

MAKING KNIGHTHOOD: THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY IN THE
ORDENE DE CHEVALERIE, THE LIVRE DE CHEVALERIE DE GEOFFROI
DE CHARNY AND THE ESPEJO DE VERDADERA NOBLEZA

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: Making Knighthood: The Construction of Masculinity in the *Ordene de chevalerie*, the *Livre de chevalerie de Geoffroi de Charny* and the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*

This dissertation applies the concept of hegemonic masculinity proposed by R.W. Connell in her book *Masculinities*, to three works of medieval chivalric conduct literature. This dissertation asserts that the authors of the *Ordene de chevalerie*, the *Livre de chevalerie of Geoffroi de Charny* and the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* create an image of knightly masculinity that demonstrates its superiority over other forms of medieval masculinity. At the same time, each text serves a secondary purpose; elucidating the values and political aims of its author. The *Ordene de chevalerie* demonstrates the hegemonic nature of knighthood by means of its frame story while at the same time trying to show how the knighthood is intimately linked to Christian faith by means of the ritual of initiation into the knighthood. The *Livre de chevalerie* provides guidance on how to obtain honor and prowess, while at the same showing how the knighthood is superior to the clerical class, another powerful mode of medieval masculinity. The *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* demonstrates that the hegemonic form of masculinity embodied in the knighthood was open to those who showed the necessary characteristics and won the approval of the sovereign. The *Espejo* acts as means of

institutionalizing the knighthood and shows the first imaginings of how the knighthood would change with the advent of the Renaissance.

By using a theoretical framework more common to the fields of sociology and management studies to explore these texts, this dissertation demonstrates how theories that are accepted in these fields may be applied to literary and medieval studies. This dissertation also seeks to bring greater attention to the genre of chivalric conduct literature, a genre that does not receive as much attention from scholars as other medieval genres such as epic and romance. This dissertation seeks to show that chivalric conduct literature is a fruitful field of study and that these three lesser known works in this genre provide valuable medieval perspectives on the concepts of knightly masculinity. Although these authors define knighthood differently, they all agree that knighthood plays a defining role in constructing and modeling a superior form of masculinity.

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For my family, in gratitude and love.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If a modern man wishes to better enact the construction of masculinity that he is going to personify, he need only to go to the local bookstore and there he will find an array of titles that cover the different types of roles he may play in his family and society. He will find books on topics such as being a better husband and father or a better employee. Although a man may be born with the male gender, he must learn to embody manhood as he believes it should be performed. This knowledge may come from following the examples of other men, such as his father or fictional characters. He may also turn to books that describe an ideal of manliness and how to obtain it. In this way, he is able to create, or “make” an identity such as that of father, leader, or even knight.

The modern self-help books mentioned above are only the latest iteration of a genre of literature that existed even in the Middle Ages. Medieval manuals that sought to teach the reader how to better fulfill their duty exist in various types from Mirrors for Princes such as John of Salisbury’s *Policratus*, which teaches about political matters, to manuals which covered more mundane aspects of daily life such as the *Ménagier de Paris*, which instructs a medieval urban lady on how to best fulfill her household duties. There were also manuals written for and about the knighthood. This dissertation explores three manuals of chivalric conduct in particular, the *Ordene de chevalerie* (circa 1220), the *Livre de chevalerie de Geoffroi de Charny* (circa 1350), and the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (circa 1441). I propose that the authors of these three manuals create a specific vision of knightly masculinity that aligns with their specific visions of the role that knights should play in society. In these texts, the authors also demonstrate to the reader

why their visions of knighthood are the dominant form of masculinity in the social context from which they write.

The manuals in the genre of chivalric conduct literature teach knights their duty and how to better assume the role of a knight. These manuals are didactic in nature and often do not contain a plot. These texts offer the reader the opportunity to study explicit explanations of the values and duties of the knight. These explanations were often colored by the personal beliefs of their writers and so present various conceptions of the way in which knighthood should be enacted, providing a varied and nuanced body of texts. Unfortunately, this genre of literature has not yet received a thorough treatment by modern scholars of the Middle Ages. This dissertation attempts to rectify this issue by analyzing these three very different works of chivalric conduct literature in order to examine how their authors support a conception of knighthood that presents itself as the hegemonic medieval masculinity.

Judith Butler discusses masculine hegemony in her book *Gender Trouble*. For Butler, “gender trouble” is a means of subverting “masculine hegemony and heterosexist power” (80). Instead of subverting masculine hegemony, however, this dissertation examines how this male supremacy is maintained by using the theoretical concept of hegemonic masculinity proposed by R.W. Connell in her book *Masculinities* (1995). This theory originates in the field of sociology and has not been used as a theoretical framework for the study of medieval literature.

The three works studied in this dissertation come from disparate geographical locations and different periods in medieval history. The first two texts come from northern France, the third text was written in the kingdom of Castile. What unifies the

works in this project is that together, they offer the opportunity to examine how authors from diverse segments of medieval society envision the ideal knight. Each work is written by a member of a different section of the traditional tripartite view of feudal medieval society, which in this view was composed of the *oratores*, or those who pray; the *bellatores*, or those who fight; and the *laboratores*, or those who work.¹ These group labels designated the clerics, the knights and the aristocracy, and the commoners.

Although none of the texts in this dissertation were written in feudal societies where this idea was current,² each of the writers in this dissertation creates a conception of knightly masculinity that reflects their “order” in society. The thirteenth-century *Ordene de chevalerie* was most likely written by a cleric and the knighthood envisioned by this author is firmly Christian. The *Livre de chevalerie* was written in the fourteenth century by the knight Geoffroi de Chany. This text creates a knighthood that is most interested in displays of prowess on the battlefield. The third text, the fifteenth-century *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* by Diego de Valera advocates for a nobility and knighthood that is open to all who display the proper qualities no matter the origin thus allowing those from non-aristocratic backgrounds, like Diego himself, to fully take part in courtly life.

¹ Both Duby (332-333) and Flori (29) note that the tripartite view of feudal French society was a development from an older idea of class division based on relationships with the Christian church. Flori states that at first there were two orders which he titles *Clerc* and *Laic*, whereas Duby calls the same groups *oratores* and *bellatores*. I believe that Flori’s titles more clearly illustrate the differentiation between the two groups as it was perceived in the Middle Ages because Duby’s titles seem to connote that all those who were not *oratores* were *bellatores* and vice versa and this was certainly not the case.

² Georges Duby states that this conception of society was out of date by the first quarter of the thirteenth century before any of these manuals were written (424).

The second chapter provides a historical overview of the scholarship pertaining to chivalry. It discusses the development of masculinity as an area of research and the scholarly debate surrounding the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Chapter II also touches on scholarship about the medieval conception of the male gender. Finally, this chapter explores the research that has been done in the field of medieval conduct literature and the ideas of modern philosophers that are used in these studies.

