. Colwill provides a good overview of the corpus in 'Pass as a Woman, Act Like a Man', p. 162, note 7.
By contrast, the comparable depiction of Maria Carolina, particularly her appearance in Sade's work, has received hardly any scholarly attention. See Valerio Cantafio Casamaggi and Armelle St-Martin, *Sade et l'Italie* (Éditions Desjonquères: Paris, 2010), p. 75.
74. Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1992), pp. 97–98. See also Lynn Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette', in Dena Goodman (ed.), *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen* (Routledge: New York, 2003), pp. 121–122.

75. 'sans dissimulation'.
    Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, p. 179.
76. Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette', p. 118. See also pp. 120–121; and Hunt, *Family Romance*, pp. 93, 96–97.
77. Rousseau, as cited in Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette', p. 121. See also Hunt, *Family Romance*, p. 98.
78. Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Methuen: London, 1986), p. 104. See also Landes, pp. 163–166.
79. Onorato Gaetani, Duca di Miranda.
    For a comprehensive account of the unfolding of this commission, see Paola Fardella, *Antonio Canova a Napoli tra collezionismo e mercato* (Paparo: Napoli, 2002), pp. 65–88. See also *Civiltà dell'Ottocento*, cat. 15.6, pp. 309–310.
80. On Venuti's activity in Rome during this period (as well as an indication of the scale of the looting that was undertaken during the course of the Parthenopean Republic and the general upheaval of collections occurring in Rome at the time due to the political circumstances), see Elio Catello, 'Il recupero delle opere d'arte di S.M. Siciliana dopo il Novantanove', in *Scritti di storia dell'arte per il settantesimo dell'Associazione Napoletana per i Monumenti e il Paesaggio* (Arte Tipografica: Naples, 1991), pp. 101–107.
    See also Fardella, pp. 82, 89.
81. See the 'Abbozzo di Biografia 1804–1805' (that Canova himself probably approved), in Honour (ed.), *Scritti*, p. 308.
82. As relayed by the Neapolitan director of state finances, Giuseppe Zurlo (with whom Venuti maintained a daily correspondence at this time; Catello, p. 101), to prime minister John Acton (then still in Sicily with the royal family). 'Questo pensiero trova adattabile il Venuti all'epoca attuale; non potendo meglio esprimersi la democrazia abbattuta dalla forza sovrana, che con un Ercole, che gitta Lica nel profondo del mare. Quest'opera con un'iscrizione allusive sarebbe di un esempio eterno ai buoni, di terrore ai malvaggi.' ASN, Ministero degli Affari Esteri 4292, Letter from Giuseppe Zurlo to John Acton, 12 March 1800, fo. 13 verso. See also Borzelli, p. 8.
83. ASN, Ministero degli Affari Esteri 4292, 66, Summary of letter from Giuseppe Zurlo to John Acton, 12 March 1800.
84. ASN, Giuseppe Zurlo to John Acton, 12 March 1800, fo. 13 recto.
85. See note 46. The commission of Hercules and Lychas was adopted in 1801 by the Roman banker Alessandro Torlonia.
86. A similar arrangement is adopted in the grisaille 'cut-out' which depicts Ferdinand and Maria Carolina together with the figure of Minerva. See note 31.
87. 'Walks in Rome and its environs—no. XVI. Roman Art—Canova', in *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 1829, part I: Original Papers (Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley: London, 1829), p. 32.
88. Johns makes a similar argument in connection with the statue of Napoleon, which he likens to 'a beachgoer's face above the photographic cutout of a strongman', referring to the patent discrepancy between the idealised sculpted physique and the reality of Napoleon's own.
    Johns, *Politics of Patronage*, p. 101. See also Johns, 'Portrait Mythology', p. 126.
89. John Cordy Jeaffreson, *The Queen of Naples and Lord Nelson: An Historical Biography based on MSS. in the British Museum and on Letters and other*

Documents Preserved amongst the Morrison MSS. (Hurst and Blackett: London, 1889), vol. I, p. 91.

90. Review of Leon d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, *Histoire de la Révolution dans les Deux Siciles depuis 1793*, in *The Monthly Review*, April 1857, p. 254.
91. Review of Hervey-Saint-Denys, p. 254.
92. J.W. Kaye (ed.), *Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte of Wales with extracts from her journals and anecdote books* (W.H. Allen: London, 1889), vol. I, p. 108.

Psychological Androgyny, Romanticism and the Radical Challenge to Hegemonic Masculinity in England, 1790–1840

Victoria Russell

> First, then, human beings were formerly not divided into two sexes, male and female; there was also a third, common to both the others, the name of which remains, though the sex itself has disappeared. The androgynous sex, both in appearance and in name, was common both to male and female; its name alone remains, which labours under a reproach.[1]

In 1818 the Romantic poet, Percy Bysshe Shelly, wrote in the preface to his translation of Plato's controversial *Symposium* that the 'invidious distinction of human kind, as a class of beings [of] intellectual nature, into two sexes, is a remnant of savage barbarism which we have less excuse than they for not having totally abolished'.[2] Plato's famous tale of divided humans, pining for their other halves, had a profound effect on the imaginations of Romantic radicals, acting as an allegory for their own troubled and divided times. In place of the ever more restricted binary model, the Romantic concept of the unsexed mind or what we might term in retrospect psychological androgyny supported the notion that, regardless of biological sex, the human mind was a fluid and versatile mix of masculine and feminine properties. 'I confess myself,' wrote the Unitarian John Aikin, 'of the opinion of those who would

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rather form the two sexes to resemblance of character, than contrast them. Virtue, wisdom, preference of mind, patience, vigour, capacity, application, are not sexual qualities: they belong to mankind…'.[3] The largely implicit concept of psychological androgyny was not about trying to achieve some utopian state of intellectual perfection in which masculine and feminine combined equally in both sexes. Nor was it about the transcendence of sensuality, as is sometimes suggested. The overriding concern was instead with the protection of what one radical described as an 'infinitely varied humanity', where one's rights, movements and aspirations were not determined by the strict limitations of biology.[4] From the early 1790s the unsexed mind became the central motif of Romantic radicalism, motivating and fuelling the rapid acceleration of an increasingly public and politicised debate on gender, power and the still unresolved and seemingly abandoned Enlightenment principles of equality, liberty and self-determination. Romantic radicals sought to undermine what they perceived to be the arbitrary exclusivity of a male-centric ruling elite, whose increasingly conservative and martial codes of hegemonic masculinity excluded all who were unable or unwilling to conform.

From 1789 onwards, fears and insecurities occasioned by revolution, war and the all-pervading threat of invasion were leading it seemed to ever more reactionary and conservative notions of sexual character, in a bid to maintain social order and stability. Notions of gender and identity came under ever greater scrutiny as members of a suspicious, conservative and increasingly evangelical elite attempted to rebut the advances of Jacobinism and its levelling ideology. Opinions which had existed largely implicitly before the French Revolution became increasingly explicit, voiced in religious sermons and written into newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, advice manuals and text books.[5] The most famous of these and arguably a catalyst for the debate on gender was Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, published in 1790, which warned in part of the enervating disintegration of rank and sex.[6] Men and women, conservatives argued, were complementary opposites, with distinct and separate characters and thus distinct and separate spheres of responsibility. To blur such distinctions through mistaken notions of universal equality would be to dilute and weaken the sexual and moral character of society and the nation.

Advances in the human sciences, most notably anatomy, physiognomy and anthropology, appeared to provide opponents of the unsexed mind with the physical evidence required to confirm inherent and distinct differences between men and women. The transition from the one-sex to the two-sex model towards the end of the eighteenth century saw psycho-sexual differences between men and women increasingly rooted in the physical and biological body. The result was a single horizontal, rather than a vertical, axis upon which the ideal 'masculine type' was ranged in polar, yet complementary, opposition to the ideal 'feminine type'. New and complete diagrams of the female skeleton and skull were compared with those of the once 'universal' male skeleton. Studies of both physiognomies, however, tended towards

'ideal' representations. Ambivalent scientific data was tweaked in order to emphasise gender-specific differences, thus helping to legitimise emerging theories of normative sexuality. At one end of the sexual spectrum was the ideal 'woman': physically delicate, child-like, emotional and subservient; at the other end was the ideal 'man': physically robust, active, intellectual and masterful. The sexual hierarchy that had existed in the former one-sex model was transferred, intact, to the two-sex model. Distinctions in size, height and weight between the two 'ideal' skeletons and their correspondent skulls were used to highlight natural correlations between biological form and socio-sexual function, thus sanctioning the prescriptive dominance of hegemonic masculinity.[7] As R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt point out, hegemonic masculinity had little to do with statistical observation but was measured, as the 'universal' male skeleton demonstrates, by contemporary, arbitrary and usually exclusive notions of masculine beauty and 'honoured' behaviour.[8]

It is hardly surprising therefore, that the two-sex model, in which the distinctions between masculine and feminine seemed increasingly idealised, should be defined more so than its predecessor, by the negative alternatives of the abnormal and lascivious middle ground.[9] Masculinity may have been the polar opposite of femininity but its anti-type and antithesis was effeminacy. The arbitrary and culturally contingent model of hegemonic masculinity, and the power invested in it, was yet vulnerable not so much to women per se but to the insidious corruptions of the unnatural and the unmanly. 'Masculinity,' Stefan Dudink argues, 'was defined not so much in terms of a given difference from femininity, as in terms of a dangerous proximity to effeminacy.'[10] The influence of feminine manners upon masculine identity was of growing concern. The infiltration of non-manly sentiment into traditional homosocial environments, such as education, politics and the arenas of war and diplomacy, were in danger, it was argued, of enfeebling and incapacitating the masculine and more importantly 'manly' character of Britain, precisely as had happened in France.[11] Writing about proposals to include painting and music as regular disciplines in male education, the evangelical, William Barrow, warned that such subjects would contribute to 'that levity of mind and conduct, which at present threatens to impair the firm texture of the British Character and British virtue'.[12] Referring to the important studies of Stefan Colini and John Tosh, Heather Ellis highlights the distinction between maturity and immaturity, noting how immaturity rather than effeminacy was the overriding concern in constructing notions of masculinity from the early nineteenth century.[13] And yet numerous references, both implicit and explicit, to effeminacy throughout this period would suggest otherwise. If immaturity was an issue, arguably, it was because of its associations with the child-like 'minor' qualities of the feminine and the unmanly. At a time of heightened national insecurity, references to effeminacy are lent greater significance when interpreted as part of an embattled establishment narrative bent on quashing the destabilising advances of unsexed egalitarians.[14] The concept

of effeminacy during the Romantic period hinged on two, often overlapping interpretations: the first of these linked effeminacy with the impotency of the unsexed and asexual eunuch; the second—more apparent with the emergence of foreign Jacobinism—linked effeminacy to the ambiguous, lascivious and compromised sexuality of the hermaphrodite. Both forms were connected in part to notions of immaturity and weakness, of which feminine sentiment was a factor, and both were used frequently during this period as anti-types to the positive hegemonic virtues of martial valour and manly heroism.[15] The public pathologising of effeminate men, such as Henry Lee Hunt, and masculine women, such as Mary Wollstonecraft, served to highlight to the increasingly conservative middling and upper classes the risks posed to social, political and cultural security and to warn against the incursions of the levelling middle ground.[16]

In stark contrast to the above, Romantic radicals warned that it was the strict adherence to psycho-sexual segregation that was increasingly to blame for many of the ills afflicting society. The imposition of rigid sexual identities based on little more than ambivalent scientific data and religious dogma, encouraged ignorance, alienation, disaffection and a lack of fellow-understanding and respect that extended into the marital home and beyond. To maintain such practices, they argued, would be to sink society further into degraded notions of false gallantry, coquetry and the weakening of the moral and empathic compass of both sexes.[17] *Man*, it was implied, was in mind and soul, androgynous: the biological could not determine the psychological and a weak body, whether male or female, was not evidence of a weak and dependent mind. 'Human Beings,' Samuel Taylor Coleridge argued, 'are differenced from each other by degrees only, and these degrees too often-times changing.'[18] Psycho-sexual difference was on the whole the arbitrary product of social engineering. For society to progress and develop, the fluid nature of *human* psychology – irrespective of biological sex—had to be acknowledged and nurtured. The 'first laudable ambition,' wrote Mary Wollstonecraft, 'is to obtain a character as a human being, regardless of the distinction of sex.'[19] And yet despite this very public and increasingly contentious debate, the Romantic concept of psychological androgyny remains a significant lacuna in English historiography.

Psychological Androgyny—Historiographical Neglect and Misunderstanding

On the rare occasions that androgyny is touched upon in the secondary sources, it is done so by literary scholars more concerned, arguably, with textual rather than contextual analysis. The more explicit references to androgyny, located almost entirely within the works of male Romantics, such as Coleridge, have led to a rather negative interpretation of the concept, most especially in feminist scholarship. Androgyny is portrayed as a misogynistic

concept masquerading as an egalitarian one. Words such as 'cannibalise', 'engulf', 'silence' and 'appropriate' are used to describe a concept that, while encouraging the appropriation of the feminine as a necessary element in male creative genius, ignored or suppressed its female equivalent.[20] From this, two quite distinct Romanticisms emerge, the masculine and the feminine.[21] The perhaps unintentional effect of this literary focus has been to transform the concept of psychological androgyny into something that existed essentially within the realms of art, literature and fantasy—a self-absorbed, literary and masculine concept that had little bearing on ordinary mortals and lived reality. The largely implicit references to the concept of psychological androgyny have undoubtedly played their part in obscuring this Romantic concept from historiographical view but its neglect is more readily explainable when we consider the nature and state of Romantic scholarship itself.

Historiographical Reappraisal of Romanticism and the Unsexed Mind

Over the past twenty years the study of Romanticism has undergone something of a renaissance. The relaxation of academic boundaries and the collaborative adaptation of disciplines and methodologies have resulted in a quite profound shift in scholarly opinion. Once viewed as an essentially aesthetic movement and thus the purview of literary and arts scholars, evidence of its far broader social and political influence has started to attract historians of religion, science, philosophy and politics. Comparisons based, moreover, on the reanalysis of Romanticisms across Europe have further enriched and complicated historiographical understanding, resulting in a far more considered and objective appreciation of their peculiarities and their similarities.[22] Romanticism is no longer dismissed by historians as the irrational and self-absorbed antithesis of the Enlightenment and the rejection, *tout court*, of its radical and revolutionary theories.[23] Despite cultural variations across Europe, recent studies of German Romanticism, for example, have drawn attention to areas of continuity between the Romantic Movement and the Enlightenment, highlighting most notably the extent to which both were informed by the politics of social reform and equality. While it is impossible to ignore the reactionary elements in Romanticism, certainly in its more advanced phase, Frederick C. Beiser warns against interpreting 'early Romanticism in the light of later Romanticism…'.[24] Writing specifically about *early* German Romanticism (*Frühromantik*), Beiser argues that in 'some important respects, Romantics continued with, and indeed radicalized, the legacy of the Enlightenment'.[25] Nowhere is this perhaps more apparent than in the Romantic defence of radical criticism. Early Romantics were, according to Beiser, 'apostles of sexual freedom, critics of sexual stereotypes, and defenders of personal liberty'.[26] And in this, the parallels between Germany and England are evident. Nothing was beyond scrutiny in order to liberate mankind from seemingly 'oppressive

social norms'.[27] The concept of psychological androgyny, evident in both Germany and England, offers a clear example of this radical Romantic phenomenon with its powerful critique of the theories both of patriarchy and equality.

And yet, despite the above shift in scholarly opinion, there is a tendency still amongst Anglo-American scholars to view English Romanticism as fundamentally reactionary, impelled by figures such as Burke, Coleridge and William Wordsworth, disgusted and disillusioned by the horrors of revolution and anomie. Under William Pitt's administration, the relative strength and stability of England's centralised governing body effectively quashed all signs of serious radical opposition. Pitt's targeted interventions, most notably the suspension of habeas corpus in 1794, the enactment of the Treason and Seditious Meetings Acts of 1795 and the Combination Acts of 1799, are traditionally seen as leading to a marked and quite rapid decline in radical activity in England from the mid to late 1790s.[28] And the wars with France further depleted the ranks of radicalism by raising issues of patriotism and loyalty to King and Country. Emerging much at the same time that Enlightenment 'jacobinical' radicalism was in decline, English Romantics are aligned traditionally with the forces of reactionary conservatism. Reacting with distaste to the political and social atomism that resulted from the warped Enlightenment theorising of French revolutionaries, English Romantics are placed firmly within the conservative camp of 'Burkean Romanticism'. English Romantics employed the new methodology of historicism to endorse the ancient rule of law, organised religion, property and the status quo.[29] In writing of the 'disillusionment' that ensued amongst 'young' poets after 1789, Lilian Furst argues that, in comparison with their continental counterparts, English Romantics experienced 'no radical break with their own spiritual roots' but instead clung more intently to the 'sterling value of their own heritage'.[30] While the terrors of the French Revolution did indeed encourage many radicals to revise their initial enthusiasm and to rethink their support of republican democracy and socialism, the idea that English Romantics rejected their radical beliefs entirely and returned wholeheartedly to the principles underpinning the rights of property, constitution and crown is misleading.

Differences between England and the Continent can in part be attributed to geo-political idiosyncrasies. Issues of growing nationalism and self-determination are important factors to consider. The political organisation and nationalistic rhetoric so prevalent amongst Italian Romantics, for example, is seemingly absent amongst their English brothers and sisters.[31] Where Italian and German Romantics drew upon issues of national pride and native grievance towards a foreign 'other'—invasion, colonisation, cultural persecution—as the dominant partner in the comparatively successful political and economic Union of Great Britain, English Romantics lacked an obvious and immediate focus of discontent. And yet, to understand what is sometimes interpreted as political apathy, we need to look again at the underlying

motives influencing such apparent reaction and conservatism and more importantly we need to reconsider the socio-political and religious motivations that guided English Romanticism. It is when we consider these in more depth that our interpretation of English Romanticism as reactionary and conservative starts to shift significantly. The movers and shakers of the Movement in England—radical figures such as Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, Anna Barbauld, Coleridge, Shelley, William Johnson Fox—were without exception either born into or closely aligned with Rational Dissent and in particular Unitarianism.[32] They were moreover a group increasingly concerned with issues above and beyond matters of doctrine.

Despite recent historiographical emphasis on the lack of ideological agreement amongst radicals,[33] the study of English radicalism has suffered to a degree, very much as Romantic scholarship has done, from a kind of disciplinary myopia. Though hugely important, research has focused almost entirely on issues of working-class struggle, suffrage and parliamentary reform. J.C.D. Clark's *English Society* is still unusual in considering the importance of religious controversy within English radicalism.[34] Studies of Romanticism in England have therefore suffered, arguably, from the failure to adequately discern critical links between the formative stages of the Movement in the early 1790s and the radical fringes of Rational Dissent. In particular, the role of radical Unitarians[35] in helping to develop cross-cultural and international theories of gender-neutrality needs to be reconsidered. Gleadle and Daniel E. White are all but unique in asserting that 'Dissenting communities impelled the genesis of Romanticism in England.'[36] While some historians, such as Ruth Watts, do refer in passing to the influence of Romanticism upon Dissent, Gleadle and White are perhaps the first to identify more than a passive assimilation.[37] It is a pity, therefore, that their analyses do not go further. They do not consider the divisions within 'dissent' itself. By focusing on the radicalism on the margins of Rational Dissent we are able to discern a subtle distinction, often obscured in the historiography, between parliamentary and popular radicals, such as William Cobbett,[38] whose anti-Jacobin slogans and patriotism from the early 1790s were rooted in the superiority of the Anglican, and perhaps more importantly, English establishment, and the heterodox, anti-Trinitarian and cosmopolitan radicalism of rational dissent. It was not only their open opposition to war but their persistent friendly relations with foreign, particularly German, intellectuals, that led to a growing ideological distance between not only Anti-Trinitarian and Trinitarian Dissenters but between 'Old' and 'New' Unitarians.[39] Though all radicals drew upon the principles of liberty and equality, and all were in many respects tarred by the same Jacobinical brush, the effects of the French Revolution and subsequent wars, encouraged subtle, and yet quite profound, ideological differences to emerge within English radicalism, most especially in the interpretation of 'fraternity' and its bearing on notions of 'equality' and 'universality'. The more orthodox radical groups, such as the London Corresponding Society, tended

to promote the equality of men. Romantic radicals in contrast promoted the equality of mankind. Radical Rational Dissenters, with their rejection of Trinitarian dogma, their initial support of revolution, their opposition to war, their foreign connections and their seemingly Jacobinical and levelling concept of psycho-sexual equality, found themselves pushed further and further onto the very margins of English radicalism itself. The Romantic concept of psychological androgyny was informed and enriched by the discriminatory practices enforced upon and experienced by Rational Dissenters of both sexes and in particular Unitarians.[40] If there was a unifying grievance that galvanised English Romantics, it was one that, as persecution against native-born and predominantly Unitarian 'Jabobins' increased from the mid-1790s, attracted a diminishing hard-core from amongst the cosmopolitan intelligentsia of Rational Dissent. And lying behind this egalitarian concept and adding arguably to its dark mystique was a resurgent, revivified and radical Platonism.

Platonism and the Romantic Concept of Psychological Androgyny

As a renegade philosopher renowned for deeply critical analyses of his own culture, Plato was the radical philosopher for a radical and Romantic ideology. From the mid-eighteenth century, the new methodologies of historicism and philology, developed and refined largely by German scholars in German universities, were being employed to increasing effect in biblical exegesis and most notably in analyses of the Pentateuchal texts.[41] And as part of the drive to unravel and rationalise the mysteries and mythologies of the ancient past, the same methods were applied to the study of ancient secular texts. Original Platonic texts were isolated from later Neoplatonic, Christianising and, more importantly, discriminatory accretions. In returning to the Greek rather than relying on later Latin translations as was common practice across Europe, Romantic scholars, such as Friedrich Schlegel and Shelley, identified a less mystical and more pragmatic tone to Plato's works.[42] Plato was no longer the poster-boy for the conservative mysticism of the Protestant tradition.[43] If the Book of Genesis, the key foundational text upon which notions of sexual difference and function were based, could be shown to be the 'compilation of ancient documents, and not the writing of Moses',[44] and the creation of Adam and Eve little more than the borrowing from earlier pagan mythologies, then the argument that sexual difference and superiority were determined by one defining moment of Divine Inspiration could no longer be maintained. Nor so could the belief that Eve was *from* and *for* Adam. 'Nor will even the reputation of our great Milton himself,' wrote Lucy Aikin, 'secure him from the charge of a blasphemous presumption in making his Eve address to Adam the acknowledgement, "God is thy head, thou mine;" and in the assertion that the first human pair were formed, "He for God only, she for God in him."'[45] Human nature was open to reinvention.

Romantic radicals looked to Plato, distinct from Aristotle and the Greek playwrights, poets and dramatists—who maintained a strict sexual hierarchy—as someone who offered a more liberating, gender-neutral view of mankind. The all-male gatherings in the Socratic dialogues, which complied with Athenian convention, were complicated by the, albeit physically absent, presence of rational, educated women: women, such as Diotima, who, moving beyond the traditional role of wife or harlot, acted as mentors and advisors and therefore pointed to a more democratic society. Plato may not have defied Classical convention entirely by including women in person, but the unconventional act of female representation presented a positive ideal to which a progressive and modern society might aspire. For Swearingen, the *Symposium* represents a positive reworking of the feminine through 'diverse representations of non-hierarchical, reciprocal, non-possessive practices of love and discourse'.[46] Plato can, she argues, be seen as a 'renegade preserver and protector of the feminine as it gradually succumbed to suppression and denigration,' in the ancient world.[47] It can be argued that 'Renegade' Romantic radicals, fearful of the deleterious effects of sexual segregation and militarisation, looked to Plato to offer the 'feminine' in their own society just such protection and endorsement.

It was, as Shelley explained, the responsibility of the historian to be impartial and to 'cast off the cloak of his self-flattering prejudices and forbid the distinction of manners … to interfere with his delight or his instruction'.[48] For those willing to look beyond such worrying customs as pederasty, Plato's *Symposium* in particular offered tantalising, though largely implicit, examples of egalitarian communities in which men and women could be equals. On issues of gender, Angela Hobbs describes Plato's position as 'deliberately ambivalent…' thus allowing for the potential reimagining of sexual identity and the shifting of power relations between and within the sexes.[49] But if Aristophanes' tale of androgynous beings in the *Symposium* could be shrugged off by some as comedy of the grotesque,[50] Socrates' discussion with Diotima on love pointed to something far more profound and not so easily dismissed: heterosexual[51] Uranianism or 'Heavenly Love'. In ancient Greek culture, Uranianism represented the state of higher or 'heavenly' love between men in which intellectual rather than purely physical compatibility was sought. Though constantly at risk of contamination, friendship between men was seen as something rational and civilising in a way that heterosocial, and indeed homosocial female friendship, was not.[52]

> As a sex towards whom we are naturally and involuntarily drawn, Woman is doubtless most captivating; yet man may be, as an individual, more estimable. One sex we love, – esteem remains for the other; and perhaps the latter is a purer and nobler attachment of the two.[53]

According to the above, heterosexual love was part of nature's primitive and involuntary urge to procreate; friendship in its classical guise was on the other

hand a rational and manly pursuit, untarnished by the 'lower' Pandemic and sensual love. 'Public' friendship and 'private' love became increasingly separate and increasingly gendered. And yet we should not see the pursuit of heterosexual Uranianism as a desire for non-sensual unions. For Shelley, the degree to which a society had progressed could be measured by the extent to which friendship and love were combined:

> The sexual impulse, which is only one, and often a small part of those claims [the desire for intellectual, imaginative, and sensitive communion] serves, from its obvious and external nature, as a kind of type or expression of the rest, a common basis, an acknowledged and visible link….[54]

The same was true for Coleridge: friendship, he argued, could satisfy the 'highest parts of our nature', but friendship with a wife, was capable of satisfying all.[55] For both sexes, heterosexual Uranianism was capable of being the most creative relationship because it allowed, in theory at least, for both to be physically and mentally procreative. Taking the theory of universal equality to its logical conclusion therefore, heterosexual Uranianism presaged a permanent remodelling, even dismantling, of patriarchy as the preserver of a conservative and increasingly circumscribed model of hegemonic masculinity. And the 'method' by which this 'dismantling' would be achieved was provided by Plato's own example. The Socratic Method, employed to great effect in the *Symposium*, provided radicals such as Wollstonecraft, with the necessary tools to instruct future generations on *how* to think, rather than merely *what* to think.[56] 'The first lesson of a judicious education,' wrote Godwin, 'is, Learn to think, to discriminate, to remember and to enquire.'[57] The Socratic Method was moreover, as Hobbs points out, designed to 'accommodate both the ideals to which students should aspire and the reality that [the] immediate audience' experienced.[58] It could, in other words, cater to the slow and hesitant pace at which society was apt to change.

Education, the Quietest Route to Socio-Political Reform and Universal Equality

By the early nineteenth century, the failures and chaos of the French Revolution had demonstrated to Romantic radicals that universal suffrage and democracy, important as they were, were not in themselves remedies to social injustice and inequality. What good were such 'inalienable rights' if the individual, male or female, was incapable of rational, independent and critical thought? Referring in 1818 to the anarchy of the French Revolution, Shelley highlighted the ideological naivety that underpinned Enlightenment theories of 'equality' when he queried the possibility of the uneducated, trampled slave suddenly becoming 'liberal-minded, forbearing and independent?'[59] Where the more conventional and non-violent methods of lobbying, rallying, petitioning and pamphleteering had arguably failed to achieve the

wide-ranging social, political and religious reforms long hoped for by radicals and Dissenters alike, education, and a more gender-neutral approach to infant and elementary schooling, was seen as the most effective and enduring means of advancing positive socio-political change. In the words of one radical, education would be a revolution not of war and carnage, but a revolution 'of the human mind; a change of public opinion that in its wake would carry a moral force which nothing could resist'.[60] Parliamentary reform, universal suffrage and the gradual elimination of a hegemonic male-centric society would be natural and incremental by-products of this intellectual revolution. 'The cause of political reform, and the cause of intellectual and literary refinement are inseparably connected', wrote Godwin.[61] Education, perhaps more than anything else, became the key to advancing a stable, progressive and egalitarian society. Reforms to education would, it was believed, naturally encourage reforms elsewhere, as the *Quarterly Journal of Education* explained in 1835:

> The most important of all the institutions of society are those which regard the education of both sexes, because education has the power of determining to a great extent the happiness of individuals, as well as that of society at large. If we ascend to the origin of all the crimes and evils which disturb society, we shall find it to be the want of a good plan of education; a complete reform in education would bring with it all other reforms which the present state of society requires.[62]

From the 1790s and throughout the period in question, it was arguably education and not politics that provided the main platform upon which a Romantic and more pragmatic and discreet Rational Dissenting radicalism emerged.[63] Prior to the Education Act in 1870, the decidedly *laissez-faire* approach to education in England provided radicals with the relative freedom necessary to engage in a spot of social (re)-engineering.[64] Where it was perfectly conceivable that education might act as a catalyst for political and social reform, it had seldom been the case that political activism acted favourably in the opposite direction, as the Dissenting academies of Warrington and later Hackney found arguably to their cost when members of these institutions were accused of political radicalism, resulting in a loss of reputation, financial backing and students.[65] Education, unallied with aggressive, outspoken politicism, provided the means by which the politically and socially disenfranchised—of which rational dissenters prior to 1828, and women, made up a significant proportion—could arguably mount a more discreet and more thoroughgoing attack on the prejudicial norms and principles of society.

Seldom touched upon in the historiography, from the 1790s, radical educationists and in particular Unitarians, employed a noticeably more gender-neutral approach to infant and elementary educations in single-sexed as well as coeducational schools. School prospectuses, advice manuals and textbooks extolled the virtues of identical, non-sexed educations between the ages of

two and fourteen. Regardless of sex, onus was placed on the rounded development of *all* a child's faculties: intellectual, moral and physical. In addition to shared outdoor activity and the essentials of reading, writing and arithmetic, boys and girls, wrote Wollstonecraft, should be taught 'botany, mechanics, and astronomy', as well as 'the elements of religion, history, the history of man, and politics'.[66] In the advertisement to his *Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences, for the use of Schools and Young Persons*, the Unitarian minister, Jeremiah Joyce, advised that both sexes study grammar, logic, rhetoric, geography, artificial memory, mythology, history, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mechanics, hydraulics, pneumatics; acoustics; optics; astronomy; electricity; galvanism; magnetism; chemistry; mineralogy; botany and natural history.[67] Similarly, in his plan for the conduct of female education in boarding schools, Erasmus Darwin, physician and member of the radical Lunar Society, recommended that girls be introduced to a range of topics, including science, mechanics and the theory and practice of agriculture. Although Darwin's advice appears at first to endorse the sexual double standard, most notably in his apparent lauding of 'the mild and retiring virtues' of femininity, knowledge of Darwin's links with radical dissent and a closer inspection of his advice, suggest a marked ambivalence towards traditional notions of psycho-sexual difference. Alongside the stereotypical description of female delicacy and charm was adverted the desire that 'internal strength and activity of mind,' be 'superadded' in order to 'compleat [sic] the female character'.[68] Though quick to assert that such subjects would not deter girls from fulfilling their natural roles as wives and mothers, Darwin stressed that a comprehensive and useful education would nonetheless equip girls with the necessary tools to 'transact the business or combat the evils of life'.[69] The implied gender-neutrality of Darwin's advice is more apparent when we consider his reasons for publishing. Darwin was initially called upon by his two illegitimate daughters, Susan and Mary Parker, for advice and help in establishing a boarding school for girls in 1794.[70] Aside from the issue of self-respect, single or widowed women and those without financial means needed to be able to support themselves and any dependents. As radicals such as Wollstonecraft and Macaulay pointed out, the decidedly inferior state of middling to upper-class female education militated against any prospect of independence for women or happy equality between the sexes. For this reason, radical educationists sought to relegate the traditional female disciplines of embroidery, piano-playing and painting to optional extras. Although there was nothing intrinsically wrong in developing such 'accomplishments', an education that focused entirely on cosmetic skills fitted girls for little more than the 'venal'[71] and superficial marriage market and a life of inept and ignorant dependency. 'Useful' was the watch-word in radical education and one that did not concern itself overly with issues of sexual difference. Although few would admit publicly to it, and those such as Wollstonecraft, Fox and Frederick Hill were keen to play down the risks of gender inversion, the belief that women and men might one day stand as equals, with equal responsibilities in the public sphere, was tantalisingly present.

Radicals criticised the artificial and harmful dividing up and apportioning of human qualities between the sexes. 'Let the daily observation of mankind bear witness,' wrote Lucy Aikin, 'that no talent, no virtue, is masculine alone; no fault or folly exclusively feminine.'[72] In a lecture given before his congregation at the South Place Chapel in 1840, the Unitarian minister and radical, Fox advised that 'the training that seems most congenial with each nature is that which should be diligently employed upon the other'. Boys in particular, Fox maintained, would grow from 'that cultivation which is generally appropriated to the gentle, in order to endow it with more kindness, and preserve it from hardness and coarseness'.[73] The Unitarian educationist, John Relly Beard, advised that, in addition to the traditional subjects, boys at his school be instructed in the typically feminine arts of dancing, painting, music and the cultured development of the imagination. Such skills, Beard believed, would not only unite 'in harmony and strength the several faculties of mind and body' but that they would in later life 'yield … ample sources of personal and domestic pleasures'.[74] As implied by the heterosexual reading of Plato's *Symposium*, gender-neutral educations would, it was believed, unite the sexes through shared experience, knowledge and friendship. It was arguably for this reason that the merits of coeducation were keenly discussed amongst radical dissenting groups. The realisation of an egalitarian society, it was argued, necessitated that boys and girls be educated where possible together, and 'not only in private families, but in public schools….'[75] 'Friendly emulation',[76] usually reserved for boys, was to be encouraged between boys and girls to protect society from what Thomas Love Peacock described as 'half-reasoning developments'.[77]

In search of evidence to support such theories, English Romantics looked not only to Germany but north of the border to Scotland where infant and elementary coeducation already existed.[78] Invited in 1835 to speak before Henry Brougham's education committee,[79] the Scottish advocate and educationist, James Simpson, argued that with minds naturally so alike, boys and girls educated together would, 'stimulate each other in the best possible way to exertion'. When asked whether this arrangement might result in the loss of female delicacy and refinement, Simpson replied that the effects of a proper and well-regulated system would, 'refine both sexes to a degree we have never seen … in any rank of life'. Refinement, moreover, would not degrade, effeminate or unsex but lead instead, he argued, to the purifying and exalting of those 'feelings which the intercourse of the sexes [naturally] calls forth'.[80] At its broadest, the notion of a gender-neutral education for both sexes provided the perfect opportunity to project into future adult minds an image of society in which patriarchy and masculine hegemony no longer represented the supreme and defining 'norm' against which all 'others' were judged. Hinting at the eventual eradication of gender-specific virtues (if not the eradication of gendered language), Fox argued that the 'manly' '*feeling* of equality and independence', generated in the breasts of all would 'breed a race that would not endure' inequitable systems of prejudice, discrimination and persecution.[81]

The gender-neutral education was designed, however, not only with an eye on future progress but with one firmly fixed on the contemporary state of the family and marital home as the surest gauge of social progress and civilisation. In rational dissenting households – certainly prior to 1828—in which both husband and wife were in one way or another disenfranchised, traditional distinctions between domestic and public spheres were often absent, mitigating patriarchal distinctions between 'ruler' and 'ruled'. Male Romantic radicals would appear to have distanced themselves from the patriarchal conventions of the traditional *paterfamilias*. Writing shortly after the death of his wife, Mary Wollstonecraft, Godwin admitted that it had, 'always been the plan of Mrs Godwin and myself to provide by our joint labours'.[82] Rather than the unequal status of domestic 'companion' or 'help meet', the projected relationship between husband and wife was to be one of equal partnership. Underpinning this image of conjugal equality was the radical reinterpretation of *Uranianism*, acting arguably as mediator between the segregated private and public spheres. Where 'active' and 'public' citizenship for radicals of both sexes was highly circumscribed,[83] the 'private' connection between these two bastions of masculine hegemony—education and marriage—was vital. There is not space to consider radical proposals for marital reform but we can consider how ideas of egalitarian domesticity helped shape the gender-neutral school. 'If marriage be the cement of society,' wrote Wollstonecraft, 'mankind should be educated after the same model.'[84]

The principle of equal partnership can be seen promoted in Romantic educational institutions, in which men and women—often married couples—laboured to create environments of enlightened, yet domestic egalitarianism. Romantics believed that school—the promoter of familial and moral values—should replicate the enlightened home environment as closely as was conveniently possible.[85] And although it would be inaccurate to suggest that the duties of male and female teachers within such establishments were entirely equal, there is nonetheless a strong sense that in a number of radical institutions a visible and active female presence was considered vitally important for intellectual and moral development. An early and pioneering example of how domestic egalitarianism was applied to the school environment was to be found in Palgrave School for Boys in Somerset, run jointly by Anna Barbauld and her husband. In a role that extended beyond the traditionally maternal, Barbauld taught not only English composition and geography but the masculine arts of public speaking and declamation.[86] The radical notion of egalitarian domesticity appeared to be framed in direct and conscious opposition to what Christine De Bellaigue identifies as the emergence of an increasingly gendered and segregated 'rhetoric of domesticity' among the growing middling and evangelical classes at this time.[87]

The political implications of a gender-neutral education upon the future shape and balance of society were more than apparent. It was arguably, however, with an eye on the future that the majority of texts published by radical educationists during this period concerned themselves with reforms to male

education. Within these, female education was referred to often in parenthesis and the stubborn persistence of fashionable customs cited as the reason for its relative subordination.[88] But before we dismiss such as evidence of the masculine appropriation of the feminine, we should first consider the importance that realistic targeted reforms to male education might have upon the future prospects of women and other minorities. In this, we should remember Hobbs' comment on education accommodating both ideals and reality.[89] First of all, in addition to the fact that not all students at dissenting schools were dissenters, it is important to appreciate that not all teachers in dissenting boys' schools were men. We need therefore to consider the impact that well-educated female teachers had upon the future socio-political inclinations of their male pupils. Writing about Barbauld, William McCarthy argues that though unable to perform 'any official act of citizenship herself' Barbauld saw teaching as a way for women to become active citizens. Through teaching, she believed, women could 'create the citizens of the future'.[90] When Wollstonecraft protested that women who refused to suckle and educate their own infants were undeserving of citizenship, she was in many respects alluding to a similar belief, namely that women in their capacity both as mothers and teachers were instrumental in nurturing and nourishing egalitarian minds of the future. As the example of Diotima implied, the visible and active presence of rational and intelligent female teachers would nurture a generation of boys who, indifferent to gendered stereotypes, would be more sensitive to socio-political and sexual prejudices and keen to challenge them. Just how influential female teachers could be was amply demonstrated by Thomas Denman, a former Palgrave student and admirer of Barbauld who, rising to the position of Attorney General, would become a leading advocate of women's rights and a campaigner for universal education.[91] Denman was an Anglican. Yet another Palgrave student, the renowned scholar and translator of German literature, William Taylor of Norwich, described Barbauld as the 'mother of his mind'.[92] Such comments lend weight to McCarthy's suggestion that a Palgrave education 'induced feminist sympathies' in its pupils.[93] In much the same fashion, boys' schools run by radical Unitarians, Lant Carpenter and John Relly Beard, both of whom maintained strong female presences via wives and daughters, produced pupils who would later on become public defenders and advocates of the women's rights movement.[94] In this respect, radical schools promoted a profoundly different and egalitarian model of domestic and State 'government'.

Education and the Undermining of 'Absurd Notions of … Sexual Excellence'

Radical educationists looked to further undermine notions of hegemonic masculinity by holding up for criticism in classrooms and textbooks examples of society's 'absurd notions of … sexual excellence'.[95] One such example was

the professional soldier. Presented by conservative and evangelical alike as the Christian and Classical embodiment of national strength, maturity, virility and heroism, for radicals, the soldier epitomised the complete opposite. 'Sent into the world before [his mind had] been stored with knowledge or fortified by principles', the professional soldier was depicted as a semi-developed, unthinking pawn of a self-serving, corrupt and patrician imperialism.[96] 'A soldier is, of all descriptions of men, the most completely a machine … [who] … cannot assume the most insignificant gesture, advance either to the right or the left, but as he is moved by his exhibitor.'[97] He was proof of how segregated and gender-specific instruction, devoid of Socratic rigour, could be used to control and manipulate impressionable minds. In *Evenings at Home*, the hugely successful children's book of moral and educational tales written by Barbauld and her brother, John Aikin, traditional military heroes were described as little more than 'ferocious' savages or 'overgrown schoolboys', alluding to the issue of immaturity identified by Ellis.[98] But the soldier was used to criticise more than immaturity. He was ideal fodder for the debate on function versus form. If the educations of women and soldiers were essentially the same—both devoid of useful knowledge, critical rigour and emotional insight—where then, argued Wollstonecraft, was 'the sexual difference'?[99] The professional soldier was proof that a strong, masculine body was not indicative of a strong, rational and independent mind. 'True power', argued the radical Unitarian, Mary Leman Grimstone, lay in the brain, not in the body.[100] The soldier was, moreover, an example of the moral and cultural cost to society. Militarisation, radicals warned, had the effect of rendering the arts and philosophy soft and unimportant. 'In the arrogant estimation of brutal strength', wrote the Unitarian historian, William Roscoe, 'wisdom and learning are effeminate and contemptible, and where those qualities are little esteemed, the attainment of them will no longer excite exertion'.[101] A gender-neutral education and one that looked beyond the pages of war and military aggression, was vital not only to the 'progress of knowledge' but to the development of 'the arts of peace'.[102] According to Fox, integration and emulation between the sexes would advance 'the time, through all appropriate legal and social changes, when mutually adapted qualities shall act and react for the highest production of mutual good'.[103]

Conclusion

Despite the advantages advocated above, by the 1840s the Romantic concept of psychological androgyny would appear to have failed. The rule of hegemonic masculinity prevailed. As the Victorian Age dawned, the hegemonic model of masculine strength and martial valour, to which all men regardless of class or creed might aspire, had proved successful.[104] Victory over France and Britain's growing wealth and dominance overseas were indisputable. Increasing numbers, and in particular middle-class men after 1832, were able

to bask in the reflected glory of Britain's global status. Britain's military and imperial success was, for many, demonstration enough that sexual difference and progress were inextricably and inexorably linked. It was, they argued, the denial of such 'facts' that had resulted in democratic and republican chaos, the Parisian mob and the threat of cultural annihilation.