The third chapter focuses on the *Ordene de chevalerie* which Keith Busby has tentatively dated at circa 1220. A cleric is thought to be the author because of the *Ordene's* emphasis on the Christian faith as a central part of the process of becoming a knight as well as a homiletical writing style.³ The text recounts the experiences of Hue de Tabarie while prisoner of the Muslim sultan, Saladin. Hue is asked by his captor to explain the concept of chivalry, which leads to Hue taking Saladin through the steps of the ceremony of initiation into the knighthood. Saladin is so pleased with his instruction that he gives Tabarie his freedom. The author of this text presents a ritual full of Christian symbolism and displays the knighthood as a Christian mode of masculinity. This chapter examines how the dubbing or ritual of initiation into the knighthood plays a part in the creation of chivalric masculinity. It explores how the anonymous author demonstrates the hegemonic nature of Hue's masculinity by means of the frame story and the interactions between Hue and Saladin. A prose version of this story is compared with the verse version and the important differences between the two texts are discussed. This chapter also touches on the medieval view of Saladin as a chivalrous Saracen as well as how clerical masculinity presented itself in chivalric terms.

³ A more complete discussion of status of each of the authors can be found in the chapters of this dissertation which discuss this author.

The fourth chapter focuses on the *Livre de chevalerie de Geoffroi de Charny*. This manual was written by a member of the warrior class and provides the most in-depth study of the qualities of ideal knighthood among the works under discussion in this dissertation. Charny was, of course, a member of the aristocracy, but his text focuses mainly on military prowess and he takes the view that the knighthood is open to anyone who is capable with a sword. The *Livre*, written around 1350, is not framed with a story but is rather a manual for members of the newly created French chivalric order, *La Compagnie de l'étoile*. The chapter provides historical background on the situation in France at the time of its composition and discusses how the life of the author shows him to be a qualified commentator on the knighthood. Charny's manual emphasizes personal prowess as a means of following the chivalric ideal and as a way to gain honor. This chapter discusses how Charny uses his text to show how knighthood is a form of hegemonic masculinity and how the knightly class is superior to the clerical class. This chapter also briefly talks about the role of women in Charny's text and their role in inspiring knights to feats of prowess.

The fifth chapter will look at the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* by Diego de Valera. Even though he was an accomplished warrior in his own right and had received a knighthood, his background was not the aristocracy; rather, he was a commoner and a *Converso*, or a descendant of Jews who had converted to Christianity. His status as an outsider to the aristocracy comes through clearly in his text, the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* or the *Mirror of True Nobility*. Valera seeks to undercut the importance of bloodlines and focuses instead on service to the king as the mark of true nobility. The presence of a commoner within the knighthood illustrates a cultural difference between

France and the Iberian Peninsula because the need for knights to fight against Muslims in the south of the peninsula outweighed the importance of maintaining a knighthood that was drawn solely from the aristocracy. Duby notes however; that class distinction in France was one of the main reasons for the resurgence of the idea of the three orders of society in the twelfth century (Duby, *Trois* 334).

Although the contents of this text extend beyond the narrow focus on the knighthood to a consideration of all nobility, the author makes an effort to discuss the concept of knighthood specifically in the final two chapters of the work. The perspective of this text is enlarged not only by the field of focus on the nobility but also through the addition of quotes from sources both ancient and medieval such as Seneca and Dante.

The text, written around 1441, displays many of the traits that we use to define a work of Renaissance humanism. As with Charny above, this chapter talks about the life of Diego de Valera and briefly explains how Castilian knighthood is different from that of France. Besides hegemonic masculinity, this chapter discusses the text within the framework of discourse analysis to show how Valera presents the knighthood as an institution.

Although these works are directed primarily at those who would be able to use in their own lives the advice the authors provide, there is also a secondary audience: those who may have wished to know the expectations and practices of knighthood but who would not necessarily have been able to put this advice and guidance into practice.

Modern readers fall into this category as well. We are not looking to gain knighthood by going through the ritual set forth in the *Ordene de Chevalerie*; we can use it, however, to explore the concept of masculinity by using a literary approach.

By pursuing a close reading of each of these texts, we are able to get a clearer picture of certain medieval models of ideal chivalric masculinity; these close readings give us a window into the preoccupations of each author and the questions he raises concerning concepts of knightly masculinity. These texts also offer the opportunity to understand what the authors under discussion viewed as the weaknesses of one of the most dominant forms of masculinity in the Middle Ages.

Chivalry is a part of the Middle Ages that has not disappeared in our day. The modern western ideal of manhood has been influenced at least in part by conceptions of chivalry and knighthood in the medieval period. By gaining an understanding of the expectations placed on the knighthood in medieval conduct literature, we are better placed to comprehend current beliefs about both masculinity and gender. This study is therefore helpful in decoding western cultural messages about the masculine ideal that uses much of the vocabulary and symbolism of the medieval period, allowing us to place these messages in their social context and historical milieu. The modern man may no longer fight with a lance on horseback, but the cultural understanding of who he is can be traced back to ideas that were written down by the authors of chivalric conduct literature and embodied by knights in shining armor.

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MASCULINE IDEAL

Stereotypes of the Middle Ages feature such images as castles and kings, beautiful ladies, and, almost assuredly, knights. However, the images that the contemporary reader has of knighthood are often idealized, influenced by fairy tales and romances, sometimes with a dash of Disney. These idealized images present a ruggedly masculine man who is as comfortable with sword fighting his foes as he is with expressing his love for a lady. Even today, knights are held up as paragons of masculinity in the expressions that we use to describe men; “a knight in shining armor”, for example, comes to the aid of another person. Laurie Finke and Martin Schictman point out that contemporary authors of self-help books, a modern form of conduct literature, “draw upon aristocratic knighthood as the exemplar of the proper relationship between father and son” (25). Amy S. Kaufmann shows that images of knighthood are often manipulated in order to promote ideals of female chastity and patriarchy in the contemporary evangelical movement (43-45). Susan Aronstein considers how the mythopoetic men’s movement also makes use of idealized medieval masculinity to present model examples of “mature” and “deep” masculinity (144).

These romanticized images often downplay or ignore the knight’s true, bloody, purpose: to fight and win battles for his lord, to gain honor and win the respect of others. Medieval knighthood was at its heart a military profession and the domain of men. Modern culture arguably views knighthood as the quintessential masculine image of the Middle Ages. This romanticized view demonstrates that knights were more than simple soldiers on horseback.

In order to gain a more complete picture of knighthood, it is helpful to start with a definition that provides insight into the origins of the concept, as well as the reasons for the rise in importance of knighthood during the Middle Ages. Maurice Keen, in his classic work *Chivalry*, defines a knight as fundamentally a horseman and a member of the cavalry, which had gained importance thanks to new war tactics developed during the eleventh century. These tactics involved charging the enemy at high speeds. Knighthood became the purview of the aristocracy because they were able to afford the expense of keeping a horse and equipment (Keen 25-26). Other authors, such as Kaeuper (*Chivalry, Holy, and Livre*), Kennedy (*Livre*), and Jaeger (*Origins*), seem to make the assumption that the reader is already familiar with their concept of a knight.

Once military strategists had devised new tactics that thwarted the cavalry and made greater use of the infantry, which needed substantially less expensive equipment and which was therefore open to the common people, the knight as a fighter should have faded from the battlefield as his function was rendered obsolete. Keen places this change in focus to infantry at around the year 1450 (239). By this time, however, the knight had become more than simply a warrior with a horse. The knight and his chivalric values had come to signify an ideal of masculinity that was able to withstand the loss of his original purpose. This ideal stressed gaining honor through prowess in real or simulated battle, as well as correct comportment at court and with ladies. This was a conception of masculinity in which the image of man as warrior, could coexist with the image of a gentler, more romantic form of manhood that focused on good breeding.

The concept that made the knight more than a common soldier was “chivalry.” Chivalry was a system of beliefs that placed certain social, moral, and sometimes even religious expectations on those who identified as knights. Lee Tobin McClain sees chivalry as the primary method of controlling masculinity in the Middle Ages. To support this claim, he relies on the work of Jaeger who holds that chivalric literature was used to “tame the reckless assertiveness of the feudal nobility” and to “[raise] this class from a primitive stage of social and civil life to a higher stage” (*Origins* 3). Chivalry was therefore a means of control over a class of men who had both power and weaponry. By regulating the use of force, it allowed for the creation of an environment in which society could safely develop socially and economically without the fear of bloody repercussions.

Chivalry played a major role in the development of multiple European societies but it was not a phenomenon that was established or controlled by a central authority. Chivalry was a code of conduct that was not necessarily enforced by any given earthly official. In many texts, God holds ultimate authority over the knight. This is the case in both the *Ordene de Chevalerie* and the *Livre de Charny* which are addressed in chapters II and III of this dissertation. Diego de Valera, however, the author of the text examined in chapter IV does not rely on God as the ultimate authority because this would clash with the ultimate purpose of his book, namely to support the idea that the king is the ultimate authority over the aristocracy.⁴ There is no ultimate source text in which the rules of chivalry were put forth; as a result, there are many interpretations of what constitutes chivalry. These different interpretations give the concept of chivalry a fair

⁴ A religious view of Iberian chivalry is presented in another, more famous text by the Catalan author, Ramón Llull in his book *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* (1274-1276) Llull creates a priestly knighthood that stresses the ultimate authority of God.

amount of flexibility. As we shall see in my analysis of the works examined in this dissertation, chivalry was adapted by different writers to agree with their beliefs of how the knighthood should be perceived by the reader and embodied by the knight.

Without chivalry, the knight would be just a simple soldier who performs a specific duty. With the added value of chivalry, however, the knight becomes a warrior and a protector of certain beliefs, as well as a courtly gentleman who contributes to the cultural life at court and wins the hearts of ladies and their sleeves to hang upon his lance.⁵ Chivalry thus creates expectations by society for those who call themselves knights. These expectations were elucidated in part by the medieval genres of epic and romance. These ideals were often ignored or misunderstood by knights in the Middle Ages, and so the authors of chivalric conduct literature sought to guide wayward warriors back towards their own visions of chivalric behavior.

For those who embraced the concept of chivalric masculinity, the knight was held as the paragon, the model of ideal masculine behavior. In both epic and romance, knights themselves are often the protagonists, with their actions being so memorable that later scholars would use their names as part of the title of the works. In the romances of Chrétien de Troyes for example, the title attributed by later editors often includes the word “*chevalier*” or knight. Lancelot is known as “the knight of the cart” and Yvain is known as “the knight of the lion.” The main characters are defined by their status as knights, by their attributes and by the adventures they undertake. This same idea is also present in peninsular literature in titles given to texts such as the *Caballero Zifar* which

⁵ E. Jane Burns’ introduction provides discussion of clothing, gender and courtly love. It makes reference to the scene in which a damsel gives her sleeve to Lancelot in *La Mort le Roi Artu* and explains the gender coding of this love token (3-11).

contains the Castilian word for knight in the title and *Tirant lo Blanch* and *Amadís de Gaula*, texts that use the names of their knightly protagonists to define who and what the works are about.

Yet knights are often not the most powerful characters in their story; there is often a king who holds the ultimate power in the court. The knights do, however, frequently end up as ruler themselves by the end of the tale.⁶ Many of the stories take place in what is perhaps the best-known setting of the Middle Ages, the kingdom of Logres, the realm of King Arthur. In many texts, such as those by Chrétien de Troyes, King Arthur himself is a rather flat character, someone of power who commands the respect of the knights, but who is not the focus of the plot. For instance, in *Érec and Énide*, the king's desire to hunt the white stag sets off the plot of the story (lines 36 and 37), but the focus of the text is the knight, Érec, and his relationship with the lady, Énide. Arthur reappears at the end of the work to crown the couple king and queen (line 6825), but the character is in many ways only a plot device used to provide a reason for the knight's adventure and to offer a reward when it is completed. The story's interest centers on the knight, his quest, and how his actions show him to be an exemplar of prowess and courtliness.

Both epic and romance were very popular medieval genres and, as Elspeth Kennedy points out, Arthurian romance influenced the definition of chivalry as formulated in chivalric conduct manuals (83).⁷ Kennedy arrives at this idea by comparing what is written in the chivalric conduct manuals of Ramón Llull and Philippe de Novare

⁶ For example, *Tirant lo Blanch* is declared Caesar (César) of the "Imperi grec" on his betrothal to Carmesina (Martorell 1120). Cligès also becomes emperor of Greece (lines 6650-51)

⁷ Many scholars including Karras (*Boys*) and Kaeuper (*Chivalry*) cite this passage in their texts, but I have yet to find a scholar that has expanded upon Kennedy's idea.

with the passage in the Prose *Lancelot* in which the title character receives instruction on chivalry from la fée Vivianne. Roger S. Loomis shows that knights were clearly familiar with romance, because historical records show that they attempted to reenact battles and quests from famous works, and that they used these battles as inspiration for the pageantry of court as well as for jousts and tournaments (79). Romance also inspired chivalric orders as Kennedy and Boulton's *Knights of the Crown*, a compendium of medieval chivalric orders, demonstrates (Kennedy 70).⁸ Medieval writers of epic and romance, therefore, had an opportunity to influence and shape the concept of chivalry.

Like epic and romance, chronicles provide an idea of the medieval perception of knighthood and masculinity. The chronicle of Orderic Vitalis, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1123–1131), is dated earlier than the works studied in this dissertation (the earliest text, the *Ordene de chevalerie* was composed around 1220), but provides an opportunity to examine the moment right before the codification of chivalry, which David Crouch in *The Birth of Nobility* places between 1170 and 1220 AD (53). In discussing a battle between the English and the Normans in the sixth volume of his work, Orderic states: “Oppidani autem militares assultus optabant, quia si ualidus fieret impetus reddere munitionem parati erant. Non enim sese sine uiolentia dedere dignabantur ne malefidi desertores merito iudicarentur” [The garrison in fact were hoping to be stormed in battle, for they were ready to surrender the castle in the face of a strong assault; they could not honorably surrender without a fight for fear of earning condemnation as faithless deserters] (6: 22 trans. Chibnal, 23). From this passage, we can note that honor was an

⁸ Boulton notes that the Liégeois canon Jean le Bel recounted in his chronicle that Edward III declared a desire to create an order of knights modeled after the round table and that financial records from the period show that a table was in fact made (106).

ideal that was already well-developed, and that showing weakness was something to be avoided. Unfortunately, we are later informed that the Normans decided to flee, causing great shame (*turpitudō*) (6: 24).