From the very beginning, the Romantic concept of psychological androgyny suffered from its associations with political and religious heterodoxy, as well as its connections to Platonism and sexual deviancy. The cultures of suspicion and fear that pervaded society throughout this period made it extremely difficult and indeed risky to promote this gender-neutral concept much beyond sympathetic radical circles.[105] But if the repressive regime of political censorship and religious persecution could be said to have been in retreat after 1815, the prejudice towards, and suppression of, sexual abnormality of any kind was most certainly not. In the end, the Romantic and inevitably implicit concept of psychological androgyny, conceived at a time of turmoil and transition and inspired by the injustices of arbitrary prejudice, slipped from public consciousness and in turn, arguably, from historiographical awareness.

And yet, arguably, it was the intention of Romantic radicals that such ideas slip beneath the radar of conservative 'self-flattering prejudices'. In doing so, the radical concept of psychological androgyny would, it was hoped, take seed and develop as John Stuart Mill described the process of cultural osmosis, through 'insensible gradations'.[106] Although the patriarchal model of hegemonic masculinity, predicated on the notion of sexual difference, can be said to have triumphed at this time, the concept of the unsexed mind survived, very much as its original advocates had envisaged, within the fabric of a new and increasingly gender-neutral system of education. In doing so, this radical and Romantic concept helped, arguably, to pave the way to a more egalitarian and enlightened society.

Notes

1. Percy Bysshe Shelly, 'The Banquet: Translated from Plato', in D. K. O'Connor (ed.), *The Symposium of Plato: The Shelley Translation* (Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2002), pp. 26–27.
2. Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love,' *Plato's Banquet*, ed. R. Ingpen (printed for private circulation, 1931), pp. 16–17.
3. John Aikin, *Letters from a Father to his Son* (London: J. Johnson, 1793), p. 341.
4. William Johnson Fox, 'On National Education, Lecture I', *Finsbury Lectures: Reports of lectures delivered at the chapel in South Place*, *Finsbury* (London, 1840), pp. 15–16.
5. See Sarah Trimmer, *The Guardian of Education* (1802–1806), popular with middle-class evangelicals.

6. Edmund Burke, 'Reflections on the Revolution in France', in *Reflections on the French Revolution & Other Essays* (London, J.M. Dent, 1935), p. 73. Burke's publication resulted in an outpouring of radical condemnation.
7. See L. Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard Univ. Press, 1991), pp. 201–210. For analysis of function versus form see R. Sha, *Perverse Romanticism: Aesthetics and Sexuality in Britain, 1750–1832* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
8. R.W. Connell and J.W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (Dec., 2005), p. 832.
9. L. Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 8.
10. S. Dudink, 'Masculinity, Effeminacy, Time: conceptual change in the Dutch age of democratic revolutions', in S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester and New York: Manchester Univ. Press, 2004), p. 78.
11. On distinctions between masculinity and manliness see J. Tosh, 'Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 455–472.
12. William Barrow, *An Essay on Education* (London, F. & C. Rivington, 1802), p. 258.
13. H. Ellis, '"Boys, Semi-Men and Bearded Scholars": Maturity and Manliness in Early Nineteenth-Century Oxford', in J.H. Arnold and S. Brady (eds.), *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 266.
14. See Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality*, pp. 5–8.
15. Ibid., pp. 15–16.
16. See Richard Polwhele's poem, *The unsex'd Females* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798), and the denunciation of the effeminate Henry Lee Hunt in 'On the Cockney School. No. VII. Hunt's Art of Love', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 12, no.71 (Edinburgh, Dec. 1822), pp. 775–779.
17. See Mary Wollstonecraft, 'A Vindication of the Rights of Woman', in J. Todd (ed.), *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman and A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); John Stuart Mill, *The Westminster Review*, vol. v (January–April 1826), pp. 80–81.
18. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Essay IV', *The Friend: A Literary, Moral, and Political Weekly Paper* (London, 1809–1810), p. 139.
19. Wollstonecraft, 'Rights of Woman', p. 73.
20. See A. Richardson, 'Romanticism and the Colonization of the Feminine', in A.K. Mellor (ed.), *Romanticism and feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 1988), p. 19; S. Friedrichsmeyer, 'The Subversive Androgyne', *Women in German Yearbook* 3 (1987), pp. 63–75; A.K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993); L. Rado, *The Modern Androgyne Imagination: A Failed Sublime* (Charlottesville and London: Univ. Press of Virginia, 2000).
21. See K.E. Lokke, *Tracing Women's Romanticism: Gender, history and transcendence* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

22. See N. Roe (ed.), *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide* (Oxford and New York, 2005).
23. For 'antithesis' arguments, see M.H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1973); Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (London: Pimlico, 2000). Recent interpretations by Frederick C. Beiser, Sharon Ruston, Tim Fulford, James Vigus and Daniel E. White, problematize the above interpretations.
24. F.C. Beiser, *The Early Political Writings of the German Romantics* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. xii.
25. Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative: The Concept of Early German Romanticism* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003), p. 4.
26. Ibid., p. 3.
27. Ibid., pp. 47, 50–51.
28. For studies of radicalism see, E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1984); E. Royle and J. Walvin, *English Radicals and Reformers 1760–1848* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982).
29. P. Spence, *The Birth of Romantic Radicalism: War, popular politics and English radical reformism, 1800–1815* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 7.
30. L. Furst, 'Romanticism: Revolution and Evolution', in J. Pipkin (ed.) *English and German Romanticism: Cross-Currents and Controversies* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1985), pp. 84–85.
31. See L. Riall, *Risorgimento: The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation State* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); S. Patriarca, *Italian vices: Nation and character from the Risorgimento to the republic* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010).
32. Arising out of the Socinian Controversy of the late seventeenth century which emerged over the exclusion of anti-Trinitarians from the 1689 Act of Toleration, rational dissenters who denied the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ and Original Sin, were known generally by the initially abusive appellation of 'Unitarian'.
33. See: Royle and Walvin, *English Radicals and Reformers*, p. 189; J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1660–1832: Religion, ideology and politics during the ancien regime* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000); Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class.*
34. Clark, *English Society 1660–1832*, pp. 488–500.
35. Kathryn Gleadle places the emergence of what she calls, 'Radical Unitarians', in the 1820s at the South Place chapel, centring around the radical minister, William Johnson Fox. She does not consider the ideological continuity between Fox's group and the earlier radical group of Unitarians, dissenters and lapsed Anglicans, who gathered around the radical publisher and Unitarian, Joseph Johnson, in the 1780s and 1790s. See Gleadle, *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831–1851* (Basingstoke and London, St. Martin's Press, 1995).
36. See Gleadle, The Early Feminists; D.E. White, *Early Romanticism and Religious Dissent* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 1.

37. Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England, 1760–1860* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), p.112.
38. With the onset of war, radical agitators such as Hunt, Major Cartwright and Cobbett, keen to distance themselves from 'Jacobinical' radicals such as Joseph Priestley, promoted a form of radical, yet conservative, patriotism that supported the Crown and Constitution, while continuing to criticise the corruption of Parliament.
39. For evidence of divisions between 'Old' and 'New' Unitarians, see 'Three Letters addressed to the Editor of the Monthly Repository', *The Monthly Repository* (London, 24 April 1817), pp. 3–5.
40. Over a century after the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689 for Trinitarian Nonconformists, The Doctrine of the Trinity Act in 1813 finally allowed Unitarians to worship legally. Not until 1828 would the Test and Corporation Acts be repealed, allowing all dissenters to hold elective office in local government and to take positions of trust under the Crown and in the military. The Birmingham Riots of 1791 in which Unitarians such as Joseph Priestley were targeted by conservative mobs is an example of the fear that this supposedly heterodox group encouraged.
41. Roe (ed.), *Romanticism*, p. 39. On biblical exegesis in England see E.S. Shaffer, *'Kubla Khan' and the Fall of Jerusalem: The Mythological School in Biblical Criticism and Secular Literature 1770–1880* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975); S. Mandelbrote and M. Ledger-Lomas (eds.), *Dissent and the Bible in Britain, c. 1650–1950* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
42. See F. Schlegel, 'Uber die Diotima' (1795), in E. Behler, J.J. Anstett and H. Eichner (eds.), *Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe* (Munich: Schöning, 1966); Shelley, 'The Banquet'.
43. Beiser, *Romantic Imperative*, pp. 63–64.
44. Fox, *The Duties of Christians towards Deists* (London, Hackney, George Smallfield, 1819), p. 36.
45. L. Aikin, *Epistles on Women* (London, J. Johnson, 1810), pp. vi–vii.
46. C. Jan Swearingen, 'Plato's Feminine: Appropriation, Impersonation, and Metaphorical Polemic', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (Winter, 1992), p. 111.
47. Ibid., p. 120.
48. Shelley, 'Manners of the Ancient Greeks', p. 18.
49. A. Hobbs, 'Female Imagery in Plato', in J.H. Lesher, D. Nails and F.C.C. Sheffield (eds.), *Plato's Symposium: Issues in Interpretation and Reception* (Cambridge, Mass, and London: Centre for Hellenic Studies, 2006), p. 266. Hobbs refers to the original Socratic theory of gender-neutrality in the Meno and voiced later in the Republic: 'beyond the roles men and women play in biological reproduction, there are no essentially male and female activities, and hence no essentially male and female excellences'.
50. Anon, 'The Banquet: A Dialogue of Plato concerning Love. The First Part', *The Monthly Review, or, Literary Journal* 26 (March 1767), pp. 197–198.
51. We must of course be wary when using terminology unfamiliar to the period in question. As a medical and scientific label, 'heterosexuality', meaning the sexual attraction between opposite sexes, did not emerge in Europe until the

late nineteenth century and did not enter common parlance in England until the twentieth. It is however possible to see the radical notion of the unsexed mind as a conscious attempt to undermine the increasingly explicit distinctions made between 'homosocial' friendship and 'heterosexual' love.

52. See, *Woman: As she is, and as she should be*, vol. ii (London, 1835), pp. 84–88.
53. Ibid., pp. 84–88.
54. Shelley, 'On the Literature, the Arts, and the Manners of the Athenians—A fragment', in Mary Shelley (ed.), *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments* (London, 1840), pp. 17–21.
55. A. Taylor, *Erotic Coleridge: Women, Love, and the Law Against Divorce* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 97.
56. See Wollstonecraft, 'Rights of Woman', pp. 253–254.
57. William Godwin, *The Enquirer: Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature* (London, 1797), pp. 5–6.
58. Hobbs, 'Female Imagery in Plato', p. 266.
59. Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'Preface', *The Revolt of Islam* (London, 1818).
60. Caius, 'Cursory Remarks on Prejudice, and on Education as a Cause', *The Monthly Repository* (London, 2 May 1836), p. 323.
61. Godwin, *The Enquirer*, pp. ix–x.
62. Anon, 'Public Instruction: Project of a Plan of Moral, Industrious, and Intellectual Education for Females, *The Quarterly Journal of Education* vol. ix (London, 1835), pp. 30–31.
63. For studies of radical education, see D. Wardle, *Education and Society in Nineteenth-Century Nottingham* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1971); B. Simon (ed.), *The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972); M. Mercer, 'Dissenting academies and the education of the laity, 1750–1850', *History of Education* 30 (2001); McCarthy, William, 'Anna Letitia Barbauld & Dissent', in F. James and I. Inkster (eds.), *Religious Dissent and the Aikin-Barbauld Circle, 1740–1860* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012).
64. See: W.B. Stephens, *Education in Britain 1750–1914* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998) and M. Mercer, 'Dissenting academies', p. 35.
65. Gilbert Wakefield's general outspokenness and his public attack on military intervention in the American war of independence is said to have contributed to the closure of Warrington in 1782. And support for the French Revolution and later opposition to war expressed by Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, are believed to have led to the closure of Hackney Academy in 1796. See B.E. Graver, 'Wakefield, Gilbert (1756–1801)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004) accessed online, 23 Feb 2016; D.L. Wykes, 'The Dissenting Academy and Rational Dissent', in K. Haakonssen (ed.), *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 131–132.
66. Wollstonecraft, 'Rights of Woman', pp. 253–254.
67. Jeremiah Joyce, 'Advertisement', *A Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences, for the use of Schools and Young Persons* (London, 1810).
68. Erasmus Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools* (Derby, 1797), pp. 9–11.

69. Ibid.
70. M. McNeil, 'Darwin, Erasmus (1731–1802)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed online 7 April 2016.
71. Thomas Love Peacock, *Melincourt* (London, 1817), pp. 105–106.
72. Aikin, *Epistles*, p. vi.
73. W.J. Fox, 'On National Education, Lecture II', Finsbury Lectures: Reports of Lectures delivered at the chapel in South Place, Finsbury (London, 1840), pp. 60–61. See also, Frederick Hill, National Education: Its present state and prospects, vol. I (London, 1836), pp. 218–219.
74. John Relly Beard, *Statement of the objects and studies pursued in the Rev. J. R. Beard's Day and Boarding School* (Manchester, 1840), pp. 6–7.
75. Wollstonecraft, 'Rights of Woman', p. 250.
76. R.D. Owen, 'An Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark', in B. Simon (ed.) *The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972), p. 175.
77. Peacock, *Melincourt*, pp. 105–106.
78. Robert Owen is believed to have established the first coeducational infant school in New Lanark, Scotland, in 1816. Despite Union between Scotland and England in 1707, marked differences continued between the countries. Scotland kept its National 'Presbyterian' Church and its own legal, judicial and educational systems.
79. The Select Committee for Education formed in 1818 to consider the state of education for the 'lower orders' but its remit soon expanded to consider education for all across England and Wales.
80. James Simpson, 'Appendix to Report', *Report from the Select Committee on Education in England and Wales* (London, 1835), p. 130.
81. Fox, 'On National Education', II, p. 64.
82. William Godwin, *Letters*, vol. II, ed. P. Clemit (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 250.
83. See p. 11, no. 35.
84. Wollstonecraft, 'Rights of Woman', p. 250.
85. See 'Letters on Early Education, addressed to J.P. Greaves, Esq., by Pestalozzi', *The Monthly Repository* (London, January 1828), p. 48.
86. Lucy Aikin, *The Works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld* (London, 1825), pp. xxv–xxvii.
87. C. De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800–1867* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 15.
88. See W. Shepherd, J. Joyce and L. Carpenter (eds.), *Systematic Education*, vol. i (London, 1815), p. 18.
89. See Hobbs, 'Female Imagery in Plato'.
90. McCarthy, *Religious Dissent & the Aikin-Barbauld Circle*, p. 62.
91. Aikin (ed.), *Works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld*, p. xxix.
92. Ibid., p. xxv.
93. McCarthy, *Religious Dissent & the Aikin-Barbauld Circle*, p. 319.
94. Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England*, pp. 134–135.
95. Catherine Macaulay, *Letters on Education* (London, 1790), p. 130.
96. Wollstonecraft, 'Rights of Woman', p. 89.

97. Godwin, *The Enquirer*, p. 214.
98. John Aikin and Anna Barbauld, *Evenings at Home, or the Juvenile Budget* (London: J. Johnson, 1795–1796), p. 219.
99. Ibid., p. 89.
100. Mary Leman Grimstone, 'Female Education', *The New Moral World* (London, 7 February 1835), p. 133.
101. See footnote in James Scott Walker, *An Essay on the education of the People* (London, 1825), p. 4.
102. Beard, *Statement of the objects and studies pursued*, p. 8.
103. Fox, 'On National Education', II, pp. 60–61.
104. Tosh, 'Gentlemanly Politeness', p. 460.
105. The ambivalent stance of Coleridge regarding issues of psycho-sexual equality—his private fear of effeminacy for instance—is a prime example of the intellectual and moral dilemmas experienced by Romantic radicals. See Coleridge, 'Letter to Robert Southey, 29 Dec. 1794', in E.L. Griggs (ed.), *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 145.
106. John Stuart Mill, 'The Spirit of the Age', in G. Himmelfarb (ed.), *The Spirit of the Age: Victorian Essays* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 2007), p. 50.

The Dominant and the Dominated. Power Relations and Intimate Authorities in the Personal Diary of the Jurist Eugène Wilhelm (1885–1951)

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This chapter explores power relations and forms of authority, in particular intimate authority, in the private journal of a homosexual man, Eugène Wilhelm, who lived in Strasbourg (Alsace) between 1866 and 1951. This man, a jurist, kept his journal from the age of nineteen until his death at the age of eighty-five. The fifty-five notebooks of his journal (around 8000 manuscript pages)[1] allow us to follow the development of his intellectual, professional and sexual career over the *longue durée*. Wilhelm began his journal in 1885, and examination of it makes it possible to analyse how a dominant social status (that of a member of the bourgeoisie) and a subordinate position (homosexual identity) were articulated through the construction of a late nineteenth-century bourgeois masculinity. This itself reflects a specific political context (Alsace in a period which included two world wars and four changes of nationality) and the particular spirit of an age in which forms of sexuality (and in particular deviant sexualities) were being classified.

Taking the journal as, above all, the narrative of a life, we can examine both how a man constructed his masculinity and how this masculinity was constructed through the contexts in which it was manifested. The product of a

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Protestant, bourgeois family from Alsace, Eugène Wilhelm moved in circles in which the forms of masculinity were marked by self control, and through the pursuit of honour and respectability. These codes (examined notably by Peter Gay in *The Bourgeois Experience*)[2] emphasized a certain number of constraints specific to the Protestant religion.[3] Considering Germany and German-speaking countries, Martina Kessel has shown how the masculinities among the Protestant upper classes were constructed not around a fundamental opposition between masculine and feminine, but on an opposition between the public sphere and the private family. This opposition was itself founded on the now classic dichotomy between public masculinity, open, political and rational in aims, as against a private femininity, non-political and self-evidently emotional.[4] Thus what distinguished the Protestant and bourgeois masculinity of the nineteenth century was above all a will and a capacity to universalise the spaces and qualities characteristic of men. A whole man must know how to link harmoniously his heart, his body and his spirit. For Kessel,

> the construction of masculinity in nineteenth-century German bourgeois culture was paradoxically Janus-faced: it interlaced the polar construct in the dichotomous relationship between the sexes with a holistic version, which combined all of the qualities otherwise divided between masculinity and femininity.[5]

Thereafter, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, we observe the construction—not to say the invention—of what are called sexual orientations (amongst which figure, from 1869 onwards, homosexuality and heterosexuality). The way in which sexual orientations—and in particular 'masculine homosexuality'—were conceptualised can be located in continuity with bourgeois masculinities. Yet they were also distinguishable from them, in ways which are still to be fully explored, to the extent that these conceptions need to be considered in relation to the cultural resources available at the level of the masculinities and the femininities of this period.

It was also in this period that the question arose of whether sexual orientation was inborn or acquired, whether it derived from nature or nurture. To this end, judicial, police, medical and psychiatric institutions were mobilised to construct a general image of the sexual deviant whose ideal type was the homosexual.[6] Nonetheless, this image did not always manage to get as far as the people concerned. As Raewyn Connell has noted, members of the working class have not always been conscious of homosexuality as an identity.[7] This is important because sexual identities founded on sexual orientation were also linked to social class. As a result, sexual orientation and gender identity came to be imposed on individuals who did not define their 'masculinity' through this lens.

As we shall see in the case of the private journal of Eugène Wilhelm, a similar disjuncture can be found between the diarist (who develops over time a consciousness of his sexual orientation) and the men whom he frequented, who came for the most part from the subordinate classes, and who consequently did not share the same order of precedence between masculinities

according to sexual orientation. Those men who embodied popular masculinities have only left very limited traces, few 'life documents' as Ken Plummer calls them.[8] The question of the changing balance of power between working class and bourgeois masculinities has begun to be studied, notably in Britain and in Germany, allowing us to understand better the power relations and forms of intimate authority which developed with the rise of the latter.[9] This article is a contribution to this emerging field of study.

The interiorization of the codes of bourgeois masculinity and the concern to respect them are particularly visible in the first notebooks of Eugène Wilhelm's journal, written between the ages of 19 and 22. The observation of these codes can be seen to be important, at least important enough for him that he notes them down. Several weeks after he has obtained his baccalauréat, he notes:

> I get up in the morning at 8 o'clock; at half past eight I play the piano until around 11 o'clock, then I go down to stroll in the garden with a book in my hand. I always wait impatiently for the postman, who brings us yesterday's newspaper. After dinner [i.e. lunch], I practise again until around 3 o'clock. Then if it is a nice day I stretch out in the hammock underneath a cool group of trees and I read or sometimes as often happens to me I start to daydream. Sometimes there are visits like this afternoon […][10]

These norms, which can be fully understood in this extract (regularity, bodily exercise, reading and socialisation marked by visits), are accompanied by others which he interiorised little by little in the course of his study of the law. He undertook his legal studies in Strasbourg, his birthplace, and after much prevarication, chose eventually to take the career of a judge (and thus of a state official) rather than that of an advocate. This choice was not a neutral choice, since it led him to make decisions and to judge individuals according to their respect for norms, notably sexual norms. As we will see in what follows, his career as a judge was suddenly brought to an end in 1908, following a 'homosexual scandal' which led to accusations against him.

By choosing to stay and live in Strasbourg, Eugène Wilhelm reveals for us a particular world, that of relatively small 'provincial' towns, an inward-looking world of 'what would they say?', far from the vibrant homosexual life of the metropolitan cities. It is in the context of this *demi monde* that we will try to understand how, in an environment which can be termed coercive and closed, power relations were formed in the tension between the injunction to adopt a heterosexual masculinity and a desire to fulfil a sexuality commonly described as 'deviant'.

As a result, and it is in this sense that this journal can be used as evidence of wider phenomena, we can use it to observe power relations at many different levels. It makes it possible to examine further the intermingling of forms and relations of power at symbolic and economic levels within what we might call homosexual sub-culture at the very moment when norms, notably

concerning sexuality, were being criticised and put into question by the vigorously developing discipline of sexology. These questions have been partly opened up in recent years through work on Paris, Berlin, London and New York.[11] The work of these authors helps us to understand the 'topographies of homosexual cultures', the product of specific meeting places (cafés dance halls, bars, bath-houses, parks, etc.) and forms of categorisation of individuals within groups according to their 'masculinity' and their sexual practices, and so opens up a rich and varied culture constructed in part by men who had migrated to these metropolises in order to emancipate themselves from certain norms. In Strasbourg, by contrast, a lively sub-culture of the kind which has been described in the major metropolises simply did not exist. Here, escape from the heterosexual norm was more delicate, more costly.

In Wilhelm's first notebooks in his youth, was can already observe a certain ambiguity which the diarist maintains with regards to the norm. Indeed, he wanted to adapt himself as best he could to the mould provided by his class and religion (Alsatian Protestantism). And yet, at the same time, he experienced profound difficulties in following a set of norms which oppressed him and which continually reminded him of his 'difference', marked principally by his attraction to people of his own sex. In contrast with the accounts of 'deviants' which became numerous at this time in France and Germany. They were drafted for an audience of doctors, psychiatrists, judges and criminologists. This contrasts with Britain, where such books were virtually unobtainable as they were banned as obscene publications, which is why they had practically no influence in British medical jurisprudence. Nevertheless, this journal is different in that it was not primarily intended to serve as a diagnosis or as the revelation of a pathology. In this sense it provides privileged access to forms of subjectivity which move with both the historical context and the life-stage in question.

First of all, we will attempt to identify more clearly a number of formal mechanisms of domination in order to show the existence of a fundamental opposition between public life and private life. This will allow us to see where there could be spaces of freedom which made it possible to evade or even distort the norm. This leads on to the question of the margin of manoeuvre available to the diarist and of the kinds of liaison which were available to him in his city. We will thus see how his experience of his sexuality was coloured by an ambiguous concern with domination, protection and elevation mostly with regards to men of the poorer, popular classes. We shall see that the forms of domination thus identified invite us to reflect on traditional hierarchies, when the bourgeois and the worker interact with one another, and to reconsider the functioning of heterosexist domination.

Hierarchies and Power Relations

Raewyn Connell proposes a typology of masculinities in which homosexuality is subordinated to heterosexuality, whose dominant form, in this model, is hegemonic (heterosexual) masculinity.[12] Nevertheless, such ideal-types need

to be nuanced. As a bourgeois from a relatively well-off family, who moreover exercised high office in the state administration, Wilhelm might appear to be a representative of dominant masculinities. And yet, moving from the broad view to an individual perspective, reading his journal shows us the interaction between economic, political and symbolic power relations, starting with German authority in Alsace. German rule brought a criminal law code which banned homosexual relations, effectively outlawing them. It also brought the presence of numerous state officials and soldiers, settled in the city of Strasbourg. Eugène Wilhelm is very critical of the authoritarianism of the German authorities and 'cannot accept the principle, that one should adulate in the person of the Kaiser, a principle of authority founded on a single man; a man whom I do not know, and whom I cannot regard as superior to me'.[13] When he considers Prussian state officials, with whom he finds little affinity, Wilhelm underlines that,

> many certainly do not find me sufficiently German in my ideas, too independent, too me, too 'I couldn't care less'; certainly many notice how dissimilar I am from the model state official, servile, reactionary, swearing by the opinions of my superiors, respectful of ranks and titles.[14]

The authority of the State was also represented by the soldiers for whom the diarist would develop a fascination, and who embodied a certain ideal of virility. Thus, 'I am excited above all by soldiers (especially cavalrymen \hulans/); some can even already excite me just by their clothes and their way of holding themselves, without even seeing their face'.[15] Cavalrymen, as the literature on male prostitution in the military underlines, were only realisable as a fantasy in return for payment.[16] However (and this we will consider further in a moment) a sexual relationship with a soldier—and more generally with a man—was also punishable by law since the 1871 German Criminal Code condemned homosexual relations by virtue of Article 175. From this a terrible situation resulted since as a jurist, and even more as a judge, Wilhelm knew the penalties and indeed even sometimes found himself in the situation of condemning men judged for sex acts between men, forcing him to distinguish powerfully between professional life and private life, between sanctioned and forbidden desires.

The distinction between private life and public life was all the more delicate since the diarist never tried to leave his family, even though it was relatively authoritarian, as he informs us. He noted for example, when he was thirty years old, on the subject of a planned trip, that this

> perspective has once more occasioned a certain ruffling with my parents. I feel they are worried and hostile to this trip, even certain words let slip by mother have shown me all her displeasure – from there several days of black moods and melancholy always latent with regards to my parents […] horrible dangers of a discovery of the burden which weighs on my life [;] by their worry and their latent displeasure limit my freedom.[17]

The burden which his parents place on Wilhelm's capacity for self-emancipation is more generally seen in the fears raised by the possibility of a discovery of his homosexuality, insofar as this would damage the family and the prestige associated with its name, a fear which returns recurrently all the way through the journal: 'The horrible fear of a discovery, the broken future, the despair of my parents!'[18]

The oppressiveness of the environment in which Wilhelm lived also took the form of the injunction to adopt heterosexuality, which the diarist calls in his vocabulary 'normality' (*normalité*). The concern for normality is perceptible from the first notebooks, and invites us to consider the reasons why, later in his life, the search for 'sexual pariahs' apparently became an obsession for Wilhelm. One hypothesis would be that this insatiable quest made it possible to relativize his own position as a pariah within his social class. In this sense, Eugène Wilhelm brings to mind 'closet' homosexuals, as they were described by the sociologist Laud Humphreys, and more recently discussed by Rostom Mesli and Mathieu Trachman: 'they claim a respectable self-image: obliged to hide their desires and their practices, these pariahs can put on a "breastplate of righteousness" by defending illiberal positions and also by declaring open allegiance to the norms and values which they transgress in secret'.[19]

In this situational context, we might ask if Wilhelm's attraction to 'velvet hoodlums' (*voyous de velours*)[20] did not arise from the sociological determinism analysed in his day by the Belgian writer Georges Eekhoud, in his novel *Escal Vigor*.[21] In this book, Eekhoud narrates a love story between a noble and a young shepherd, whom the former educates until he has made him into his equal. Yet this love story ends tragically since because the couple cannot see the love which unites them either as a sin or as an illness, they die as martyrs at the hands of a furious mob.[22]

Intimate Authority and Self-Mastery

The limiting frameworks imposed by the State, the family and society dictated the construction of a masculinity with which Eugène Wilhelm found it difficult to conform. In the first notebooks, we find revealing indications of a certain inability which he experiences in conforming to the expectations of his gender: the difficulties he admits in making himself into a good hunter when he accompanies his father[23]; his inability to seduce young women (contrary to his colleagues in student fraternities); his feeling of being 'different', which leads him to consult works of medicine, psychiatry and sexology at the library in order to understand his 'difference' better. These elements are reminiscent of the difficulties encountered by Paul Körner, the main character of Richard Oswald's *Different from the others* (*Anders als die Andern*, 1919), the first film to portray and explore homosexuality.

Wilhelm's laborious entry into adult masculinity can be read, in the first analysis, as an attempt to internalise the social obligation to be heterosexual.[24]

At times, the diarist expresses his interest in certain young women whom he meets in Strasbourg or on holiday. He also notes the 'kissings' ('*embrassements*'), which he inflicted upon female household servants until he was twenty-one ears old. Some of these women refused him, others accepted, more or less constrained by his position of power within the household. For Wilhelm, the servants, on whom the master was in a position to exercise his power, were simply sexual objects, as he would note much later in one of his notebooks during one of his daydreams: 'Later I will have to take a handsome servant for my house with whom I could satisfy myself when and as often as I wanted'.[25] Domestic service in itself is little questioned by Wilhelm. In this, he reflects the point of view of his class.[26]

The intimate authority which Wilhelm exercised over the domestic servants and more generally the satisfaction of the diarist's sexual desires can be considered in parallel with his anxieties about nocturnal emissions, which he regarded as an affliction which called into question his self-control. They are a recurrent theme of the notebooks of his youth. The journal entries are numerous in which he notes in abbreviated form, next to the date, 'pol.' for 'pollution'. These uncontainable excesses of desire were a recurrent source of anxiety, since Wilhelm believed that they exhausted and corrupted his intellectual faculties. In order to remedy them, the young Wilhelm pursued a double strategy: on the one hand pouring over books and articles related to the emerging discipline of sexology; on the other, confiding in his family doctor, Dr Goldschmidt:

> That makes 4 pollutions, almost 4 nights in a row. I have now decided to go to the brothel. Because it can't go on, I will completely ruin my health. Goldschmidt even nearly advised me on Saturday when I was at his to go and see a woman. I confided in him my perversion of the senses.[27]

This extract is particularly revealing of the dilemma which afflicted Wilhelm: whether to enter (heterosexual) sexual life by going to see prostitutes or instead to continue to suffer nocturnal emissions, which were the physical manifestations of the repression of his desires. But the entry into heterosexual sexuality turned out to be particularly hard work for the diarist. Like many students of his age and of his time, he made his first attempts at sexual experience with prostitutes. And yet, when he was in their company, the prostitutes did not stimulate as much desire as he might have hoped, which left Wilhelm feeling a sense of powerlessness before the capricious behaviour of his incomprehensible penis.

The difficulties he encountered in achieving coitus were necessarily multifactored (his desire for men, fear linked to a rite of passage, pressure exercised by his peers).[28] Aware of this, Eugène Wilhelm approached the famous psychiatrist and sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing.[29] The 'confession' which he sent to him in 1890 is given for us to read in the French edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis* with the subtitle 'Hermaphrodisme psychique et fétichisme

de la bouche' (Psychical Hermaphroditism-Mouth Fetishism).[30] It tells us a little more about the diarist's relationship to sexuality. He revealed, for example, that he was absolutely indifferent to distinguished women and girls, that his desires 'can still be excited especially by farmers' daughters, by domestic servants, by girls of the popular classes and, in general, by those who dressed grossly and poorly'.[31] Women of his class, those whom he could covet or ask for in marriage left him cold. Later in his 'confession', he described his first sexual experience with a man (a soldier whom he met in a brothel in Strasbourg through the mediation of a prostitute he had told about his homosexual tendencies), an experience which was a source of great contentment to him.[32] In correspondence with Krafft-Ebing, Wilhelm invoked a surprising justification for this homosexual experiment, underlining that 'despite the very great inferiority of his social position, [he] was not unworthy of me either in his manners or in his character'.[33] At this point in the confession, it was indeed social class which was at the centre of Wilhelm's sexual relations, since he was attracted to both women and men of low condition, as if he was located in an in-between state which he described in these terms: 'my face has a virile expression; my eye is changeable; the whole of my body has something feminine about it'.[34]

The ambiguity between the masculine and the feminine was made manifest in the diagnosis delivered by Krafft-Ebing: psychic hermaphroditism. This long-defunct category comes close to denoting what is today referred to as bisexuality. Sexual attraction to the working classes is one of the significant themes in the 'decadent' literature of the *fin de siècle*, represented by Eekhoud, Huysmans, or Oscar Wilde, encompassing the search for pleasure among the working classes who were regarded as possessing 'authentic masculinity'.[35] Throughout Wilhelm's journal, this last point is present in parallel with a dilemma between power and impotence, authority and submission,[36] against the background of the search for 'normality'. This question will be considered further in the next section.

Between Power and Powerlessness, Between Authority and Submission

Oscillation between power exercised over the body and powerlessness experienced in the face of sexual desires is one of the recurrent themes which runs through Wilhelm's journal until his death in 1951 at the age of 85. Performing acts banned by law, by virtue of Article 175 of the German penal code, he knew he was potentially in danger every time he had a sexual relation with another man, at least during the period (1871–1919) when Alsace was governed by Germany. At a time when he still had little sexual experience, he learned that

> that young Urning [i.e. Uranist, homosexual] from the Fish Market is in prison precisely for infringement of Article 175. Another warning to me to be doubly on my guard![37]

The fear provoked with regards to his family by the prospect of the discovery of his homosexuality also played an important role in the way in which Wilhelm lived his sexuality. Thus, some days after the announcement of the arrest cited above, he noted that:

> nothing could make me accept to give up homosexual love if it were not the idea of the appalling suffering that a discovery would cause to my family.[38]

The question of the discovery of his homosexuality keeps recurring in Wilhelm's journal because he believed that it would discredit the honour of his family. It also implied the establishment of parallel lives. On one side, there was his life as a judge who sometimes came to deal with cases concerning questions of homosexuality; on the other, his private existence, made up of dangerous nocturnal encounters.

Nonetheless, the discovery against which he tried to protect himself did indeed happen, in Strasbourg, in 1908, when someone informed on him. In his journal, he noted that

> the muffled scandal is already starting to come out. The disgusting *Bürgerzeitung* has included a note that a case for contravention under Article 175 has been opened against a judge from here. Everyone has guessed that I am the target. Later there came a denial of the news published by another paper that two judges had been suspended from their functions. But despite that everybody supposes that I have a history and everybody knows that I am homosexual.[39]

> March-April the discovery dreaded for so long. Case opened, terrible weeks; don't receive my salary, give my resignation, Hasemann the principal prosecutor. Hateful. In general at the ministry they seem happy that I'm going. […] On the horrible situation, Father agrees to give me a rent of 6000 Marks. [He] knows nothing of the motives for my resignation, which he believes is my pathological nervous state. Emile, Louise, Berthe know, show themselves good, affectionate.[40]

The events of this discovery need to be put into perspective for two reasons. First, Wilhelm had for some years wanted to abandon his office as a judge in order to become an advocate. Secondly, he did receive support and comfort both from his entourage and from his family, in particular his sisters and his half-brother, which confirms their acceptation of his sexual orientation. That said, Wilhelm's homosexuality never did reach the ears of his father, who never knew the reason for his resignation, and even granted him a comfortable private income.

Nevertheless, this change in his life-style does not seem to have solved the problems caused by his life as a closet homosexual, and it only marginally modified the relationships which he had with his lovers. These remained similar to his first homosexual experience: they were still relationships mediated by money.

Money comes into the reckoning from the beginning of Wilhelm's sexual career, because his first experiences in the brothel took place with soldiers, as he makes clear in his 'confession'. The way in which he relates his first homosexual experience is certainly situated in the register of the passion and candour of the novice. Wilhelm was in love and was persuaded that the young solder he met in the brothel loved him: 'Today write to Toni, a letter full of reproaches, but all the same calm, because I know that he loves me.'[41] In reply to which some days later the beloved asked him for money: 'letter from him; quite sincere, but asks for money; which I don't like, what if that alone were his principal motive for writing to me?'[42]

Some years later, Wilhelm expressed his profound disillusion, when he once again met the one with whom he had once realised his first homosexual experience:

> in Cologne I asked after the address of Toni E***. I waited for him at the workshop exit. He recognised me immediately; but I saw immediately that any sentiment for me was extinguished. I have already been for a long time for him, the Monsieur who he knew during his military service and who gave him money when he had none. He is married and a father.[43]

The possession of economic means, as we can see, allowed Eugène Wilhelm to protect himself in part against the dangers of homosexuality as a stigmatised and stigmatising identity. It also made possible the exercise of intimate authority over his lovers. Two examples illustrate this point. The first concerns Ferdinand, a lover whom he met in Strasbourg during the former's military service, in 1906.[44] The second concerns his liaison with a certain Jean, which took place in the 1930s, at which time he was already more than sixty years old. As we have already noted, he experienced little sexual attraction for men of his own class, in contrast to young men of the working classes, whom he regarded as virile and manly, and upon whom he became emotionally dependent. On the other hand, his lovers rapidly became financially dependent on him insofar as he bought clothes for them, provided in part for their daily needs, and guaranteed a monthly revenue for some of them.

This interdependence became evident when his lovers resisted him or abandoned him. These situations threw him into a profound confusion, caused by his inability to hold on durably to his lovers. Following an altercation with Ferdinand, in a journal entry marked by mental anguish, the diarist expresses in a very crude manner the social and economic difference which bound him to his favourite, as well as the emotional dependence which gnawed at him,

> if Ferdinand comes back and if he asks to be forgiven. Psychologically it is impossible for him not to come back. He knows me, he knows how much I love him, how good I am fundamentally, he knows about my wealth etc. Being broke he must think of me and I am sure he is prepared for any humiliation in

> order to have money! […] But I still want from time to time to possess him and humiliate him. I will not give him money [unless] me I want to and I hope to manage to kill in me the fear of losing him and to learn indifference with regards to him.[45]

And yet the desire to distance himself expressed in this extract remained only a pious aspiration. Five years later, he noted on the subject of Ferdinand that

> he has cost me a lot again. A thousand marks in all and for three years I will have to pay a rent of at least 35 marks each month. But I still love him if anything with the same sentimental and sensual violence, with tender and affectionate love. Provided he remains hard working and well behaved and doesn't do anything stupid.[46]

In 1913, or eight years after having met Ferdinand, Wilhelm kept a certain hope for the future (still mediated by money: a rent for three years), tinged with the paternalist values which come through in this extract. Ferdinand must show himself to be a good worker (whereas Wilhelm is a *rentier* and does not work for a living), be well behaved and not do anything stupid. Following which, after the First World War has been declared, Ferdinand tells Willhelm that his wife and child are in poverty, in reaction to which Wilhelm notes in his journal:

> Ever since I have known Ferdi. it is just an uninterrupted [chain] of demands for handouts which are always granted by me, never yet from his side a disinterested affection or with that me on my side I have almost nothing from him.[47]

The exercise of intimate authority was thus continued in the exercise of an economic dependence which made any emancipation difficult for the lovers for whom Wilhelm sought to make himself indispensable (although without them costing him too much money). This is particularly apparent in the case of the second relationship which I would like to explore, that with Jean, which he maintained between 1935 until the beginning of the Second World War.

A little before this relationship began, he notes in his journal that his taste for work had diminished and that for carnal pleasure had increased. He even adds that 'any trace of morality [has] disappeared'.[48] This note is important insofar as it shows the emancipation of the diarist from the norms of sexuality which constrained him. It would be expressed subsequently especially in his relations with one Jean P*.

In this period, once morality had disappeared, he also maintained a more regular record of his sexual relations which is reminiscent of the counting up of his nocturnal emissions which we saw in the journal entries of his youth. Now seventy years old, he noted that he experienced sexual pleasure twenty times a month.[49] In the same entry, he also observes that

> according to the new Article 175 […] any act between men which infringes the feeling of shame is punishable, e.g.: touching the sex of a man![50]

The allusion to Article 175, which was in force in Alsace from 1871 to 1919, reminded the diarist of the difficult situation experienced at that time by German homosexuals. The law had indeed just been reinforced, making arrests of homosexuals both more numerous and more obvious. We might ask ourselves if in this instance, once he was informed about the toughening of the penalties experienced in Germany, whether Wilhelm did not feel the need to enjoy the time remaining, knowing that Alsace could again be annexed by Germany, this time under Nazi rule.