The *Historia* also mentions masculinity and gender. The Bishop of Rouen chastises Henry II's men for wearing long, curly hair, like women. He insists that those who are made in the image of God need to use their strength like men (6: 64). Appearance is important in the world of Orderic: those that dress like women will become soft like women (6: 64, 66). Orderic's disdain is not only for hair deemed feminine but also for what he considers inappropriate clothing. When Count Fulk starts a new shoe style in order to hide his deformed feet and bunions, Orderic warns that frivolous fashions come from sodomites (4: 186,188). Geoffroi de Charny would later express a similar worry. Orderic also discusses the influence of the knighthood on the fashion styles of the lower classes, the townsmen and the peasants. In fact, this influence, which caused the lower classes to adopt an unmanly style, prompted the people of Normandy to experience a "heavenly wrath" (4: 268). These examples show that knights were influential in the social spheres of other classes and that the outward appearance of a knight's masculinity was perceived to be important to his success.

The writers of chronicles in most cases were clerics like Orderic, and this was often true of romance as well. The author's background had an effect on the chivalric heroes used as exemplars. As Stephen Jaeger points out, clerics often created a story in which "clerical, courtier values provide the basis for the hero's character and destiny" (*Origins* 102). According to Jaeger, clerical, courtly values place greater importance on social, artistic, or intellectual talents than on martial prowess (*Origins* 102). These values

were not necessarily shared by knights on the battlefield. Because of this difference between clerical and knightly values, we must always be conscious of how the author of a given medieval text presents the knighthood and what position he takes on the matter. He may be trying to advocate certain values and ideas and may have no actual experience as a knight, which may affect how the text reflects the reality of the knightly situation.

Norbert Elias, whose theoretical ideas form the basis of Jaeger's work, states a similar opinion when he notes that many chivalric works were written by clerics and that "therefore the value judgements they contain represent those of the weaker group threatened by the warrior class" (*Origins* 163). It was thus in the best interest of clerics to reimagine the knight as a courtly figure less interested in unrestrained violence than in social or intellectual endeavors, except against those who were deemed enemies of the Christian faith. Diane Bornstein discusses this evolution of perspective when she attempts to define the concept of what chivalry meant to the aristocracy in the fifteenth century. She writes that, "chivalry moved from the realm of business and work to the realm of social ritual and ceremony, to the realm of play" (17). The reason for this change in "realm" has to do with both a desire by the king who, like the clerics, wished to weaken the military power of the nobility, and the fact that knights were no longer as advantageous on the battlefield as they had been, given the development of new tactics and the advent of firearms (Keen 239).

Fiona S. Dunlop explains that this transition of the knight from primarily a warrior to primarily a courtier was not necessarily complete. She points out that the aristocracy continued to act out tournaments long after they served any military purpose as a means of training (161). The influence of chivalric values continued even after

knights were no longer needed on the battlefield. The nobility also continued to display the trappings of their knightly past. She examines the poem “He that made this hous” written in Tudor England, in which a father exhorts his son to focus on developing his mind, for intelligence is more useful than an ability to fight (167). The son of an aristocrat should no longer focus on martial skills, but instead should focus on skills that will help him maintain his inherited wealth and power in an age where battles were increasingly fought by mercenaries. Chivalry had moved from the battlefield to the court, but continued to play an important role as a means of defining aristocratic masculinity.

Chivalry is a word that remains productive in the modern lexicon, albeit with a slightly altered meaning. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, one modern usage means a gallant gentleman (“chivalry, n.”). It is no longer a martial concept, but it is still connected to a masculine ideal of behavior. Chivalry as an ideal has been the subject of much scholarship since at least the eighteenth century and a very large body of literature discusses its various aspects. One of the early works to examine chivalry as a concept of the past is *Mémoires sur l’ancienne chevalerie* by Jean Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye. This book, written originally in 1759,⁹ discusses many of the topics pertaining to chivalry that would be treated by later scholars such as the act of dubbing and the value of the tournament. This text puts particular emphasis on the role of knights and ladies as models for pages.

Les instructions que ces jeunes gens recevoient, par rapport à la décence, aux mœurs à la vertu, étoient continuellement soutenues par les exemples des dames et des chevaliers qu'ils servoient. Ils avoient en eux des

⁹ The edition used in this dissertation is a reprint from 1826 with an introduction and notes by Charles Nodier.

modèles pour les grâces extérieures si nécessaires dans le commerce du monde, et dont le monde seul peut donner des leçons

[The instructions which these young men received in regard to decency and virtuous morals were continually supported by the examples of the ladies and knights whom they served. They had in them models for the external graces so necessary in the commerce of the world, and of which the world alone can give lessons.] (6-7).¹⁰

In this passage, Sainte-Palaye stresses the necessity of role models in order for pages to learn the ways of the world. One of the purposes of works of chivalrous conduct was to counteract bad role models and complete an education in chivalry that may have been lacking. Sainte-Palaye, like others before him has a specific political motive in his writing. The book was originally written in 1781, near the end of the *Ancien Régime* of the French Monarchy. He wishes to emphasize the “Frenchness” of chivalry and the importance of the nobility in keeping order. This can be seen most clearly in the passage in which he discusses knights as protectors of order against the *Jacquerie*. In the passage, he tells how knights proudly (*fierement*) faced their enemies and how fright (*frayeur*) seized the troops of *Jacquerie*, as they were slain. Afterwards, the knights returned as triumphant heroes to the ladies who had reanimated their valor (“les dames qui ont ranimé leur valeur;” 172). This passage also stresses the role that ladies had in influencing the knights to find bravery. In many ways, this text reads like a conduct manual, and it also plays the role of encouraging patriotism from the author’s readers as it discusses “l’esprit des François” (The spirit of the French; 5).

¹⁰ All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

In 1893, another influential text would appear, Léon Gautier's *La Chevalerie*. This text is much closer to what we would recognize as modern scholarship, but still examines the concept of chivalry through a specific lens, in this case that of the Catholic Church. Gautier goes so far as to say that the dubbing ceremony represented an eighth sacrament ("un huitième sacrament;" 24). The introduction makes this most clear as Gautier states: "La Chevalerie, c'est la forme chrétienne de la condition militaire; le Chevalier, c'est le soldat chrétien" [Chivalry is the Christian form of the military profession; the knight is the Christian soldier.] (2). For Gautier, knighthood and Christianity were inextricably linked. Although this view would be later called into question, especially by Painter and Keen, much of Gautier's work is supported by medieval texts themselves.

David Crouch notes that at the beginning of the twentieth century chivalry was not viewed as a topic for serious study, at least by British scholars (*Birth* 14). The next important work on the concept of chivalry would come from the French, written by Marc Bloch in 1939. The third chapter of the second volume of his work, *La Société féodale*, is devoted to chivalry. In this chapter, Bloch continues Gautier's view of the importance of the church stating that "il exerça une puissante action sur la loi morale du groupe" [it exerted a powerful influence on the moral law of the group.] (441).

The first scholar to untangle chivalry from the church was Sidney Painter. His work, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France*, notes that although the church tried to stress a religious model of chivalry, it never succeeded in replacing the secular one (91). In fact, Painter believes that the reverse occurred and that the knighthood "abducted" God and made Him the head of their own idea of chivalry

(90). Painter also remarks that the “knight [was] an important stage in the history of masculine ethics” (28). In this citation, Painter is the first scholar to explicitly link the knighthood and masculinity. Painter’s statement that the “the knight was the master of eleventh-century France” clearly indicates that the knighthood was a form of hegemonic masculinity (3). For Painter, this mastery is tied to both tradition and force. That the power of knighthood lies in tradition hints at the fact that by this time, the aura of power that came to surround chivalry and the knighthood had already developed by the eleventh century.

One of the most influential writers on matters of chivalry in the academy is Maurice Keen, mentioned above. His 1984 book *Chivalry* presents one of the most thorough studies on the topic and defends the idea that chivalry is of secular origin, with the church trying to impose itself on the chivalric tradition by creating a “monopoly” on the dubbing ceremony (81). Keen also states that many of the values and customs important to chivalry have their origins in older Germanic and pre-Christian customs. Although not the first to make this point, he is the first to draw on the Anglo-Saxon literary tradition to do so, by noting that liberality, loyalty, and prowess are virtues in *Beowulf* which, according to Keen, may have been written as early as the eighth century (52). Keen suggests that by locating these values in European warriors of an epoch before chivalry, we can see that church imposed its own ideas upon a pre-existing ethos.

In 1986, Jean Flori, a pupil of Georges Duby, published *L’Essor de la chevalerie* (*The Rise of Chivalry*). In his discussion of chivalric ideology, Flori discusses the place of the knighthood in the various “schéma” (166) or ways in which society is organized. Flori makes liberal use of the ideas of Georges Duby whose works are very influential in

the field of medieval studies despite the fact that he, as Crouch notes, had a limited outlook on chivalry (*Birth* 17). The focus of Flori's text is the relationship between the knighthood and the nobility (247), and how medieval chroniclers presented the knighthood. Flori's work provides a thorough treatment of the examination of medieval historical texts, developing our understanding of the perception of knighthood throughout the Middle Ages. This text also has a wider geographical vision than previous texts with its study of the knighthood in areas outside the borders of France such as the Holy Roman Empire and Italy.

Ten years after Flori, Mathew Strickland added his voice to the debate on the relationship between the church and knighthood in his work *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy 1066-1217*. Strickland demonstrates that even though the knighthood showed aggression towards religious people and consecrated buildings, they still held a belief in God in battle namely, that God would allow the "most just" to win (59). For these soldiers, God was a God of battles (59). For Strickland, the main conflict between the knighthood and the clergy was a "conflict between the unrealistic idealism of ecclesiastical reformers and the practical dictates of military professionalism" (73).

One of the most prolific authors on matters of chivalry is Richard Kaeuper. In 1999, he published the work *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*. Again, the main thrust of the work is the relationship between chivalry and the church; Kaeuper however, adds a third group to the discussion by separating royalty from the knighthood. In works by earlier authors, the order of chivalry included the nobility. In creating this distinction, Kaeuper is able to make the case that violence was a problem not only for the church but

also for royal authority, which was interested in centralizing power and deciding which wars were licit (95).

In 2009, Kaeuper published *Holy Warriors*, which, as the author explains, “seeks to fit the idea of chivalry into a religious framework” (5). Much of this text focuses on the crusader knights, and the fifth chapter is especially valuable to my argument. In that chapter, Kaeuper discusses knightly ideals and how they spread. He includes vernacular works of chivalric conduct among the works used for dissemination along with *chansons de geste*, chronicles, biographies, and romances (95). Kaeuper makes it clear that the ideas of knighthood did not develop all at once but rather “advance[d] piecemeal, one set of links being established at a time” (96). The links Kaeuper refers to are the interlocking ideas about knighthood that are connected like a chain. I agree with Kaeuper’s idea that the texts are interlocking; we shall see that writers of chivalric conduct often took from pre-existing popular manuals. I do find his chapter on the topic somewhat inadequate however, in that it does not fully expand upon how each of these genres is used in the process of disseminating of knightly ideology.

The Origin of Courtliness was written by C. Stephen Jaeger in 1985. Unlike Keen before him, This text focuses much more on the courtly, social aspects of knighthood than on the violent, chivalrous ones. It also focuses on the society of the Holy Roman Empire. Jaeger believed that courtliness developed at the episcopal courts of the Holy Roman empire, and that it was clerical authors who set the tone of behavior, creating a literature in which courtly values “outweighed” chivalrous ones (*Origins* 102). Throughout the text, Jaeger draws on the work of Norbert Elias and his book *The Civilizing Process* which discusses how shame was used in the medieval world to

develop manners. Elias's ideas are helpful in understanding how manuals are able to mold the knight towards ideal behavior. The fear of the loss of honor creates the desire to conform.

In 2004, Jaeger gave a talk at the triennial conference of the International Courtly Literature Society. In his talk, he discussed charisma, defining it as "the magnetic force of literary models" ("Courtly Arts" 10) Jaeger also denounced what he views as an anti-romance view of scholars, "caused by the conviction that the idealized conception of chivalric life represented in romance has nothing whatsoever to do with the life and culture of the medieval aristocracy" ("Courtly Arts" 11). He went on to state that many scholars view romance as "decadent, perhaps assuaging detachment from a harsh reality that constantly contradicts it" ("Courtly Arts" 15). I agree with Jaeger's view on the matter and believe that chivalric conduct literature is actually away to bridge the separation between the literary ideal and reality.

As we can see, much of the existing scholarship on chivalry is based on the relationship between knights — and their martial profession — and the church, which sought to control them and it. The main question of these studies is often the origin of chivalry, and how chivalry is presented in the historical literature. My own project is slightly different. While the texts of chivalric conduct are clearly based on ideals, what interests me is how the author's place in society and history changes the way he perceives the knighthood, how his own values are reflected onto the idea of what it means to be a knight, and what these perceptions and values say about this hegemonic ideal of masculinity. There has been surprisingly little scholarship about gender and conduct

literature, and my hope is that this study will build on these past scholars to create a deeper understanding of chivalry.

If we explore knighthood from a men's studies perspective, we can say that knighthood represents a form of hegemonic masculinity, or the most respected form of manhood in a given cultural and historical setting. Chivalric conduct literature is a genre that advises the knight how to reach an ideal in his conduct, and so benefit more fully from his status as a knight. In this dissertation, I will examine how works of chivalric conduct literature create an ideal masculinity as well as institutionalize the ideas of chivalry and knighthood.

While this ideal masculinity has a clear connection to certain ideals of femininity (i.e. the lady), this study will focus on knighthood alone, and therefore solely on masculinity, as knighthood was not generally a profession open to medieval women. There are literary examples in which women take up the knighthood disguised as a man, such as the thirteenth-century *Roman de Silence*. However, although there were orders of female knights such as the *Orden del Hacha*¹¹ (Order of the Hatchet) in Catalonia, female knights were very much an exception. In the Middle Ages and today knighthood is equated with manliness. For this reason, the concept of knighthood is especially ripe for exploration from a men's studies perspective.