It was in these conditions that Wilhelm undertook his liaison with Jean P*, who was, by Wilhelm's own account, the third and final love of his life. The entries relative to his liaison with John P* occupy numerous pages in the notebooks from 1937 up until 1942. The intimate authority which he exercises is shown to us in the following extracts which demonstrate the tension between Wilhelm's desire to possess his young lover and all the obstinacy of the young hoodlum that Jean is.

The Exercise of Intimate Authority in Action

The liaison with Jean P* is at once determinant and symptomatic of Wilhelm's sexual career. It enables us to observe once more the very disproportionate relations of power between a rich old man and a young man from a good family but who was now less well off as a result of the hazards of life. Moreover, this relationship allows us to study further the links between economic and emotional dependence in a context of patriarchal domination, as Wilhelm makes clear in the journal entry which records his meeting with the young man:

> In matters of love, a new acquaintance: Jean P*, grandson of the old pharmacist D* who was at grammar school with me 53 years ago. He is the son of a daughter who was also briefly the mistress of Zilliox, who left her husband, a former German officer, to live with a clerk in Paris […] This Jean is huge, the size of a [illegible]-locker, blue eyes, nice and kind but also very impoverished […] I want to help him and grant him 300 francs a month until he finds a job.[51]

The meeting with Jean was immediately situated within a genealogy which made it possible to locate him socially. Jean was the grandson of one of the diarist's old grammar school colleagues who was with him in Strasbourg's Protestant grammar school. The mother of the young man was once the mistress of one of Wilhelm's associates (Maître Zilliox). The physical description tells us what touches the diarist aesthetically: a young 'new man', big, blond and strong, who brings to mind the 'new man' described by George Mosse.[52] Finally, a third element of the description is linked to Jean's lack of economic

capital, since he is described as impoverished, thus justifying Wilhelm's intervention. His desire thus played out at two levels: aesthetic and sexual desire as well as altruistic desire for help and improvement mediated in practice by money. However, the concern for others and the help which he gave the young man had its price: his possession.

At this point, we can note the double standard involved in this kind of relationship, since whereas Wilhelm expected from the young man a great degree of availability and almost exclusive sentimental attachment, the same did not apply to the diarist, who continued to have sexual relations, for the most part anonymous, as he went about the streets of Strasbourg. One month after his meeting with Jean, he noted:

> last week a little adventure: I meet about ten o'clock in the evening in the Broglie a young man of about 26 with a little black moustache, upper-Rhine accent. I take him to the Faubourg National hotel, give him 30 francs. He follows me to the exit, stops me, demands 50 francs from me otherwise he will inform on me.[53]

But, little by little, his dear Jean occupied more and more space in the diarist's mind until he became an obsession. The latter indeed strings him along and he must wait a year until their platonic relationship becomes a physical one, annotated as follows: 'I possessed Jean in the Hotel Regina on 1 March.'[54]

Following this, Wilhelm stressed in his journal entries how completely taken by Jean he was, lending him books (to initiate him into literature), paying for the cinema, buying him clothes. However, his dear Jean does not seem to have been very grateful. Indeed, Wilhelm reports that nobody had ever behaved so vilely towards him. As the months pass, a relationship took shape composed of peaks and troughs, makings-up and backings-off, in which Jean plays the role of the lover who cannot be kept hold of.

Nevertheless, a form of relationship does emerge which the diarist defines in this way: 'I am protector, lover and instructor. Jean shows himself willing to learn.'[55] A little later, it appears that it is also sexual initiation which is in question here with regards to the young Jean, since Wilhelm makes clear, in what is a rare passage given that he writes relatively little about the detail of his sexual practices, that:

> Sunday evening at half past nine, he arrives. Never yet had he been so hot and voluptuous, demanding that I perform the most intimate acts? (Makes me pump and rim him). He shows an ardour like never before. I see by his attitude that he is capable of every act and even without disgust. On one side of him he is a perfect whore.[56]

Yet this sexual experience does not seem to be experienced in the same way by the two parties since Jean then immediately backed off, as Wilhelm notes in the following journal entry:

> Jean declares he wants to be a respectable boy and stop all homosexual relations […]. He does not want me to come to see him any more, or to wait for him when he comes out of work, since he wants to lose his reputation for giving himself to homosexuals.[57]

What should we understand by these words? In the first place that homosexuality as an identity should be ascribed to the domain of bad reputation and could have serious consequences once one was marked with it. We can also ask ourselves if Jean was having sexual relations with other men besides Wilhelm or whether perhaps Wilhelm was here taken as an ideal type of the homosexual. Finally, for a young man in his twenties, how to assume and publicly live their difference in age, especially as he finished work for the day?

A little later, Jean put his expressed wishes into action. The loss of a homosexual reputation was realised by meeting a woman, a meeting which provoked the greatest jealousy in Wilhelm, since he would like to keep Jean under his tutelage, adopting him and making him understand the psychological suffering which his lost love is making him endure. He then noted: 'I gave him Oscar Wilde's *De Profundis* to read.'[58]

Blackmail, Counter-Power and the Social Cost of Homosexuality

Authority is a power relation which cannot function without legitimacy.[59] Within the life-course of Eugène Wilhelm, the forms of authority exercised on him took several forms, as do those which he was in a position to exercise. Some of those forms of authority which he possessed, especially in the realm of intimate relationships, were legitimated by his membership of the bourgeoisie. From his youth, he learned how those worked by imposing sexual relations which sometimes took the form of harassment of domestic servants of the household, and which were founded on a certain tradition of legitimacy. With men, intimate authority was exercised by the diarist in the context of sexual relations principally with men of the working classes. Always mediated by money, and thus by the exercise of economic power, they bring to mind the exercise of patriarchal power by the household 'breadwinner'. However, insofar as this authority was not exercised within heterosexual power schema, it immediately raises the question of the exercise of intimate power in relations between members of the same sex which create an advantage for one party in the relationship and a disadvantage for the other. Yet, since this domination always played out at several levels and in different spheres, the diarist was himself, on occasion, caught in an untenable situation, notably as a result of his fear of the public exposure of his deviance. In this context, blackmail situations were common. They are part of the classics of homosexual relations when the individual or social situation permits it. In its most anodyne form, blackmail manifested itself in the increase after the fact of the sum given by Wilhelm to obtain a sexual relation,

> in a urinal, near to the Gare de l'Est, met a young man, an electrician, a bit of a smooth talker, but taking courage I take him to my house, in the end blackmail I have to give him 20 francs instead of the 5 promised, wants another louis [20 francs].[60]

At other times, the blackmailer could be a third party who tried to take advantage of the vulnerability of homosexuals:

> An unpleasant incident happened to me. I was going with a handsome musician NCO with the Hussars who […] was looking for men under the tunnel near to the ramparts of Kronenburg and the freight railway station, I kiss him until I am satisfied. Coming out of the tunnel, a railway employee and an NCO run after threatening me with the police, they can't say exactly what they saw, but repeat that I had done something that I shouldn't have done. To begin with I thought they are in good faith, but soon I saw that they're blackmailers, I gave 6 Marks to the NCO, but the other accomplice did not let me go, he accompanied me right to the police station and it was only *when I* threatened to inform on him for blackmail and slander that he left. All the same that should be a lesson to me to do nothing in public not even kiss.[61]

In yet other cases, as with Ferdinand, emotional blackmail makes it possible to continue the relationship. Wilhelm writes of him, once he has known him for more than five years, that he

> has only one desire for money and an easy life: I am surprised he hasn't found better before now […] I have lost hope that he will live a working life for long and that he will make himself a steady position. Before leaving he begged me to give him soon two thousand Marks (which I had half shown him for if he behaved himself). […] F. is in a precarious position, that he will still be able to cause me problems, and that in sum he is only nice for his own interest.[62]

Finally, blackmail could be more unpleasant in its consequences, as when it forced Wilhelm to resign from his office as a judge:

> Just 6 weeks ago I was called to up to see the president. Another policeman, arrested for pimping, had said: if they arrested him and Hildebrand (one of the individuals who wrote the blackmail letter in November) they'd let him out because he'd buggered me! I had to sue: I refused. In the same way the two blackmailers (named Pfeiffer and Hildebrand) had been informed on by a third party for blackmailing me. I had to give [him] the letter. I stupidly announced that I had it, but did not want to give [him] it, not wanting a public trial, no Moltke Trial, where all my most intimate feelings would be revealed and dragged through the mud in the newspapers.[63]

In his journal, the diarist makes it clear that he did not want to be included in the long line of homosexual scandals which were destabilising contemporary Germany, even touching the immediate entourage of the Kaiser, stretching

notably from Kuno von Moltke and Prince Philip of Eulenburg to Chancellor von Bülow.[64]

In Wilhelm's case, the half-suppressed scandal not only led to his resignation, but also followed him into the aftermath of the First World War and the reabsorption of Alsace into France. When he tried to obtain the status of a sworn advocate, he was reminded in semi-veiled terms, when he was interviewed by one of the representatives of the new French administration, that his condition as a homosexual presented problems for the renewal of his membership of the Strasbourg Bar. In this regard, he believed that the attitude of Monsieur Carré de Malberg was directly linked to his reputation:

> I see that it is precisely my reputation as a homosexual which he was aware of and which inspired him to treat me as he did. The whole thing took the wind out of me. The old ghosts are coming back and pursuing me. A homosexual especially a notorious one should remain hidden, I have not.[65]

The sexuality of Eugène Wilhelm, and the fact that he accepted his desire for persons of his own sex, had serious consequences whose culmination came in the autumn of 1940, with the annexation of Alsace by Nazi Germany. In book 43 of his journal, he tells the story of his arrest for 'homosexuality'[66] by the Gestapo as well as his incarceration and internment in the Schirmeck special camp. This episode tells us about his subjective experience of imprisonment and notably of the inversion of roles since, as a judge, earlier in life, it was he who had sent men to prison. Now aged seventy-four, he noted:

> Thursday morning [17 October] a policeman arrived and an agent in plain clothes (from Alsace). I had to follow them to the Sicherheitspolizei [on the] 4th floor. The German policeman accused me of having had homosexual relations. I declare that I had never done any such thing and that if it had been so, it would not have been punishable and would still not be punishable, since German law had not been [extended] and for that matter that it would not have retroactive effect. So they would have to let out all the other homos. they had arrested.[67]

He then described his experience in prison, in the rest of the same entry, and subsequently in the internment camp in Schirmeck. He tells how he encountered other homosexuals, who had also been arrested on the basis of their reputation and their acquaintance with homosexual circles in Alsace:

> In the hut there are about 30 homosexuals, almost all of them from Mulhouse, a hairdresser from Barr, who has difficulty walking, leaning on a cane [a very sensitive man], some young people (a youth of 15 years old \on account of/acts which had been committed when he was 13), other pretty working class boys between 20 and 35 years old, then men from 30 to 60 years, a 50-year-old Italian who runs a restaurant where homosexuals ate and who had a friend who was

> homosexual. A good man although again without profession who also seems to me to live by homosexuality.[68]

During this episode, which did not last for more than a few days, however, Wilhelm was confronted with the authority of the camp guards which, as in the case of one 'young officer with a face like a hyena' who barked appalling things, showed the Nazis to be 'animals in a special category of living beings, the most horrible'.[69] This last episode in Wilhelm's life makes it possible to illustrate once more the multiplicity of effects in the short and long term of many different forms of domination, notably heterosexist domination.

Conclusion

The extracts from Eugène Wilhelm's journal examined here open up the intimate side of one man's life both from a subjective and from a normative point of view. The sometimes vivid emotion which we feel when he considers his own destiny is at other times counterbalanced by the lack of compassion which he feels for the men (and also the women) whom he frequents. On this evidence, this can be explained by the fundamental distinction which he maintains between himself as a member of the bourgeois class and the members of inferior social classes. In so doing, he contributes despite himself to debates still relevant today about forms of social inequality and how these condition access to certain resources. Feminist analysis of domination has shown how 'private patriarchy' acts as a bourgeois male violence subordinating both women and working-class men.[70] As R.W. Connell explained, it maintains specific dynamics of gender order especially in Wilhelm's case, which approaches both complicit and homosexual masculinities.[71] When we consider the fate of Wilhelm's sexual partners, which we only encounter fragmentarily in this source, we can ask ourselves about the forms of submission and probably humiliation which their modest condition imposed upon them. We can ask ourselves, too, how far sexuality was a means of gaining access to a less impoverished daily life, allowing these men, in certain circumstances, to meet their basic needs or to provide for their family. This set of questions, although it has never exactly been expressed like this, comes back to conservative discourses concerning homosexuality which were current in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As authors working on homosexuality in large metropolitan cities have noted, actors like Eugène Wilhelm embody certain forms of disorder inherent in homosexuality. In contrast to marriage, which took place essentially within the same class, with like marrying like, homosexual life liberated from this constraint made possible a certain mixing of classes and of types. More conservative commentators saw in this the corruption of youth, the encouragement of idleness in the working classes, and the advancement of values opposed to those of work and of merit.

Notes

1. The journal is currently being transcribed in full. The author would like to thank Kevin Dubout and Sara Maïka for their participation in both the transcription and the study of this manuscript.
2. P. Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience, Victoria to Freud* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
3. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. S. Kalberg (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001).
4. M. Kessel, 'Heterogene Männlichkeit. Skizzen zur gegenwärtigen Geschlechterforschung' in *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. F. Jaeger et al. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004), vol. 3, pp. 372–384, esp. p. 381.
5. M. Kessel, 'The Whole Man: The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-century Germany', *Gender and History*, 15 (2003), 1–31, p. 23.
6. H. Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). On this subject, see Marc Renneville, 'Les Archives d'anthropologie criminelle: a journal fit for a nascent scientific field', *Criminocorpus* [online], 2015. http://criminocorpus.revues.org/2959.
7. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010 [1st edn. 1995]).
8. K. Plummer, *Documents of life 2* (London: Sage, 2001).
9. Jeffrey Weeks has worked on this question, focusing on male prostitution in Britain (especially in towns and amongst the working classes). See Weeks, 'Inverts, Perverts and Mary-Annes. Male prostitution and the regulation of homosexuality in England in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Journal of Homosexuality*, 6:1/2 (1980–1981), pp. 113–114. See also S. Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861–1913* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) and H.G. Cocks, *Nameless offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Tauris, 2010). Martin Lücke has studied this issue in Germany at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century. See Lücke, *Männlichkeit in Unordnung. Homosexualität und männliche Prostitution in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2008).
10. *Journal intime d'Eugène Wilhelm* [henceforth *Journal*], carnet n° 1, f°9/50, 19.07.1885: 'Le matin à 8 heures je me lève; à 8½ heures je joue du piano jusque vers 11 heures, puis je descends flâner dans le jardin un livre à la main. J'attends le facteur toujours avec impatience, qui nous apporte le journal de la veille. Après le dîner je m'exerce de nouveau jusque vers 3 heures. Puis s'il fait beau je m'étends dans le hamac sous un frais bouquet d'arbres et je lis ou bien comme cela m'arrive souvent je me mets à rêver. Quelquefois il arrive des visites comme cette après-midi […].'
11. See for example the work of G. Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); R. Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of Modern Identity* (New York: Knopft, 2014); F. Buot, *Gay Paris* (Paris: Fayard, 2013); F. Tamagne, *Histoire de l'homosexualité en Europe: Berlin, Londres, Paris* (Paris: Seuil, 2000) and M. Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality: 1885–1914* (Cambrige: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
12. See Connell, *Masculinities*.

13. *Journal*, Carnet n°10, f°29/68, 26.1.1891: 'ne puis admettre le principe, qu'on adule en la personne de l'empereur, le principe de l'autorité fondée sur un seul homme; un homme que je ne connais pas, que je ne puis pas regarder comme supérieur à moi.'
14. *Journal*, Carnet n°19, f°56/58, 1.4.1900: 'beaucoup certes ne me trouvent pas assez d'idées allemandes, trop indépendant, trop moi, trop je m'en foutiste; certes beaucoup remarquent combien je suis dissemblable du fonctionnaire modèle, chien-couchant, réactionnaire, jurant par les opinions des supérieurs, respectueux des grades et de titres.'
15. *Journal*, Carnet n°9, f°48/55, 2.9.1890.
16. Cf. for example, N. Canet, *Hôtels garnis: Garçons de joie* (Paris: Nicole Canet, 2012); M. Friedman, 'Male Sex Work from Ancient Times to near Present', in V. Minichiellio and J. Scott (eds.), *Male Sex Work and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
17. *Journal*, Carnet n°17, f°38/69, 18.3.1896: '…perspective a de nouveau occasionné un certain froissement avec mes parents. Je les sens inquiets et hostiles à ce voyage, même certains paroles échappées à maman m'ont montré tout son déplaisir—de là quelques journées d'humeur noire et de mélancholie toujours latent vis-à-vis de mes parents […] des affreux dangers d'une découverte du poids qui pèse sur ma vie [;] par leur inquiétude et leur déplaisir latent portent à ma liberté.'
18. *Journal*, Carnet n°16, f°34/61, 1.1.1895: 'L'horrible peur d'une découverte, l'avenir brisé le désespoir des parents!'
19. R. Mesli and M. Trachman, 'Introduction: Parias sexuels', *Genre, Sexualité et Société*, 11 (2014), p. 5. For 'the breastplate of righteousness' see L. Humphreys, *The Tearoom Trade: Impersonal sex in public places* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1975 [1st edn. 1970]), ch. 7.
20. Georges Eekhoud, *Voyous de velour ou l'autre vue* (Brussels: Labor, 1991 [1904]).
21. Georges Eekhoud, *Escal Vigor* (Paris: Le Mercure de France, 1899).
22. M. Lucien, *Georges Eekhoud*, *un illustre uraniste* (Lille: Gay Kitsch Camp, 2012).
23. *Journal*, Carnet n°3, f°10/67, 12.09.1886: 'Je ne suis pas habile chasseur vraiment, car je ne parviens pas à tirer de perdreaux et revient bredouille'.
24. On this subject, see R. Schlagdenhauffen, 'L'écriture de l'entrée dans la sexualité dans le journal intime inédit d'Eugène Wilhelm', in *Fictions du masculin: dans les littératures occidentales*, ed. Bernard Banoun, Anne Torniche and Mónica Zapata (Paris: Classiques Garnier).
25. *Journal*, Carnet n°12, f°37/73, 3.5.1892: 'il me faudra plus tard chez moi un beau domestique avec lequel je pourrais me satisfaire quand et aussi souvent que je voudrais'.
26. C. Petitfrère, *L'Oeil du maître: maîtres et serviteurs de l'époque classique au romantisme* (Brussels: Complexe, 2006).
27. *Journal*, Carnet n°3, f°10/67, 14.11.1886: 'Voilà 4 pollutions, 4 nuits de suite presque. Je suis maintenant décidé à aller au bordel. Car cela ne peut durer, je me ruinerai complètement la santé. Goldschmidt même m'a conseillé samedia quand j'étais chez lui à aller chez une femme. Je lui ai confié ma perversion des sens.'

28. Cf. Schlagdenhauffen, 'L'écriture de l'entrée dans la sexualité'.
29. See Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren*.
30. Richard von Kraft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis with Special Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct: A Medico Legal Study*, trans. from the 7th German edition by Charles Gilbert Chaddock (London: J.F. Rebman, 1894). See 'Case n°110: Psychical Hermaphroditism-Mouth Fetichism', p. 243–251.
31. '…peuvent encore être excités surtout par des filles de paysans, des servantes, des filles du peuple et, en général, par celles qui sont habillées grossièrement et pauvrement'.
32. *Journal*, Carnet n°7, f°58/69, 12.10.1889.
33. '…malgré la très grande infériorité de sa position sociale, [il] n'était pas indigne de moi ni par ses manières, ni par son caractère.'
34. '…ma figure a une expression virile; l'oeil est mobile; l'ensemble de mon corps a quelque chose de féminin.'
35. Cf. R. Courapied, 'Le traitement esthéthique de l'homosexualité dans les œuvres décadentes face au système médical et légal: accord et désaccords sur une éthique de la sexualité', thèse de doctorat, University of Rennes (2014).
36. Cf. L. Boltanski, 'Pouvoir et impuissance [projet intellectuel et sexualité dans le Journal d'Amiel', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 1: 5–6 (1975), pp. 80–108.
37. *Journal*, Carnet n°12, f°9/73, 11.02.1891.
38. *Journal*, Carnet n°12, f°13/73.
39. *Journal*, Carnet n°22, f°15/47, 11.04.1908: 'le scandale étouffé suinte déjà. La dégoûtante Bürgerzeitung a mis une note d'après laquelle <un juge d'ici> vune instruction pour délit contre le § 175 était ouverte contre un juge d'ici. Tout le monde a deviné que j'étais visé. Plus tard est venu un démenti de la nouvelle publiée par un autre journal que deux juges avaient été suspendus de leurs fonctions. Mais malgré cela tout le monde suppose que j'ai une histoire et tout le monde me sait homosexuel.'
40. *Journal*, Carnet n°22, 'résumé du Carnet', f°2/47, 1908: 'Mars-Avril la découverte déjà si longtemps redoutée. Instruction, semaines terribles; ne reçois pas la pension donne ma démission, Hasemann le 1er procureur. Haineux. En général au ministère on semble content que je m'en aille. […] De l'horrible situation, Papa est d'accord de me faire une rente de 6000 Marks. [Il] ne sait rien des motifs de ma démission, qu'il croit être mon état nerveux maladif. Emile, Louise, Berthe au courant, se montrent bons, affectueux.' The latter three are his brother-in-law and his two sisters.
41. *Journal*, Carnet n°9, f°12/55, 01.05.1890: 'Aujourd'hui écrit à Toni, une lettre pleine de reproches, mais quand même tranquille, car je sais qu'il m'aime.'
42. *Journal*, Carnet n°9, f°13/55, 08.05.1890: 'lettre de lui; assez sincère, mais demande d'argent; ce qui me déplait, <ne> serait-ce cela seul le principal motif de m'écrire?'
43. *Journal*, Carnet n°19, f°25/58, 17.08.1899: 'à Cologne je me suis enquis de l'adresse de Toni E***. Je l'ai attendu à la sortie de l'atelier. Il m'a de suite reconnu; mais j'ai vu de suite que tout sentiment pour moi était éteint. Je suis déjà longtemps pour lui, le Monsieur qu'il a connu lors du service militaire et qui donnait de l'argent quand il n'en avait pas. Il est marié et père.'
44. *Journal*, Carnet, n°21, f°51/86, 22.03.1907.

45. *Journal*, Carnet, n°22, f°35/47, 25.09.1908: 'si Ferdinand revient et s'il me demande pardon. Psychologiquement il est impossible qu'il ne revienne pas. Il me connait, il sait combien je l'aimais, combien je suis bon au fond, <et que> il connait ma fortune etc. Etant dans la dèche il faut qu'il songe à moi et je suis sur qu'il est prêt à toutes les humiliations pour avoir de l'argent! […] Mais je veux encore de temps en temps le posséder <et me> et l'humilier. Je ne lui donnerai l'argent que [si] moi je veux et <je> j'espère arriver à tuer en moi la peur de le perdre et d'acquérir l'indifférenc vis-à-vis de lui.'
46. *Journal*, Carnet n°26, f°72-74/124, summary of the year 1913: 'il m'a coûté de nouveau beaucoup. Mille marcs en tout et pendant 3 ans je vais être obligé à une rente de minimum 35 marcs mensuels. Mais je l'aime toujours sinon avec la même violence sentimentale et sensuelle, avec un amour tendre et affectueux. Pourvu qu'il reste travailleur et convenable et ne fasse pas de bêtises.' See also M. Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasure in the Sexual Metropolis* (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 2005).
47. *Journal*, Carnet n°22, f°35/47, 25.09.1908: 'Depuis que je connais Ferdi. ce n'est qu'une [chaîne] ininterrompue de demandes de subsides toujours accordés par moi, jamais encore de son côté une affection désintéressée et avec cela moi de mon côté je n'ai presque rien de lui.'
48. *Journal*, Carnet n°39, f°2/120, résumé du carnet (1935–37): 'toute part de moralité [a] disparu'.
49. *Journal*, Carnet n°39, f°77-82/120, 3.10-16/11.1936.
50. Ibid.: '…d'après le nouveau §175 […] tout acte entre homme freinant le sentiment de pudeur est punissable, par ex.: toucher le sexe d'un homme!'
51. *Journal*, Carnet n°39, f°98/120, 14.3.1937: 'En fait d'amour, nouvelle connaissance: Jean P*, petit fils de l'ancien pharmacien D* qui était au gymnase avec moi il y a 53 ans. Il est le fils d'une fille qui fut aussi la maîtresse passagère de Zilliox quittant son mari, ancien officier allemand pour vivre avec un employé à Paris […] Ce Jean est immense, taille d'un gard-[ill.], yeux bleus, cheveux blonds, gentil et doux mais de la plus grande misère […]. Je veux l'aider et lui allouer 300 francs/mois jusqu'à ce qu'il retrouve une place.'
52. G.L. Mosse, *L'image de l'homme: l'invention de la virilité moderne* (Paris: Pocket, 1999).
53. *Journal*, Carnet n°39, f°100/120, 18.4.1937: 'la semaine dernière une petite aventure: je rencontre à 10 h du soir au Broglie un jeune homme d'environ 26 ans à la petite moustache noire, dialecte haut-rhinois. Je l'emmène à l'hôtel Faubourg National, lui donne 30 frs. Il me suit à la sortie, m'arrête, me réclame 50 francs sinon il me dénonce.'
54. *Journal*, Carnet n°40, f°70/146, 20.2-13.3.1938: 'J'ai possédé Jean à l'hôtel Regina le 1er mars'.
55. *Journal*, Carnet n°40, f°81/146ff., 13.3-27.3.1938: 'Je suis protecteur, amant et instructeur. Jean se montre désireux d'apprendre.'
56. *Journal*, Carnet n°40, f°92-93/146, 14-22.5.1938: 'Dimanche soir à 9 h et demi, il vint. Jamais encore il ne fut si chaud et voluptueux, exigeant que je fasse les actes les plus intimes? (Me fit pomper et feuille de rose.) Il se montra d'une ardeur comme jamais encore. Je vois par son attitude qu'il est capabale de tous les actes et même sans dégoût. Il a un côté de parfaite putain.'

57. *Journal*, Carnet n°40, f°110/146, 12-19.6.1938: 'Jean déclare vouloir devenir un garçon rangé et cesser toutes les relations homosexuelles […]. Il ne veut plus que je vienne le voir, ni l'attendre à la sortie du travail, car il veut perdre sa réputation de se donner à des homosexuels.'
58. *Journal*, Carnet n°41, 12-14.10.1939. This is the letter written by Oscar Wilde to his lover Alfred Douglas, written in prison. It describes a relationship of love, but also of reciprocal dependence which ties Wilde to Douglas. He paints a picture of a young man with a complex and difficult character, manipulative when it suits him, but from whom he cannot free himself.
59. Max Weber, *Économy et Société* (Paris: Plon, 1971 [1921]).
60. *Journal*, Carnet n°26, f°6/124, 02.01.1913: 'à une pissotière, près de la gare de l'Est connu un j. h. électricien, un peu beau parleur, mais m'inspirant confiance je l'emmenai chez moi, à la fin chantage suis obligé de lui donner 20 fr. au lieu des 5 promis, veut un autre louis.'
61. *Journal*, Carnet n°26, f°55/124, 10.10.1913: 'Une aventure désagréable m'arrivai. J'allai avec un beau musicien sous-of des hussards qui […] cherchait des hommes sous le tunnel près des remparts de Kronenburg et de la gare de marchandises, je l'embrasse jusqu'à satisfaction. En sortant du tunnel, un employé de chemin de fer et un sous-of nous coururent après me menaçant de la police, il ne crurent dire exactement ce qu'ils avaient vu, mais répétèrent que j'avais fais ce que je ne devais pas faire. D'abord je les crus de bonne fois, mais bientôt je vis qu'ils étaient maîtres chanteurs, je donna 6 Marcs. au sous-of, mais l'autre compère ne me lâcha point, il m'accompagna jusque vers le bureau de police ce ne fut que *quand moi* je le menaçais de dénonciation pour chantage et injure qu'il partit. Néanmoins cela doit me servir de leçon de ne plus rien faire en public même pas embrasser.
62. *Journal*, Carnet n°26, f°44/124, 10.9.1913: '[il] n'a qu'un désir d'argent et la vie commode: Je m'étonne qu'il n'est pas mieux trouvé jusqu'à présent […]. J'ai perdu espoir qu'il mènera une vie de travail durable et qu'il se créera une position stable. Avant le départ il me supplie de lui donner bientôt 2 Mille marcs (que je lui avais fait entrevoir pour le cas de sa bonne conduite). […] F. est dans une position précaire, qu'il pourra encore me causer des soucis, et qu'en somme il n'est gentil que par intérêt.'
63. *Journal*, Carnet n°22, f°10/47, 11.4.1908: 'Il y a juste 6 semaines je fus appelé chez le président. Un ancien policier, arrêté pour proxénétisme, a dit: lui on l'arrêtait et Hildebrand (un des individus qui a écrit la lettre de chantage du mois de novembre) on le relâchait par ce qu'il m'avait enculé! Je devais porter plainte: J'ai refusé. De même les deux chanteurs (du nom de Pfeiffer et Hildebrand) avaient été dénoncé par un tiers pour chantage vis à vis de moi. Je devais donner la lettre. J'ai bêtement annoncé [?] l'avoir, mais ne pas vouloir la donner, ne voulant pas de procès public, pas de Moltke-Process, où tous mes sentiments les plus intimes seraient dévoilés et trainés à travers tous les journaux.'
64. N. Le Moigne, 'L'affaire Eulenburg: homosexualité, pouvoir monarchique et dénonciation publique dans l'Allemagne impériale (1906–1908)', *Politix*, 71 (2005), 83–106.
65. *Journal*, Carnet n°31, f°36/40, 6.7.1919: 'Je vois que c'est précisément ma renommée d'homosexuel qu'il a connu et qui l'a incitée à me traiter comme il

l'a fait. La chose me donne un fort coup. Les anciens fantômes reviennent et me poursuivent. Un homosexuel surtout notoire doit se tenir caché, je ne l'ai pas fait.'

66. On the question of the arrest of 'homosexuals' in Alsace after its annexation, see R. Schlagdenhauffen, 'Désirs condamnés: punir les homosexuels en Alsace annexée (1940–45)', *Clio*, 39 (2014), 83–104.
67. *Journal*, Carnet n°44, f°49/124, 8.10-31.12.1940: 'Jeudi matin [le 17 octobre] arriva un policier et un agent en civil (un Alsacien). Je dus les suivre à la *Sicherheitspolizei* [au] 4e étage. Le policier allemand m'accusa d'avoir eu des rapports homosexuels. Je déclare jamais [n']avoir fait pareille chose et si cela était le cas, cela n'aurait pas été punissable et ne le serait pas encore, la loi allemande n'étant pas [étendue] et du reste n'aurait pas d'effet rétroactif. Alors il faudra lâcher tous les autres homos. arrêtés.'
68. *Journal*, Carnet n°31, f°56/124, 8.10-31.12.1940: 'Dans la baraque se trouvent encore 30 homosexuels, presque tous de Mulhouse, un coiffeur de Barr, qui marche difficilement en s'appuyant avec une canne, [homme très sensible], des jeunes (un jeune de 15 ans \à cause/d'actes commis à 13 ans), d'autres jolis garçons du peuple entre 20–35 ans puis des hommes de 30 à 60 ans, un Italien de 50 ans qui tenait un restaurant où mangeaient des homosexuels et qui avait un ami homosexuel. Un homme très bien encore que sans profession qui me paraît aussi vivre de l'homosexualité.'
69. Ibid.: '…un jeune officier à la gueule de hyène..', '…[des] bêtes formant une catégorie spéciale d'êtres vivants, les plus atroces…'
70. S. Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).
71. R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Cambridge: Polity, 1987); Connell, *Masculinities*.

Eminently Queer Victorians and the Bloomsbury Group's Critique of British Leadership

Dominic Janes

History departments, if not the worlds they study, are quite often neatly divided into specialists in politics, society and culture. One of the contentions underlying the current volume is that these divisions, when adhered to in a rigid fashion, have a distorting effect on the study of the past. A sophisticated appreciation of patterns of gender construction can add considerably to contemporary understanding of political leadership in ages when such roles were firmly in the hands of men. Awareness of this is increasingly breaking through as can be seen from the short chapter entitled 'A Crisis of Masculinity?' in Christopher Clark's *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (2012).[1] Clark interrupts his detailed narrative of events with a three-page vignette of what he sees as a male political class in crisis. Having first identified that he was primarily describing what he terms a play with male characters, he goes on to suggest that many of those men were suffering from intense personal anxieties and insecurities. He attributes this partly to the gradual decline in respect for social rank which left gender as an increasingly valued aspect of identity. In the process a mode of manliness, he argues, that was based on consumption and display was increasingly being replaced by a more austere code of masculine self-discipline. Whereas morality and decency had been key attributes of the Victorian gentleman, his twentieth-century

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successor was required to be overtly and perhaps overly obsessed by service to his nation.

Sean Brady in his work on masculinity and male homosexuality in Britain has similarly identified the operations of an 'unstable' patriarchy as driving hostility to same-sex desire as a (supposed) attribute of social decadence.[2] It is, therefore, striking that a series of homosexual scandals, or ones that involved aspects of homosexuality, erupted in Britain, France and Germany in the years leading up to World War One. It was in this climate that accusations of male effeminacy can be seen to have begun to impinge strongly as a threat to those in authority. It is important to stress that the implications of insufficiently manly performance were not automatically read as indicating same-sex desire. In a similar fashion, Laura Doan has rightly cautioned that apparently transgressive female behaviour, such as the embrace of aspects of masculine dress, did not become strongly associated in the public mind with lesbianism until the later 1920s.[3] Nevertheless, linkages between gender performance and sexual preference were increasingly being made in elite cultural circles from the beginning of the century, notably amongst those familiar with newly emerging psychological literature.

Perhaps the pre-eminent such circle in Britain has become known as the Bloomsbury Group. They set themselves up, quite consciously, against the previous generation of (to them) unenlightened Victorians. In this chapter I will start by exploring the background to the critique mounted by various members of the Bloomsbury Group by looking at aspects of male effeminacy in Britain during the later Victorian and Edwardian periods. I will argue that Bloomsbury's innovation lay not in rejecting aspects of counter-hegemonic performance, such as the deliberate embrace of male effeminacy, but in supplementing them with parodic critique of (supposedly) masculine men. These responses were, I will argue, concerned not merely with gender but also with sexual tastes and can, therefore, be understood as acts of queer expression.

A particular emphasis will be placed on connections between John Maynard Keynes who was 31 years old when World War I began and Giles Lytton Strachey who was three years his senior. It will be argued that they and certain of their friends developed forms of critique that were distinctively queer in that they included satirical and sexually nuanced analyses of performances of masculinity on the part of key public figures. The wide impact of certain of their publications gave their personal attitudes and styles a peculiar and, hitherto, under-recognised influence on interwar Europe. Above all, the presentation in Keynes' *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919) of the performances of the Allied leaders at the Paris Peace Conference played a significant role in discrediting processes of political leadership and alleging mismanagement not only of the war but also of the peace. Such critiques can be related to wider public discourse on the personal performances of powerful men and it will be suggested that self-assertion by men was not something that was simply taken at face value. This implies that issues concerning

masculinity should be considered as essential components of a sophisticated understanding of both the operation and popular reception of high politics in the Western democracies of the early twentieth century.

When Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) reviewed the Royal Academy's summer exhibition in an essay for the *Athenaeum*, published on 22 August 1919, she did so with extreme distaste for what she saw as the sentimentalised view of patriarchy on display there. We observe, she wrote, 'officers of all descriptions, architects, surgeons, peers, dentists, doctors, lawyers, archbishops, roses, sundials, battlefields, fish and Skye terriers. From wall to wall, glowing with colour, glistening with oil, framed in gilt, and protected by glass, they ogle and elevate, inspire and command.'[4] Or at least, she continues, this is what they attempted to do but they failed to have an improving effect on a public audience that was 'not quite up to the level of the pictures'.[5] It was only with *Gassed* (1919) by John Singer Sargent (1856–1925) that people were jogged into an affective response (Fig. 1). It is usually assumed that the reason for this is that it is far removed from the high-society portraiture for which this American expatriate painter was famed in that it showed a tragic scene of young men who had been blinded in a mustard gas attack during World War One.[6] But for Woolf the painting's intent, if not its effect, was the same as the other establishment works on display. It is worth quoting her at more length.

> A large picture by Mr Sargent called 'Gassed' at last pricked some nerve of protest, or perhaps of humanity. In order to emphasise his point that the soldiers wearing bandages round their eyes cannot see, and therefore claim our compassion, he makes one of them raise his leg to the level of his elbow in order to mount a step an inch or so above the ground. This little piece of over-emphasis was the final scratch of the surgeon's knife which is said to hurt more than the whole operation. After all, one had been jabbed and stabbed, slashed and sliced for close on two hours… Mr Sargent was the last straw. Suddenly the great rooms rang like a parrot-house with the intolerable vociferations of gaudy and brainless birds. How they shrieked and gibbered! How they danced and sidled! Honour, patriotism, chastity, wealth, success, importance, position, patronage, power – their cries rang and echoed from all quarters.

She was forced to run from the 'brazen din … into the comparative sobriety of Piccadilly'.[7] Woolf, along with others of the Bloomsbury Group, was to mount an ongoing set of literary interventions against conventional forms of British patriarchal masculinity that focused upon concepts of duty and command. I will go on to argue that one component of such critique was based on problematising the sexual tastes of such leading men so as to amount almost to acts of what might, in a later period, have been referred to as queering.

A key inspiration behind these strategies was a belief that hypocrisy was a key aspect of homosocial lives, particularly in relation to same-sex desire.

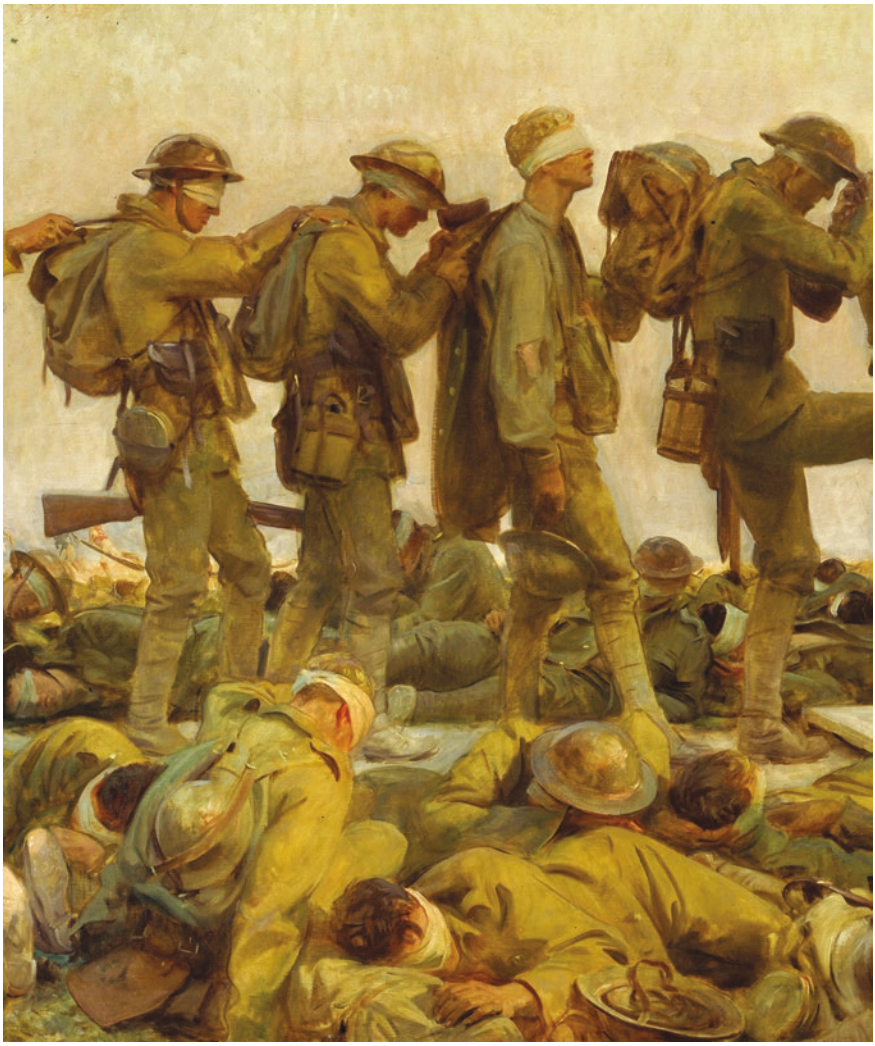

Fig. 1 Detail, John Singer Sargent, *Gassed* (1919), oil on canvas, 231 × 611 cm (dimensions of entire work) (© Imperial War Museum, London—IWM ART 1460)

This view was advanced with force by Marcel Proust at around the same time when he was working on what was to become the fourth volume of his life's great literary work, published in English as *Cities of the Plain* and *Sodom and Gomorrah*. Proust wrote of the vice of Sodom 'flaunting itself, insolent and immune, where its existence is never guessed; numbering its adherents everywhere, among the people, in the army, in the church, in prison, on the throne… speaking of the vice as of something alien to it'.[8] Eve Sedgwick drew attention to this phrase as key evidence for the development of

knowledge of the closet as a place of homosexual secrets.[9] While the circle around Oscar Wilde developed awareness of their own sexual tastes as setting themselves apart as an artistic elite from those who governed the country, various members of the Bloomsbury Group were living at a time when it was possible to imagine that queer desires lurked behind the respectable facade of patriarchal leadership. Having explored aspects of the work of Strachey and Keyes, I will revisit Woolf's identification of Sargent's 'over-emphasis' and suggest reasons for her horror at the response that the painting elicited from those 'brainless birds' in the social cage who thought only of 'position, patronage, power' when brought face to face with the triumphs and sorrows of the British patriarch.