Men's studies is an offshoot of gender studies, which evolved from the work of psychologists and sociologists throughout the twentieth century. I have chosen to avoid the use of feminist literary criticism rather to focus on how the corpus of literature on

¹¹ *La Orden de las Damas de Tortosa o del Hacha* was founded in 1149 by Ramón Berenguer IV count of Barcelona in tribute of those women who had protected Tortosa from the Muslims by dressing as men and fighting in defense of the city. In thanks, the count founded the chivalric order and members were granted certain social privileges (Janés, 113).

men's studies in the social sciences may be adapted for use with medieval conduct literature. Both Elizabeth Badinter, whose work *XY* examines the development of the masculine identity, and R.W. Connell, whose body of writing is the foundation for much of the scholarship on men's studies, see Sigmund Freud as one of the earliest writers to have an influence on modern scholarship on the idea of masculinity. In Connell's words, Freud "let the cat out of the bag." He disrupted the most common notions of masculinity and made a study of it possible (Connell 1995, 8; Badinter 31). According to Freud, disorders such as the Oedipus Complex affect a man's development and shape who he is in opposition to his mother.

In 1936, Lewis Terman and Catherine Cox Miles proposed the *Masculinity-Femininity Test* as a means of measuring a person's adherence to his or her gender role and "make possible a quantitative estimation of the amount and direction of a subject's deviation from the mean of his or her sex" (Terman and Cox 6). This test became one of the main sources of support for gender role theory, because in order to measure adherence to a gender role, such roles need to be clearly defined. The questions on the test represent ideals of gender roles "of the present historical period of the occidental culture of our own country" (Terman and Cox 6). The test is based on stereotypes and assumptions by the author that have no basis in reality; for example, men are asked questions about what peat is used for because "peat is a relatively unknown term to inverts (homosexuals)" (Terman and Cox 170). Terman and Cox created the first exam that tried to show explicitly that each gender has specific spheres in which they are most capable, and in which they are better able to compete due to "natural" interest and physical capabilities. For Terman, Cox, and others who used their research, masculinity

and femininity were thus measurable constructs, and there existed the idea of “more masculine” or “less masculine” as compared with an ideal. In this work, the ideal itself is never questioned, but is a given relative to the cultural milieu.

In 1955, Kelly proposed a new conception of personality, arguing that it is a personal construct.¹² For Kelly, personalities are created as a means of identification with and differentiation from various groups. These constructs are a means of controlling a person’s internal and external life, a way of making things manageable and predictable (Kelly 126). Masculinity is therefore a construct because it allows a person to identify himself or herself as a member (or not as a member) of the masculine group. Robert Stoller, whose work was based on the principles of psychoanalysis, posited that gender is permanently fixed before the phallic stage, and that although having a penis contributes to an individual’s sense of maleness, it is not an essential condition (39). Stoller noted that gender identity is based on three things, genitalia, the attitudes of parents, siblings and peers towards the child’s gender role, and other environmental forces (40). In her 1973 article “Masculinity-Femininity: An Exception to a Famous Dictum,” Anne Constantinople called into question how the terms “masculine” and “feminine” had been used in discussions of gender, arguing that these terms were defined by value judgements (386). She also acknowledged that there was a difference between sex role preference and sex role adoption (387-388).

In 1974, Sandra Bem continued to refine the scholarly notion of gender when she discussed the theory of androgyny, explaining that it was possible for an individual to have characteristics of both masculinity and femininity (155). In order to study this

¹² Kelly’s definition: “A construct is the way in which some things are construed as being alike and yet different from others” (105).

concept further, Bem created a test for androgyny. Although this was seen by many in the field of psychology as a break from the traditional discussion surrounding gender roles, James Morawski believed that this concept of androgyny was merely a renovation of gender dichotomy, the traditional view in the field of psychology (214). He states that “Masculinity and femininity research demonstrates how the scientific questions of gender necessarily imply political questions in that even the androgyny theorists posit an idealization of society” (217). Gender is thus a question of politics and perception in which ideals play a role in defining masculinity even among those who wish to study these issues from a scientific perspective. The question, of course, is where do these ideals come from?

One of the works that has become foundational to the understanding of the field of men’s studies is *Masculinities* by R.W. Connell (1995). In it, the author lays out the concept of “hegemonic masculinity”¹³ or how men are able to maintain a hold on their position of power (patriarchy) through an idealized masculinity. Connell states,

¹³ Connell is not the first to theorize about hegemony. In his *Prison Notebooks*, Antonio Gramsci theorizes on the concept of hegemony from the Marxist perspective. He presents certain ideas that are particularly helpful for our discussion of masculine hegemony. The first idea is that social hegemony gives rise to a hierarchy (13). This is achieved through the “consent” that comes from social prestige (12), for example the honor that knighthood bestows. The intended readers of the texts studied in this dissertation are seeking a way to increase their honor and prestige and thus clearly demonstrate that they are members of the upper strata of the social hierarchy. Gramsci believes that this class separation may also be done by means of legislation (12). Throughout the Middle Ages various sumptuary laws were created, which codified what the members of a specific social class were allowed wear. These laws provided a way of legally delineating social hierarchy through physical appearance. From this social hegemony, the independence of the subaltern group is sacrificed to the intellectual hegemony of the ruling class (Gramsci 160). It is the ruling class that decides what is appropriate in society. Although the leading group may make sacrifices to create an equilibrium, it is still the leading group of economic function (161). I believe that the knighthood lost out as warfare technology evolved , but continued to hold to chivalric values in order to retain their place in society. Knights gave up the actual fighting in battle, but chivalry allowed them to maintain a position of prestige in society.

“Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of the patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (77). I argue that knights represent the hegemonic masculinity in medieval society by embodying a role that this society reserved for them, the role of physical protector of church and society. The authors of the texts of chivalric conduct explored in this dissertation are interested not only in fighting, however. These texts also discuss the moral and spiritual life of the knight. Connell acknowledges that a man’s authority (such as moral or spiritual authority) is often just as important, if not more important than his threat of physical violence (*Masculinities* 77). This concept fits neatly with the propositions of historians such as Jaeger, Elias and Gauthier that chivalry was a civilizing force, a means of containing violence so that society could expand culturally and economically.¹⁴

According to Connell, the actual number of men who embody the cultural ideal of hegemonic masculinity may actually be quite small, but all other men benefit from its image and reap what Connell calls the “patriarchal dividend” (*Masculinities* 79). The images of hegemonic masculinity are those that have survived to our day because they continue to be respected by people of all sexes, and because they mythologize the authority bestowed upon those who appear to embody its characteristics. The works of chivalric conduct discussed in this dissertation act as blueprints by means of which the knight (or man at arms) can incarnate this ideal of hegemonic masculinity.

¹⁴ Of course, there are also the historians who have a different perspective on the development of chivalry. Crouch does an excellent job of providing a historical review of the scholarship on chivalry in the first chapter of his book *The Nobility*.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity also implies that there is more than one masculinity. If hegemonic masculinity represents the paragon of manhood in its cultural setting, all other masculinities are judged hierarchically by how much they display qualities analogous to those of the hegemonic masculinity. In his later work, *The Men and the Boys*, Connell recognizes that masculinity is decided at the cultural level (*Men* 11) and engrained during the process of socialization in what Connell calls a “massive display of conformity” (*Men* 7). He states that masculinity is different from the biological definitions of maleness and that characteristics of hegemonic masculinity can be displayed in the female as well as the male body (*Men* 16). Although this is true in our modern culture, knighthood was a profession that was almost universally viewed as something occupied only by biological males in medieval Europe.

The desire of men who were not knights to model their behavior and social mores on those of chivalry demonstrates that knighthood was the hegemonic masculinity of the Middle Ages. Ruth Mazo Karras examines medieval university culture and shows that those seeking an education, who had no aspirations to become knights themselves, nevertheless wished to display many of the values and trappings of the knighthood. She describes these university students as modeling their own lives on the lifestyle of the aristocratic class. Many of the appropriations that she describes very clearly come from the chivalric aspects of aristocratic culture. The clearest example of this appropriation is the desire of university students to be armed despite the university prohibition against weapons. Mazo Karras points out that students were arrested for wearing not only swords but also shields and other accoutrements that would be more useful to knights than to university scholars (“Goats” 190). These items were more than tools of protection; they

were symbols of the wearer's masculinity and willingness to fight, albeit ones that could be dangerous when mixed with the alcohol-infused social life of students. On this matter, Mazo Karras states explicitly that drunken students were more likely to protect their honor than sober ones ("Goats" 190).

Further, students were expected to show the same largesse that was common among the aristocratic class, and that plays a role in many works of chivalric literature ("Goats" 189).¹⁵ It is clear that the conception of masculinity that is often associated with the knighthood appeared in the setting of medieval universities as well as demonstrating that the hegemonic masculine image of the knight was projected even onto young men who did not chose to make fighting their profession. Something similar occurs in modern American society in which many young men are heavily influenced by professional sports culture even if they do not play any sports

Although the concept of hegemonic masculinity as originally developed by Connell offers an explanation of why the knighthood was powerful form of masculine identity, scholars have continued to debate the validity of this notion. For this reason, Connell revisited his idea of hegemonic masculinity in a 2005 article with James Messerschmidt in which he reaffirms the main premise of his ideas while acknowledging that further scholarship had called into question some of his assumptions. A large number of academic studies on masculinity since the publication of Connell's work have engaged Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity. Some of the most important works to do so

¹⁵ The culture of the university does change the dynamics of largesse from those which are familiar in chivalric literature— dynamics in which the king or great lord provides for the knights who are in his service. In university culture, Mazo Karras points out, it was the "beanus" or freshman who was required to pay for the more senior members of his social group. It was likewise the junior master who had to treat the rest of the faculty after he had given his first lecture (189). Instead of the greater treating the lesser, it was the lesser who served the greater.

include Wetherell and Edeley's article, "Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity: Imaginary Positions and Psycho-Discursive Practices." In which they disagree with certain aspects of Connell's perspective. They have difficulty with Connell's explanation for how the ideal of hegemonic masculinity is transposed onto the life of a normal man. They want to know, in their words, the "nitty-gritty" of how hegemonic masculinity works (336). The manuals of conduct provide the nitty gritty for personifying the chivalric ideal, the hegemonic masculine image of the knight in western European medieval literature. Wetherall and Edeley have also noted that in some cases, power may be derived from representing the opposite of the hegemonic masculinity (351-352). John Tosh builds on Connell's idea to argue that masculinity is more than a social construction, that it is a deeply held psychic identity (194). Tosh's article also examines how the idea of hegemonic masculinity may be applied to disciplines outside of sociology, in this case, history. In 2009, Tony Coles again questioned the concept of hegemonic masculinity, this time by asking how a patriarchal idea based on dominance over women works in groups in which there are no women present. In this article, Coles makes the case for using the ideas of Bourdieu and Certeau as a means for understanding how dominant and subservient masculinities interact in subpopulations (34).

One of the sectors of academia that has focused on the concepts of masculinity and gender as well as their practical applications is the discipline of organizational theory. Humanities scholars do not appear to be familiar with this research. Alvesson and Due Billing discuss the dangers of reducing gender to a dualism, and have studied how this gender symbolism is a cultural phenomenon as well as how certain jobs have become associated with certain genders (89). Godfrey, Lilley and Brewis consider the male body

in the military and how the works of Michel Foucault help to understand how this body fits into organizational theory. In the 1975 work *Surveiller et punir (Discipline and Punish)* Foucault talks about the soldier and how at the beginning of the seventeenth century the soldier carried himself with the bodily rhetoric of honor that came naturally with his calling. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ideal soldier was one who was more docile, or one who had been formless clay, but who, through the use of discipline and control, had been molded into a soldier (137).

Organizational theory is a discipline that is linked with the social sciences but falls under the umbrella of business and management, and is used to examine and theorize how organizations and institutions in society are able to function productively and maintain their central role in a society or culture. It also makes use of various concepts of discourse analysis an analytical framework, which I discuss in chapter IV. The use of organizational theory may seem somewhat unexpected, but it is useful for the study of chivalric conduct literature, because the goal of these works is to provide guidance so that knights are able to fulfill their role in society and maintain the hegemonic masculinity that is the order of chivalry. These texts are about maintaining an institutionalized power structure, by inculcating a chivalric ideal analogous to that which was propagated in many genres of medieval literature.

Because this dissertation focuses on medieval concepts of masculinity, it is helpful to have an idea about some of the physiological beliefs about gender that were current at that time in order to help understand how medieval people viewed men and masculinity. Joyce Salisbury states: “Whatever we may believe about the social construction of gender, medieval thinkers did see biology as destiny” (81). In many areas

of health and sexuality, the medieval perspective was a continuation of the Greco-Roman point of view (Salisbury 85; Bullough 31). Vern Bullough provides an outline of the major beliefs about gender differences as well as the concept of physiological maleness during the medieval period. Male domination, for example, was supported by the Aristotelian idea that the male of any species is larger, stronger, and more agile. For this reason, male domination was viewed as the will of nature (*Politics*, 1254b 13–14). This, and a host of other “anatomical and physiological assumptions” (by Galen, Philo, Saint Jerome and others) established strict roles for each sex (33). Bullough goes on to point out that a woman in the Middle Ages could adopt “masculine ways of thinking” and “masculine ways of action” without being a threat to society (34). However, Bullough sees the situation of men as being the opposite. Men who did not fulfill conventional expectations of behavior had their manhood questioned and continually had to demonstrate their worthiness to be considered a man (34). Each author of a work of conduct literature has his own idea about how to measure and achieve this worthiness.

The authors of the three works of conduct literature explored in this dissertation aim to provide a model to which knights can aspire. The use of a text as a model for behavior was recognized by Greco-Roman authors. Plato, the Athenian author who lived in the fifth century BC, references this idea in his *Republic* when he discusses the influence of the arts on those men who are chosen to act as guardians of his utopian society. In this text, Plato goes so far as to suggest that the works of Homer should be changed so that they provide a model according to which men and boys “are accustomed to fearing slavery more than death” (387b). In the speech by Protagoras in *The Dialogues*, he points out why literary role models are important: “Here they meet with many

admonitions, many descriptions and praises and eulogies of good men in times past, that the boy in envy may imitate them and yearn to become even as they” (326a). Conduct literature serves the same purpose by providing an ideal for the knight to imitate. Angela Hobbs believes that a role model “gives a life shape and structure” (61). Chivalric conduct literature gives chivalry, a rather nebulous concept, a concrete structure for knights to follow, a set of rules by which they can judge how well they are keeping to the code.