Aesthetics and Athletics

Political leaders in the nineteenth century, with the exception of certain members of European royalty, were almost invariably men. They were expected visibly to embody the best attributes not only of their class but also their sex. Physical training for such demanding lives was provided in the public schools and universities through an increasing focus on team sports. That late Victorian manliness was a visibly effortful performance is clear by looking at contemporary illustrations. The muscled, upright bodies of the young rowers, to take one example, shown in 'Aesthetics v. Athletics', a cartoon that appeared in *The Illustrated London News* in 1883, are eloquent testimony to the hard disciplines of exercise and deportment.[10] The slumping bodies of the spindly aesthetes, meanwhile, speak of physical indolence and dissipation. It was a standard trope of caricature of the cult of aestheticism to suggest that its adherents were not merely androgynous, but also ugly. But far from retiring the manly male body from the field of the scopic gaze such critique had the effect of presenting it as both visible and visibly desirable. Thus in a series of adverts for Cadbury's Cocoa that ran at around the same time it is unclear whether the male consumer is encouraged to emulate the athlete drinking a cup of the invigorating beverage because he wants to be like the man or because he wants to be with the man.[11] In both cases successful masculine performance was becoming increasingly dependent upon aesthetic self-awareness.

In such circumstances it is hardly surprising that there were repeated panics over the moral and physical presentation of British manhood. These had a strong tendency to focus not simply on issues of weakness but also on issues of gender transgression and sexual perversion. Perhaps the most prominent legal case prior to that of Oscar Wilde in which these themes were openly confronted in court was the trial of Thomas Ernest Boulton and Frederick William Park in London in 1871. These men were in the habit of appearing in public in London dressed in women's clothing and the prosecution attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade the court that this was evidence of sodomy and that they were male prostitutes. The reason for the result has

been much debated, but in so far as there is a consensus of scholarly opinion it is not that effeminate cross-dressing was unassociated with sodomy but rather that the case was not pursued with full vigour for fear of scandal.[12] It was precisely because such high-profile cases threatened to publicise the very behaviour that the authorities wished to limit that there appears to have been a degree of what Ari Adut has called 'underenforcement'.[13]

It is notable that the case did have a powerful impact on public opinion and popular debate. It was reported in 1870, at the time of the men's arrest that 'in consequence of the scandal arising out of the case of personating women, some well-known professional actors have determined to decline taking female characters on the stage.'[14] One of the leading theories of the later nineteenth century concerning same-sex desire was that of inversion. This relied on the idea that male homosexuality resulted in those with a male mentality or soul but the body of a woman and vice versa. The idea was sufficiently alarming to the British establishment that the first serious attempt to promote the idea by a prominent physician, Havelock Ellis, in 1897, resulted in most of the first edition of his book on the subject being pulped. Yet the extreme sensitivity that had developed in official quarters on purported links between transgressions of gender and sexual preference can be traced back to media discussion of 'inverted relations' at the time of the Boulton and Park case. Such inverts were, one press article reported, men who think and behave like women. Such beings were, we learn, 'dull and vicious in the company of men. His whole sympathies go with women and their occupations, and nothing pleases him more than to be the only man in a roomful of women.'[15] And like any decent lady such a fellow holds 'sins of the passions and the sense in respectable horror'.[16] The point is that in 1870 a highly effeminate male was held to be so like a lady that if he had sexual desires he would hate to admit it. Therefore an invert who possessed a woman's sexual appetites was the very last person to go about flaunting them in public spaces. This implied that the vulgar and overt carnality of Boulton and Park's performance was evidence of their essential maleness and hence of their sexual normality. Why uninverted young men would want to make such an exhibition of themselves was still, of course, a matter for considerable concern.

It should be noted, however, that the result of such reasoning was by no means to exonerate the quiet effeminate from sodomitical interests. In fact, rather the reverse was the case. It was in this climate that groups of young men, including most prominently a circle around Oscar Wilde, began in the 1880s and 1890s to deliberately perform effeminacy *because* of its sexual implications. Awareness of overt performativity in innovations in dress underlay such cartoons as 'The Latest Fashion' (published in *Funny Folks*, 19 December 1885).[17] A bluff manly gentleman with a cigar praises what is alleged to be Wilde's latest proposals for dress reform but he is in point of fact dressed in the same way as a fashionable woman behind him who is looking on with astonishment. It was further suggested that young people were actually evolving to become inherently androgynous as was the case in the

article 'A Double Evolution', that appeared in *The Daily News*, 26 August 1891. This suggested that men nowadays were getting shorter. This was not because they were malnourished but because they were becoming like women: 'Whither are all these changes tending? Twenty years hence, will the stalwart girl and ladylike youth have completely changed places?'[18]

The tone of such commentary was sensationalised. In 1893 it was reported that 'it is an absolute fact that a large number of young men get themselves up. The rouge-pot and the powder-puff find a place on their toilet table. Their eyebrows are darkened; their hair is often crimped or curled, and sometimes even dyed; and their figures are trained and artificially improved.'[19] Linda Dowling, in her article on 'The Decadent and the New Woman in the 1890's' has argued that whether or not such crazes were associated with sexual deviance they were certainly associated with opposition to the political status quo. Visibly effeminate men and masculine women were seen, along with anarchists, as deviant threats to the very fibre of society.[20] Mr Traill in *The Telegraph* opined that the strong New Women was literally breeding and nurturing the weak New Man to be a simple creature with 'no mind' and 'as much muscle as a sawdust doll'.[21] This was being done so as to weaken the male race and hand power to unnatural females.

All of this means that there was a potent political message behind such a cartoon as W.K. Haselden's, 'Coming and Going of the Dandy', published in the *Daily Mirror,* 9 February 1906, in which John Bull is shown kicking an effete young dandy through a window while crying 'What? *You* trying to come back!' [original emphasis].[22] Having begun as a more radical publication for women in 1903, the newspaper was relaunched the following year in association with the recruitment of new contributors such as Haseldon who swiftly helped it to establish populist credentials.[23] As was illustrated across the Atlantic in Jay Hatheway's *The Gilded Age Construction of Modern American Homophobia* (2003), the rise of phobic reactions occurred in lock-step with widening awareness of sexual minorities.[24] By the following decade generalised disquiet over gender indeterminacy had become accompanied by fears of sexual transgression that directly threatened national security. It was in this climate that in January 1918 *The Imperialist* newspaper published claims that the German secret service had the names of 47,000 British sexual deviants and was blackmailing them to betray their country.[25] In this climate those who wished to take a political stand against the British establishment could do so simply by displaying the supposed signs of perversion. But they could also, more radically, imply that similar desires might be concealed beneath the performance of manly leadership itself.

Amusing Strachey

Lytton Strachey (1880–1932) sought to be excused from service in World War One on the grounds of physical debilitation as well as in connection with his hostility to its aims.[26] He was not only a homosexual, but in terms

of the codes of the times, looked like one as well. Sedgwick identified the camp counterpart of the unsuspected 'masculine' homosexual as performing the role of an effeminate scapegoat.[27] Strachey had a variety of more or less short-lived same-sex affairs when he was at Cambridge University and this pattern continued when he settled back into London life. In 1918 he published *Eminent Victorians* which was a series of short, revisionist biographies of nineteenth-century British 'worthies'.[28] It was swiftly to make him famous. John Sutherland, in his introduction to a recent edition, has argued that this is 'among the small corpus of books which have wholly changed the genre to which they belong'.[29] The success of *Eminent Victorians* was partly down to its style, which is highly polished and yet, in places, strangely brittle and tense. One suggestion for this is the intriguing manner in which it engaged with, but avoided explicitly describing, sexual peccadillos. As Larry Lepper has argued, 'at a time when some aspects of sexual orientation were criminalised, a sense of rebellion and elaboration permeates literary styles often not found in writers whose sexuality is not suppressed or hidden in some way'.[30] Thus since Strachey was not revealed as a sodomite beyond his own circle so his text participates in the tensions of the life of a man who hovered on the boundaries of the closet. Julie Taddeo has argued that 'since the 1960s, [Lytton] Strachey and the Bloomsbury Group in general have incited interest among feminist and queer studies scholars, not so much for their publications and art, but for their lifestyles'.[31] However, it might be best to argue for a degree of congruence, in this case, between works and lives. Indeed, Taddeo herself has noted the similarity between Strachey and his subjects by subtitling her book about him *The Last Eminent Victorian*, but I would argue that this similarity included allusion to shared sexual tastes.[32] Yet if Strachey coded his descriptions he, nevertheless, succeeded in stripping the gilt and the varnish from his pen-portraits and, thereby, caught a certain mood for questioning conventional views of leaders of the previous century. I would, therefore, agree with Todd Avery when he argued that it is quite wrong to either value or dismiss Strachey as a 'mere stylist', because his work was concerned with the ethics of leadership which he regarded as requiring a new moral code that accepted the 'inherent, ineradicable complexity of erotic desire'.[33]

Eminent Victorians consists of four chapters; the last three of which tell the stories of Florence Nightingale (1820–1910), Dr Thomas Arnold (1795–1842) and Major-General Charles George Gordon (1833–1885) respectively; however, the first is, in effect, a dual biography of two Roman Catholic Cardinals, Henry Edward Manning (1808–1892) and John Henry Newman (1801–1890). Each of these figures is presented in a way that problematises their gender performance and thus, implicitly, their sexuality. Consider, for instance, this passage of commentary on Newman:

> under other skies, his days would have been more fortunate. He might have helped to weave the garland of Meleager, or to mix the lapis lazuli of Fra Angelico, or to chase the delicate truth in the shade of an Athenian palaestra, or his

> hands might have fashioned those ethereal faces that smile in the niches of Chartres. Even in his own age he might, at Cambridge, whose cloisters have ever been consecrated to poetry and common sense, have followed quietly in [Thomas] Gray's footsteps and brought into flower those seeds of inspiration which now lie embedded amid the faded devotion of the *Lyra Apostolica*. At Oxford, he was doomed. He could not withstand the last enchantment of the Middle Age.[34]

Strachey was aware that that epitome of Christian manliness Charles Kingsley had attacked the Oxford Movement in general and, of its leaders, Newman in particular, on the grounds of effeminacy. By the end of the nineteenth century, the bar against marriage for the Catholic clergy was one of a series of factors that had begun to establish Catholicism in general and its priesthood in particular as a queer cultural formation in Britain.[35] As Ellis Hanson has argued, in his book on *Decadence and Catholicism* (1997), the *fin de siècle* Anglo- and Roman Catholic clergy found, in priesthood, 'a spiritualisation of desire, a rebellion against nature and the instincts, and a polymorphous redistribution of pleasure in the body. In the elaborate stagecraft of ritualism they celebrated the effeminate effusions and subversions of the dandy.'[36] Current views on Newman's sexuality, in relation to such matters as the precise nature of the relationship between him and his 'constant companion' Ambrose St John, with whom he shared a grave, suggest that the jury is likely to remain undecided.[37] But Strachey was not content to leave Newman merely accused of 'half-effeminate diffidence'.[38] The Cardinal, it was implied, had tastes which would have better suited him to paederastic ancient Greece, or Renaissance Italy, both of which were favourite loci for fantasies of homosexual desire at the end of the nineteenth century.[39] Thomas Gray was also suspected, quite rightly, of interests in the members of his own sex.[40]

In contrast Manning appears conventionally manly but Strachey presents the man's heterosexual enthusiasms, such as they were, in a few, short phrases:

> Just then he fell in love with Miss Deffell, whose father would have nothing to say to a young man without prospects, and forbade him the house… forgetting Miss Deffell, he married his rector's daughter… When Mrs. Manning prematurely died, he was at first inconsolable, but he found relief in the distraction of redoubled work. How could he have guessed that one day he would come to number that loss among God's special mercies? Yet so it was to be. In after years, the memory of his wife seemed to be blotted from his mind.

But pride of place for a lack of interest in the opposite sex went to Florence Nightingale who 'seemed to take no interest in husbands'.[41] Strachey's portraits of Manning and Nightingale are similar in that they are presented as people who embraced a celibate life as a necessity for their rise to power. But there was more to it than that, at least in the case of the latter, since, in her

personal dealings Strachey stated that 'the qualities of pliancy and sympathy fell to the man, those of command and initiative to the woman'.[42] Deborah Cohler has flagged up in her study, *Citizen, Invert, Queer: Lesbianism and War in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (2010), that the 'first widespread public linkages' between female masculinity and lesbianism were established during World War One.[43] Strachey's portrait of Nightingale strongly evokes the idea of the female invert, that is, someone who possesses the mentality (and concomitant tastes) of a man, but the body of a woman. This was also the manner in which he subsequently depicted Queen Elizabeth I, 'Gloriana' (reigned 1558–1603).

> She was a woman – ah, yes! a fascinating woman! – but then, was she not also a virgin, and old? But immediately another flood of feeling swept upwards and engulfed her; she towered; she was something more – she knew it; what was it? Was she a man? She gazed at the little beings around her, and smiled to think that, though she might be their Mistress in one sense, in another it could never be so – that the very reverse might almost be said to be the case.[44]

An echo of the same dynamic even crept into his biography of the implacably heterosexual Queen Victoria, in so far as Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), painted in shades of effeminate flamboyance, is described as attempting to reinvent her as a 'Second Gloriana'.[45] Thus, as Barry Spurr has put it, 'homosexuality is obscured in the inconsequential peculiarity of personal eccentricity… But circumlocution, as Strachey knew, can be the vehicle of a revelation more profound and haunting than more obvious observations', as in his innuendo to the effect that Prince Albert was not attracted to other women because he was not interested in women at all.[46]

Then what is the reader to make of the depiction of one of the great military leaders of the nineteenth century, General Gordon, as presenting an 'unassuming figure, short and slight' that advanced with a 'half-gliding, half-tripping motion'.[47] No mention is made of women in the life of this soldier. Instead, we are told, Gordon was 'particularly fond of boys. Ragged street arabs and rough sailor-lads crowded about him. They were made free of his house and garden; they visited him in the evenings for lessons and advice; he helped them, found them employment, [and] corresponded with them when they went out into the world… except for his boys and his paupers he lived alone.'[48] All this might have reminded contemporary readers of the circumstances under which Oscar Wilde went to prison in 1895. The implication of Strachey's biographies was thus that official presentations of British leaders, such as the display of respectably uniform(ed) masculinity displayed in John Singer Sargent's, *General Officers of World War I* (1922), should not be taken at face value. It was precisely there, as Proust alleged, that inverted desire might be found 'speaking of the vice as of something alien to it'.[49]

A happily married man does finally materialise in the form of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School. Yet, Strachey proceeds to queer even

his pitch having earlier informed us of the warning of Revd Mr Bowdler that the public schools were 'the very seats and nurseries of vice'.[50] Arnold's professional life involved little in the way of teaching innovation but was focused on a peculiar combination of corporal punishment, 'high-pitched exhortations' and encouragement for the practice of picking flowers.[51] Again, I think it is important to read Strachey's work in connection with the contemporary experience of World War One (albeit, in his case, as observed from the home front). Generals, doctors, churchmen and schoolmasters remained key figures of British authority and were celebrated as such at Royal Academy shows. It was they who had overseen the slaughter of the last several years. David Richards, in his book *The Rise of Gay Rights and the Fall of the British Empire* (2013) has argued that the aim of *Eminent Victorians* was to 'expose the dark patriarchal underside of hitherto admired Victorian icons'.[52] I would like to nuance that statement by saying that Strachey was more or less sympathetic to his characters and that his concern was not so much the denunciation of British leadership as partial deconstruction of its moralistic self-presentation. James Strachey told the biographer Michael Holroyd that he was giving him access to intimate, family papers because he believed that his brother 'would have turned what was implicit in his biographies into an explicit autobiographical campaign to achieve the same treatment under the law for homosexuality as for heterosexuality'.[53] Whether or not that is correct, it is clear that Strachey should be aligned with Virginia Woolf in wishing that establishment icons should not simply be accepted at face value.

Disgusting Keynes

John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946) was 31 years old at the start of World War One and, thus, three years younger that Lytton Strachey.[54] They were, thus, just close enough in age to have known each other as students at Cambridge Society where they both participated in the meetings of the Apostles society.[55] Keynes had a considerable number of same-sex affairs and one-off encounters, although he was also to enjoy a happy and successful marriage. If *Eminent Victorians* was Strachey's 'breakthrough' book, then the equivalent for Keynes was *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* [hereafter *Economic Consequences*] (1919).[56] Because one of these is classified as literary biography and the other as a work of economics it is not customary to compare them. And yet when Keynes resigned from his treasury post in disgust at what he had observed in the course of the Paris Peace Conference where the Allied terms of war reparation were hammered out, he produced a work that paralleled that of his friend in a number of ways. Like *Eminent Victorians* it was quickly hailed as a major work. This was partly because it combined financial and economic calculations with political interventions expressed in terms that were at once sophisticated and highly ironic. The economic historian Robert Skidelsky has called *Economic Consequences* 'one of the most influential

books of the twentieth century'.[57] And Noel Annan, sometime Provost of Keynes' college in Cambridge, wrote that 'it was a polemic and it matched the polemic which Strachey had published in 1918… Keynes's portraits of President Wilson and Clemenceau paralleled Strachey's indictments, and both books had powerful cultural and political consequences.'[58] If *Eminent Victorians* is to be viewed not simply as a literary amusement, but as a polemical intervention in debates over the moral integrity of British leadership in general and its patriarchal values in particular, then so should *Economic Consequences.* It, too, participated in what can be seen as a wider pattern of Bloomsbury critique that made characteristic use of implications of gender transgression.

On 23 December 1919, Lytton Strachey wrote to John Maynard Keynes in relation to *Economic Consequences* to say that 'I admire the style very much'.[59] This was, perhaps, because that style was, at least in key sections of the book, strangely familiar. Larry Lepper has worked extensively on, and established the stylistic similarities between, the writings of Lytton Strachey and John Maynard Keynes. Lepper argues that Strachey's style had a 'significant influence on Keynes' writing', notably in relation to the employment of irony, anachronism and mannered expression which echoed aspects of eighteenth-century prose that had themselves developed through imitation of classical Greek and Latin.[60] It is not that Keynes copied Strachey word for word, but rather that he used similarly phrased sentence-constructions and conveyed, in places, a parallel sense of ironic critique. The political intransigence of Gladstone is conveyed by Strachey thus: 'the slippery old man perpetually eluded the cumbrous grasp of his antagonist. He delayed, he postponed, he raised interminable difficulties, he prevaricated, he was silent, he disappeared'; and that of the French leader George Clemenceau by Keynes thus: he ignored the 'surging mob and a babel of sound… when at last silence was restored and the company had returned to their places, it was to discover that he had disappeared'.[61]

Keynes was convinced, and we know from hindsight that he was right, that the terms of 1919 were less a guarantee of peace than of renewed strife in Europe. Where Strachey had focused his gaze on four British leaders (Manning, Nightingale, Gordon and Arnold), Keynes constructed a short but intense description of the characters and actions of the four key Allied leaders: the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Lloyd George (1863–1945), who was 56 in 1919; the President of France, Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929), who was 78; the Prime Minister of Italy, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (1860–1942), who was 59, and the President of the United States of America, Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), who was 63. Their ages indicate that they were, in essence, eminent Victorians.

Robert Skidelsky identified Margot Asquith, the wife of the previous British Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith as having asked Keynes for a sketch of events at the conference, and, thereby, as having inspired him to supplement

his 'economic exposition with an account of the characters of the Allied leaders, and the atmosphere in which they worked'.[62] If correct, this might imply another queer connection, since Margot had recently been accused of having a lesbian affair. But a wider point can be made: revisionist scholarship has recently emphasised the role of cultural and literary context on Keynes, including his participation in the Bloomsbury Group. Backhouse and Bateman, for instance, assert that Keynes was 'an artist in that he believed in the primacy of art, and… his economics arose out of his artistic commitment and was influenced by the ideas and values of his artistic friends. The aspects of his theory that were influenced by this were far from incidental, but were central to the influence of his theory.'[63]

While Strachey was keen to correct what he saw as distortion of Victorian realities created by the moralistic presentation of that century's leaders as plaster saints, Keynes was intensely hostile to what he saw as the faking of moral superiority on the part of the Allied leaders in general and David Lloyd George in particular. Another member of the Bloomsbury Group, the art critic Clive Bell, described how Keynes once cut out a picture of Lloyd George 'in full evening dress and smothered in ribbons, speaking at a banquet in Paris; and I remember him writing under it "Lying in state"'.[64] It was the opinion of yet another denizen of Bloomsbury, the sexually flexible David Garnett, that Strachey's work tempted Keynes to be 'more indiscreet than he was by nature: to have the courage to print what he would have said in conversation'.[65] What Piggford has called the 'camp sensibility' of Keynes in *Economic Consequences* appears perhaps most clearly in his picture of Clemenceau as a dandy.[66] His point is that the work of leadership that appeared to matter most to the President of France was the immaculate presentation of his person. We learn that 'at the Council of Four he wore a square-tailed coat of very good, thick black broadcloth, and on his hands, which were never uncovered, gray suede gloves; his boots were of thick black leather, very good'.[67] It was, by implication, through impeccable self-presentation, rather than through any particular moral superiority or wisdom that Clemenceau, 'aesthetically the noblest' of the four, got pretty much precisely what he wanted from the Conference.[68] The art, therefore, of being a leader, lay in looking like one.

Whilst Keynes was distinctly flippant in his account of the conference he, in fact, pulled his punches by toning down certain of the passages on the advice of, amongst others, John Tressider Shepard, a homosexual classics don at King's College, Cambridge. In particular, an unused sketch concerning Lloyd George, written in 1919 and included by Keynes in his *Essays in Biography* in 1933, gives a powerful hint of the true nature of Bloomsbury dinner conversation. It was not so much that the Prime Minister was depicted as being morally deviant as that he was presented as essentially amoral. The Treaty itself appears as a malformed baby, born the 'child of the least worthy attributes of each of its parents' after a bizarre *ménage à trois* between

Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George: 'the President, the Tiger, and the Welsh witch were shut up in a room together for six months and the Treaty was what came out. Yes, the Welsh *witch* [original emphasis] – for the British Prime Minister contributed the female element to this triangular intrigue.'[69] Keynes argued further that it was due to Wilson's 'very masculine characteristics [that he] fell a complete victim to the feminine enticements' of the Prime Minister.[70] Lloyd George was, according to Keynes:

> rooted in nothing; he is void and without content; he lives and feeds on his immediate surroundings; he is an instrument and a player at the same time which plays on the company and is played on by them too; he is a prism, as I have heard him described, which collects light and distorts it and is most brilliant if the light comes from many quarters at once; a vampire and a medium in one.[71]

It is an extraordinary description which, as one writer has recently put it, presents Lloyd George as a vampiric 'supernatural diplomat in drag'.[72] Even though this material did not make it through into the published version, Keynes still retained a powerful denunciation of the Prime Minister's amoral powers of seduction in *Economic Consequences.* 'What chance', asked Keynes, did Wilson have against 'Lloyd George's, unerring, almost medium-like, sensibility to every one immediately round him?'[73] Such innuendo was not precisely the same as that deployed by Strachey through his suggestions of priggishly concealed perversion but it shared the theme that the political establishment was simply not a place that was governed by the highest of moral tones.

Recruiting Sargent

Bloomsbury critique of the British establishment was not simply aimed at the leadership itself but also, by implication, at those who supported the cultural status quo. Thus, when Virginia Woolf fled from the Royal Academy she was attempting to distance herself not merely from the conformist public but also from the standpoints of those artists whose works were on display and from John Singer Sargent in particular. Sargent was one of the highest paid artists of his time and he owed his fame to his ability to produce glamorous portraits of members of high society, notably its leading ladies. He did not marry, nor are his sexual tastes clear, which might in itself be interpreted as a queer sign.[74] He appears to have painted male, nude studies for personal pleasure rather than for money and a powerful sense of eroticism suffuses such works as his *Nude Study of Thomas E. McKeller* (c. 1917–1920) (Fig. 2).[75] A powerful case for Sargent as a sexually indeterminate aesthete is made by Alison Mairi Syme in her study *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-Siècle Art* (2010). She argues that the painter's enthusiasm for flowers can be related to a love of sensuous beauty in all its forms, but

also to floral abundance as a visual analogue for human sexual desire (bearing in mind that flowers are the reproductive organs of plants and are often composed of both male and female parts).[76] Looking again with an eye to scopic pleasure, rather than subject matter, it becomes obvious that *Gassed* is a powerfully aestheticised scene. The picture is infused with an extraordinary golden light that caresses the bodies of the young, handsome soldiers (Fig. 1). It is the same light that Sargent, when working as a war artist, deployed in his depiction of *Ruined Cathedral, Arras, 1918* (1918) in which the sun caresses the rubble of the half-standing building.

The classicism of *Gassed* is clear in so far as it evokes the flattened forms of a Greek sculptural frieze, but a comparison with *Ruined Cathedral* prompts a re-viewing of the later painting as a classical temple in the sunset surrounded by the rubble of its fallen remains. Admiration for classical images of the ideal male body enabled a situation in which, as Michael Hatt has argued, the 'sculptural nude' was 'available for colonisation by homosexuality' at the end of the nineteenth century.[77] The immaculately dressed officers, framed by patriarchal columns of truly astounding girth in *General Officers* stare back at us, or to use Woolf's phrase 'ogle and elevate, inspire and command'.[78] The blinded tommies cannot look back and judge us as we watch them touching each other across a field of their comrades who lie intertwined on the ground.[79] Santanu Das, in his study *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (2005) has flagged up the vast contrast, of which Sargent as a war artist would have been well aware, between the blond and golden aestheticism of *Gassed* and the horrors of medical reality as spelt out in such poems as Wilfrid Owen's *Dulce et Decorum Est* (1917–1918, first published 1920).[80] The effect of Sargent's work was to present the last several years as an aestheticised tragedy that sacralised the status quo in so far as he presented young, military manhood as idealised victims. By contrast the queer critique of masculine leadership by various members of the Bloomsbury Group in the aftermath of World War One was aimed at bringing to light some of the ways in which the nineteenth-century interconnection of 'honour, patriotism, chastity, wealth, success, importance, position, patronage, [and] power' had led unprecedented numbers of people to terrible sacrifices that would fail to bring peace in their time.[81] Far from aligning themselves with the traditional values of the patriarchal establishment, Woolf, Strachey and Keynes wished to distance themselves from them and thereby establish the probity of what they saw as their progressive, modern mode of cultural and artistic leadership. Didier Eribon, in *Insult and the Making of the Gay Self*, frames his argument around the notion that 'gays' are insulted and then form strategies of resistance to such slurs.[82] In the years prior to 1895 and the downfall of Wilde such strategies often took the form of effeminate inversion of patriarchal expectations. The danger of this approach was that it was framed in relation to the very behaviours, such as the conventions of manliness, that it affected to undermine. Structures of conventional patriarchal leadership were weakened in the

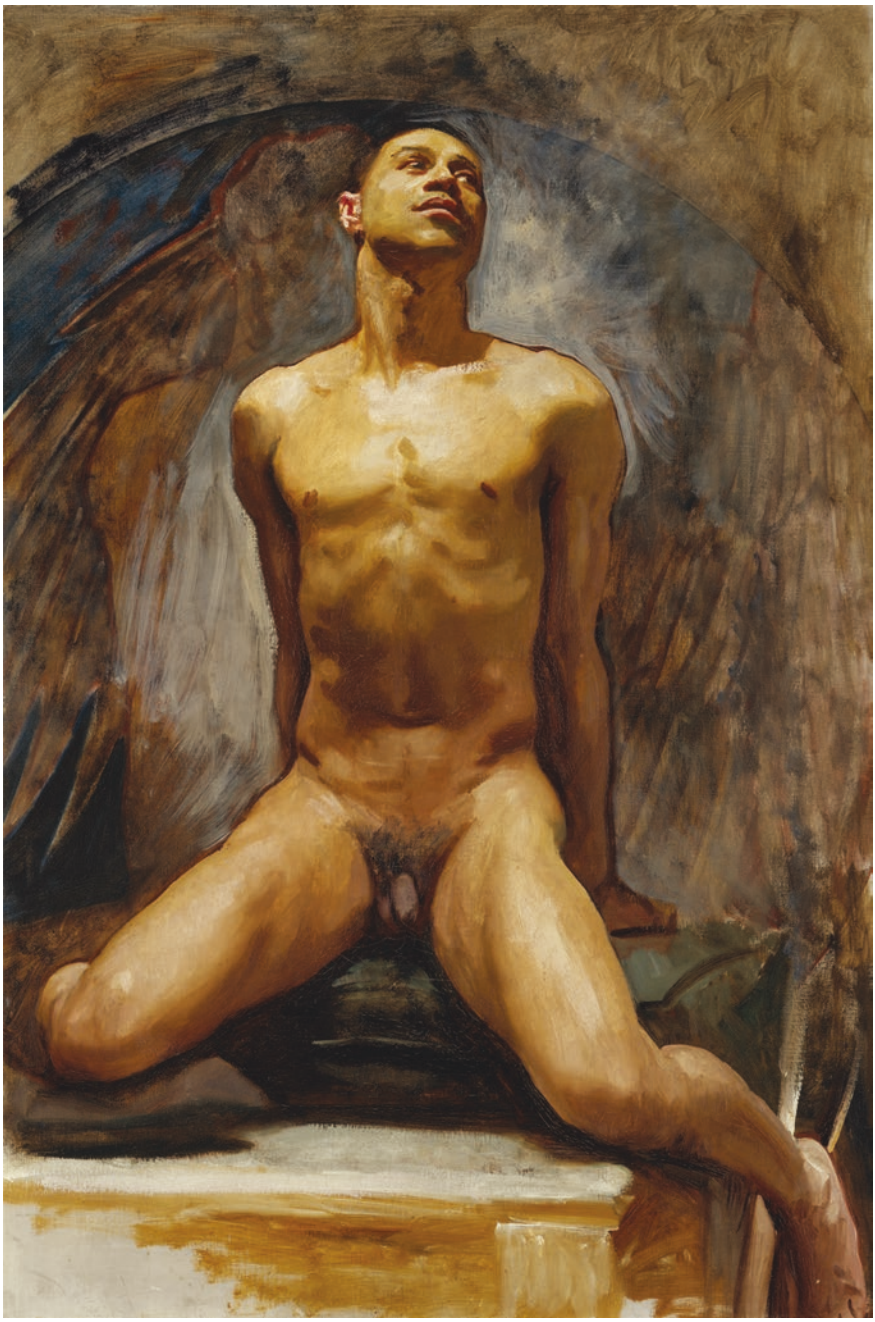

Fig. 2 John Singer Sargent, *Nude study of Thomas E. McKeller* (c. 1917–20), oil on canvas, 125.73 × 84.45 cm (© Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry H. and Zoe Oliver Sherman Fund, 1986.60)

context of the perception of World War One as a bloody disaster. It was in those circumstances that a select group of members of the social elite turned their critical talents towards the revelation of queerness as a constituent element of British leadership the repression of which compromised effectiveness. In the process they might have hoped to recruit those such as Sargent whose talent was also seemingly constrained by paying undue service to convention.

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Masculinity, Political Culture, and the Rise of Nazism

Christopher Dillon

The National Socialist assault on the Weimar Republic, once a central topic for historians, has faded of late from historiographical focus.[1] A pronounced and otherwise salutary shift in emphasis towards the Third Reich's racial policies has tended to cast the political ascent of Nazism as a precursor to war and genocide, with the parameters of interpretation staked out by magisterial West German treatments from the Cold War era.[2] These structuralist approaches, guided by political science, focused on the relationships between the formal institutions of Weimar public life under the existential pressure of the Great Depression. They were little concerned with the collective 'orientations' towards political symbols and narratives which comprise a political culture.[3] The culture of Weimar politics, in stark contrast to the politics of its dazzling high culture, remains largely peripheral to histories of the Republic. This is particularly true of the relationship between masculinity and political power. As Kathleen Canning has recently observed, even the most innovative studies of Weimar political life prove 'impervious to the impulses of gender'.[4] This is a curious oversight. For National Socialism's challenge to, and destruction of, the Weimar polity was innately and explicitly gendered. It cast parliamentary democracy as geriatric and emasculated, weakened by female suffrage and easy prey for the Reich's

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vengeful enemies. The Nazis demanded a *Männerstaat* (masculine state) to recover the authoritarian purpose of Imperial Germany and to ventilate the rejuvenating dynamism of soldierly youth and charismatic leadership. The nebulous character of Nazi policy prescriptions made image, symbolism, and cultural allure critical to the proposition. As this chapter will demonstrate, the movement's gendered claims and aspirations were always contested and enmeshed in a wider struggle between competing forms of masculinity. The populist legitimacy of Adolf Hitler's dictatorship, nevertheless, rested on masculinist values which looked both backwards to idealized tradition and forwards to revolutionary reckoning with a decadent international order.

The political culture of the Weimar Republic was deeply scarred by Germany's experience of defeat, revolution, and political reconstruction after the First World War. It was a dyspeptic, consciously post-war culture struggling to digest the conflict's impact on the gender order and on German women's relationship to the state.[5] Even in Wilhelmine Germany modest increases in the visibility of women in public life had prompted much polemical hand-wringing about the 'emasculation' of politics and 'feminization' of the German state.[6] The German Social Democratic Party (SPD), hardy political outsider in the Wilhelmine age, had been the only party formally committed to female suffrage. In November 1918, nevertheless, an agreement to extend the vote to German women over 20 years of age was swiftly thrashed out in the Reichstag. The Great War's heavy demographic toll meant that 21 million eligible female voters now outnumbered 19 million males. These were heady days for German feminists: the socialist women's magazine *Die Gleichheit* ('Equality') rejoiced that German women were now 'the freest in the world'.[7] All political parties recognized the need to mobilize women's votes and, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, included female candidates on their slates under the new polity's complicated system of Proportional Representation.[8] 37 female legislators, some 8 per cent of the deputies, were duly returned in January 1919 to the National Assembly charged with drawing up a new, democratic constitution for Germany. Underwhelming as this figure seemed to some German women, it was a remarkable achievement in the international context. Female representation in the interwar British House of Commons usually hovered around 1% and only thirty-eight women *in total* took a seat in the chamber up to the Labour Party's landslide victory in 1945.[9]

At the National Assembly, on Wednesday 19 February 1919, the Social Democrat Maria Juchacz became the first woman in Germany history to make a parliamentary speech. The sensation is documented in the Assembly's protocols, which record that she was interrupted by 'jocularity' after just four words.[10] Unperturbed, and to regular acclamation from the socialist benches, Juchacz foresaw the transformation of German political culture by female legislators who had no intention of 'disavowing' their 'womanhood'. She claimed social policy, in particular, as a 'specialist field' for women in public life, overseeing education, employment, and welfare. The constitution drafted by the Assembly made a series of ambitious commitments to both female

citizenship and social provision.[11] The two were soon bundled in political discourse and became central to parties' electoral overtures to German women. Article 109 of the Constitution proclaimed that all Germans had 'in principle, the same rights and duties'. Article 128 repudiated existing restrictions on female employment in the civil service. Extensive and ringing commitments were made to universal free education (Article 145), to the construction of 'healthy housing' (Article 155), to unemployment support and a 'comprehensive system of insured welfare' (Article 161). These declarations underpinned a far greater social mobility for German women during the Weimar Republic. Ever more girls remained in school to sit the *Abitur*, female enrolments in universities shot up, entry to the professions became easier, and gender wage differentials narrowed appreciably across the economy.[12]

Yet even the Constitution registered the masculinist push back against female participation and citizenship which would gather pace during the Republic. Juchacz fought eloquently but without success to have the phrases 'in principle' and 'duties' excised from Article 109: the former for its egregious 'restrictiveness' and the latter for its subterranean links to the innately masculine phenomenon of military service.[13] She also pointed to the 'excruciating restrictions' endured by women in the private sphere under the German Civil Code of 1900, which privileged males in property ownership, employment, and raising children. The National Assembly declined to tackle the seemingly anachronistic Civil Code and indulged conservative ideologies of maternalism in constitutional commitments to 'strengthen and promote the family' and the 'special status' of marriage. And for all the rhetorical affirmations of equality in the workplace, in practice demobilization policies were already favouring the employment of returning veterans and the dismissal of women.[14] From this perspective, the historian Ute Daniel's contention that the female citizenship constructed during and after the war proved merely to be 'on loan' carries much force.[15]

A similar tension between integration in principle and resistance in practice can be seen in the plight of the female parliamentarians. Midway through Juchacz's maiden speech, the polite indulgence of the right-wing parties began to waver. The stenographers record 'protests' and 'ironic cheering'.[16] The President of the Assembly complained that the incessant chatter among delegates made it impossible for him to hear the speech. As the historian Thomas Mergel makes clear, female parliamentarians routinely faced such environmental obstacles and micro-aggressions.[17] Parliamentary tradition in Germany was resolutely masculine and the Republic's legislatures struggled to integrate female delegates who inescapably lacked the training of their male counterparts in the formal institutions of public life. Female parliamentarians functioned as a visceral 'other', with different bodies, different clothing, different voices, and different rhetorical preferences in a manner redolent of Ben Griffin's gendering of the interwar British House of Commons elsewhere in the present volume. The acceptable topics for female speakers were restricted

by informal convention to the social field staked out by Juchacz. Foreign and military affairs, acutely sensitive issues across the political spectrum for German masculinity, remained areas of jealously guarded male concern. The arch-conservative German National People's Party (DNVP) even proposed to bar women formally from foreign policy positions on the grounds of their 'inborn inability to keep secrets'.[18] Female delegates who engaged in the rough-and-tumble of parliamentary heckling or strayed beyond the safe female topics of family and welfare were deemed to have become 'masculinized' (*vermännlicht*).[19] Whatever their topic, as Juchacz discovered, the absence of amplifier technology made it difficult to be heard. They were often obliged to raise their voice to a register predictably castigated by the misogynistic press as 'screeching' or 'hysterical'.[20] It is indicative of the meagre institutional support for female delegates that over half were unmarried, and that their relative presence in the Reichstag dwindled throughout the life of the Weimar Republic.

The demasculinization of German political culture envisaged by female activists in the early years of the Republic proved chimerical. To be sure, it lingered, as will be seen, in the propagandistic imagination of the radical Right. But as Mergel demonstrates so impressively, the rhythms of everyday social intercourse in the Reichstag sustained an integral, clubbable, and masculinist culture which reached across party lines. The clientelist politics of the Imperial era gave way to the democratic age but a strong paternalism continued to suffuse the political ideals of the new and inherited elites. The informal exclusion of women from the key preoccupations of political life offered what we can recognize as a 'patriarchal dividend' even to male politicians formally committed to female equality in public service.[21] The real business of legislation was negotiated in committee work and, more informally, in the homosocial spaces of the parliamentary gym, spa, restaurant, and bar.[22] Echoing once again Griffin's reading of the interwar House of Commons, a protean 'gentlemanly' sociability furthered the integration, already begun during the war, of the 'aristocracy' of the powerful German labour movement into the life of the Reichstag. It largely held out until the advent of the Great Depression. Only the political extremes—the German Communists and, especially, the NSDAP—rejected this culture of politics on principle. Both promoted themselves as insurgent outsiders and both espoused the classic radical critique that political civility merely served the interests of the Establishment.

It was from the initial fringes of German political life that a gendered critique of this culture as a pernicious and dishonourable 'system' developed. An under-researched aspect of a wider sense of cultural insecurity and crisis of legitimation, it was a critique the Nazis were able to fashion into a powerful electoral message when the Depression struck. Hostile critics derided the Republican polity as an artificial assembly line of manufactured institutions inimical to organic German values.[23] The system generated mediocre leadership in a relentless carousel of bloodless Chancellors and administrations

which diminished public life. Venal and time-serving, its politicians grovelled to the Entente powers with shameful 'policies of fulfilment' towards the Versailles (1919) and Locarno (1925) treaties which betrayed the heroic traditions of German martial masculinity.

The first widespread ventilation of this critique came barely a week after the signing of the constitution by Reich President Friedrich Ebert, a former saddler who had risen to the summit of the labour movement. The cover of the bestselling weekly *Berliner Illustrirter Zeitung* on 24 August 1919 comprised a photograph of Ebert and his fellow Social Democrat Gustav Noske, the Defence Minister, shirtless on vacation by the Baltic.[24] A short, tubby man, Ebert's swimming trunks threw his sagging frame into unflattering relief. The photograph offered rich pickings to Germany's many caricaturists and found its way into Hannah Höch's celebrated montage 'Dada-Rundschau' (1919). In the hands of a carnivorous right-wing press it became a metaphor for the dispiriting political masculinity generated by the Weimar 'system', in jarring contrast to the soldierly magnificence of the Hohenzollern dynasty.[25] The Austrian journalist and novelist Joseph Roth regarded the photograph as 'the most effective, and most scurrilous, argument against the Republic'.[26] The other key symbol of early republican masculinity was Finance Minister Matthias Erzberger who, as a signatory to the Versailles Treaty, was hounded even more energetically by the Right.[27] Short, podgy, and bespectacled, Erzberger won a central role in the iconography of Right and Left alike as an emblem of the *parvenu* caste the German Revolution had supposedly brought to office. The National Socialist *Völkischer Beobachter* lampooned Erzberger's 'village schoolmaster's round rubber head' and even the 'Red Count' Harry Kessler, an enthusiast for the Revolution, deemed him a 'fat, sweaty, unattractive, utterly plebeian creature' who 'always looks like someone who has fed well and is in the process of giving a tip'.[28] It is characteristic of gender stereotypes that they should be so available, with minimal variation, to diverse political constituencies as an instrument of cultural disarmament.

The purported girth and luxurious living of middle-aged males in Weimar public life, 'big shots' (*Bonzen*) grown fat from feasting at the trough, quickly became a bitter trope of political culture. The radical artist George Grosz lampooned the corpulent philistines, jowly conservatives, and double-chinned officers of a political elite which appeared to have done well out of the war. The rotund industrialist, thick cigar between his beefy fingers, features in many of his best-known works.[29] For left-wing intellectuals, these degenerate bodies symbolized the compromises and disappointments of the Revolution and were an affront to the privations of German workers left gaunt from the war and the dwindling dividends of a moribund capitalist system.[30] They provided a ready riposte for Communist speakers to bourgeois hecklers in the Reichstag: 'You have a fat belly'.[31] The corpulent capitalist body evoked a lifelong accumulation of unmanly indolence and self-indulgence

which locked into widespread anti-Semitic tropes. It became so ubiquitous in radical politics that Communist agitprop troupes were eventually urged to show greater restraint when depicting fat-cat big shots on the grounds that the cheaper the laugh 'the less the political value'.[32]

The Weimar Republic proved unable to mobilize the artistic intelligentsia and the hostile gender symbols the latter produced were ultimately appropriated by far more dangerous foes on the extreme Right. It was a propaganda resource the NSDAP would use to devastating effect as the German economy sank deeper into depression. An election pamphlet issued in July 1932, on the eve of the party's greatest haul in free elections, asked German workers '[w]hat have the "Red" big shots done over the past fourteen years?':

> They have fattened their cheeks while your face has got gaunt and thinner. They have achieved a fat petit-bourgeois paunch, whereas you have had to *tighten your belt due to hunger*. They live in elegant villas, whereas you, your wife, and your family sit in one room in a tenement block. They eat caviar and oysters, whereas you can no longer even afford herring and potatoes boiled in their skin.[33]

Soon afterwards, in 1933, the Nazis would turn to what has been termed the 'propaganda of public display', dragging egregious *Bonzen* through the streets en route to concentration camps in a 'consensus-building exercise in *Schadenfreude*'.[34] Their humiliation marked the first symbolic, cathartic exclusion of a disreputable masculine archetype from the nascent People's Community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). In the camps, the regime's propaganda trumpeted, their bodies would be remasculinized and they would rediscover the wholesome work ethic of the male provider. The walls of the inmate canteen in Dachau were bedecked with mocking caricatures of Erzberger and sundry big shots from the Weimar political establishment, set in contrast with a neighbouring mural of a heroic male *Sturmabteilung* (SA) body.[35]

While the hostility of Communists towards the Weimar political 'system' was sharply theorized in Marxist literature, National Socialists viewed it with haughty cultural contempt as torpid and emasculated. No party in the Republic set its face so implacably against the political settlement of 1918/19. Its first general membership meeting in January 1921 unanimously agreed that 'women may not be admitted to the leadership or the executive committee of the Party', a decision evidently heartily supported by the women present.[36] The Third Reich, Hitler confirmed in *Mein Kampf*, would be a *Männerstaat*. While the male citizen would be 'lord of the Reich', the German woman would remain a 'subject' until she secured citizen status at marriage.[37] Nazi political culture was hypermasculine, youthful, and insurgent: a raucous celebration of violence, spectacle, and charismatic leadership. Just one woman participated in the Munich *Putsch* of 1923, the much-mythologized Eleanor Bauer, who strode in the fourth row of marchers.[38] Alone of the significant political parties in the republic, the NSDAP never

sent a female legislator to the Reichstag or to a state Diet. It often refused to work with the female candidates of other parties in municipal politics.[39] The *Völkischer Beobachter* explained that the 'so-called political rights' granted to women during the revolution amounted to nothing more than a 'betrayal' of their natural rights, of 'a timeless truth, determined by God and Nature'.[40] In 1926, under the editorship of Alfred Rosenberg, philosopher of the movement, the paper hosted a debate on the position of women in public life.[41] Reflecting on the plurality of viewpoints put forward mainly by female supporters—most hostile to the notion of female participation—Rosenberg offered his considered analysis:

> at issue is the nature of women, who in the final analysis approach all questions in a lyrical or intellectual, and not in an architectonic fashion, that is, they only look at the individual aspect, atomistically and not comprehensively … many women fall for the loud diversionary noise of the enemies of our race and national character, and are prepared in all earnestness to scratch out the eyes of men for a ballot paper and for parliamentary seats.[42]

This led Rosenberg to the insight that 'meaningful' gender equality in public life would require a 'women's army', which was clearly an 'organic impossibility'. To be sure, a mixed-gender army was conceptually possible but would become in practice 'nothing more than a large brothel'.[43] As this episode suggests, the NSDAP declined to develop a coherent pitch to female voters even as it embarked, post-*Putsch*, on a more pragmatic parliamentary strategy in the mid-1920s.[44]

The strategy rested instead on exposing, through participation, the unmanly character of Weimar parliamentary culture. Hitler railed against 'dwarfish' politicians who prized parliamentary calculation over leadership, and against the 'cowardice' bred by democracy which allowed them to 'hide behind the skirts of a so-called majority'.[45] The party press assailed the system's politicians as geriatric, decadent and remote: the very mirror of National Socialist masculine ideals. Josef Goebbels' newspaper *Der Angriff* ('The Attack') heaped scorn on the lavishly appointed Reichstag building whose luxurious foyer and conference rooms purportedly offered all manner of spots 'to nod off for fifteen minutes' while digesting a vanquished luncheon.[46] The sole hardship for deputies, it continued, was the six weeks out on hustings before elections when they were unable to avoid real Germans in distress. Otherwise they had no cause for complaint 'so long as the wine tastes good' and the masses were kept at bay by Reichstag security. It made no real difference whether a particular Reich Chancellor or Cabinet was nominally capitalist or socialist, for all were fundamentally apathetic and innocent of the force of personality:

> Only the individual men – insofar as we can speak here without irony of 'men' – change: the company nameplate, perhaps the external drapery. That

> which lies behind – the republic, parliamentarianism, democracy, the idiocy of fulfilment – that all stays the same and can never be changed simply by the outcome of an election.[47]

In a particularly pungent editorial entitled 'Old Asses', *Der Angriff* escorted readers to the back benches of the Reichstag, where the small but hardy NSDAP caucus of the 1920s sat.

> From behind one sees only bald heads, nothing but bald heads. One just like the other. Right across the parties, with hilarious regularity. Quite a sight.

And should one of the Nazi delegates interject, spurred by fury and impatience at the 'senile, languishing impotence' of Reichstag culture, these bald heads would turn around in unison and cry '[e]nough! You are too young to understand!'[48] National Socialist legislators, according to *Der Angriff*, had not entered the Reichstag seeking social approval but rather as youthful revolutionaries and 'wolves in the sheep pen'.[49] Hermann Göring reached for another metaphor from the natural world: 'like pike in the carp pool, we worried the well-fed parliamentarians in their placid repose'.[50]

The Nazi attack here was part of a wider—and highly successful—gendering strategy which presented Weimar politics as a contest of generations. It was a contest between a male cohort steeled at the Front and those who had missed this masculinizing experience. Nazi propaganda positioned the movement as heir to the spirit of the trenches, personified in Hitler as the voice of the unsung infantryman. As so often, the Nazis were shrill and insistent contributors to a much wider discourse.[51] In Weimar political culture the ex-combatant—and above all the 1914 volunteer—was credited with incorruptible character and hard-won wisdom. The growing importance of military service as political capital is reflected in the huge increase in the proportion of Reichstag legislators with war service from 25 to 65 per cent over the life of the Republic. While few public figures went as far as the NSDAP's Gregor Strasser in demanding that 'every national leader, minister and parliamentary deputy must be a front soldier',[52] this of course represented yet another formidable constraint on female participation in German public life. It also nourished a discourse of 'soldierly' solutions to political problems which would prove fatal in the twilight of the Republic.[53] Heinrich Brüning, whose distinguished war record as a volunteer machine gunner eased his path to the Chancellorship in 1930, recalled that the younger deputies elected in the 1920s 'worried little about party politics and tactical advantage' and enjoyed comradely relations based on a shared war experience.[54] But the Nazi appropriation of war memory reconfigured it as a sharply divisive issue in parliamentary discourse. One of Goebbels' most poisonous interventions as a Reichstag delegate was staged in the run up to the 1932 presidential elections, when Hitler stood as the NSDAP hopeful against the revered war hero Paul von Hindenburg. Improbably enough, the aged and reactionary

Field Marshall was now the moderate candidate with the backing of the SPD. Invoking the Right's cherished myth that the German army in 1918 had been 'stabbed in the back' by treacherous socialists, Goebbels depicted a 'bitter' front between the dishonoured system and the fighting spirit of a 'new' Germany. His remarks were calibrated to cause chaos:

> We National Socialists have a saying which always holds true: tell me who supports you, and I will tell you who you are! [Hindenburg] is supported by the Berlin asphalt press and supported by the Party of deserters.[55]

Goebbels was cut off by the uproar from the SPD delegates. 'White with rage' the future West German SPD leader Kurt Schumacher, who had lost an arm at the Front, demanded to know where Goebbels had been during the war.[56] Having sat it out as a university student, Goebbels' masculine credentials were certainly slender in this respect. Social Democratic deputies denounced him as a 'shirker', a 'political cripple' guilty of 'heinous slander' against front veterans and the 'heroic sacrifices of the nation'. The Reichstag President eventually suspended the sitting and expelled Goebbels for 'gross violation' of parliamentary decorum. The propaganda maestro was ecstatic. 'Wonderful theatre', he noted in his diary.[57] For the Social Democrats were being lured onto Nazi political territory. In so heatedly defending the honour of its war veterans, the SPD was both reneging on the Marxist critique of the Great War as an imperialist bloodbath and endorsing the Nazis' favoured discourse of heroic martial masculinity.

The deserters' controversy was emblematic of Goebbels' parliamentary strategy. The homosocial Nazi delegation, a tight-knit *Männerbund* (band of men), espoused a riotous, hypermasculine politics of disruption (*Tumultpolitik*).[58] The Party's seismic electoral breakthrough in September 1930, when 107 National Socialists were elected, had brought the sensibilities of the beer hall circuit to the chamber. Defying the Prussian state's ban on sporting paramilitary uniforms, the majority arrived in brown SA kit to dramatize their rejection of conventional, dark-suited parliamentary masculinity.[59] Gottfried Feder, the Party theorist of racial economics, arose from his seat to shout 'time to resign, gentlemen! Your time is over. The young Germany has marched in!'[60] Toni Sender, a Reichstag delegate since 1920, recalled being counselled against speaking in this new environment by solicitous colleagues. One of a handful of female legislators with the temerity and self-assurance to speak regularly on foreign policy, she was also a left-leaning Social Democrat with two Jewish parents. Sender personified everything the Nazis loathed about Weimar political culture. Hotly refusing 'to submit to Nazi standards', she rose from her seat to put forward the SPD's position on trade policy:

> I had scarcely begun to talk when a hail of interruptions – shouts, catcalls, laughter – came from the Nazis. I retorted with a violent attack on the rioters…

> From surprise, certainly not from gallantry on their part, my tactics proved successful.[61]

The Reichstag stenographers, more diffidently, recorded 'objections and laughter' as well as Sender's piercing retort, modestly omitted from her memoirs: that a purported workers' party might be expected to bring more than 'sneering laughter' to a debate on trade and employment.[62] The few female legislators left in public life after 1930 had to reckon with this reception. Sender's campaigning events were constantly disrupted by Nazi protesters and provocateurs. A widely publicized incident in the Prussian State diet (*Landtag*) in June 1932 saw female socialist delegates who had lost sons in the war protest against the creeping militarization of Weimar political culture. They were shouted down by the Nazi fraction as 'stupid goats'.[63] And when the veteran feminist and Communist delegate Clara Zetkin, as the oldest member of the chamber, was permitted to give the opening speech of the July 1932 Reichstag, the *Völkischer Beobachter*'s headline screamed 'Communist Jewish hag to open Reichstag! A symbol of democracy!'[64] Zetkin herself had lost two sons at the Front.

The rampant, snarling misogyny of Nazi political discourse brought German women's rights to public participation into focus to an extent unprecedented since 1919.[65] The NSDAP's rivals worked hard to publicize its many patronizing and obnoxious utterances in an attempt to dampen its appeal to women. The German State Party drew attention to Hitler's remarks on female citizenship in *Mein Kampf* and funded a biting pamphlet featuring a cartoon of a German woman kneeling in abjection before a leering, brown shirted Feder as he commanded her to kiss his boots.[66] Even the DNVP, otherwise drifting even further to the Right under the control of the press baron Alfred Hugenberg, sought to exploit the NSDAP's vulnerability on the issue. Its 1931 Programme featured a conspicuously ringing declaration on the equal rights of the German woman, averring that '[p]articipation in public life on an equal footing is her due'.[67] Yet the campaign had little effect on the Nazis' electoral haul. Their success in coarsening and masculinizing political culture, reducing it to a contest of emotive symbols and stereotypes, was nowhere more evident than in political billboards of the era. These too register the universal availability of fixed gender archetypes. Posters by all parties featured muscular proletarians sweeping aside emasculated caricatures of bankers, paramilitaries, and politicians of the 'system'. The parliamentary principles of reason and rational debate, it has been aptly noted, had been usurped by an unbound, rampaging masculinity.[68]

The Nazis had rewritten the rules of the political game. In the place of weary institutional torpor, they offered rejuvenating symbols of masculine heroism in extra-parliamentary activism and charismatic leadership. Along with Hitler, the paramilitary SA was the public symbol of National Socialism's remasculinizing proposition to the Weimar German polity: 'machismo in uniform', as one historian puts it.[69] Paramilitary formations hailed from the adventurist wing of interwar European politics as part of a wider

celebration of the bracing influence of military values in civilian life. These private armies were a potent means of exerting extra-parliamentary pressure on the state while simultaneously advertising its weakness and loss of monopoly over the use of violence in the public realm.[70] Their allure was cultural rather than strictly ideological. There is substantial agreement among historians that the paramilitary gangs which bruised the political culture of the Weimar Republic primarily mobilized youthful masculinity: paramilitary youth formations tended to be much larger than the respective youth wings of the political parties.[71] Most parties developed paramilitary wings as a response to the gathering brutalization of Weimar political culture. For the Nazi movement, in contrast, paramilitary activism had underpinned its self-conception as a dynamic, insurgent 'movement' rather than a mere party from its earliest years. The *Völkischer Beobachter* then hailed the SA's creation as

> a battering ram at the disposal of the entire movement… It will nurture an unyielding will to action in the hearts of our young supporters and hammer into their minds that it is not history which makes men, but men that make history.[72]

The SA offered recruits purpose, male companionship, and the thrill of unpredictable violence. The brownshirts were cast as a finishing school for patriotic German youth in the enforced absence of the historic tradition of military service, vindictively denied to Germany under the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty. 'We are reproached', noted the *Völkischer Beobachter*, for having 'boys in our ranks'. It had a ready retort: 'Exactly, and from these will grow those whom we do not have today, namely *German men*!'[73]

The SA man, as a propaganda construct, soon became a central figure in the movement's iconography and a symbol of its masculine ideals. Sinewy and lantern-jawed, he was resolute in the face of domestic subversion and favoured the Locarno spirit with a haughty stare. His 'body hardened by every type of physical exercise', the SA man was a marching rebuke to the decadence and effeminacy of the Weimar political establishment.[74] His street battles, in the Nazi account, were waged against overwhelming odds yet character and comradeship saw him through. Indifferent to discomfort and hardship, the SA man thought nothing of spending his final, meagre resources to trek across the Reich for Party rallies. Sheltered from the economic storms in SA hostels, the brownshirts sustained one another through deep, earthy male comradeship and an undimmed belief in the resurrection of Germany.[75] This was presented as a soldier's life, with all its joys and perils:

> Comradeship among men. Everyone calls each other 'Du', but not in a contrived and awkward way. They are all brothers, like the soldiers in the war… The SA man is the self-perpetuating force of the movement. Only someone who stands in the midst of this manly community can stay so true to the cause.[76]

This was a topic which reliably moved the party press to poetics. The pinnacle, or nadir, of propagandizing about the masculine virtues of the SA was perhaps reached with the beatification of the stormtrooper leader Horst Wessel, murdered by Communists in 1930 during a tawdry squabble in the Berlin underworld. Goebbels crafted the tale of a Christ-like figure, a starry-eyed young bard from an austere proletarian quarter coldly slain for his selfless work in the community.[77] The emotional zenith of the account played out at Wessel's graveside, where an SA comrade lingered after his mortal remains had been committed to the earth:

> This brave young lad, in thought and deed already a mature man, stands trembling at the open grave and forgets for a moment that he must be a leader, a role model, a symbol of strength and of harsh and unflinching masculinity. And two hot streams of tears roll down his cheeks.[78]

This overt emotionality between the young males of the SA, so contrasting to the diffidence admired in conventional bourgeois politics, was also a topic of much more hostile comment. The centrality of the SA man to Nazi propaganda ensured that he would become a brittle and contested figure in public discourse, a conduit for critics to chip away at the cultural legitimacy of the Nazi movement and its proffered remedy to Weimar's political impasse. The fierce and intense comradeship between SA men, by no means solely a propaganda myth, was particularly loaded territory.[79]

The homosexuality of Ernst Röhm and several of his lieutenants was well known by 1930 when he returned to Germany, from a post in the Bolivian army, to command the SA. In view of the NSDAP's virulent homophobia, the appointment reeked of hypocrisy. Wilhelm Frick articulated the party's official position during a Reichstag debate on Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code, which criminalized male homosexuality. 'Unnatural fornication between men', he declared, 'must be prosecuted with utmost severity because this vice must inevitably lead to the demise of the German race'.[80] Frick ascribed the agitation in some quarters against Paragraph 175 to malevolent Jewish circles whose characteristic sexual depravity had been documented by Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*. Socialist hecklers, however, greeted Frick's speech with cries of 'Hitler, heil, heil, heil. Heil Eulenburg!' This recalled the public scandal in the Wilhelmine era concerning the homosexuality of several members of the Kaiser's entourage.[81] The Eulenburg scandal had established a discursive connection between excessive male militarism and homosexuality which the SPD now revived to subvert the gendered self-conceptions of the Nazi movement.

Although notionally committed to the repeal of Section 175, the Social Democrats proved unabashed about mobilizing public homophobia against the Nazis.[82] As the NSDAP's electoral momentum gathered pace, fascist homosexuality became a central theme of socialist propaganda. Far from being a healthy finishing school for patriotic youth, the SA was presented

here as a den of decadent moral squalor which recalled the last days of Rome: the neologism '*Röhmisch*' (Röhm-an) was coined for the purpose.[83] While far from German Social Democracy's finest hour morally—the radical journalist Kurt Tucholsky pronounced it 'unedifying … one should not seek out one's enemy in bed'—it was a shrewd tactic politically.[84] In subverting the cloying emphasis in Nazi propaganda on male leadership and comradeship, it promised to set Nazism's symbols against itself. Leftist paramilitaries began to taunt SA foes with shouts such as 'Heil Gay' ('*Schwul Heil*') and 'SA, Trousers Down!' ('*SA, Hose runter*!').[85] The *Münchener Post*, long the Nazi movement's most implacable Bavarian critic, initiated the campaign with a series of editorials on the 'hair-raising depravity in the Section 175 sense' at the Brown House, the opulent Nazi headquarters in the city.[86] The paper worried that the 'moral and physical health of German youth' was at stake. A more creative approach was taken by *Das Echo der Woche* in October 1932, in the satirical form of a letter from a fictional naïve young SA man to his mother extolling the kindness and intimate personal attention he was receiving from his troop leader.[87] The subtext, that these were in fact acts of sexual courtship, would not have been lost on informed readers. For by now, Röhm's sexuality had come to national prominence in the Reichstag.

On 12 May 1932 a party of Nazi parliamentarians beat up and seriously injured the journalist Helmut Klotz in the Reichstag restaurant. Sender encountered him staggering through the lobby, covered with blood.[88] In the run up to the March 1932 presidential elections, Klotz had published a pamphlet of private correspondence from the 1920s between Röhm and a homosexual physician, Dr Karl Heimsoth.[89] In the letters, Röhm openly discussed his sexuality and opposition to Paragraph 175. One of the letters remarked that Heimsoth, like Röhm, would be enchanted by the 'young, fresh-faced lieutenants' he was training in Bolivia.[90] Klotz averred that he had no personal issue with male homosexuality, but merely with the rank hypocrisy of a reactionary movement which otherwise espoused extreme punitive attitudes towards it. Amid noisy scenes in the chamber, the Reichstag President had his four assailants arrested by the police and expelled them for thirty days. He noted as an aggravating factor that someone had taken the trouble to phone Klotz's wife and invite her to come to the Reichstag 'to collect his bones'.[91]

Klotz's pamphlet stressed that Hitler stood resolutely by Röhm and sought, improbably, to dismiss the letters as mean-spirited and hateful forgeries.[92] Many figures in the Nazi movement were unnerved by the reputational damage the campaign was causing to Hitler's painstakingly constructed public image. Always fundamental to the professed 'Führer Party', one intimately identified with its leader, this was ever more critical to NSDAP prospects with the quickening personalization of German political culture under the authoritarian governments of Brüning and his successors. Goebbels, an ardent homophobe, noted acidly in his diary that the situation was '[r]evolting! Hitler not being careful enough again. This can't go on—the Party as the El

Dorado of the 175ers'.[93] Goebbels was proud of his construction of Hitler as authoritarian saviour and symbol of Germanic ideals. He later claimed the 'Führer Myth' as his greatest achievement.[94] In reality, it long predated his first meeting with the Nazi leader in 1925. Along with the SA, the Hitler myth was axiomatic to the early dynamic of the Nazi movement with its worship of leadership, 'character' and 'genius'. As with propaganda on the SA, it played off the supposed mediocrity of republican political manhood. Hitler himself scoffed that if a 'Frederick the Great were to appear, they would probably pass an emergency law against him',[95] while Mussolini's March on Rome was cast as a potent symbol of the redemptive force of charismatic leadership. The *Völkischer Beobachter* proclaimed 'No Parliament: What is Needed is a Man!'[96] The editorial characterized the Nazi movement as 'the iron broom with which this man will sweep one day … There is no other route to salvation than: the iron broom, used by one man.' Goebbels, characteristically, reached for even more explicitly gendered imagery. A notably syrupy encomium for Hitler's fortieth birthday in 1929 celebrated 'the ideal type man called forth by history' whose 'manly virtues embody everything which we know as "character"'.[97]

These 'manly virtues' were wound discursively around Hitler's service in the Great War. Goebbels' propaganda machine sought a delicate balance between extolling Hitler's singular genius and stressing his status as an ordinary soldier steeled by hardship and adversity, faithful to the simple trench virtues of humility, resolve and male comradeship he had celebrated in *Mein Kampf*. The *Führer*'s unpretentious lifestyle, of unexampled austerity—so contrasting to the decadence of the republican 'big shots'—would remain an ever more improbable staple of Nazi propaganda deep into the Third Reich.[98] As with the SA, a yawning gap between image and reality opened up a gendered line of attack for political foes in the 1920s. Recognizing that Hitler's unexpected appeal lay in inchoate emotion and a perception of authenticity, Social Democrats sniped at his vanity and lifestyle. They knew well that Hitler was being schooled in drawing room manners by wealthy patrons in Bavarian high society, a development congruent with the Marxist understanding of fascism as the product of patronage by business capital.[99] The impression that Hitler lived as a dandyish bachelor even in his late thirties, moreover, promised to alienate conservative opinion. In 1925, the *Fränkische Tagespost* ran a particularly mischievous article entitled 'The Revolutionary as Man-About-Town'. This ostensibly even-handed piece weighed up rumours that the National Socialist *Führer* enjoyed the good life in Berchtesgaden in plush hotels 'with champagne and beautiful women'.[100]

The Party thereon fought a constant rearguard action against imputations that the soldiers' tribune had grown decadent and remote. These efforts were hampered by the very visible prosperity of the Nazi leader. During the desperate years of the Depression in Munich, Hitler lived in a luxurious apartment in the exclusive Bogenhausen district. He was driven around in

a Mercedes-Benz limousine by a personal chauffeur, owned a chalet in the Bavarian alps, and stayed in the finest hotels when on political business in Berlin.[101] 'Naïve people', complained Reich Youth Leader Baldur von Schirach in the midst of the Presidential elections, 'believe that Adolf Hitler lives a life of ease, working an eight hour day and then visiting a café. Few have any conception of the enormous burdens on his shoulders.'[102] 'This inspiring leader', he assured readers, 'is also a great and a good man.' The *Hamburger Tageblatt* stressed that Hitler, 'a soldier and a worker, knows what hunger is',[103] while Press Chief Otto Dietrich hotly contested rumours that the *Führer* 'feasted with the industrial magnates on champagne and lobsters' and emphasized his 'truly Spartan mode of life'.[104]

The recurrent sniping at Hitler's claims to soldierly heroism was equally wounding. The Party hagiography around his war record was frequently contested.[105] Still more injurious to Hitler's masculine credentials were rumours about his unheroic deportment during the Munich *Putsch*. The Social Democratic press proposed adding a new ditty to the roster of National Socialist 'traditional German songs for men' (*teutschen Männergesang*) in honour of 1923: 'When Adolf Lay on His Belly'.[106] This alluded to the would-be revolutionary's conduct at the bloody denouement of the *Putsch*, when he had dived to the ground of the Residenzstraβe as the Munich state police launched their sally at the insurrectionaries. Fourteen comrades died in the exchange, whereas Hitler stole away from the scene only to be arrested several days later in the country pile of Ernst Hanfstaengl, a well-heeled supporter. His co-conspirator General Erich Ludendorff, in stark contrast, was known to have walked with serene dignity through the gunfire and to have been gently arrested when he reached the Odeonsplatz. Years later the Nazi apostate Otto Strasser was still keenly aware of the gender issues at stake in the battle over the memory of the *Putsch*, which had become so central to the solemn pageantry of Nazi Germany. 'All the versions that say anything else are false', he wrote. 'Hitler flung himself ignominiously on the ground.' When the police eventually came to arrest the *Führer* they 'found him hiding in Mlle. Hanfstaengl's wardrobe'.[107]

The radical journal *Weltbühne* sniffed at the indolent 'German Duce', as a 'cowardly, effeminate pyjama character' (*eine feige, verweichlichte Pyjamaexistenz*).[108] The political Left's campaigns to undermine the masculine credentials of the Nazi movement certainly absorbed some of its energies and self-assurance. But millions of German voters consistently proved prepared to look beyond the brittle edges of the Hitler myth and beyond the ambiguous public gendering of the SA. With the Reichstag immobilized by the National Socialists' *Tumultpolitik*, political decision-making in Weimar Germany was increasingly personalized in the aged figure of Hindenburg and his circle of advisors. A series of disastrous miscalculations by this patrician camarilla ultimately installed Hitler as dictator.[109] Their foolhardy schemes can be better understood through the lens of political masculinities. The conservative

elite, discredited by military defeat and unnerved by revolution, was on the defensive in the early 1920s, mocked mercilessly in visual culture and hamstrung by democracy. Its recovered nerve was symbolized in the creation of the German *Herrenklub* (Gentlemen's Club) in 1924, a *Männerbund* affair of patrician conservatives which began its search for a charismatic alternative to parliamentary culture with Hindenburg's candidacy for president in 1925. With their top hats, boiled shirts and tailcoats, its members were easy prey for the radical and Nazi press to depict as fossils from another age of political masculinity.[110] Espousing a cluster of paternalist ideals indebted to Wilhelmine reverence for throne and altar, their conceptions of political manhood are well illustrated by the career and public persona of a key protagonist in the demise of the Weimar Republic: Franz von Papen.

A scion of the landed nobility from the far-right wing of the Center Party, Papen was intimately involved in Hitler's appointment to the Chancellorship in 1933. His deeply evasive and uncontrite memoirs, published in 1952, offer a virtuoso and frequently heedless performance of the wise and benevolent *paterfamilias*, lord of his Westphalian manor and political player by timeless right.[111] Papen looked back with dewy eyes to the quasi-feudal *Honaratorienpolitik* ('politics of notables') in nineteenth-century Prussia. A member of the pre-war Prussian General Staff, he had been a royal page in boyhood and recorded his joy at having 'seen the German Empire in all its power and majesty'. He nurtured caste contacts with leading industrialists such as the Krupps, with whose daughters he 'had often danced … as a young lieutenant'.[112] Papen recognized that his aristocratic socialization had informed his approach to politics but continued to believe, even after the calamities of his career, that this was no bad thing:

> When I became Chancellor thirty years later, my critics were quick to pounce on my years as a gentleman rider as proof that I was totally unsuited to occupy such a post of state. I can only say that there are few better ways of developing character. Steeplechasing requires considerable self-discipline, endurance and powers of decision, as well as a fine contempt for broken bones – by no means a bad training for a politician.[113]

Papen presents a patrician gentry in the Weimar Republic hard pressed by industrial society, a toxic peace treaty, and a recklessly ambitious form of parliamentary democracy. The political masculinity projected and admired in his memoirs is paternalist and remote, but always honourable, controlled, soothing and urbane, cultivated in conversation and grounded in impeccable table manners. Papen's contemporary, the distinguished historian Theodor Eschenburg, noted that he was the first Weimar Chancellor with absolutely no credentials for the role in parliamentary or executive distinction.[114] He owed his elevation to *Herrenklub* connections, breeding, and charm, particularly towards Hindenburg, who was enchanted by his chivalric manners. The courtly circle around Hindenburg was the Republic's final rampart against

the Nazi insurgency and Papen's 'effete, drawing room Machiavellianism' was indeed a liability in an era of ruthless demagoguery.[115] The patrician elite imagined that their firm, avuncular hand would 'tame' the boisterous Nazi movement and school it from its more distasteful impulses. Hitler's electoral credentials would make authoritarian government palatable to bourgeois sensibilities. As one historian notes, the gentlemanly arrogance of the caste was nowhere better documented than in Papen's contemporary boast that they had 'engaged' Hitler, 'as if the Nazi leader were a part-time gardener or a passing minstrel'.[116] Reaching for the characteristic sporting metaphors of aristocratic masculinity, the protagonists were confident they could 'harness' his movement. The DNVP's Reinhold Quaatz prophesized that if 'Hitler sits in the saddle, Hugenberg gets the whip'.[117]

In early 1933 insurgent masculinity unbound breached the shattered, demoralized defences of the Weimar Republic. This was far from the peaceful, consensual process imagined by some historians.[118] The drunken, brawling masculinity of the SA spread unchallenged over the German streets, backed now by their enrolment as supposed 'auxiliary' policemen. 'The fist hits hard!', rejoiced the *Völkischer Beobacher*.[119] A wave of violence and terror swept aside the organized working class and the governments of the German states. The Reichstag and political parties were neutralized by intimidation and unscrupulous manoeuvres. A perceptive memorandum to Whitehall from the British Ambassador warned of a 'regime of raw violence', of a looming 'heroic era' of 'manly courage and violent hatred'.[120] The German civil service was so swiftly imbued with Nazi ideals that Goering scoffed at the sudden 'clicking of heels and raising of hands' in the corridors.[121] Hitler made occasional cosmetic concessions to patrician sensibilities, turning out in a dark blue suit for the ceremony at Potsdam where he bowed in disingenuous humility before the imposing figure of Hindenburg, decked in full Prussian military splendor. Yet the waning of traditional patriarchal authority seemed embodied in the Reich President. As an alarmed Jewish diarist noted, '[w]hen I first saw him filmed about a year ago, the President walked somewhat stiffly, his hand on the wrists of his escort, but quite firmly and not at all slowly down the Reichstag steps; an old but vigorous man'. Now he moved 'with the tiny laborious steps of a cripple … I am now completely certain that Hindenburg is no more than a puppet'.[122]

From the safety of Italy, the novelist Thomas Mann wrote scathingly in his diary of the 'helpless despair' of the *Herrenklub* 'under the chairmanship of that witless criminal Papen'.[123] Papen belatedly sought to rescue his caste from their tiger in an address at Marburg University in June 1934, in which he condemned the 'lack of principle' and 'unchivalrous behavior' of the Nazi movement.[124] He claimed in his memoirs to have been mobbed by appreciative crowds at the Hamburg races after the speech.[125] But it was all too late. The so-called Night of the Long Knives on 30 June saw Hitler's bloody reckoning with the dissonant political masculinities of both the patrician elite

and Ernst Röhm. Two weeks later he justified the bloodshed to the Reichstag, thirteen of whose delegates had been murdered. Hitler addressed simply 'men of the German Reichstag', for every candidate at the sham elections of November 1933 had been male. In a speech broadcast throughout Germany, he castigated patrician 'drones' along with the corruption, immoral lifestyle and 'disposition' of their supposed brownshirt conspirators who had broken 'every single law of decency and modesty'.[126] To tumultuous applause, Hitler arrogated to himself the authority of law as supreme judge of the German people. The public response was largely positive, guided by the belief that the more disreputable masculinities of the Nazi movement had now at last been tamed.[127] This was, of course, an illusion. Heinrich Himmler's SS stood primed to bring its professionalized and morally 'decent' (*anständig*) ethos of masculine violence to German public life. Just five years later a murderous brew of hypermasculinity, militarism, chauvinism and criminality would burst the dams of the interwar order and plunge Europe yet again into darkness.

Notes

1. R. Bessel, 'The Nazi Capture of Power', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 (2004), 169–188, especially pp. 169–172; H.W. Smith, *The Continuities of German History* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), pp. 13–38.
2. K.D. Bracher, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (Stuttgart and Düsseldorf: Ring Verlag, 1955); Karl Dietrich Bracher, Wolfgang Sauer, and Gerhard Schulz (eds.), *Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung: Studien zur Errichtung des totalitären Herrschaftssystems in Deutschland 1933/1934* (Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960). See also M. Broszat, *The Hitler State: The foundation and development of the internal structure of the Third Reich* (London and New York: Longman, 1981), and G. Jasper, *Die gescheiterte Zähmung: Wege zur Machtergreifung Hitlers 1930–1934* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986).
3. For a cogent reflection on the concept see D. Kavanagh, *Political Science and Political Behaviour* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983), pp. 48–75.
4. K. Canning, 'Suffrage and Subjectivity after the First World War', in K. Canning, K. Barndt, and K. McGuire (eds.), *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects: rethinking the political culture of Germany in the 1920s* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2013), pp. 116–137, for the quote p. 118.
5. The best synoptic treatment is now H. Boak, *Women in the Weimar Republic* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2013), pp. 13–62.
6. Excellent survey of these angry voices offered by S. zur Nieden, 'Homophobie und Staatsräson', in idem (ed.), *Homophobie und Staatsräson: Männlichkeit, Homophobie und Politik in Deutschland 1900–1945* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2005), pp. 17–51.
7. *Die Gleichheit*, 6 December 1918. Cited in Boak, *Women*, p. 63.
8. J. Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes: Propaganda and Politics in Weimar Germany* (Chapel Hill and London: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 19–68.

9. B. Harrison, 'Women in a Men's House: The Women MPs, 1919–1945', *The Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), 623–654.
10. Verhandlungen der verfassunggebenden Deutsche Nationalversammlung, Vol. 326, 11. Sitzung, 19 February 1919, ss. 177–178.
11. Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches vom 11 August 1919, *Reichsgesetzblatt* (1919), ss. 1383–1418.
12. Boak, *Women*, pp. 134–199, contesting the more pessimistic interpretation put forward in the pathbreaking essay by Renate Bridenthal: R. Bridenthal, 'Beyond Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Weimar Women at Work', *Central European History*, 6 (1973), 148–166.
13. Verhandlungen der verfassunggebenden Deutsche Nationalversammlung, Vol. 328, 57. Sitzung, 15 July 1919, s. 1560; Canning, 'Suffrage and Subjectivity', pp. 127–128.
14. See especially the pioneering article R. Bessel, '"Eine nicht allzugroβe Beunruhigung des Arbeitsmarktes": Frauenarbeit und Demobilmachung in Deutschland nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 9 (1983), 211–229.
15. U. Daniel, *The War from Within: German Working-Class Women and the First World War* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), p. 283.
16. Verhandlungen der verfassunggebenden Deutsche Nationalversammlung, Vol. 326, 11. Sitzung, 19 February 1919, ss. 179–180.
17. T. Mergel, *Parlamentarische Kultur in der Weimarer Republik: Politische Kommunikation, symbolische Politik und Öffentlichkeit im Reichstag* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2012). A rather muted conceptualization of gender is perhaps the one weak point of Mergel's otherwise outstanding study.
18. Cited in R. Scheck, *Mothers of the Nation: Right-Wing Women in Weimar Germany* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2004), p. 53.
19. C. Koonz, 'Conflicting Allegiances: Political Ideology and Female Legislators in Weimar Germany', *Signs*, 1 (1976), 663–683; Mergel, *Parlamentarische Kultur*, pp. 106–107.
20. Mergel, *Parlamentarische Kultur*, pp. 105–106.
21. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2nd ed. 2005), especially pp. 78–83.
22. Mergel, *Parlamentarische Kultur*, pp. 92–95.
23. These arguments were advanced by the familiar cast of critics elegantly explored by G.L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964), at esp. pp. 280–293. The classic treatment in German remains Kurt Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1962), pp. 180–239.
24. *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, 24 August 1919.
25. For detail on its reception, see B. Fulda, *Press and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014), pp. 105–106.
26. *Prager Tageblatt*, 3 November 1923.
27. See especially the eye-wateringly vicious pamphlet 'Away with Erzberger' published by one of his predecessors as Finance Minister: Karl Helfferich, *Fort mit Erzberger* (Berlin, 1919). For detail of the broader framing of Erzberger by the right-wing media see Fulda, *Press and Politics*, pp. 46–60.

28. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 12 May 1921; Count Harry Kessler, *The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan, 1918–1937*, trans. and ed. C. Kessler (London: Phoenix, 2000 [1971]), pp. 106, 78. A famous right-wing cartoon of a portly, smug Erzberger stabbing the German front line in the back was reproduced in the Social Democrats' *Vorwärts*, 3 May 1924.
29. Hannah Arendt recalled that to young students like her, 'George Grosz's cartoons seemed to us not satires but realistic reportage: we knew those types, they were all around us'. Cited in P. Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 70.
30. See the discussion and excellent collection of Communist Party cartoons in Eric D. Weitz, *Creating German Communism, 1890–1990: From Popular Protests to Socialist State* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997), pp. 189–195.
31. Verhandlungen des Reichstags, Vol. 381, 1st Sitzung, 27 Mai 1924, s. 4.
32. Now published as M. Moos, *Beaten but not defeated: Siegfried Moos, a German anti-Nazi who settled in Britain* (Ropley: Chronos, 2014), p. 103. I am grateful to Merilyn Moos for sharing her manuscript with me in advance of publication.
33. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 24 July 1932. Emphasis in original.
34. P. Moore, 'German Popular Opinion on the Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933–1939', PhD thesis, Birkbeck, University of London (2010), ss. 32–36, for the quotes s. 33; N. Wachsmann, *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Little, Brown, 2nd ed. 2015), pp. 41–45.
35. *Konzentrationslager: Ein Appell an der Gewissen der Welt. Ein Buch der Greuel. Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad: Verlagsanstalt Graphia, 1934), p. 56.
36. J. Stephenson, 'The Nazi Organisation of Women 1933–1939', in P.D. Stachura (ed.), *The Shaping of the Nazi State* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 186–209, at p. 186.
37. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. R. Manheim (London: Hutchison, 1972 [1926]), p. 401.
38. H. Holzhaider: '"Schwester Pia": Nutznießerin zwischen Opfern und Tätern', *Dachauer Hefte*, 10 (1994), 101–114. Bauer was a cult figure among the SS guards at Dachau and on friendly terms with the camp leadership.
39. Scheck, *Mothers*, p. 165.
40. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1 October 1923.
41. For detail see D. Mühlberger, *Hitler's Voice: The Völkischer Beobachter, 1920–1933.* Vol 2 (Bern: Lang, 2004), pp. 310–312.
42. Cited in Mühlberger, *Hitler's Voice*, Vol. 2, pp. 335–336.
43. Rosenberg would develop these insights in his dense and pretentious tract *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit* (Munich: Hoheneichen Verlag, 1930).
44. Boak, *Women*, pp. 76–82; Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes*, pp. 246–250.
45. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 74–75.
46. *Der Angriff*, 17 October 1927.
47. *Der Angriff*, 14 May 1928.
48. *Der Angriff*, 1 April 1929.
49. *Der Angriff*, 30 April 1928.
50. Hermann Göring, *Aufbau einer Nation* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1934), p. 50.

51. Bessel, 'The Nazi Capture of Power', pp. 172–174; For more detail on the following see C. Dillon, *Dachau and the SS: A Schooling in Violence* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2015), pp. 53–55; 179–182.
52. Cited in P.D. Stachura, *Gregor Strasser and the Rise of Nazism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 15.
53. See also the discussion in T.S. Brown, *Weimar Radicals: Nazis and Communists Between Authenticity and Performance* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2009), pp. 15–41.
54. Heinrich Brüning, *Memoiren 1918–1934*, Vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970), p. 108.
55. Verhandlungen des Reichstags, 5 Sitzung, 23 February 1932, ss. 2245–2253, at s. 2250.
56. Ibid.; Toni Sender, *The Autobiography of a German Rebel* (London: G. Routledge, 1940), p. 273. For an innovative and admirably cogent analysis of Social Democratic war memories see Benjamin Ziemann, *Contested Commemorations: Republican War Veterans and Weimar Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013).
57. *Die Tagebücher von Josef Goebbels* (*Tagebücher*), ed. E. Fröhlich, Teil I, Vol. 2/II (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2004), p. 226.
58. Stachura, *Gregor Strasser*, p. 76.
59. Sender, *Autobiography*, p. 262; Mergel, *Parlamentarische Kultur*, p. 143.
60. Verhandlungen des Reichstags, Vol. 444, 4 Sitzung, 17 Oktober 1930, s. 34.
61. Spender, *Autobiography*, p. 264.
62. Verhandlungen des Reichstags, Vol. 444, 4 Sitzung, 17 Oktober 1930, ss. 102–103.
63. Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes*, p. 236.
64. Verhandlungen des Reichstags, Vol. 454, 7 Sitzung, 30 August 1932, ss. 1–3. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 6 August 1932.
65. Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes*, pp. 231–240; Scheck, *Mothers*, pp. 157–182.
66. Reproduced in Sneeringer, *Winning Women's Votes*, p. 235.
67. Reprinted in Anton Kaes et al. (eds.), *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: Univ. of California Press, 1994), pp. 348–351, at p. 350.
68. Evans, *Coming*, p. 291.
69. R. Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Stormtroopers in Eastern Germany* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1984), p. 153.
70. For a sociological appraisal see N. Elias, *The Germans*, ed. M. Schröter, trans. E. Dunning and S. Mennell (Cambridge: Polity, 1997), pp. 214–223.
71. U. Frevert, *A Nation in Barracks: Modern Germany, Conscription, and Civil Society*, trans. A. Boreham with D. Brückenhaus (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2004), pp. 244–245; Bessel, Political Violence, pp. 47–48; A. Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Families: Homosexuality and Community in the Early Nazi Movement* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2015); Brown, *Weimar Radicals*, pp. 15–41; C. Fischer, *Stormtroopers: A Social, Economic, and Ideological Analysis* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 83; S. Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde: Gewalt und Gemeinschaft im italienischen Squadrismus und in der deutschen SA* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002), p. 339.

72. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 14 August 1921.
73. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 July 1928. Emphasis in original.
74. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 3 July 1926.
75. Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Families*, pp. 153–160.
76. *Der Angriff*, 20 October 1929.
77. For a comprehensive study of Wessel's life and mythology see D. Siemens, *The Making of a Nazi Hero: The Murder and Myth of Horst Wessel*, trans. D. Burnett (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013).
78. *Der Angriff*, 6 March 1930.
79. See the fine recent study by Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Families*, especially pp. 139–192.
80. Verhandlungen des Reichstags, Vol. 393, 325 Sitzung, 22 June 1927, ss. 10993–10995.
81. For detail see Claudia Bruns, 'Skandale im Beraterkreis um Kaiser Wilhelm II. Die homoerotische „Verbündelung" der „Liebenberger Tafelrunde" als Politikum', in zur Nieden, *Homosexualität und Staatsräson*, pp. 52–80.
82. See especially Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Familes*, pp. 175–185; S. zur Nieden, 'Aufstieg und Fall des virilen Männerhelden: Der Skandal um Ernst Röhm und seine Ermordung', in idem, *Homophobie und Staatsräson*, pp. 147–192; S. zur Nieden and S. Reichardt, 'Skandale als Instrument des Machtkampfes in der NS-Führung. Zur Funktionalisierung der Homosexualität von Ernst Röhm', in M. Sabrow (ed.), *Skandal und Diktatur: Formen öffentlicher Empörung im NS-Staat und in der DDR* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), pp. 33–58.
83. *Münchener Post*, 23 April 1931.
84. *Die Weltbühne*, 26 April 1932.
85. Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, p. 680; Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Families*, p. 182.
86. *Münchener Post*, 22 June 1931. For detail see zur Nieden, 'Aufstieg und Fall', pp. 165–170.
87. Wackerfuss, *Stormtrooper Families*, pp. 181–182.
88. Sender, *Autobiography*, p. 263.
89. Helmut Klotz, *Der Fall Röhm* (Berlin, 1932).
90. Klotz, *Der Fall Röhm*, p. 16.
91. Verhandlungen des Reichstags, Vol. 446, 64 Sitzung, 12 May 1932, ss. 2688; Spender, *Autobiography*, pp. 263–264; Kessler, *Diaries*, p. 416.
92. Klotz, *Der Fall Röhm*, p. 17.
93. *Tagebücher*, Teil I, Vol. 2/II, p. 226.
94. Although lacking concerted attention to masculinity, the best analysis of the cultural construction of Hitler remains Ian Kershaw, *The Hitler Myth: Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001 [1987]). For the Goebbels remark, p. 4.
95. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 7 May 1923. Frederick's sexuality was predictably absent from the Nazi cult of his memory. See C. Clark, *The Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 661–663.
96. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 23 December 1922.
97. *Der Angriff*, 22 April 1929

98. Kershaw, *Hitler Myth*, pp. 72–73.
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Masculinities and Parliamentary Culture in Modern Britain

Ben Griffin

What difference has it made to British politics that the political elites have been, until very recently, almost exclusively male? The crudest answer to this question is that there have been several moments when the course of party politics has been determined by the anatomical differences between the sexes. Lloyd George's inability to participate in the negotiations that led to the formation of the National government in 1931, Clement Attlee's inability to give an active lead to the Labour Party during the early stages of the wartime coalition government in 1940, and the chaotic succession crisis in the Conservative Party in 1963 were all caused by party leaders suffering from painful prostate conditions.[1] But this is to focus on sex rather than gender: maleness, rather than the historically contingent clusters of cultural expectations that attach to maleness. In this chapter, the ways in which those sets of expectations have provided the basic framework for political action by male governing elites since the end of the eighteenth century are examined.

Changing conceptions of masculinity have, for example, reshaped the ways in which the governing classes conducted disputes among themselves, seen most obviously in the decline of duelling. Three nineteenth-century prime ministers (the younger Pitt, George Canning and the Duke of Wellington) fought duels against political opponents during their careers, but by the end

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of the century it would have seemed ridiculous for Gladstone and Disraeli to settle their differences in a duel: significant changes had occurred in the ways in which public men were expected to defend their honour.[2] That this was a change in the history of masculinity is indicated by the fact that an entirely different set of customs regulated the behaviour of women. Changing conceptions of male friendship similarly reshaped interactions between politicians. The intense friendships between Gladstone and Arthur Hallam, and between Disraeli and Lord Henry Lennox, took place in a context very different from that encountered by their twenty-first century successors: a fact indicated by the suggestion of scandal in press coverage of the friendships of two senior Cabinet ministers with their special advisors in 2010–2011.[3] Similarly, the contrast between the formality of Neville Chamberlain's Cabinet and the use of first names in Tony Blair's Cabinet reflect broader changes in the forms of sociability that governed relations between men.[4] An inability to conform to norms of male sociability could be a political handicap. As Ewen Green noted, 'country house parties and London society gatherings … were an intrinsic part of Tory politicking', and this placed Andrew Bonar Law at a disadvantage given that 'he did not shoot or hunt, was teetotal, disliked music and dancing, and … never dined with anyone if he could help it'.[5] The important point is that established patterns of male sociability formed a resource for politicians to draw on or an obstacle for them to overcome if they were to succeed, and by placing these patterns of sociability in the context of the history of masculinity it becomes possible to treat them analytically rather than as merely a source for colourful anecdote.

A full account of these changes is beyond the scope of this chapter, which will instead provide an introduction to some of the ways in which the House of Commons provided a site for the performance of masculinities by politicians. What is meant by the claim that men were 'performing masculinities'?[6] It is useful to begin with Simon Szreter's concept of 'communication communities': social formations characterised by people who share sets of norms because they participate in the same networks, institutions and practices that generate those norms. For example, in the nineteenth century, middle-class men in different parts of the country belonged to the same communication community because they went to the same sorts of schools and read the same newspapers, whereas working-class communication communities tended to be more localised, with dialect literature and local schools, street corners and workplaces producing regionally diverse community norms.[7] Within those communities, multiple models of masculinity might circulate (the devoted father, the sexual libertine, the heroic artisan, etc.), and within each community a range of institutions served to give more or less prestige or legitimacy to each of those models. Masculinity is *performed* in that men are identified with one of the available repertoire of cultural forms only by what they *do*. Men do not have a free choice as to which masculinities they can perform. They are constrained by the *habitus*—that set of dispositions

acquired through socialisation in a particular milieu—and by the amount of cultural, educational and financial capital available to an individual.[8] In what follows we will be particularly interested in the opportunities that parliamentary politics provided men to identify themselves with forms of masculinity considered prestigious within the communication communities in which they participated. There is, unfortunately, no space to consider the role of communication communities in authorising whether or not an individual's gender performance was legitimate or not, but this was of considerable political importance: a politician who tried to present himself as a gentleman, but who was not recognised as such by his peers, would find himself at a serious political disadvantage.

Self-fashioning and Parliamentary Performance

The creation of male identities is most obvious in the speeches that MPs made in the House of Commons. It has been common, for example, for male politicians to present themselves as chivalrous defenders of women and children, thereby attempting to appropriate the prestige accorded to that role.[9] This was a move frequently made by Labour MPs in the 1920s. Thomas Johnston, for example, complained in 1927 that proposed changes to unemployment benefit would produce 'cases of girls driven to the streets' and prostitution.[10] Reviving the old nineteenth-century radical critique of aristocratic sexuality, Duncan Graham distinguished the honourable masculinity of working-class men from the debauched sexuality of his political opponents.[11] 'Most of the men who come from the class to which the majority on the other side belong', Graham said, 'live to a large extent by preying upon the girls who are being reduced to this state [of financial desperation].'[12] Simultaneously, he and his colleague William Mackinder drew attention to the fact that they were fathers of families, and especially daughters, thereby identifying themselves with other male qualities considered desirable: fertility and headship of a household.[13] It was in such ways that male MPs constructed distinctively male identities that allowed them to speak with authority on the subjects before the House. It is striking that a female Labour MP, whose rhetorical positioning drew on a different set of gender norms from those of male colleagues, thought that these fears about prostitution were 'ridiculous': defending the character and autonomy of working-class women, Ellen Wilkinson insisted that 'Most of them will prefer starvation to that.'[14]

In some cases, men were able to associate themselves with 'heroic' qualities. This was a common tactic among Labour MPs who had been miners. Since no one could deny the extreme risks and physical hardship endured by miners, William Jenkins was making a statement about the kind of man that he was when he reminded the House that 'I have worked in mines myself for 18 years'.[15] Industrial conflict also offered a way for Labour MPs to present themselves in heroic terms. During the debate on the 1926 Coal Mines Bill,

for example, David Grenfell told the House that those who 'have grown up in this industry … have been fighting all our lives'.[16]

Identifying oneself with 'heroic' traits was easiest for those MPs who had served in the armed forces, and who were addressed in the House, until the 1990s, as 'honourable and gallant' members.[17] Significant numbers of nineteenth-century MPs had fought in the Napoleonic or Crimean Wars, and in the immediate aftermath of the First World War there were 250 military veterans in the House. In the 1920s, Conservative ex-servicemen were eager to contrast their wartime records with those of Labour candidates who had been conscientious objectors.[18] This party-political dimension was exacerbated by the number of trade unionists working in reserved occupations and the large numbers of middle-class Labour members working in non-combatant roles, which meant that proportionately far fewer Labour MPs had faced the dangers of the front than their Conservative opponents—a phenomenon repeated in the Second World War. These experiences of military service certainly affected the ways in which contemporaries assessed one another's masculinities. Humphry Berkley wrote that Harold Macmillan's 'experience of warfare left him with a deep-rooted contempt for those who had not served in the armed forces', and remembered him once saying that 'The trouble with Gaitskell is that he has never seen troops under fire'.[19] Consciousness of men's war records remained a significant factor in politics well into the 1980s.[20]

The ending of national service in 1960 created a politically significant generation gap. Michael Roper has identified 'a belief among the post-war generation [of] men that they were superior *men*' by virtue of their military experience.[21] Later generations would have to find different ways of identifying themselves with 'heroic' forms of masculinity, which perhaps explains the increase in macho and violent language in political discourse in the late 1960s and 1970s.[22] Fuelled by the anxieties of the Cold War, the industrial disputes of the 1970s were frequently described in apocalyptic terms which provided a field on which men could prove their heroic mettle. For example, Norman Tebbit, who had performed national service in the RAF, likened the Grunwick industrial dispute of 1976–1978 to the situation faced by Czechoslovakia in 1938, in which liberty was threatened by 'red fascists' and 'the doctrine of appeasement'.[23] Militaristic rhetoric was equally prominent on the left, with the trade union firebrand Arthur Scargill, saying in 1975 that 'we were fighting a government. … We had to declare *war* on them.'[24]

This discussion of mining and soldiering indicates some of the ways in which occupational identities could be used to perform gender. At the most basic level, identifying oneself with a paid occupation could distinguish oneself from the leisured aristocracy by asserting the centrality of work to one's masculinity; it also connoted the struggle to maintain oneself and one's family as a responsible breadwinner. This was particularly important to middle-class nineteenth-century Radicals like Richard Cobden.[25] In specific contexts

occupational identities could be invoked to confer authority on a speaker's utterances. Lyon Playfair's defence of the Contagious Diseases Acts in the 1870s rested on his authority as a medical expert; while in 1926, in order to challenge claims by MPs who had been miners, Thomas Watts identified himself as 'one who has practised for over a quarter of a century as a general practitioner in the industrial and mining areas'.[26] Similarly, the many lawyers in the House frequently invoked their professional qualifications to construct identities as legal authorities.[27] These occupational identities were important in class terms, but they were also fundamentally gendered: women were not allowed to work down mines after 1842; between 1873 and 1892 Elizabeth Garrett Anderson was the only female member of the British Medical Association; women were not admitted to the legal profession until 1920; and women in the military were kept from combat roles until 1989. Even after women began to enter the professions (and female doctors like Ethel Bentham and Edith Summerskill were elected to parliament in the 1930s), gendered inequalities persisted within those professions. When an MP with medical qualifications spoke 'as a medical man' his occupational identity was not gender neutral.[28]

The construction of gendered identities in parliament was, however, more than a matter of rhetoric. Even seemingly innocuous matters, such as how someone stood while speaking, were invested with significant meanings by a set of ideas about what constituted 'manliness'.[29] For example, the importance that mid-nineteenth-century ideas about gentlemanliness attached to self-control meant that the inability of Sir John Gorst and Edmond Fitzmaurice to stand still while speaking in the House of Commons led to adverse comment by observers.[30] MPs' bodies were therefore indicators of manliness in more than simply the biological sense: 'manly' men could be identified by their bearing. Clothing was also used to assess the masculinity of politicians. Coming to the House wearing military uniform sent a powerful signal about what kind of man one was, but civilian clothes were also laden with meaning.[31] As Christopher Breward has noted, the replacement of colourful clothing by sombre black frock coats in the nineteenth century was the result of a mid-Victorian conviction that 'authentic' masculine behaviour required the rejection of what was seen as 'the corrupting field of fashion'.[32] T.P. O'Connor was struck in 1881 by the clothes worn by the future Lord Spencer, which he described as 'perhaps the most dandiacal dress that ever the House of Commons in its modern day had seen'. O'Connor thought that although Spencer was in fact 'a manly fellow' he undermined himself with his clothing, which conveyed not femininity but another opposite of manliness—childishness. O'Connor noted that 'there was something essentially child-like about his … manner, and dress, and people would never take him seriously'.[33]

This is a point of some significance: to be taken seriously as a politician one had to conform to a certain set of expectations that were heavily gendered. The parliamentary sketch-writer Henry Lucy identified such expectations as a

barrier to W.E. Forster's efforts to become leader of the Liberal Party in the 1870s.

> Absurd as the statement may appear to the practical public outside the House, it is nevertheless true that if Forster would brush his hair, would refrain from buying ready-made clothing that *never* fits him, would not sprawl in his seat … and would abstain from unseasonable chuckling … his chances of having a right to sit in the seat out of which he, towards the end of last session, literally elbowed his unassuming leader, would be nearly doubled.[34]

Beneath the comic hyperbole there is an important grain of truth: Forster's parliamentary colleagues had a certain set of expectations as to how a front-rank politician ought to look and behave. One could not possess authority in the House if one looked scruffy, or slouched, or could not control oneself. It was not by chance that Disraeli's rise to front-bench prominence coincided with his abandonment of outrageous dress.[35] Martin Francis has noted that Jeremy Thorpe's eccentric enthusiasm for Edwardian wing collars and brown bowler hats in the 1970s undermined his claims to leadership, while Anthony Eden's excessive concern with his appearance led to accusations of unmanly vanity.[36] This means that parliamentary activity was gendered not only insofar as women were excluded, but also because politicians interpreted parliamentary activity in terms of a complex semiotics of masculinity, locating their contemporaries in complex status hierarchies by sets of criteria that were fundamentally gendered.

'Gentlemanly' Masculinity

Through their speeches, deportment, dress and manner, politicians signalled to the world what kinds of men they were. By these means, they sought to associate themselves with desirable characteristics like chivalry, heroism and self-control. From the beginning of our period the range of masculinities performed in the House of Commons was considerable: there were aristocrats, country gentlemen, industrialists, soldiers, financiers, young men and old men, married men and single men, disabled and non-disabled men. Despite this diversity, it remains possible to generalise about a set of ideas that formed the 'common sense' of the governing class in the nineteenth century. The coherence of that class derived in part from its adherence to a shared set of gender norms that was sufficiently broad to encompass the various forms of masculinity found in the House of Commons.[37] These were men who would have recognised each other as 'gentlemen', and this identity remained central to high politics until the second half of the twentieth century.

The term 'gentleman' collapses any artificial division between class and gender: it was a form of masculinity to which most members of the upper and middle classes aspired, while at the same time it was their identity as gentlemen that distinguished them as a class.[38] 'Once,' Paul Langford has written,

ministers 'had represented the urbanity and sophistication of a metropolitan court, whereas ordinary MPs had represented the rusticity of the provinces.' But by the middle of the nineteenth century 'all were united as members of a cohesive club, the gentlemen of England'—a process characterised by the convergence of dress and manners between men from different classes.[39] This development was not easy considering the diverse range of aristocratic masculinities, the antipathy of middle-class radicals to the aristocracy, and the resistance of some aristocratic men to middle-class social mores.[40] Nevertheless, the emergence of organised political parties in the nineteenth century, in which aristocrats worked alongside middle-class industrialists and professionals, was in large measure facilitated by the fact that a form of 'gentlemanliness' emerged to which all could subscribe.

So important was this set of norms that the House can be seen informally policing them: heckling or ostracising individuals who fell short of acceptable behaviour.[41] But by the late nineteenth century, the election of large numbers of MPs who rejected this gentlemanly culture placed the mid-Victorian consensus under unprecedented strain. The abolition of the property qualification for MPs in 1858, combined with the expansion of the franchise, led to the election of MPs who could not plausibly be considered 'gentlemen'. Three groups in particular demand attention: the Irish nationalist MPs of the late nineteenth century; the working-class Labour MPs elected in the early twentieth century; and the women elected to parliament once the formal sex disqualification was removed in 1918. The nature of 'gentlemanliness' will become clearer as we consider each of these in turn.

The Irish Nationalist and Labour Challenges to 'Gentlemanliness'

The first major challenge to the mid-Victorian gentlemanly hegemony came from the Parnellite MPs elected in the 1870s and 1880s, most of whom were predominantly lower middle class or working class.[42] These men were not gentlemen and it showed in the way that they spoke, moved and dressed. In Henry Lucy's parliamentary sketches Timothy Healy appeared as 'an ill-dressed man with sullen manner, who audibly gnashed his teeth at the Mace, and did not think it necessary to take his hands out of his pockets when addressing the Speaker'. Both Healy and T.P. O'Connor, he wrote, 'bring onto the floor of the House of Commons the manners and the habits of thought of the Irish peasant'.[43] Sir William Harcourt thought that most of them 'were not gentlemen, nor persons with whom it was possible to associate'.[44] The Parnellites lacked the attributes of gender and class that the English governing elite used to assess public men. When Joseph Biggar began his policy of obstruction, Disraeli chastised him with the observation that 'The House of Commons was, possibly with the fewest exceptions, an assemblage of gentlemen'. This line of attack on Biggar was also followed by

the more affluent Home Rule MPs who followed William Shaw, with George Bryan telling him that 'a man should be gentlemen first and a patriot after'.[45] Harcourt's celebrated rebuke of O'Connor in June 1882 was 'a reproof administered rather on behalf of a body of gentlemen against the intrusion of bar-room manners than as a disclosure of personal resentment'.[46] After 1886 and the defection of the Liberal Unionists, the Gladstonian Liberal Party found itself increasingly reliant on the support of those who until recently it had disparaged so vehemently. The embarrassment was surmounted by presenting a narrative in which the Irish were civilised by their surroundings. 'The tone of high-bred courtesy which even in these days pervades the House of Commons', Lucy wrote, 'insensibly influences the lowest social class of Irish members.'[47] Having been forced to do business with the Irish, Liberals had no choice but to present them as more like gentlemen.

The same trope can be seen in descriptions of the Labour Party, following those turbulent years in the 1920s when working-class MPs frequently engaged in noisy disruptions of parliament. The Conservative MP Duff Cooper wrote of 'the progress in adaptation', which had made Labour MPs 'Parliament men'.[48] Labour MPs were seen as needing to adapt precisely because they were not gentlemen. This was evident in the way they dressed: contemporaries immediately recognised the symbolism of Keir Hardie's decision to wear a soft hat, rather than a silk top hat, when he entered the House of Commons in 1892; the same cultural gulf between classes was visible in the prevalence of cheap Co-op suits among proletarian MPs in the 1940s, and vestiges of the same sartorial politics can be seen in Jeremy Corbyn's choice of clothing in the 1980s.[49] It was also evident in the way that they spoke: regional accents stood out against the relative uniformity of the Received Standard English inculcated by the public schools.[50] Class differences were also visible in manners. 'Chips' Channon observed that in 'polite' company 'Socialists never really know how to behave', and despite Clement Attlee's Haileybury background he was 'pleasantly surprised by the courtesy of the little man'. This was not what he expected from a Labour member, which led him to conclude that 'He is a gentleman, or nearly so'.[51]

For Labour's Clydeside MPs in the 1920s, parliament was a space in which they could publicise the plight of the working class in a way that would force change.[52] Such a stance was necessarily confrontational. As Richard Toye has noted, the rowdy behaviour of Labour MPs in the 1920s was due to the fact that many of them had grown up in working-class communities where they had been socialised into norms of masculine behaviour 'in which vehemence rather than restraint served as the token of the required sincerity'.[53] In such a context emotional outbursts frequently seemed a more appropriate response than restrained gentlemanly debate. Hence, the 'Red Flag' was sung in the House in April 1923 and punches were thrown; ministers were jeered and interrupted so that they could not continue; and votes that went against Labour were greeted with deliberate obstruction.[54] To men like George

Buchanan the 'establishment' figures insisting on traditional parliamentary forms were 'contemptible and unmanly'.[55] On several occasions Labour MPs invited suspension from the chamber as a way of expressing their rejection of the prevailing culture in parliament.[56] For critics, such disruptive behaviour indicated a lack of self-control, an emotionalism and a violence that defied the forms of masculinity deemed appropriate to political authority.[57] Moreover, vicious *ad hominem* attacks on political opponents were scarcely compatible with gentlemanly manners: Conservative ministers were genuinely shocked to be denounced as 'murderers' for their attempt to extend the hours worked by miners.[58] Ramsay MacDonald had some sympathy with these criticisms, but he tried to put a positive spin on the Clydesiders' behaviour by suggesting that it had given to parliamentary politics 'virile vigour'.[59]

Those Labour MPs who engaged in disruptive tactics could respond by reminding Conservatives that in the heat of the debates on home rule in 1912 they had shouted down Liberal ministers; and that one of them, Ronald McNeill, had thrown a book at Winston Churchill's head. There were, however, good reasons why this accusation of hypocrisy did not stick. The first is that contemporaries distinguished sharply between spontaneous protests in the heat of the moment and the Clydesider's 'steadily organised system of interruptions'.[60] Secondly, on the Unionist side, the protests of 1912 were understood as a regrettable and embarrassing lapse from an acceptable standard of male behaviour, not a challenge to existing codes of behaviour.[61] McNeill's own account of why he threw the book at Churchill is revealing:

> Under the influence of a momentary loss of self-control, I regret to say that I discharged a missile which struck the First Lord of the Admiralty. As soon as the heat of the moment had passed, I fully realised my action was entirely reprehensible, and returned to the House at a later hour, and … endeavoured to find the First Lord, in order that I might express to him my regret, and ask his pardon. … I am anxious to take this, the first opportunity, of saying how extremely I regret having lost my temper, and of tendering to the right hon. Gentleman and to the House a full and unreserved apology.[62]

What we see here is an example of the intellectual work required to uphold gentlemanly ideals: 'loss of self-control' was a problem, but was only 'momentary'; shame and remorse were the appropriate responses. Labour accusations of hypocrisy lost purchase in view of the fact that Unionists retrospectively denied the legitimacy of their actions in 1912. Moreover, it is important to note that Conservatives presented their disorderly actions in 1912 as stemming from a desire to *protect* parliamentary traditions from Asquithian sharp practice, rather than a desire to subvert them: with one prominent exception in 1927, this note was largely absent from Labour MPs' explanations for their conduct.[63]

The political stances adopted by working-class Labour MPs were in some measure a consequence of the limited repertoire of working-class

masculinities available for Labour MPs to perform. It was not easy for working-class men to perform gentlemanly masculinities: they lacked the education, they frequently lacked the clothing and they had not acquired the requisite deportment or manners. Some managed—foremost among them Ramsay MacDonald—but most found it easier to perform gender identities that were more accessible to them. This was not straightforward, as some of the characteristics that working-class men usually tried to exhibit to prove their 'manliness'—like manual skill, the ability to provide financially for a family, physical toughness, or negotiating skill—could not easily be demonstrated on the floor of the House of Commons.[64] It is no wonder that throughout the twentieth century so many trade unionist MPs found the House of Commons intimidating: it was by no means clear how they could 'be a man' in that space.[65] In that arena certain archetypes of plebeian masculinity were more easily accessible than others. One was the familiar role of the moralising platform speaker or preacher; another was that of the embattled champion of the oppressed; in some circumstances men were able to pose as chivalrous defenders of working-class women; alternatively, they could emphasise occupational identities in a way that amplified the speaker's expertise. Adopting these roles allowed men to exhibit qualities that their working-class constituents would recognise as desirable masculine characteristics. In most cases this would not have been a conscious choice but, due to the operation of *habitus*, simply an awareness that some courses were more comfortable than others.

An interesting example of a Labour MP who changed course is Jack Jones, whose earliest parliamentary performances could be judged with approbation by audiences applying 'gentlemanly' criteria, so that 'the House heard him with pleasure, and even with admiration'. 'The most remarkable feature of those speeches', the sketch-writer for the *Yorkshire Post* thought, 'was their perfection of style—a perfection which would have been striking even in a professedly cultured man and was astonishing in a general labourer'. His manner, too, was 'restrained and in its own way dignified'. He was, furthermore, 'accomplished in that play of words and ideas which is called repartee when it is practised in the brilliant circles of Society'. However, Jones abandoned this form of performance, opting instead for persistent 'cheap and vulgar' interruptions.[66] This latter would have been more easily recognised as 'authentically' working class by working-class audiences than the act of making stylish and witty speeches in a restrained manner. Lord Hugh Cecil pointed to a similar need for Labour MPs to perform recognisably 'manly' masculinities when he mocked Arthur Henderson's attacks on Neville Chamberlain.

> I think the front-bencher is not unlike a particular schoolboy, whom I think we can all recall in our school days, who, essentially law-abiding, and abstaining from all serious offences against school discipline, is not quite happy in being regarded as a milk-sop by his friends, and therefore indulges in a few mild expletives in conversation. The right hon. Member for Burnley seems to me like an innocent child saying 'damn' for the first time.[67]

The same imperative lay behind the anxieties that manifested themselves over the question of whether the first Labour Cabinet ministers would wear court dress. Those working-class MPs who adopted the characteristics associated with gentlemanliness were easily charged with being seduced away from their working-class loyalties by an 'aristocratic embrace' that could diminish their authority in the party, as Ramsay MacDonald discovered to his cost.[68] As Duncan Tanner has remarked, this was 'a party where leaders were expected remain humble'.[69] That entailed particular ways of being a man.[70]

Women, Gender, Sexuality and Emotion

While these working-class men were finding a parliamentary voice, the gentlemanly culture of the House of Commons was also being challenged by the first women MPs. The idea that giving women the vote might lead to women entering parliament was a recurrent theme of anti-suffragist rhetoric, and even some of those politicians who were prepared to concede the vote to women drew the line at allowing them to become MPs. They feared that 'a mixed assembly would change the whole atmosphere of the House'.[71] The ways in which MPs interacted would have to be governed by different rules once women were admitted to the House of Commons; the semiotics of masculinity described above could not be used to interpret female dress, deportment or manners, all of which were subject to different rules. For example, the lack of an agreed set of expectations about what a female political leader ought to look like—there was no equivalent to the male dark suit—accounts in some measure for the continuous press interest in female politicians' hair and clothing ever since Nancy Astor was first elected in 1919.[72] Moreover, women could not be disciplined by heckling or ostracism as men were if their colleagues were to be considered gentlemen. (This may account for the extreme irritation that Nancy Astor produced among her colleagues: they had to put up with her in a way that they would not have had to tolerate male colleagues who behaved in the same way.)[73] A whole political culture was at stake, and only in this context is it possible to make sense of Winston Churchill's famous pronouncement that he found 'a woman's intrusion into the House of Commons as embarrassing as if she burst into my bathroom when I had nothing with which to defend myself, not even a sponge'.[74]

When a woman did eventually reach the highest office, men sometimes struggled to adapt. Jim Prior, one of the leading figures in Thatcher's first ministry, records that he found it particularly difficult to raise his voice to a woman and engage in the argumentative style which Thatcher encouraged: such behaviour was not gentlemanly. He found her confrontational manner 'very difficult to stomach and this form of male chauvinism was obviously one of my failings'. Thatcher was able to turn the gentlemanly culture of politics to her advantage by exploiting the masculinity of her colleagues to get her way. Prior described how a 'few tears occasionally, the odd tantrum, then a

bit of coquetry were all permissible' as ways of winning an argument. These were not conventionally the ways that male politicians sought to influence their colleagues in Cabinet and many of her male colleagues simply did not know how to respond once the political game came to be played by very different rules.[75]

The threat that women posed to gentlemanly politics was, for many years, muted by the very small number of women actually returned to the House: only 38 women entered parliament before 1945, with at most 15 sitting simultaneously.[76] This made them easy to ignore, so that as late as 1937 Chips Channon could refer to the House as 'this smelly, tawny, male paradise'.[77] Small numbers also made it easy for men to get away with patronising them. The Labour MP Tom Price can stand in for a great many others when in 1961 he congratulated Mrs Thatcher on 'her very charming argument, which she is putting with great ability'.[78] As Charles Moore has put it, 'The courtesy shown to women Members had the effect of cocooning them in a cosy irrelevance'.[79] Another technique of marginalisation was to try to confine women's contributions to domestic and welfare issues. Herbert Morrison, the Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, advised Lena Jeger to 'stick to women's issues' when she made her maiden speech in 1953, and was angry when she chose instead to talk about international relations. The stereotypical notions of women's limited range of interests or expertise sits awkwardly with the breadth of experiences that women MPs brought to the House, from Mervyn Pike's experience as managing director of a pottery works to Florence Horsbrugh's experience as a delegate to the League of Nations. Nevertheless, women were usually appointed to jobs seen as extensions of women's traditional caring responsibilities, such as the ministries of health, education or pensions. At the time of writing, there has been only one female Foreign Secretary and there has not yet been a female Chancellor of the Exchequer or Minister of Defence. Sometimes the exclusion of women could be brutally straightforward: Ronnie Bell (Conservative MP, 1950–1982) blackballed the nomination of every woman put up for membership of the 92 Group parliamentary dining club.[80] A final technique of marginalisation involved spatial segregation. During their first decades in parliament women tended to confine themselves to the Lady Member's Room when they were not in the chamber. By 1928 some had braved the Smoking Room but they remained cultural trespassers: throughout the whole of Margaret Thatcher's career she never once went into the Smoking Room unaccompanied.[81] As late as 1997 Gyles Brandreth recorded that he had never seen a woman in the quiet room of the Commons' library.[82]

The gendered nature of parliamentary culture is revealed most starkly in the anxieties of Victorian and Edwardian anti-suffragists. Their belief that women would import an undesirable emotionalism into politics often manifested in bizarre fantasies, such as Edward Leatham's scenario of a bill that could not be passed because 'the Attorney General had eloped with the

Solicitor General'.[83] Alexander Beresford Hope went one step further and suggested that a Prime Minister might be able to marry the leader of the opposition and form a coalition government.[84] These examples illustrate the extent to which parliamentary politics proceeded on the heteronormative assumption that there was no element of sexual desire between male politicians. An all-male assembly was presented as rational and unemotional because sexual feelings would not sway political decision-making as they might in a mixed-sex assembly. The role of emotion in the public sphere was minimised: love was a heterosexual phenomenon that took place in the private sphere and had no political consequences.

This was a problematic assumption because same-sex desire was by no means absent from the House of Commons. In 1833 Charles Baring Wall, the MP for Guildford, had been accused of soliciting a policeman in the street, and in 1841 William Bankes, the MP for Dorset, fled the country after having been found in a compromising situation with a soldier for a second time.[85] Within select social circles the queer proclivities of individual MPs were either well known or strongly suspected, but most of the time visible instances of same-sex desire were suppressed, ignored, or dismissed as individual aberrations.[86] Only in this way could the fact that the House of Commons was exclusively male be seen as a guarantee that male sexuality could not disrupt its functioning.

Interpreting the influence of same-sex desire on British politics is fraught with difficulty, not least because the terms 'homosexual' and 'heterosexual' did not enter general parlance until the mid-twentieth century and can distort the range of possible sexual identities and subjectivities available to men and women in the past.[87] For example, Tom Driberg's claim to have fellated Nye Bevan in the 1950s makes more sense in the light of Houlbrook's finding that it was possible for working-class men to have sex with other men and still think of their sexuality as 'normal', provided that they did not adopt a submissive or receptive (as opposed to insertive) role.[88] To describe romantic friendships between men like Disraeli and Lord Henry Lennox as 'homosexual' is anachronistic, and one should not assume that such relationships necessarily involved, or even aspired to, physical intercourse.[89] Moreover, even within the House of Commons there were a variety of sexual subcultures, which at various times included cliques of queer men who knew all about one another's promiscuous exploits.[90]

With these caveats in place, it is possible to say that for many male MPs same-sex desire was something that they associated with youth. Distinguishing this phase from maturity allowed many to reconcile their sexual histories with the need to be seen to conform to the heterosexual imperatives of gentlemanliness; they were also able to sustain the illusion that the House of Commons was a place of rational debate untouched by sexual feeling between men. The autobiography of the prolific womaniser Alfred 'Duff' Cooper, for example, contains an account of his schoolboy romance with a boy two

years younger than him. 'Normal young men with broad interests and healthy appetites', he noted, 'can afford to gild their masculine friendships with a little of the gold they will lavish on their first love affairs'.[91] Evidence of such relationships is rare, although we know that Selwyn Lloyd, a future Foreign Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Speaker, had so many admirers that his nickname at school was 'Jezebel', and that Harold Macmillan left Eton in part because his mother was worried about sexual misconduct by older boys.[92] Better documented is the 'cult of homosexuality' that flourished at Oxford and Cambridge in the first three decades of the twentieth century.[93] Several generations of Britain's political elite grew up in this milieu, including Anthony Eden and Hugh Gaitskell.[94] Relatively few, however, continued to seek sexual relationships with men once they had graduated. It was men who did so that were marginalised and treated as deviant by the informal sanctions of elite culture.

What then were the political consequences of this selectively heteronormative culture? The most obvious is the prominence of sex scandals in the political landscape.[95] The list of promising careers cut short by scandal was a long one: it was a factor in the Foreign Secretary's suicide in 1822, and even after decriminalisation in 1967, homosexuality was perceived as more scandalous or shameful than heterosexual transgression.[96] Suspicions of such behaviour were usually enough to bar promotion beyond junior posts. This in turn produced a culture of secrecy and considerable anguish for men like Enoch Powell and George Thomas (Speaker of the House of Commons between 1976 and 1983), who lived in fear that their sexual preferences would be publicly exposed.[97] The risk of exposure led some to secretive sexual encounters, or even to contracting sham marriages; both courses exposed politicians to damaging charges of hypocrisy if discovered.[98] With the rise of the idea that same-sex desire characterised a distinctive type of personality (i.e. 'the 'invert', or 'homosexual'), the threshold for scandal fell lower.[99] Behaviour that might have seemed innocent in the nineteenth century no longer seemed so, as the Foreign Secretary discovered in 2010 when the press made much of his decision to share a hotel bedroom with a special advisor during the election campaign earlier that year.[100] Such cases form a depressing counterpoint to the more overt signs of tolerance: Chris Smith became the first MP to come out as gay in 1984, and the first Conservative front-bench politician 'came out' in 2002.

Male same-sex desire left its mark on politics in more subtle ways too. For example, Ben Pimlott has suggested that Hugh Dalton's conception of socialist comradeship and fraternity was profoundly influenced by his youthful romance with Rupert Brooke and by the ideas of queer thinkers like Edward Carpenter. The fact that Dalton's 'emotions were more stirred by men' gave 'a concept of brotherly love and fellowship' special importance in his politics.[101] This was more a question of emotionally charged male intimacy than sex, and given Dalton's role as a patron of talented young Labour men, it had

a considerable influence on the careers of major figures like Hugh Gaitskell and Tony Crosland.[102] Crosland, indeed, offers an excellent example of how the dynamics of youthful queer relationships continued to shape relationships between adults: John Campbell has shown how the political rivalry between Crosland and Roy Jenkins, two of the most powerful figures in the Labour Party, was influenced by the breakdown of their love affair at university.[103] It is difficult to imagine a more powerful rebuttal of the anti-suffragist claims that keeping parliament male would prevent politics being distorted by emotion.

Yet this peculiar insistence that male politicians were less swayed by emotion than women persisted beyond the admission of female MPs. In 1928, for instance, Colonel Applin, the MP for Enfield, explained why he thought that a woman could never be Chancellor of the Exchequer. He asked the House to 'Imagine her introducing her Budget, and in middle of her speech a message coming in, "Your child is dangerously ill, come at once." I should like to know how much of that Budget the House would get, and what the figures would be like.'[104] The implicit assumption—barely credible today as a result of changing notions of fatherhood—is that a male Chancellor would stay at his post and finish his speech if his child was sick. Women, in this discourse, acted as an 'other' against which men could be judged.

This association of gentlemanly masculinity with emotional restraint was a product of the mid-nineteenth century. The eighteenth-century 'man of feeling' seemed scarcely comprehensible to men who came of age after the 1840s, as concerns about 'manliness' seized the mid-Victorian imagination.[105] Men were no longer expected to melt into tears in public as Burke and Fox had done when they announced that their association was at an end in May 1791. Duelling, too, was no longer an appropriate response to an insult: it displayed a loss of control unbecoming in a gentleman. The change was signalled in a letter which the Home Secretary, Henry Bruce, to his wife in 1872.

> I was rejoiced to receive your letter … on the altered sensibility of Members of Parliament, which struck me as it struck you, and for which I cannot account. Men do occasionally cry now, but they dare not show it, being ashamed of it. Is it not a proof of less rather than greater manliness? For it is surely more manly to show your genuine feelings than to be afraid of them.[106]

What Bruce and his wife had noticed was a generation gap opening up between young men who prized emotional restraint and those who, in the early nineteenth century, had been exposed to a broad range of cultural movements that had been accorded considerable significance to the emotions, such as evangelicalism and Tractarianism. This had real political consequences for Gladstone, whose impulsiveness and inability to control his emotions when criticised meant that he was persistently branded 'effeminate' by critics

influenced by the new mood.[107] This made a stark contrast with the emotional control that characterised the political styles of Disraeli, Balfour and Asquith.[108]

This new mood proved surprisingly enduring, and was only amplified by the desire for a more restrained form of public politics following the First World War.[109] It was this expectation that political leaders would practise emotional restraint that seemed to disqualify many Labour MPs between the wars from claims to political authority.[110] Martin Francis has shown how after the Second World War Conservatives still expected their leaders to be able to control their emotions. Eden's failure to do so, especially during the Suez crisis, seriously undermined his authority; Macmillan's carefully manufactured aura of unflappability was a much better fit with his party's expectations of leadership.[111]

For the Conservatives, the post-war emphasis on emotional restraint was essentially a continuation of older gentlemanly norms, reframed in the light of new post-war cultural currents. In contrast, the Labour Party's adoption of this culture of restraint marked a sharp break from the working-class emotional cultures exhibited by its MPs in the 1920s.[112] The 1935 parliament was the last in which working-class MPs formed a majority of the Parliamentary Labour Party. After 1945 the party would be dominated by men of a very different temper, as indicated by Richard Crossman's complaint that the Deputy Leader of his party in the 1960s, George Brown, had not 'been to a proper school and [been] taught how to control his passions'.[113] The Labour Party's attacks on parliamentary culture would henceforth be conducted by men performing very different masculinities to those performed by the working-class MPs of the 1920s.

The Decline of Gentlemanliness

Having withstood the challenges posed by Irish nationalists in the late nineteenth century, working-class MPs in the 1920s, and the advent of female MPs after 1918, the model of gentlemanly masculinity that had shaped parliamentary culture since the middle of the nineteenth century could not withstand the political, social and cultural changes that followed the Second World War. The political elite were not isolated from the changing gender norms produced by demographic change, affluence, new moral and spiritual attitudes, new ideas about the role of the state and the individual, and feminism. The twentieth century saw the slow demise of a Victorian world characterised by numerous discreet (and frequently insular) communication communities, as mass education and mass culture took hold. Within the more extensive communication communities that resulted there was a rapid multiplication of rival institutions claiming to know best how men should behave: the pronouncements of the Church, the public schools and the medical profession (to name but three) were increasingly faced with rival claims coming

from sociology, newspaper agony aunts, pop groups and the full panoply of 'experts'.

The erosion of gentlemanly masculinity's dominance began with the growing purchase of technocratic political languages. Within the Labour Party, middle-class intellectuals had since the early Fabians identified themselves as technocratic experts, in opposition to the amateur 'gentlemen' found on the Conservative benches. This position found its most eloquent expression in Harold Laski's 1932 book *The Danger of Being a Gentleman*, which argued that 'The gentleman's characteristics are a public danger in all matters where quantitative knowledge, unremitting effort, vivid imagination, [and] organized planning are concerned'.[114] To the technocratic Labour MPs who embraced the idea of 'planning' in the 1930s and 1940s, gentlemanly manners came to be seen as an obstacle to progress rather than a precondition for 'civilised' politics.[115] This analysis entered the mainstream of British culture in the 1950s, when the Suez Crisis (1956), the Profumo affair (1963), decolonisation, and concerns about economic decline fuelled criticisms of the 'gentlemanly' governing classes as incompetent, dishonest, pusillanimous, and selfish.[116] This discourse turned Harold Macmillan's carefully constructed gentlemanly image into a disadvantage, and it provided a weapon for those Labour leaders who rallied under the banner of 'modernisation'.[117] Harold Wilson, for example, attacked the 14th Earl of Home's credentials to lead the country by asking 'How can the scion of an effete establishment appreciate and understand the scientific revolution?'[118] By choosing Home as their leader, the Conservative Party, said Wilson, 'has chosen to be led by a gentleman, not a player'.[119] Wilson underlined this distinction in his own gender performances, choosing to smoke a pipe and drink beer in public, when his private preferences were for brandy and cigars, and making a point of drawing attention to his preference for tinned rather than smoked salmon; similarly, public interest in his Gannex raincoat only makes sense as a subtle deviation from upper-class sartorial codes.[120] Two important conclusions follow from this. The first is that educated middle-class Labour professionals increasingly came to identify themselves in opposition to the gentlemanly type that had hitherto served to assimilate men like them into the governing class. The second is that the overwhelming status advantage attached to 'gentlemanly' forms of masculinity had diminished. In that sense, in a cultural formation where expertise was valued at least as highly as Victorian conceptions of 'character' and good manners, the range of masculinities that men could perform in parliament in order to claim authority expanded after the 1950s.

Despite this, the critique of gentlemanliness was directed far more towards the social background and attitudes of gentlemen than their manners and deportment, which continued to set the basic rules of the political game. The famous parliamentary sketches of 'Taper' (Bernard Levin) in the *Spectator* in the late 1950s offered savage criticisms of Macmillan's gentlemanly style of government, but the criteria by which he assessed parliamentary

performances were almost exactly the same as those employed by Henry Lucy 80 years earlier. Control of temper was praised, any deviation from the sober dark suit was a subject for mockery, gesticulation was scrutinised as evidence of sincerity and self-control, and lapses from good manners received stern rebukes.[121] Outwardly, the ideal technocratic politician was expected to look and behave very much like the gentleman of old.

The Labour Party's assault on the gentlemanly culture of parliament would therefore come not from working-class MPs but those middle-class professionals on the Labour benches. Their claims to perform alternative masculinities were rendered more credible by changes in the social composition of the parliamentary party. Since 1964 the proportion of university-educated Labour MPs has risen from 41 to 72.5% in 2010, but the proportion going to Oxford and Cambridge has remained largely static. This was what Paul Rose called 'the red-brick revolution'. The proportion of professionals on the Labour benches in the post-war period has fluctuated between 35 and 45%, while the proportion of manual workers fell from 36.6% in 1951 to 26.5% in 1970, rallied in the 1970s, and then fell precipitously after 1979 to just 8.5% in 2010. The great gains on the Labour benches have been made by well-educated white-collar clerical workers, journalists and the like, who in 1979 made up 13.4% of the parliamentary party, but who in 2010 constituted 49.2%.[122] It was precisely because of this 'red-brick' revolution that so many Labour MPs could identify themselves as educated experts promoting technocratic government, in opposition to the sclerotic governance of Oxbridge gentlemen.

On the Conservative side, the change was less dramatic, but not less significant. The proportion of Conservative MPs who were privately educated has fallen from 80% in 1966 to 54.2% in 2010, while within that group the hold of the Clarendon schools has steadily weakened. The proportion of professionals in the parliamentary party has been in decline since 1964, with the rate accelerating since 1983. The proportion of businessmen, having declined from 36.4 to 26.3% between 1951 and 1964, has grown steadily ever since, reaching 40.8% in 2010.[123] Those businessmen were able to use the new technocratic discourses of planning and modernisation in order to claim that they were capable of introducing more 'business-like' methods into government. This was the case, for instance, with Ian Harvey in the 1950s, whose background in advertising led him repeatedly to identify himself as an 'organisation man'.[124] The choice of Edward Heath as party leader in 1965 was clearly a bid to associate the party with a more 'business-like' approach to politics.[125] Heathites like Peter Walker and Michael Heseltine, both self-made businessmen, did not hesitate to identify the damage done to British industry by company boards filled by amateur gentlemen and, like Heath, were led to support state intervention in industry to instil more 'business-like' methods.[126] Heath's failure in government crystallised a faction within the party who largely accepted the need for a more 'business-like' approach, but who

distrusted the claims of the professional middle-classes in government to be able to manage the economy and the state effectively.[127] The traditional elites remained a powerful force well into the 1990s, but the tone of the party in the 1980s was set by combative self-made men who saw their virtues as substantially different from those figures in the party who had mocked Michael Heseltine for having had to buy his own furniture.[128] Bernard 'Jack' Wetherill felt that he had been 'one of the first wave of 'non-gentlemen', as he called them, to join the Conservative benches in 1964.[129] By 1987 the 'non-gentlemen' had taken over and were claiming that the 'knights from the shires' 'had more in common with the pre-war style of MPs … than with the parliamentarians of the 1980s'.[130] This is not to deny that Thatcher received significant support from 'men of old money, old regiments and old school ties'.[131] The important point is that the intra-party battles of the 1970s created opportunities for male Conservative MPs to perform masculinities other than those that had traditionally predominated in the party.

This can be seen from the way in which, in the late 1960s and 1970s, a more combative mode of parliamentary conduct was embraced by Conservative MPs who were conscious of their lowly social origins. Norman Tebbit revelled in his role as 'a leading member of the Opposition wrecking squad', taking on the Wilson government in a way that was 'licensed by our Whips' Office' on the condition that they were 'not to expect support from our more respectable and senior colleagues'. The result was a long series of disruptive pranks, riotously noisy interruptions and even threats of physical violence. Whatever else this might have been, it was not 'gentlemanly'. Tebbit noted that 'Some thought my willingness to stand toe to toe against the more thuggish elements of the Labour Party and slug it out blow for blow rather vulgar', but defended the value of being 'a Tory MP unwilling to be strangled into silence by his old school tie and quite prepared to take on all comers in robust terms'.[132] These changes took place against the backdrop of the rhetorical hyperinflation of the 1960s and 1970s, whereby young men staked a claim to heroic forms of 'manliness'; parliamentary conduct reflected this by returning to the disruptive rowdiness of the 1920s, something reinforced perhaps by a culture of heavy drinking fuelled by the multiplication of bars which were 'perpetually open' in the Palace of Westminster.[133]

This confrontational tone was accompanied by physical violence of a kind that in the nineteenth century would have resulted in duels, although paucity of sources makes any assessment of whether there was more violence in the post-war period than before impressionistic.[134] Consider the casual assaults recorded by the Conservative MP Jerry Hayes, whose Commons career began in 1983 with him being punched by a colleague, and was punctuated by being punched by John Prescott, painfully squeezing the crotch of a journalist who had crossed him, and witnessing a Labour whip 'punch [Ron Brown] in the stomach, throw him over his shoulder and give him a good kicking'.[135] Hayes identifies this as 'alpha-male stuff from many of those who

had actually fought hand-to-hand in the war', and complains that the generation of MPs since 1997 have been too 'soft'.[136] This suggests that forms of masculinity which valued 'toughness' and the ability to handle oneself in a fight had become more prominent than those which placed a premium on emotional control. Most striking of all is his account of the time when a woman MP kneed him in the groin: a clear signal that the gender norms that had made sense of the Commons' gentlemanly culture had broken down. The extent of the change can be seen from the fact that one of the female Labour MPs elected in 1997 found herself shouted at and called a 'fucking cow' by one of the male whips.[137] Such behaviour towards a woman would have been unthinkable in 1918.

One final post-war development must be noted, and that is the process by which politics has undergone professionalisation: politics is now dominated by 'career politicians' who treat it as a profession much like any other.[138] This has created new political identities and status hierarchies within the House of Commons. To be a 'good' MP now involves a range of duties and responsibilities unfamiliar to earlier generations, from holding regular constituency surgeries to sitting on select committees, going on fact-finding trips and appearing on television.[139] To perform these roles well gains one status among other politicians, and in this way the 'professional politician' has supplanted the 'gentleman' as the dominant form of gender performance in the House of Commons.

Conclusions

We are now in a position to provide answers to the question posed at the start of this chapter: what difference has it made to British politics that the political elites have been almost exclusively male? In the first place, we have seen how historically contingent sets of gendered norms have determined the ways in which politicians conducted their friendships, resolved their differences and assessed each other's standings in complex sets of status hierarchies. In this way gender provided the ground rules for the conduct of high politics.

To be taken seriously as political leaders, men had to look, stand, dress and behave in ways that conformed to sets of gender norms. Matters were complicated by the fact that gender norms changed over time, and by the fact that different sets of norms circulated in different communication communities; the same characteristics might be valued very differently by different communities. This has created problems for aspiring political leaders, because the forms of masculinity that conferred authority in the Commons were not necessarily valued on the picket line or in the constituency.[140] This has been a particular problem for leaders of the Labour Party: Ramsay Macdonald adapted well to the dominant culture of the House of Commons but was criticised for abandoning his roots, while Hugh Gaitskell's emotional reserve led to criticisms that he was 'a dessicated calculating machine'.[141] Only Wilson

managed to straddle this gulf with any success by himself; middle-class leaders of the party have tended to deal with the problem by forming partnerships with proletarian figures capable of reassuring the grassroots of the party—hence Attlee's dependence on Ernest Bevin and Tony Blair's partnership with John Prescott. Neil Kinnock struggled with the same problem in reverse: his gender performances were more easily recognised as authoritative by working-class audiences than by those in the House of Commons. A final complication is that the forms of masculinity performed by a leader might be more appropriate to some political contexts than others. It may be, for example, that the masculine qualities deemed appropriate to 'conviction politics' are unsuitable to the demands of coalition, and vice versa.

It may be that these gendered performances are electorally significant. Quite how important public perceptions of leaders are in shaping voting preferences is a matter of some dispute among psephologists, but Geoffrey Evans and Robert Andersen have shown that, at least in very recent elections, 'leadership perceptions are slightly more important for vote intention than even party identification'.[142] In this way the masculinities performed by politicians can influence voting behaviour.

The fact that for much of our period there was, among the educated classes, a degree of consensus about what constituted 'gentlemanliness' is fundamental. This is because, for much of this period, the legitimacy and authority of parliament rested on its appearance as a body of educated, disinterested gentlemen. MPs who conspicuously fell short of the expected standards of manliness, represented a threat to the legitimacy of the whole political structure. Parliament's authority, for example, would have been substantially reduced if the House of Commons had been shown to be populated by drunken, adulterous, wife-beaters. The ability of MPs to present themselves as 'gentlemen' was therefore a phenomenon of considerable political importance.[143] The passing of 'gentlemanly' culture in favour of a new 'professional' culture in parliament is a significant change; the new culture may be less overtly gendered, but it is not clear that it is better able to secure parliament's authority.

We can take this argument a step further. Historians have shown that claims to disinterestedness lay at the heart of the mid-Victorian state's claims to political legitimacy, but when it came to the fundamental economic, social and political inequalities between the sexes the state was not neutral: male domination was upheld through the actions of family law, criminal law, protective legislation and the emergent welfare state.[144] As they debated questions of law and policy MPs were not disinterested observers: they had vested interests in the status quo by virtue of their sex. The legitimacy of the gender order therefore hinged on the ability of MPs to conceal this fact. Consequently, very few MPs debating child custody law were willing to draw on their experience as fathers, because to do so would have drawn attention to the fact that they had a stake in the status quo; instead, many of them

chose to highlight their professional identities by speaking as disinterested legal experts.[145] Similarly, the willingness of politicians to reform matrimonial property law in the late nineteenth century depended on their ability to construct identities as husbands that distanced men of the upper classes from charges of domestic abuse.[146] This means that the gender of MPs has shaped the form and timing of the laws that the House of Commons has passed. The point may be amplified by reference to the debates on unemployment benefit cited above, or the long history of debates about women's place in the welfare state.[147] For this reason, the study of masculinity must be placed at the heart of the study of politics if we are to make sense of Britain's transition from a non-democratic to a democratic patriarchal state, and if we are to understand the dynamics that have impeded the slow advance of women's power since the early nineteenth century.

Notes

1. P. Williamson, *National crisis and National Government, 1926–32* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 276, 354; R. Crowcroft, *Attlee's War: World War II and the making of a Labour leader* (London: Tauris, 2011), Chap. 1; John Ramsden, *The winds of change: Macmillan to Heath, 1957–1975* (Harlow: Longman, 1996), pp. 196–197.
2. For Pitt, see *Times* 28.5.1798, p. 2. For Castlereagh and Canning see *Times* 22.9.1809, p. 2; ibid., 25.9.1809, p. 3. For Wellington and Winchilsea see *Times*, 23.3.1829, p. 5; 31.3.1829, p. 4. S. Banks, *A polite exchange of bullets: the duel and the English gentleman, 1750–1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010); R. Shoemaker, 'The taming of the duel: masculinity, honour and ritual violence in London, 1660–1800', *Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), 525–545.
3. On Gladstone and Hallam, see H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809–1874* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), pp. 11–16, 47, 238. On Disraeli and Lennox, see W. Kuhn, *The politics of pleasure: a portrait of Benjamin Disraeli* (London: Free, 2006). On William Hague and Liam Fox, see Michael Bloch, *Closet queens: some twentieth century British politicians* (London: Little, Brown, 2015), pp. 296–297.
4. See Alastair Campbell, *The Alastair Campbell diaries volume two: power and the people, 1997–1999* (London: Arrow, 2011), pp. 12–13.
5. E.H.H. Green, 'The man who stood behind the man who won the war', *London Review of Books*, 21: 18 (16 September 1999), p. 23; *idem*, 'Law, Andrew Bonar (1858–1923)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
6. On gender as performance see Judith Butler, *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990).
7. S. Szreter, *Fertility, class and gender in Britain 1860–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 546–549.
8. P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 72; idem, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 91.

9. B. Griffin, 'Class, gender and liberalism in parliament, 1868–1882: the case of the Married Women's Property Acts', *Historical Journal,* 46 (2003), pp. 59–87.
10. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 210, col. 2009 (23.11.1927).
11. For 19th-century criticisms of aristocratic debauchery, see A. Taylor, *Lords of misrule: hostility to aristocracy in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 17–44.
12. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 210, col. 2017 (23.11.1927).
13. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 210, col. 2014, 2017 (23.11.1927).
14. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 210, col. 2023 (23.11.1927).
15. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 197, col. 1434 (1.7.1926). See also the speeches by Varley, Welsh and Grenfell in this debate.
16. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 197, col. 1460 (1.7.1926).
17. See the Modernisation Select Committee's fourth report *Conduct in the Chamber* (HC 600, 1997–1998).
18. M. Johnson, 'Leading from the Front: the "service members" in parliament, the armed forces, and British politics during the Great War', *English Historical Review*, 130 (2015), 613–645, p. 644; D. Jarvis, 'The Conservative Party and the politics of gender, 1900–1939', in M. Francis and I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.), *The Conservatives and British Society, 1880–1990* (Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 1996), pp. 172–193, at pp. 183–184; R. Carr, *Veteran MPs and Conservative politics in the aftermath of the Great War* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 53–58.
19. Humphrey Berkeley, *Crossing the floor* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972), p. 81; P. Catterall (ed.), *The Macmillan diaries, vol. II* (London: Macmillan, 2011), pp. 216, 335.
20. R. Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: the politics and social upheaval of the 1980s* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009), p. 20; C. Moore, *Margaret Thatcher. Vol. I: not for turning* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), pp. 429, 675, 681.
21. M. Roper, *Masculinity and the British organization man since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 112.
22. To make just one crude attempt at quantifying this tendency, *Hansard* recorded 5577 uses of the word 'conflict' and 6577 instances of the word 'fight' in the 1950s, but in the 1970s the figures were 8533 and 8396 respectively.
23. Norman Tebbit, *Upwardly mobile* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), p. 154. Cf. Sir Keith Joseph, 'Speech at Doncaster racecourse' (24.6.1977) www.margaretthatcher.org/document/111944
24. Cited in D. Sandbrook, *State of emergency. The way we were: Britain, 1970–1974* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), p. 120.
25. On Cobden see G.R. Searle, *Entrepreneurial politics in mid-Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
26. A. Hardy, 'Lyon Playfair and the idea of progress: science and medicine in Victorian parliamentary politics', in D. Porter and R. Porter (eds.), *Doctors, politics and society: historical essays* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993). p. 89. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 197, col. 1429–1430 (1.7.1926).
27. B. Griffin, *The politics of gender in Victorian Britain: masculinity, political culture and the struggle for women's rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 160–162.

28. Cited in R. Cooter, 'The rise and decline of the medical member: doctors and parliament in Edwardian and interwar Britain', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 78 (2004), 59–107, p. 96.
29. Griffin, *The politics of gender*, Chap. 6.
30. Henry Lucy, *A diary of two parliaments. Vol. 1. The Disraeli Parliament, 1874–1880* (London: Cassell, 1885), p. 187.
31. Johnson, 'Leading from the front', p. 625. The most famous example is when Roger Keyes wore his uniform as Admiral of the Fleet, complete with medals, to criticise Neville Chamberlain's government in the Norway debate in May 1940.
32. C. Breward, *The hidden consumer: masculinities, fashion and city life, 1860–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 251–252. On changes in the clothing of political elites see P. Langford, 'Politics and manners from Sir Robert Walpole to Sir Robert Peel', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 94 (1997), 103–125, pp. 109–110, 112–113; D. Kuchta, *The three-piece suit and modern masculinity: England, 1550–1850* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002).
33. T.P. O'Connor, *Memoirs of an old parliamentarian* (2 vols., 1929), I, p. 173.
34. Lucy, *Disraeli*, p. 113; cf. p. 340.
35. Kuhn, *The politics of pleasure*, p. 236.
36. M. Francis, 'Tears, tantrums and bared teeth: the emotional economy of three Conservative Prime Ministers, 1951–63', *Journal of British Studies* (2002), 354–387, pp. 371, 376.
37. Griffin, *The politics of gender*, pp. 168–174.
38. Cf. L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780–1850* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 13.
39. Langford, 'Politics and manners', p. 113.
40. For the diversity of Whig styles, see P. Mandler, *Aristocratic government in the age of reform: Whigs and Liberals, 1830–1852* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990). On radicalism see J. Parry, *The politics of patriotism: English Liberalism, national identity and Europe, 1830–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 172–174. On aristocratic resistance, see N.W. Ellenberger, 'Constructing George Wyndham: narratives of aristocratic masculinity in fin-de-siècle England', *Journal of British Studies* 39 (2000), 487–517.
41. Griffin, *Politics of gender*, pp. 194–196.
42. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and his party, 1880–90* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), chaps. 1 and 5; O'Connor, *Memoirs of an old parliamentarian*, II, pp. 61–64.
43. Henry Lucy, *A diary of two parliaments. Vol. 2. The Gladstone Parliament, 1880–1885* (London: Cassell, 1885), pp. 184–185.
44. J. Vincent (ed.), *The diaries of Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby between 1878 and 1893* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 2003), p. 210.
45. Lucy, *Disraeli Parliament*, pp. 83–84.
46. Lucy, *Gladstone Parliament*, p. 260.
47. Ibid., p. 316; Henry Lucy, *A diary of the Salisbury Parliament, 1886–1892* (London: Cassell, 1892), pp. 135, 142–143.
48. 'First citizen' [Duff Cooper], 'The comedy of parliament', *Saturday Review* (9 June 1928), p. 722; Duff Cooper, *Old Men Forget* (London: Hart-Davis, 1953), p. 154. Richard Toye has observed that this rhetoric of assimilation

runs the risk of under-estimating the extent to which Labour MPs themselves helped to shape the conventions of the Commons as they developed. R. Toye, 'Perfectly parliamentary? The Labour Party and the House of Commons in the interwar years', *Twentieth Century British History*, 25 (2014), 1–29, p. 22; 'The rhetorical culture of the House of Commons after 1918', *History*, 99 (2014), p. 294.

49. On the 1940s see M. Francis, 'The Labour Party: modernisation and the politics of restraint', in B. Conekin, F. Mort and C. Waters (eds.), *Moments of modernity: reconstructing Britain, 1945–64* (London: Rivers Oram, 1999), p. 164. On Jeremy Corbyn, http://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2015/aug/19/jeremy-corbyn-style-jumper-newsnight. Accessed 11 September 2015.
50. P.J. Waller, 'Democracy and dialect, speech and class' in Waller (ed.), *Politics and social change in modern Britain: essays presented to A.F. Thompson* (Brighton: Harvester, 1987), pp. 1–33, at pp. 17, 22–24.
51. R.R. James (ed.), *Chips: the diaries of Sir Henry Channon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), pp. 351, 275.
52. D. Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), p. 288.
53. Toye, 'Perfectly parliamentary', p. 14.
54. On the disruption of April 1923, see *Times*, 12.4.1923, p. 12. For a debate about Labour interruptions, see *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 183, col. 2044–2147 (14.5.1925).
55. *Times*, 12.4.1923, p. 12. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 210, col. 1938 (23.11.1927).
56. *Times*, 16.4.1926, p. 9; *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 194, col. 423–431 (14.4.1926); *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 210, col. 1883–1957 (23.11.1927).
57. Duff Cooper, 'The comedy of Westminster', *Saturday Review*, 13.6.1925, p. 637; ibid., 3.7.1926, p. 5; ibid., 17.7.1926, p. 61. Toye, 'Rhetorical culture', p. 276.
58. For accusations of murder see, for example, Jack Jones: *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 197, col. 1360 (1.7.1926). For Conservative criticisms of George Lansbury and Neal Maclean on this account, see *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 200, col. 2167 (8.12.1926).
59. Toye, 'Rhetorical culture', p. 279; idem., 'Perfectly parliamentary', pp. 16–17.
60. Toye, 'Rhetorical culture', p. 293. Quotation from H.H. Spender-Clay: *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 198, col. 120 (12.7.1926).
61. See, for example, the letter from the Unionist A.V. Dicey, *Times*, 15.11.1912, p. 6.
62. *Hansard*, Fifth Series, 43, col. 2089 (14.11.1912).
63. E.g. *Times*, 14.11.1912, p. 12. For Labour's position in 1927 see *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 210, col. 1925–1953 (23.11.1927); *Times*, 25.11.1927, p. 14.
64. On breadwinning and work, see J.-M. Strange, *Fatherhood and the British working class, 1865–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Chap. 1. On 'toughness' see N. Hayes, 'Did manual workers want industrial welfare? Canteens, latrines and masculinity on British building sites, 1918–1970', *Journal of Social History,* 35 (2002), 637–658.

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66. James Johnston, *A hundred commoners* (London: H. Joseph, 1931), pp. 31–33. Jones's autobiography insists that there was no such change: Jack Jones, *My lively life* (London: J. Long, 1928), p. 43.
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71. Lord Hugh Cecil, *Hansard* 19, col. 105 (11/7/1910). Griffin, *Politics of gender*, pp. 197, 199.
72. B. Harrison, 'Women in a Men's House: the Women MPs, 1919–1945', *Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), 623–654, at pp. 627–628; A. Sreberny-Mohammadi and K. Ross, 'Women MPs and the media: representing the body politic', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49 (1996), 103–115, pp. 108–110; S. Mavin, P. Bryans, and R. Cunningham, 'Fed-up with Blair's babes, Gordon's gals, Cameron's cuties, Nick's nymphets: challenging gendered media representations of women political leaders', *Gender in Management* 25 (2010), 550–569; L. Beers, 'A model MP? Ellen Wilkinson, gender, politics and celebrity culture in interwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History* 10 (2013), 231–250, at pp. 239–241. It was not until the 1990s that women MPs began wearing trousers in the House of Commons. Gyles Brandreth, *Breaking the code* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999), p. 457.
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74. A. Masters, *Nancy Astor: a life* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), p. 100.
75. J. Prior, *A balance of power* (London: Hamilton, 1986), pp. 138–139.
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77. James (ed.), *Chips*, p. 128.
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79. Moore, *Margaret Thatcher*, p. 144.
80. Tebbit, *Upwardly mobile*, pp. 96–97.
81. P. Brookes, *Women at Westminster: an account of women in the British parliament, 1918–1966* (London: P. Davies, 1967), p. 25; Harrison, 'Women in a men's House', pp. 633–634; Moore, *Margaret Thatcher*, p. 145.

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86. Griffin, *Politics of gender*, pp. 197–198; Bloch, *Closet queens.*
87. M. Houlbrook, *Queer London: perils and pleasures in the sexual metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2005); H.G. Cocks, 'Modernity and the history of the self', *Historical Journal*, 49 (2006), pp. 1211–1227.
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89. Kuhn, *The politics of pleasure*, p. 248.
90. Wheen, *Tom Driberg*, p. 146; Bloch, *Closet queens*, Chaps. 6–8; Matthew Parris, *Chance witness: an outsider's life in politics* (London: Penguin Books, 2nd edn. 2013 [2002]), pp. 178–179.
91. Cooper, *Old men* forget, p. 28.
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119. Cited in Roy Hattersley, *Who goes home? Scenes from a political life* (London: Little, Brown, 1995), p. 39.
120. B. Pimlott, *Harold Wilson* (London: Harper Collins, 1992), pp. 267–268, 571, 609, 675.
121. On body language see *Spectator*, 12.1957, p. 135. On manners see ibid., 1.3.1957, p. 270; 23.5.1957, p. 670; 19.6.1928, p. 793. On temper, see ibid., 5.4.1957, pp. 430–431; 6.6.1957, p. 738; ibid., 27.6.1957, p. 834. On dress see ibid., 27.9.1957, p. 386; 13.6.1958, p. 761; cf. the poem about politicians' trousers by Christopher Hollis, ibid., 13.11.1964, p. 626.
122. Figures taken from the Nuffield Election Studies, *The British General Election of* [1945–2010], ed. D. Butler et al. (London: Macmillan, 1945–2010). Rose, *Backbencher's dilemma*, p. 34 (but note the discrepancy with the figures on p. 38).
123. Nuffield election studies, 1945–2010.
124. Harvey, *To fall like Lucifer*. On the 'organisation man' see Roper, *Masculinity and the British organization man*.
125. Campbell, *Edward Heath*, pp. 184–190, 203, 222, 263.
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129. E. Crewe, *The House of Commons: an anthropology of MPs at work* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 47.
130. Tebbit, *Upwardly mobile*, pp. 96, 114.
131. J. Aitken, *Margaret Thatcher: power and personality* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 159–160. Cf. Moore, *Margaret Thatcher*, pp. 283–284.
132. Tebbit, *Upwardly mobile*, pp. 148–151, 136.
133. An overview of the 'scenes' in the 1970s is given in Selwyn Lloyd, *Mr Speaker, sir* (London: Cape, 1976), pp. 60–78, 150. Alcohol had always played a significant part in the House of Commons: Sir James Agg-Gardner, *Some parliamentary recollections* (London: Burrow, 1927), p. 87; Jones, *My lively* life, p. 97; S. Ball (ed.), *Parliament and politics in the age of Baldwin and MacDonald: the Headlam diaries, 1923–1935* (London: Historians' Press, 1992), p. 62; Cooper, *Old men forget*, p. 65. Nevertheless, the post-war years appear to have been particularly drunken. Michael Brown, 'Were we all alcoholics in Parliament back then?', *Independent* (30 August 2006); Parris, *Chance witness*, p. 237; Patterson, *Tired and emotional*, p. 39; Jerry Hayes, *An unexpected MP: confessions of a political gossip* (London: Biteback, 2014), pp. 30, 74, 81, 85 and *passim*; Flynn, *How to be an MP*, pp. 103–104. 'Perpetually open' quotation from Rose, *Backbencher's dilemma*, p. 45.

134. For examples, see James (ed.), *Chips*, p. 153; Selwyn Lloyd, *Mr Speaker, sir*, p. 62; J. Peacey, 'Disorderly debates: noise and gesture in the 17th-century House of Commons', *Parliamentary History*, 32 (2013), 60–71 at p. 61; K. Jeffereys (ed.), *Labour and the wartime coalition from the diary of James Chuter Ede, 1941–1945* (London: Historians' Press, 1987), p. 83; *Hansard*, Fifth Series, vol. 433, col. 40–62 (10.2.1947); Patterson, *Tired and emotional*, p. 115; P. Norton, 'Parliament' in K. Hickson and A. Seldon (eds.), *New Labour, Old Labour: the Wilson and Callaghan governments, 1974–1979* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 190–206, at p. 199; Tim Renton, *Chief Whip: people, power and patronage in Westminster* (London: Politico's, 2005), pp. 20–21; J. Paxman, *The political animal: an anatomy* (London: Michael Joseph, 2002), p 165; Derek Conway, 'Whipping it up', *Guardian*, 14 March 2007; Crewe, *The House of Commons*, p. 133.
135. Hayes, *An unexpected MP*, pp. 5, 30, 73, 77. Cf. Roy Hattersley's description of an assault by Denis Healey in Hattersley, *Who goes home?*, p. 185.
136. Hayes, *An unexpected MP*, p. 82.
137. Paxman, *The political animal*, p. 167.
138. A. King, 'The rise of the career politician in Britain—and its consequences', *British Journal of Political Science*, 2 (1981), 249–285; Rush, *The role of the Member of Parliament*, Chap. 5.
139. J. Lawrence, *Electing our masters: the hustings in British politics from Hogarth to Blair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 194–201; Flynn, *How to be an MP*, pp. 13–40.
140. An excellent example of this is studied by M. Roberts, 'W.L. Jackson, exemplary manliness and late-Victorian popular Conservatism' in M. McCormack (ed.), *Public men: masculinity and politics in modern Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 123–142.
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142. G. Evans and R. Andersen, 'Impact of party leaders: how Blair lost Labour votes', *Parliamentary Affairs* 58 (2005), 818–836, p. 829; R. Andersen and G. Evans, 'Who Blairs wins: leadership and voting in the 2001 election' *British Elections and Parties Review* 13 (2003), 229–247. The sceptical case is made by A. King (ed.), *Leaders' personalities and the outcome of democratic elections* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
143. Griffin, *Politics of gender*, pp. 74, 82.
144. G. Stedman Jones, *Languages of class: studies in English working class history, 1832–1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 177–178; H.C.G. Matthew, 'Disraeli, Gladstone, and the politics of mid-Victorian budgets' *Historical Journal,* 22 (1979), 615–643; M. Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan: the politics of taxation in Britain 1799–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
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From Mussolini to Berlusconi: Masculinity and Political Leadership in Post-war Italy

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As in most Western democratic countries, the Italian political sphere has been male-dominated and many of its roles, rituals and conventions are inflected implicitly with masculine values. While there have been female presidents of the Chamber of Deputies, there has never been a woman president of the republic, prime minister or leader of a major party. Despite the increasing presence of women in politics since the 1970s, female government ministers remain few, with only a handful having held such offices as foreign minister or interior minister.[1] The result is that women politicians are often treated as something of an anomaly. Indeed, women are often largely absent from the media's treatment of politics, with only 11 per cent of politicians who are news subjects being female, a figure far lower than most Western democracies.[2] Thus it is fair to say, with Donatella Campus, that 'political leadership is almost exclusively associated with a male image of power'.[3] This image, she asserts, stems from a concept of politics rooted in 'the traditional masculine ideals of power as strength and dominance over people'. Before they can stand a real chance of acceding to leadership positions in any numbers, she argues, women need to reorient this concept of power towards the values to which they accord greater importance.

The aim of this chapter is not so much to explore the reasons why women have been systematically excluded from leadership as to consider the historical, political and cultural factors which bear on the norm of male leadership. In

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other words, it will seek to delineate how and why men dominated the political system despite the enfranchisement of women in 1946. It will draw out the forms of male leadership, the factors which bolster it and the features that characterise it. It will explore, loosely following Bourdieu, the processes which contributed to 'the transformation of history into nature, arbitrary cultural factors into *nature*'.[4] The chapter will necessarily be exploratory, for relatively limited attention has been paid by historians of modern Italy to questions of masculinity and there is a dearth of gendered analyses of Italian political leadership.[5] For example, in the *Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*, there is a chapter on women in politics and several on 'major figures' (all of them male) but none on masculinity and politics or masculinity and leadership.

In order to remedy this situation, this chapter will seek to provide a historical overview of masculinity and political Italian leadership in the post-war years. It will examine the way in which the influence of the fascist regime and the structuring role of the Church, as well as legacy of pre-fascist political practice, contributed to the norm of male leadership. However, it will also seek to explore the ways in which the forms of this supremacy changed and adapted. The enfranchisement of women and experiences of modernisation created challenges, while the impact of the mass media, the women's movement and generational renewal provoked significant adjustments of form. The collapse and transformation of the party system in the early 1990s will be shown to have produced configurations of masculine leadership which combined old and new elements.

Democratic Masculinity After Fascism

Fascism is widely regarded as having systematically fostered a cult of masculinity. Both Barbara Spackman and Sandro Bellassai have asserted the centrality of the idea of virility to the fascist view of the world.[6] Indeed, for Spackman, it is the 'master term' which encompasses the varied emphases on youth, sacrifice, heroism, sexual potency and physical strength, as well as authority and obedience.[7] Bellassai argues that character and body were two spheres in which the fascists sought to effect a re-virilisation of the Italians by means of physical activities, education and war. 'The exaltation of the warrior', he asserts, 'was … tied to a general cultural climate in which problems such as the loss of the virile vigor of "lineage", the demographic problem and therefore the quantitative weakening of the "race", and the exaltation of the thrilling and "dangerous life" as opposed to the debilitating monotony of the petit-bourgeois existence acquired new political valence'.[8] Fascists tried to freeze the crisis of masculine identity that they felt was rampant in the 1920s and restore a natural, primitive state that had been undermined by modernity and political divisions.[9] Military defeat, civil war, foreign occupation and the collapse of the regime all served to bring about the end of the fascist project of male enhancement, but this did not mean that it left no traces. The end of the war heralded challenges in many fields, including gender. 'With the

end of fascist authoritarianism and paternalism, there was a risk of social fragmentation', Patrizia Gabrielli writes, a fact which left the way open for alternative forms of paternalism.[10] There was also the problem of addressing the 'residues of a myth', that is to say the persistent cultural undercurrent left by fascist education on the consciousness of those who reached adulthood under the regime.[11] Some of this was specifically fascist and concerned the person of Mussolini, the bellicose attitudes of fascism and the cult of war it promoted. Less obvious were the more general ideas of masculine dominance and preeminence in the public realm. The story of the development of democratic male political leadership is one of negotiation of this mixture of gaps and undercurrents, of tensions between established assumptions and expectations on the one hand, and significant innovations on the other.

The enfranchisement of women was a major innovation, but not one that by itself undercut the norm of male leadership. Indeed, the female vote was not universally supported or welcomed.[12] Various arguments were put forward against it and, among those who were supportive, some were less ready to accept female candidates or install them in prominent positions in party lists. While over 200 female candidates stood in the 1946 elections to the Constituent Assembly, only 21 were elected. Most of these were kept well away from positions of responsibility and were often treated as ornamental.[13] Male politicians had the advantage of experience while women were just entering what has been called the phase of their 'political apprenticeship'.[14] Thus the creation of a multi-party parliamentary system saw the emergence of a political elite that was for most purposes entirely male, even if it was significantly more heterogeneous in other respects than the parliamentary elite of Liberal Italy.

The influence of the pre-fascist era was evident in the return to the scene of a number of older politicians, including Ivanoe Bonomi, the first prime minister following the liberation of Rome in 1944, the Christian Democrat leader Alcide De Gasperi, who became prime minister in December 1945, and the interim president of the republic Enrico De Nicola. These men thought in terms of ideas and principles and were attached to an idea of political leadership that was masculine by definition. The notion of fascism as a parenthesis, which was quite widespread on the centre-right, manifested itself in the reappearance of various Liberal-era practices, including even duelling, though the 'old elitist notions of honour that had fed the social prejudices attached to the duelling ethic' would not last long.[15] These older men transmitted a certain style that would remain a reference point. The Piedmontese economist Luigi Einaudi, who served as president of the republic from 1948 to 1955 was, according to Gianfranco Pasquino, 'a sober, austere, competent professor of economics' who 'performed his institutional task with a British-style restraint, never openly interfering with the activities of power'.[16] Giovanni Leone, elected in 1971, was the first president who was not already an adult by the time fascism came to power.

Of course, the mature and the elderly were just one component of the new political system. Many deputies were much younger and more engaged with society. They had become politically active in the later stages of fascism, whether through Catholic organisations or the clandestine structures of the left. Most of the women who were elected to the Constituent Assembly and to Parliament in 1948 were drawn from this generation. The role played in the Resistance was an important qualification that fitted these men and women for their new roles. However, the basic model of the anti-fascist activist was male. While women took part in the Resistance and in some cases had borne arms, this was not something that was widely acknowledged. In general, there was a significant exclusion of women from the institutions, rituals and official memories of the Resistance in the years following the war,[17] and only in the most left-wing areas of the country was their active role incorporated into commemorative art and statues.[18] Under fascism, proof of patriotism was displayed by having taken part in the First World War, in the violent conflicts that paved the way for the rise of the regime, or in fascism's wars. An active record of violent engagement was required for those holding leadership positions. The Resistance was never used to justify aggression or bellicosity, but the sense of anti-fascism as a 'temple of virility' served to bolster a masculine idea of politics as a practice requiring sacrifice, dedication and abnegation, which had been embedded in the national discourse since the eighteenth century and which fascism had embraced.[19] This did not just leave little space for all but the most highly politicised women; it also promoted an idea of politics that attributed high status to those who had engaged in combat, albeit as volunteers in the service of a noble cause.[20]

If, as Gabrielli argues, 'it is undeniable that the anti-feminism which was a widely-held sentiment in Italy, almost a national characteristic, traversed the political class which was engaged in establishing the foundations of the new state', this is attributable in part to the presence of two structuring influences.[21] The first of these consisted of residual elements of fascist culture and education. It is not easy to identify precisely the extent of this influence but there can be no doubt that, regardless of the disastrous nature of the regime's end, many Italians' whole outlook had been shaped by the education they had received in fascist schools, the propaganda they had imbibed about empire and conquest, and the regime-related activities into which they had been drawn. This is not to say that nothing had changed, for military defeat and national humiliation certainly left a mark that manifested itself in the form of a sense of masculine crisis. The experience of Resistance was not sufficiently strong or widespread to offset this. The disorientation could be found in various fields, which ranged from the returning soldiers and prisoners of war, who found themselves unrecognised and displaced, to the great increase in juvenile crime in the 1940s.[22] At least some of the male political dominance of anti-fascism may be seen in terms of a response to this.

The second influence was the Catholic Church. The Church exercised unprecedented authority in the post-war years on account of the privileged position it had acquired under the regime and the role it played in maintaining the fabric of civil society during the phase of political change, civil war and foreign occupation.[23] With the compromise of the Lateran Treaty of 1929, the Church had embraced nationalism, while the regime had acknowledged Catholicism as one of the core components of the identity of the Italian people. Both the Church's official role and its contribution to collective identity were enhanced by events. Many individual Christian Democrat politicians had been formed within Catholic lay organisations and maintained close relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This was itself, of course, entirely male and imbued with a sense of the masculine prerogative. More than any other institution after the war, it was responsible for theorising and promoting specific separate gender roles. The Church stressed family and female purity as it engaged in a concerted campaign to restore order after a period of social and moral confusion.

The Church was the only force which had a long-established capillary organisation and the mass parties which became the main components of the post-war political system took this as their model, with the Italian Communist Party (PCI) being the first to seek to build a mass membership and integrate itself into the community. The parties were mostly led by a middle generation of politicians which consisted equally of those who had in some cases served periods in prison or in internal exile, and those who had held positions in society under the regime without becoming irredeemably compromised or tainted by it. These men would play leading roles until the 1960s or 1970s. With few exceptions, they were not very sensitive to gender matters and in some measure accepted the gender roles promoted by fascism and the Church as normative. All the parties understood that female enfranchisement meant that they had to find ways of drawing women to them and involving them.[24] Yet participation was often organised on the basis of conventional family roles and gendered practices, despite the fact that it was mostly in the more developed north and centre of the country that the political system became rooted in society.[25] Female candidates were expected to play second fiddle to male orators in rallies and focus on so-called women's issues.

The Eclipse of the Leader's Body

For Christopher Forth, masculinity is defined in important ways through the body and body images. It is widely assumed, he argues, that 'bodily difference is what undergirds and authorizes male supremacy' and that the body 'functions as the bedrock of normative masculinity'.[26] In the fascist period, the display of the male body had been widespread, with Mussolini's body—both clothed and unclothed—forming a central part of an iconography which included neo-classical imagery and propaganda. In the later war years and

after, the model was very different as the key figure was Pope Pius XII. As Oliver Logan has observed, elements of a papal personality cult emerged from 1939 and flowered as Mussolini's declined.[27] The papacy's 'lack of physical power [was] symbolised, as it were, by the Pope's appearance of physical frailty'. 'Unarmed' and 'defenceless', he offered a victim image, equivalent to that of a suffering Christ. 'Positive fragility', 'inwardness' and 'a gentle look' were projections of a man who was otherwise acknowledged to possess an 'iron will'.[28]

This example was radically different from Mussolini's and that difference contributed to the fact that, with the establishment of a democratic political system, the male body disappeared from the political realm. The leaders of the major post-war parties adopted a low personal profile and a conventional appearance. As men of a certain age and background, they had no sympathy with Mussolini's style of leadership or the personality cult which had complemented it. Their speeches were not declamatory or peremptory but careful and reasoned, based on the acceptance of a plurality of political traditions. It was not their bodies or any displays of physical prowess that gave a masculine content to their leadership; rather it was their mastery of political strategy, their serious demeanour and their personal political itineraries. There was also a focus on their intelligence, endurance, tenacity, far-sightedness and persuasive capacities.[29] It was these which had led to their emerging as undiscussed leaders of their parties. Their hard work in the cause of the public good was a sign of their moral integrity and selflessness. Only on the periphery of the political system did a certain masculine swagger still carry currency, notably in the form of theatrical personality Guglielmo Giannini, leader of the populist *Uomo qualunque* (Everyman) movement, who was dubbed, among many other things, 'a caricature of Mussolini as produced by Neapolitan folklore'.[30]

This process can be read in terms of a revival of democratic norms and the banishment of the charismatic from the political realm. Certain qualities were attributed to prominent figures which formed a framework through which leadership was redefined. Together with this went the removal of the private or family life of leaders from the public realm. In the fascist period the royal family had enjoyed prominence, while Mussolini had often appeared in public with some or all of his children and occasionally with his wife.[31] The Christian Democrats portrayed themselves as the party of the family and almost all of their leading figures were men with stable family lives. However, with the partial exception of De Gasperi, who was occasionally portrayed in the illustrated press enjoying moments of leisure with family members in his native Trento region,[32] little or nothing was known about the private lives of politicians unless scandal thrust individuals into the public eye.[33] It was as if they were 'priests of politics' whose whole lives were geared to statecraft.[34]

The same asceticism applied on the left but for different reasons and in different ways. The model of the full-time militant did not exclude family though normally personal relationships were not divorced from the

political.[35] Several prominent Communists, including Togliatti and his deputy Luigi Longo, left their long-standing wives in the post-war years and established new relationships. Togliatti's liaison with the young Communist deputy Nilde Jotti was widely resented by the party rank and file, not least because his wife Rita Montagnana was also a prominent party figure, as was Longo's wife Teresa Noce, who wrote in her memoirs that she learned from the press that her husband had divorced her in San Marino.[36] However, the PCI was keen to avoid being branded anti-family and, for this reason, it did nothing to challenge the Church's influence over social matters.[37] Within the party there was a concern not to alienate support by overtly challenging widely held social values. Despite his personal situation, Togliatti accepted the incorporation of the Lateran Treaty into the constitution and did not press for the legalisation of divorce. Nevertheless, a certain strain of libertinism persisted, despite efforts to discourage irregular behaviour among officials.[38] This was facilitated by the itinerant lifestyle of many functionaries, who travelled the country organising activities, directing campaigns and giving speeches.

While the male body ceased to have political currency, the female body continued to play a certain role. This was not empowering but rather the opposite since the conventional symbolic use of the female form was deployed to dismiss or demean female politicians. There were marked differences in the way male and female deputies were treated in the press and this had an impact in turn on the way the parties treated the latter. In a context in which comments on their physical appearance and evaluations of their elegance or beauty were rife,[39] many were belittled on the basis of their supposed ugliness or scruffiness. The handful who were deemed beautiful were referred to as if they were cinematic vamps.[40] In the PCI, the men were gently encouraged to smarten up while the women were ordered to throw out darned coats and worn stockings and adopt a pleasant feminine style in order to avoid general denigration.[41] There was also much greater interest in the personal lives and leisure activities of female deputies. While it was not usually reported if a male politician married or fathered a child, the family lives of the women (most of them were married with children) were regarded as being of legitimate interest, as were their hobbies and holidays.[42]

The emphasis on female bodies and private lives belonged to a mentality of distinct and separate gender roles. Female politicians were more likely to be described as good mothers than hard workers, an approach which sometimes raised questions about how they managed to reconcile domestic duties with their political vocation.[43] The tendency to situate prominent women in relation to prevailing ideas of marriage, domesticity and motherhood extended to the sphere of celebrity which developed as a predominantly female realm as the country experienced economic recovery and growth. Writing in 1963, the sociologist Francesco Alberoni would theorise the role of a new social category whose members would provide the lead in the field of consumption.[44]

Because they held no political power, celebrities were licensed to transgress dominant values in their love lives and material lifestyles. They were a fantasy elite whose role was to harness the collective imagination and steer it towards mass consumption. In Italy, the most prominent post-war stars produced by the film industry, women from ordinary backgrounds like Gina Lollobrigida and Sophia Loren who had first achieved prominence through beauty contests, became a prime site for the reconstruction of national identity.[45] As successful professionals, they led lives which were more independent than those of most women. However, in the press, which Alberoni indicated as the key medium of celebrity, their transgression was modest. Their public images were subordinated wherever possible to conventional models in order to neutralise the disapproval of the Church,[46] which was suspicious of their sex appeal.[47]

In a context in which the masculinisation of the political realm was accompanied by diffuse 'masculine insecurities',[48] a polemic arose against the way women had conducted their primary role of nurturing the next generation of men. This was significant for the figure of the mother had been embedded in national discourse since the Risorgimento and the sacrificial mother occupied a place in the iconography of the Resistance.[49] Beginning in the early 1950s, a hostility emerged to a national vice which was labelled 'mammismo'.[50] This term referred to the excessive attachment of men to their mothers and implied that these needed to reduce their protective attitudes if their sons were to develop moral fibre, a sense of civic responsibility and political maturity. There was nothing new about this particular line of argument, which had been advanced in revolutionary France in the 1790s.[51] Nor was it peculiar to Italy since similar polemics against 'Mom-ism' were occurring in the USA.[52] But it was a departure in the Italian context from the cult of the mother which had universally prevailed in earlier decades.

The sharp divisions of the Cold War period contributed to male political supremacy by shifting the focus of political discourse from reconstruction and reform, which often involved a concern with such practical matters as housing, family support, transport and so on, to larger geo-political matters over which men enjoyed supremacy. The institutionalisation within the political system of international divide between East and West endowed this emphasis with a degree of permanence and legitimised conflictual language. Politics became a deadly serious realm that was best left to those who had the greatest expertise, while women were encouraged simply to offer support, for example in the left's peace campaign. The re-emergence of the traditional clientelist practices that had flourished especially in the South, and which had even persisted under the regime, also favoured experienced male mediators. What Campus calls the traditional masculine idea of power as 'strength and dominance over people' was reinforced in such a context. Female activists were often marginalised or confined to limited duties in this period, which also witnessed a steady decline in female members of the Chamber of Deputies from 7% in 1948 to a low point of 3% in 1968.

The Sacralization of Leadership

The norm of male political leadership that was consolidated in the 1950s and which persisted through the 1960s and 1970s occurred in a context in which, across the party system, there was a conscious effort to avoid the re-emergence of the typology of the strong leader towards which there was, it has been authoritatively claimed, 'a national predisposition'.[53] The men who dominated the DC after De Gasperi in any case lacked the statesman-like stature of the party's founder. They were factional chiefs who formed fluid alliances geared to preserving influence and impeding the emergence of any powerful figure. The rise and fall of Amintore Fanfani is instructive in this regard. A Tuscan economics professor whose diminutive stature was more than off-set by his unusual energy, he was chiefly responsible for endowing the party with an extensive organisation of its own, on the basis of the model that had been associated with the left. Seen by some as authoritarian, Fanfani would be ousted from the party secretaryship despite his undoubted achievements. Brief tenures of power became the norm. In the course of the 1950s, some six Christian Democrats held the post of prime minister while four became secretaries of the party.

This type of regular turnover did not apply to the parties of the left. Both the Communists and the Socialists boasted long-serving leaders who could count on a degree of popular devotion. Yet to assert that Togliatti was the object of a personality cult would be excessive (Marsili refers to the 'non cult' of De Gasperi and partially applies the same concept to Togliatti)[54]; modest off-duty images portrayed him playing chess or reading a newspaper, occasionally with a pipe as an accessory. A similarly homely image was cultivated by Pietro Nenni, who served as secretary of the Socialist Party between 1949 and 1963 and subsequently took on various government roles. His ordinariness was such that only his thick spectacles and habitual beret lent him an unmistakable look.

None of the post-war leaders was charismatic but their roles at a crucial stage in the nation's history gave them a situational charisma that carried some resonance. The social conditions of the post-war years, Angelo Ventrone has argued, 'favoured forms of *sacralization* of politics and devotion towards leaders, due to the widespread need to rebuild models of collective identification that allowed for an overcoming of the lacerations caused by the war'.[55] The assassination attempt Togliatti suffered in 1948 highlighted his value and importance. Following the death in 1953 of Stalin, who had been widely admired by the Communist grass roots, an effort was made by the PCI to fill the gap by enhancing the personal image of the party leader.

The political realm was configured as a source of symbols and meanings. It had its own rules and customs which were often institutionally entrenched. This self-sufficiency meant that the older men who formed the elite were surprised when issues they had not considered significant became highly controversial. This became more than evident when conventional gender relations

and the laws that sustained them were thrown into question. The campaign led by the Socialist senator Lina Merlin for the abolition of the system of state-regulated brothels which had survived from Napoleonic times was disruptive and controversial.[56] Her efforts forced the issue on to the agenda, aroused debate, and, despite the opprobrium to which Merlin herself was subjected, were crowned with success in 1958. Yet the campaign is significant also for the way it turned patriarchal authority into an issue. While, of itself, it did not constitute a direct threat to the male domination of leadership, it created a situation in which some of the structures which sustained it were progressively questioned and challenged.[57] The campaigns to legalise divorce and abortion, to reform family law, establish equality of pay and win rights for homosexuals followed from it in significant respects. The hostile attitude of the Church towards reform in most of these areas was complemented by the efforts of centre-right politicians to resist change. Fanfani, for example, who was once more secretary of the Christian Democrats at the time of the 1974 divorce referendum, was convinced that he could defeat the law by appealing to retrograde sentiments which he wrongly assumed still to be widespread despite rising levels of education, urbanisation, the greater role of women in the labour market and the spread of consumerism. The surprise of politicians at the result of the referendum (more than 60% voted to maintain the divorce law) revealed that in many cases they had not noticed that traditional family structures and cultures of honour had been eroded.[58]

The impact these changes had on masculinity were recorded by popular cinema, which remained the key mass medium over the period.[59] The sense of transition, if not of out-and-out crisis, was conveyed by a series of male stars. While the number one star of the fascist period, Amedeo Nazzari, had provided an alluring version of the militarised masculinity favoured by the regime, his roles in the 1950s had suggested satirical takes on the stern characters of the past.[60] Alberto Sordi, the leading comic actor of the 1950s and 1960s, offered a parody of the fascist-educated male in many films in which he impersonated a cowardly, self-obsessed social climber. For his part, the handsome leading man Marcello Mastroianni offered a persona which lacked aggression and was often subordinate to a stronger female. These actors were complemented by others, including the strong and aggressive heroes of Italian genre cinema, who demonstrated the plurality of masculine models. In popular music and sport the range was wider still, with the result that the public construction of masculinity increasingly involved change and choice.

Moro, Berlinguer and Pannella

The social reforms mentioned above involved in every case a significant period of struggle and agitation. These gave rise to informal political forms in which women and young people would be more engaged. They would bring discourses about bodies and sexuality into the public sphere and herald some

changes in established forms of leadership. The Radical leader Marco Pannella also contributed to a new political use of the male body. However, the deaths of Aldo Moro and Enrico Berlinguer, spectacularised the physical vulnerability of the leader.

The Christian Democrat Moro and the Communist Berlinguer were similar moral and physical types who shared a reputation for high-mindedness and strategic thinking. They were sacralised figures of politics, to use Ventrone's term, with whom large numbers identified. Moro had led the Centre-Left governments of the 1960s, while Berlinguer had harnessed the hopes born of protest and seen his party win 34% of votes in 1976.

The kidnap and assassination of Moro by the Red Brigades in 1978 and Berlinguer's fatal stroke in 1984 were significant because the two men had been so important in post-war modernisation. Each had engaged in a negotiational style of political leadership that eschewed overt personal emphases. Moro was kidnapped because he was a key figure in the brokerage of a much-touted 'historic compromise' between the Catholics and the Communists, which had been proposed by Berlinguer as a possible means of bringing his party to power.

In line with post-war practice, the bodies of the two leaders were invisible. Thin and slightly built, each had a gentle air and earnest face; each also offered an example of the physical frailty of the leader, but in different ways. Throughout his 55 days of captivity, Moro wrote letters to his family and to members of his own party pleading for help, a fact which polarised politicians. While some, including notably the Socialist leader Craxi, urged negotiation with the terrorists to save Moro, the majority stood firm against this, with fatal results. Berlinguer's death was no less public. During an electoral rally in a public square in Padua, he suffered a cerebral haemorrhage. He struggled on through his speech, with the crowd growing ever more concerned, before collapsing and receiving medical assistance. He never recovered consciousness before he died in hospital four days later. This phase of sufferance witnessed an outpouring of much previously unexpressed emotion.

Moro's pleading was deplored by those who had fought in the Resistance and recalled the stoic sacrifices of captured comrades and, for complex reasons, the letters were even deemed 'not morally ascribable to him' by some party associates.[61] Yet his execution heralded a revulsion against political violence of any sort and undermined the valorisation of armed conflict that had been embedded in the Resistance tradition. By contrast, Berlinguer's death was treated as if he had been mortally wounded on the battlefield and he was garlanded with the aura of a hero. He was seen as having paid the price for working too hard and not sparing himself. In short, his death was cast within a tradition of sacrifice which had strong patriotic connotations and which historically had been associated with the idea of the warrior's good death.[62]

The two deaths were vastly different but their tragic circumstances and aftermaths had a number of common features. At one level, they to some

extent united the political elite and highlighted its nature as a mature masculine caste. Moro's state funeral (which was boycotted by his family) was attended by leading figures from all parties, as well as Pope Paul VI. Berlinguer's funeral was a national event which brought together the entire elite but which also extended to the people. Among the two million Italians who attended, and the many more millions who watched it on television, there was a sense that Berlinguer had embodied a type of austere, moral leadership which inspired respect but also induced feelings of inferiority. He left, Ginsborg observes, 'an indelible image of rectitude, intelligence and commitment to democracy'.[63]

Significantly, the suffering and deaths of two men who had been thought of as 'priests of politics' resulted in their reconfiguration as husbands and fathers. The struggle to save Moro, for example, was championed by his wife and children. While Berlinguer's Sardinian origins and the political history of his family (his brother was also a leading Communist) were known, few had any knowledge of his wife Letizia (who was apolitical) or their four children. The elderly President Pertini contributed to this emergence of the affective sphere by treating the Communist leader in death as a son. The humanisation of the leader, which was bound up with numerous personal expressions of affection and even love on the part of ordinary people, introduced a new dimension to political leadership alongside the sacrality that was occasioned by selfless dedication to a larger cause.

Outside the established elite, one further figure played a crucial part in redefining public engagement with leadership. As the Radical Party took on a major role in championing civil rights and promoting social reform, its leader Marco Pannella developed a form of personalised political communication which relied to an extraordinary degree on his body. In a series of campaigns on issues ranging from divorce and abortion to drug use and prisons, he staged numerous stunts to attract media attention and influence public opinion.[64] Hunger strikes and thirst strikes became regular weapons in his armoury. A mixture of Narcissus, Gandhi and charismatic tribune, he practised a type of political showmanship that would become more widespread two decades or more later. In so doing, he widened the repertoire of political communication and undermined some of the codes and conventions of leadership. The Radicals entered parliament in 1979, as a result of disillusionment with the PCI's policies during the period of 'national solidarity' which followed Moro's kidnap. Pannella proved to be an able behind-the-scenes negotiator who fascinated other leaders. While he turned his body into a political tool and fielded the most unusual parliamentary candidates (including the intellectual Toni Negri, who had been imprisoned on terrorism charges, and the Hungarian-born porn star Ilona Staller), he remained within the male-dominated system and would be an eccentric and creative exponent of it rather than its gravedigger. Though his concept of power was different from the conventional masculine one, he worked the political system with great

skill, never seriously ceded control of his party and revealed nothing of his private life.

Personalisation and the Mass Media

The wider diffusion of the mass media resulted in changes in perceptions of public figures, who emerged more distinctly as personalities. As early as the 1960s there had been a sense that the mass media offered opportunities for a type of electioneering that jarred with the traditional masculine political focus on seriousness and self-effacement.[65] Political broadcasts took politicians into a realm that had been popularly regarded as distant from their own and which they had previously only entered on very select occasions. In the 1963 comedy film *Gli Onorevoli* (The Deputies), a fictional leader of the neo-fascist MSI party (played by the actor Peppino De Filippo) allows himself to be persuaded to prepare for his television debut by decking himself out as a showgirl.[66] The comedy is underlined by a shot showing his supporters' horrified expressions when they see what the medium has done to this supposed guardian of the tradition of Italian virility.

Moro and Berlinguer were both leaders who engaged with the medium of television. What Walter Veltroni refers to as the televisual 'magic' of Berlinguer derived not from artful manipulation but from the traces of humanity that somehow forced their way through the screen, namely his timid air, his face—which he used to hold in his hand—and his mild Sardinian accent.[67] The politicians who came after them were presented with more opportunities to develop a media profile and to use this in political communication. Undoubtedly, a new media environment in the 1980s favoured a certain slippage towards personalisation and entertainment. Following the unregulated development of commercial television, parties increasingly made use of television advertising in election campaigns which became more focused on personalities.[68] Leaders including the Socialist Bettino Craxi and the Republican Giovanni Spadolini were invited on to chat shows and other light entertainment broadcasts where they endeavoured to appear friendly and accessible. They smiled more than other leaders had done in the past, presented a casual, more leisure-oriented attitude and in a few cases drew their wives and children into the media realm.

It is debatable whether these changes produced the sort of emasculation that was comically prospected in *Gli onorevoli*. For a leader like Craxi, there was a complex balancing act to perform. On the one hand, he wished to appear as a strong leader to both his party and the country, a fact which led some to draw comparisons with Mussolini.[69] He detested criticism, enunciated deliberately with many pauses, walked with a swagger and made occasional forays into the repertoire of working-class masculinity (the revelation of his sweat-soaked vest during a party conference speech being a prime example). On the other hand, the demands of the media were such that he

was packaged in a way that was supposed to make him look fashionable and contemporary. His family was mobilised to associate him with mainstream lifestyles and show him as being in tune with the aspirational middle classes. During his tenure as prime minister, he was given a gentler image by his wife Anna, who acted as first lady, a role that previously had been absent. On election posters, he wore red-rimmed glasses and smiled broadly.

Forth has highlighted a number of ways in which, historically, fears that prosperity and peace would render men passive and soft found outlets in reassertions of male strength, fitness and fantasies of adventure.[70] In the era of mass consumption, these too could be commercialised and packaged. Holiday pictures of Craxi wearing a bathing costume on the beach in Tunisia, one observer has argued, suggested a reproposition 'in a glamour version' of Mussolini's holidays at the Italian resort of Riccione.[71] However, the professionalisation of political communication also provoked a rude reassertion of the masculine on the fringes of the political system. Here, more supposedly authentic and unalloyed expressions retained currency, also because they were connected to a strand of popular culture that had not been subordinated to the polished codes and conventions of the mass media. As the example of the Northern League leader Umberto Bossi showed, the unpackaged exercised a particular appeal outside the larger cities even in the industrial North.

Bossi was the primary antagonist of the political elite in the later 1980s and early 1990s and he signalled his outsider credentials by rousing crowds crudely with his raucous, deep voice, often using sexual metaphors and violent imagery. He disdained the smart suits and ties of establishment politicians, preferring the fashion-free casual wear of the provincial self-employed. Bossi's models were numerous and to some extent contradictory, as Marco Belpoliti has noted. He combined elements of the small-town good-for-nothing depicted in Fellini's 1955 film *I vitelloni* with the physical and emotional engagement of the entertainer or pop singer.[72] Berlinguer's self-sacrifice and tireless cultivation of his party's grass roots was an inspiration,[73] as was Pannella for his provocative methods.[74] When Bossi displayed his naked torso it was to stress his popular roots, as Mussolini had done when he famously removed his shirt before the newsreel cameras before taking part in the grain harvest of 1938. In contrast to Craxi, his family was not displayed to align him with a consumerist lifestyle, but rather because he ran his personal affairs, like his party, in a patriarchal manner.

By the 1980s, the masculinity of leaders was increasingly hybridised. The Mussolinian model, which had been rejected in the post-war years, remained in the background as an unacknowledged template and, ever more weakly, as a negative example. International as well as national models were likely reference points. The efforts of the social and political protests, and especially of the women's movement, to narrow the gap between the personal and the political helped bring the body back into the political frame. Though the frailty of the leader's body had been used to effect by Pope Pius XII and

Pannella, and had been demonstrated by Moro and Berlinguer, the political crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed an impulse towards a certain reassertion of biological masculinity which also drew on popular entertainment.

Silvio Berlusconi's masculinity can be seen in relation to these impulses, though in his case the effort to combine the personal and the political would eventually unravel, with serious implications for the future of the normative nature of male political leadership.

Berlusconi's Masculinity

In the 1990s, after the collapse of the post-war party system, the disgrace of once powerful politicians including Craxi, and the emergence of bipolar political competition, personalisation 'skyrocketed'.[75] At the centre of this was Berlusconi, the Milanese magnate turned politician who founded a new centre-right party and forged a right-wing coalition that would propel him into office in 1994, and again in 2001 and 2008. As the dominant figure of the era, he polarised opinion and monopolised news and comment. Like no other political figure of the post-war period, he constituted a cultural phenomenon with a variety of gender facets and implications. His masculinity at the outset seemed conventional in terms of the business environment he hailed from, though his reputation as a man of success entailed a focus on wealth, achievement, optimism and patriotism that was unfamiliar in the political realm. However, some early observers, including myself and Belpoliti, noted significant differences with respect to the past that derived from his unique familiarity with the mass media. He came over as feminised in some specific features of his persona, including his smile, his grooming, his ceremonial manner, and his connection with predominantly female television audiences.[76] These constituted important elements of his polished and undeniably seductive style.

The description of him as a feminised man has since been disputed on the grounds that it supposedly posits femininity as inferior to masculinity and thus interprets Berlusconi's novel persona in terms of a fall from a masculine ideal.[77] In fact it is not necessary to conceptualise masculinity as superior to femininity to employ such a label, for, historically, repeated contrasts have been made between the 'drives towards sexuality and aggression' that were said to belong to 'biological manhood' and a 'softer' masculinity privileging a 'surface level of manners and sociability', that was seen from the eighteenth century as a consequence of modern commercial society.[78] Feminisation was sometimes attributed to whole civilisations, notably the French. It was not seen so much as inferior as 'intimate other', in other words as a danger residing in individuals and in communities. It threw into relief the constructed nature of masculinity and gave rise to crises and corrective strategies. Thus to highlight Berlusconi's ostensibly feminine attributes is to situate him squarely within a type of masculinity that has historically been regarded as

commercialised and inauthentic. However, he was not so much a victim of the softening of commercial society as a prime and conscious exponent of the latter. He offered a pleasing and seductive presence that was in tune with the commodified entertainment and advertising that was broadcast by his three Fininvest channels. He was a man of polish and charm who was aware that his seductive image constituted a strength in terms of his ability to connect with categories of voters including housewives and younger people.

This aspect of his persona was part of a complex whole. Wealthy and proprietorial, Berlusconi vigorously pursued his private interests and practised a form of heroic self-narration which complemented a dynamic energy.[79] Although several observers remarked that he could not properly be considered charismatic because his leadership was neither visionary nor revolutionary,[80] his record in creating a business empire from scratch and then founding a party able to coalesce the different forces of the political right and win a series of elections ensured that his authority was unchallenged in both spheres. He anchored himself to the traditions of Catholicism and family, but his appeal went beyond these. Everything about him reflected endeavour and achievement. In key respects, Berlusconi was a product of a masculine milieu and much of his modus operandi was male-centred. Indeed, a key pillar of what was termed 'Berlusconismo' was constituted by a specific vision of gender roles involving hierarchy and separation.[81] He surrounded himself with male collaborators, with whom he forged masculine motivational bonds, for example through shared support for the successful Milan football club, which he owned. He also indulged in a repertoire of sexist humour which was directed against homosexuals, people he deemed ugly, and left-wing opponents.

Behind the facade of the dedicated family man whose only distraction was Neapolitan love songs, Berlusconi led a secret life that bore comparison with notorious post-war playboys like the Dominican diplomat Porfirio Rubirosa or *Playboy* magazine founder Hugh Hefner. In the course of 2009–2010, it transpired that his wealth and show-business associations had enabled him to recruit an entire harem to staff what were referred to as orgies at his private residences in Rome and Sardinia. This shed new light on the practice he had adopted of recruiting attractive young women to his party's lists for national and European elections and appointing some to roles in government. The beauty and political inexperience of a number of them led to accusations of what was termed *velinismo* (roughly, showgirl-ism since the term *velina* is loosely applied to the women who provide ornamental glamour on television shows).[82] By this, it was meant that the gates of a largely male preserve were opened, but only to women who possessed beauty and sex appeal and exercised no influence. This behaviour outraged Berlusconi's wife who, in 2009, while announcing that she was divorcing him, denounced the 'brazenness and lack of decency of power' that was concealed behind a shameless 'front of bodily curves and feminine beauty'.[83] Her denunciation highlighted the

persistence in Italian politics and culture of the anti-feminism which Gabrielli regarded as a widely held sentiment in Italy and a defining feature of the political class.[84] This was confirmed by news that Craxi, Berlusconi's one-time political patron, had—facilitated by the latter's special access—also pursued sexual liaisons in the entertainment world.

The fact that Berlusconi suffered limited immediate damage as a direct consequence of these scandals seemed to support the thesis of enduring male supremacy. Well into his eighth decade, he transmitted a surprising aura of sexual potency. However, things were more complex as another politician tainted by sexual scandal in the same period was driven from office.[85] A key factor was Berlusconi's personal influence over the mass media which undoubtedly limited the type and extent of coverage they received. Berlusconi's adult children also intervened to shore up his damaged image as a family man, even after a judicial investigation was launched into the accusation that he had had sex with an underage Moroccan girl who had been a repeated guest at his parties.[86] However, Berlusconi was not able to control fully the fall-out from these events. The stance of his wife showed that the most powerful man in the country could not always dominate the women who were closest to him. More widely, when he disparaged the looks of centre-left politician Rosy Bindi on television, and she responded by asserting that she was 'not one of the women at your disposal', thousands of women took up this rebuff.[87] The prerogatives of a male-dominated system of power came under challenge as never before when over 100,000 people signed a petition denouncing his instrumentalisation of the female body.

Inevitably, Berlusconi was compared to Mussolini, though his dictatorship was primarily economic rather than political. Both practised a highly personalised form of leadership predicated on vigour, energy and decisiveness and secretly maintained a string of lovers who they struggled to pacify.[88] But the Berlusconi era was vastly different to the inter-war years. It was one of flux and change in the area of gender relations which saw the emergence in the political sphere of a range of figures who challenged conventional models. If Ilona Staller has been a marginal curiosity in the 1980s, the same could not be said of the articulate left-wing transgender deputy Vladimir Luxuria in the early 2000s or still less of Nichi Vendola, who became the first avowedly gay politician to hold a major position when he was elected governor of the southern region of Puglia in 2005. The Berlusconi scandals threw old norms and privileges into question and undermined the legitimacy of the male domination of politics. To be sure, the activism of right-wing populists like the comedian turned anti-establishment tribune and leader of the five star movement Beppe Grillo, testify that assertive masculinity still has political currency in Italy and what Campus refers to as 'the traditional masculine ideals of power as strength and dominance over people' have not perhaps substantially changed.[89] But, after slowly rising since the 1970s, the percentage of female deputies and senators reached 30% in 2013. Though few women have run

key ministries and female politicians continue to be scrutinised and evaluated in ways that men often are not, women have governed several major cities and some regions. The example of Angela Merkel and other foreign female leaders, moreover, is a not insignificant influence. The days of the male leader are far from over, but female leadership would no longer be considered an anomaly.

Notes

1. D. Campus, 'Women in Politics' in E. Jones and G. Pasquino (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 626.
2. Ibid., p. 628.
3. Ibid., p. 627.
4. P. Bourdieu, *La domination masculine* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), p. 8.
5. Sandro Bellassai is the only historian to have systematically studied masculinity in twentieth-century Italy. See, for example, *La mascolinità contemporanea* (Rome: Carocci, 2004) and *L'invenzione della virilità* (Rome: Carocci, 2011).
6. B. Spackman, *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, Ideology and Social Fantasy in Italy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 2; S. Bellassai, 'The Masculine Mystique: Antimodernism and Virility in Fascist Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 10 (2005), 314–335.
7. Spackman, *Fascist Virilities*, p. xii.
8. Bellassai, 'The Mystique of Masculinity', p. 315. For a wider view of fascism, masculinity and the family, see P. Ginsborg, *Famiglia novecento: vita famigliare, rivoluzione e dittature, 1900–1950* (Turin: Einaudi, 2013), pp. 245–321.
9. This is recurrent theme in modern masculinity, as Christopher Forth shows in *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilisation and the Body* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
10. P. Gabrielli, *Il 1946, le donne, la repubblica* (Rome: Donzelli, 2009), p. 5.
11. Ibid., p. 5.
12. Ibid., pp. 70, 93.
13. Ibid., p. 224.
14. M. Mafai, *L'apprendistato della politica: le donne itaiane nel dopoguerra* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1979).
15. S.C. Hughes, 'Duelling after the Duce: Postwar Conflicts of Honour in Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies,* 18 (2013), 615–626, p. 623.
16. G. Pasquino, 'The Presidents of the Republic', in Jones and Pasquino, *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*, pp. 84–85.
17. M. Ponzani, *Guerra alle donne: partigiane, vittime di stupro, 'amanti del nemico'* (Turin: Einaudi, 2012), pp. 184–189.
18. See S. Gundle, 'The "civic religion" of the Resistance in Postwar Italy', *Modern Italy*, 5 (2000), 113–132. In Bologna an equestrian statue of Mussolini was turned into figures of a male and female partisan. See S. Storchi, 'Mussolini as monument: the equestrian statue of the Duce at the Littoriale stadium in Bologna', in S. Gundle, C. Duggan and G. Pieri (eds.), *The Cult of the Duce: Mussolini and the Italians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 203–205.

19. See A.M. Banti, *Sublime madre nostra: la nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo* (Rome: Laterza, 2011), pp. 39–40; P. Gabrielli, *Tempio di viriita': l'antifascismo, il genere, la storia* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2008).
20. Gabrielli, *Tempio di viriita'*, p. 104.
21. Gabrielli, *Il 1946*, p. 104.
22. See R. Ben-Ghiat, 'Unmaking the Fascist Man: Masculinity, Film and the Transition from Dictatorship, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 10 (2005), 336–365. More generally on the post-war male crisis and its impact on cinema, see U. Siegelohr (ed.), *Heroines without Heroes* (New York: Continuum, 2000).
23. Ginsborg, *Famiglia novecento*, pp. 250–254, 320.
24. S. Bellassai, 'L'autunno del patriarca: insicurezze maschili nel secondo dopoguerra' in P. Morris, F. Ricatti and M. Seymour (eds.), *Politica ed emozioni nella storia d'Italia: dal 1848 ad oggi* (Rome: Viella, 2012), pp. 193–194.
25. S. Gundle, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: The Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture, 1943–92* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. 42–70.
26. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West*, p. 4.
27. O. Logan, 'Pius XII: *romanità* prophesy and charisma', *Modern Italy*, 3 (1998), 237–247.
28. Ibid., p. 243.
29. Gabrielli, *Il 1946*, pp. 240–241.
30. Cited in S. Satta, *L'uomo qualunque 1944–1948* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1975), p. 149.
31. Ginsborg, *Famiglia novecento*, pp. 245–248.
32. M. Marsili, 'De Gasperi and Togliatti: political leadership and personality cults in post-war Italy', M*odern Italy*, 3 (1998), 249–261.
33. The 'Montesi scandal' of the mid-1950s resulted in the family of foreign minister Attilio Piccioni being drawn into the public gaze when his son was accused of manslaughter. See S. Gundle, *Death and the Dolce Vita: The Dark Side of Rome in the 1950s* (London: Canongate, 2011), pp. 4–46.
34. M. Belpoliti, *La canottiera di Bossi* (Parma: Guanda, 2012), p. 12.
35. On this general issue, see A. Tonelli, *Politica e amore* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), pp. 117–245.
36. T. Noce, *Rivoluzionaria professionale* (Milan: La Pietra, 1974), pp. 438–439. More widely, see Tonelli, *Politica e amore*, pp. 165–185.
37. Bellassai, 'L'autunno del patriarca', p. 205.
38. Tonelli, *Politica e amore*, pp. 221–226.
39. Gabrielli, *Il 1946*, p. 37.
40. Ibid., p. 21.
41. Ibid., pp. 23–34.
42. Ibid., p. 238.
43. Ibid., p. 241.
44. F. Alberoni, *L'elite senza potere: ricerca sociologica sul divismo* (Milan: Bompiani, 1963).
45. S. Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine Beauty and the Idea of Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 142–169.
46. R. Buckley, 'Marriage, Motherhood and the Italian Film Stars of the 1950s' in P. Morris (ed.), *Women in Italy: 1945–1960* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 35–49.

47. For example, they were completely ignored by the big-selling Catholic magazine *Famiglia cristiana*.
48. See Bellassai, 'L'autunno del patriarca'.
49. Marina d'Amelia, *La mamma* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005).
50. Ibid., pp. 17–18. See also Silvana Patriarca, *Italian Vices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
51. J.B. Landes, 'Republican citizenship and heterosocial desire: concepts of masculinity in revolutionary France' in S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 101.
52. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West,* p. 206.
53. M. Isnenghi, *Storia d'Italia: i fatti e le percezioni dal Risoergimento alla società dello spettacolo* (Rome: Laterza, 2011), p. 639.
54. Marsili, 'De Gasperi and Togliatti', p. 259.
55. A. Ventrone, 'Forme e strumenti della propaganda di massa nella nascita e nel consolidamento della Repubblica (1946–1958)' in M. Ridolfi (ed.), *Propaganda e comunicazione politica: storia e trasformazioni nell'eta' contemporanea* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2004), p. 221.
56. See S. Bellassai, *La legge del desiderio: il progetto Merlin e l'Italia degli anni Cinquanta* (Rome: Carocci, 2006).
57. Bellassai, 'L'autunno del patriarca', p. 194.
58. See P. Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943–1980* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), pp. 348–351; S. Gundle, *I comunisti italiani tra Hollywood e Mosca: la sfida della culura di massa (1943–1991)* (Florence: Giunti, 1995), pp. 324–327. On the implications for masculinity, see Bellassai, 'L'autunno del patriarca'.
59. For an overview, see J. Reich and C. O'Rawe, *Divi: la mascolinità nel cinema italiano* (Rome: Donzelli, 2015).
60. See S. Gundle, *Mussolini's Dream Factory: Film Stardom in Fascist Italy* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 184–202, 284–287.
61. Isnenghi, *Storia d'Italia*, p. 638. See also T. Abse, 'The Moro Affair: Interpretations and Consequences' in S. Gundle and L. Rinaldi (eds.), *Assassinations and Murder in Modern Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 96.
62. Banti, *Sublime madre nostra*, pp. 94, 133, 144,
63. P. Ginsborg, *Italy and its Discontents, 1980–2001* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2001), p. 159.
64. See Filippo Ceccarelli, 'Tra digiuni e bavagli quel corpo umiliato per servire la causa', *La Repubblica*, 20 May 2016, pp. 8–9.
65. See S. Gundle, 'Italy' in D. Butler and A. Ranney (eds.), *Electioneering* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
66. See S. Gundle, 'Cinema and television' in Jones and Pasquino, *The Oxford Handbook*, pp. 576–577.
67. W. Veltroni, *I programmi che hanno cambiato l'Italia* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1992), p. 271.
68. Gundle, 'Italy', pp. 178–183.
69. Isnenghi, *Storia d'Italia*, p. 639.
70. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West*, pp. 210–215.
71. Ibid., p. 24.

72. Belpoliti, *La canottiera di Bossi*, p. 7.
73. Ibid., p. 18.
74. Ibid., p. 22.
75. M. Donovan and M. Gilbert, 'Silvio Berlusconi and Romano Prodi' in Jones and Pasquino, *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*, p. 398.
76. S. Gundle, 'Il sorriso di Berlusconi', *Altrochemestre*, 3 (1995), pp. 14–17; Marco Belpoliti, *Il corpo del capo* (Parma: Guanda, 2009).
77. C. O'Rawe, *Stars and Masculinities in Contemporary Italian Cinema* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 6.
78. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West,* p. 9.
79. P. Ginsborg and E. Asquer, 'Introduzione: cos'è il berlusconismo' in Ginsborg and Asquer (eds.), *Berlusconismo: analisi di un sistema di potere* (Rome: Laterza, 2011), pp. ix, x, xii.
80. E. Poli, 'Silvio Berlusconi and the Myth of the Creative Entrepreneur', *Modern Italy*, 3 (1998), 271–279, pp. 277–278; P. Ginsborg, *Berlusconi* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), p. 33.
81. Ginsborg and Asquer, 'Introduzione', p. xviii. See also Amalia Signorelli, 'La ambigue pari opportunità e il nuovo maschilismo' in Ginsborg and Asquer, *Berlusconismo*, pp. 207–222.
82. For the origin and uses of this term, see Peter Gomez, Marco Lillo and Marco Travaglio, *Papi: uno scandalo politico* (Milan: Chiarelettere, 2009), pp. 119–120.
83. See S. Gundle, 'Berlusconi, Sex and the Avoidance of a Media Scandal', Marco Giuliani and E. Jones (eds.), *Italian Politics 2009: Managing Uncertainty* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), p. 59.
84. Gabrielli, *Il 1946*, p. 104.
85. The centre-left governor of the Lazio region, Piero Marrazzo, was obliged to resign in 2009 after his use of prostitutes was exposed.
86. The judicial investigation led eventually to a trial, which ultimately resulted in acquittal.
87. Gundle, 'Berlusconi, Sex and the Avoidance of a Media Scandal', pp. 71–72.
88. See M. Franzinelli, *Il duce e le donne* (Milan: Mondadori, 2013), pp. 8–9.
89. Campus, 'Women in Politics', p. 627.

Erratum to: The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe

Christopher Fletcher, Sean Brady, Rachel E. Moss and Lucy Riall

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The chapter 'A Man's Sphere? British Politics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' was originally published as © Palgrave Macmillan but has now been made available as © The Author and open access under a CC BY 4.0 license.

In 'Antonio Canova's Statue of King Ferdinand IV and the Gendering of Neapolitan Sovereignty',
Acknowledgements have been included as an article note in the opening page of the chapter.
The cropping of Figure 4 has been amended.
A mail symbol next to author's name on the first page of the chapter has been removed.

In the Frontmatter,
On p. viii, additions have been made to the acknowledgments.
The erratum book has been updated with these changes.

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Index

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