To gain a more complete understanding of the genre of conduct literature, it is helpful to briefly examine its development. Conduct literature was not a genre new to the Middle Ages.¹⁶ There are examples of this type of literature from classical times. Roman rhetorical handbooks resemble books of chivalric conduct because both seek to define an ideal masculinity. These handbooks were written to instruct the reader on how to perform one of the most prominent and public roles for men, that of rhetorician; this role allowed for a man to demonstrate his masculinity in the ancient Roman world. *Staging Masculinities* by Erik Gunderson analyzes one of these texts, *Institutio Oratoria* by Quintilian. Many of the concepts that are presented in *Staging Masculinities* are applicable not only to the study of texts written to teach the ancient practice of rhetoric, but also to the later works that construct the masculine identity of the knight. Gunderson provides an apt analysis of the role of the handbook and how it aids the reader in constructing an ideal masculinity:

¹⁶ The earliest extant medieval work of conduct literature was written in 841 and is entitled the *Liber Manualis*. It was written by a Frankish noblewoman by the name of Dhouda for her son (Neel, iv)

In these handbooks one learns both to recognize and to produce virile¹⁷ goodness. When an author says, “do this,” or “avoid that,” he is also teaching his reader about the shape of the social space; and the teacher of rhetoric is also teaching his student how to conform to this space. The man, his performance, and the theory of this performance here form a triad that expands and complicates the twofold relationship between being a good man and maintaining the authority that accompanies hegemonic performances. The handbook forms the point of explicit and expressed knowledge from which one comes to see and to know both good men and their authoritative performances. (8)

Gunderson explains the twofold purpose of the rhetorical handbook is to teach the student how to act, and to evaluate the performance of rhetoricians. The handbook instructs the reader on proper comportment and the ideal or authoritative performance of a speech. Through this instruction, the reader also learns how to evaluate the performance of others by holding them to the same ideals. This evaluation in turn reinforces the handbook as the authoritative source of the ideals of rhetoric. The chivalric handbooks I examine work in much the same way by providing a means of instruction and evaluation, which in turn reinforces the particular ideal of knighthood. From these works are constructed ideas of “good” and “bad” ways of performing knighthood, even though there is no authoritative source for these values except perhaps popular epic and romance. For Valera and Charny this authority comes partly from the knights’ prowess on the battlefield, but it is the authors themselves who claim the role of authority on the matter.

¹⁷ *Vir* is a key term when discussing Roman masculinity. A full discussion of the usage of the word and how its meaning evolved with manly ideals can be found in McDonnell.

Secular authors are not the only ones with the authority to advise on matters of daily life. Roberta Krueger, in “Teach Your Children Well,” her introduction to the anthology *Medieval Conduct Literature*, even points to the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as well as the parables of Jesus in the Bible as examples of conduct literature because “they expound moral, social, and religious principles that medieval moralists would later mine” (xi). Manuals of conduct literature no matter how detailed in nature serve the purpose of teaching and emphasizing the basic principles of the author and the society in which the author is writing.

Krueger notes that this didactic genre of medieval literature, which was often written in the vernacular, flourished especially from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and was arguably better known to medieval readers than lyric and romance (ix). Conduct literature thus had an impact on how medieval people viewed the world around them, shaping their point of view. It is a genre that cannot be ignored, despite the fact that conduct literature does not receive as much attention from scholars as other genres and texts that may not have been as well-known in the medieval period. Krueger goes on to state that books of conduct literature flourished in courts and elite households and eventually trickled down to bourgeois households seeking to model themselves after the cultural elite, even at the expense of their own economic benefit.¹⁸

Krueger credits conduct books with playing a major role in the spread of literacy, cultural education and social mobility (ix). In this way, these texts played an important role not only in developing culture but also defining it. These works also defined the roles people played in society and demonstrated how they could fulfill these roles successfully.

¹⁸ Boris Kagarlitsky notes that the urban bourgeoisie, when given the opportunity to own land in the countryside, did not model their agricultural landholdings on the successful economic models of the city but rather perpetuated the feudal system (47).

This was the case not only for chivalric conduct literature and mirrors for princes, a genre for future kings. Texts in this genre existed even for the medieval housewife. For example, the *Mesnagier de Paris* written circa 1393, discusses practical matters of being a wife and running a household (Greco and Rose). There were also conduct manuals for court youth such as the Occitan works *Enssenhamen de l'escudier* and *Essenhamen de la donzela* by Amanieu de Sescás (Johnston, “The Occitan”).

As stated previously, conduct literature is a field of interest that has not received much attention from scholars. The monograph *Medieval Conduct*, edited by Ashley and Clark, brings together a collection of essays that examine various works of conduct, none of which are chivalric in nature. These essays provide the reader with an idea of conduct literature as a genre, and of the theoretical schemas used by critics in discussing this material. For Ashley and Clark, conduct literature poses questions regarding issues of gender (xiii), class (xiv), and the production of the practices advocated in the texts (xv). In my project, the focus is on the question of gender and class, but the production practices are also dealt with because the issue of the proper display of chivalric knighthood— as a construct of hegemonic masculinity— necessarily involves all three issues established by Ashley and Clark.

Many of the scholars who write about conduct literature use as guides for their analysis the of philosophical works of Pierre Bourdieu, especially his idea of “habitus,”¹⁹

¹⁹Habitus est “un système de dispositions durables et transposables, structures structurées prédisposées à fonctionner comme structures structurantes, c’est-à-dire en tant que principes générateurs et organisateurs de pratiques et de représentations qui peuvent être objectivement adaptées à leur but sans supposer le visé conscient de fins et la maîtrise expresse des opérations nécessaires pour les atteindre...”(Bourdieu 1980, 88)

[Habitus is “the system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and

as well as the works of the philosopher Michel de Certeau. Mark Addison Amos uses Bourdieu's idea of symbolic capital to explain how conduct literature was used by the aristocratic classes as a way of remaining distinct from the class of commoners (26). For Bourdieu, the pursuit of honor is a means of gaining symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1980, 32). The one weakness with Amos's use of Bourdieu is that he does not mention the use of *doxa*,²⁰ which has an important role in shaping the content of conduct literature. The "reader" is unaware of the doxa or is aware that he does not know and so seeks out a work of conduct literature as a way of gaining cultural capital. Addison Amos continues by stating that this cultural capital is necessary in order to create "distinction" or "that field of socially produced tastes that no other class or group can achieve, a set of cultural codes that invisibly and insistently privilege the nobility" (Addison Amos, 26). This privilege of the cultural elite then allows for the economic disposition of the dominated class, the transfer of their wealth to the elite (Bourdieu 1980, 448).

Addison Amos also discusses the philosophical ideas of Michel de Certeau in the same chapter. As with Addison Amos's reading of Bourdieu, his reading of Certeau focuses on means of production, in this case as part of a clearly Marxist theoretical study of conduct literature. I would like to expand upon Amos's use of Certeau by discussing

representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to obtain them (trans. Nice, 53)]

²⁰ La doxa originaire est cette relation d'adhésion immédiate qui s'établit dans la pratique entre un habitus et le champ auquel il est accordé, cette expérience muette du monde comme allant de soi que procure le sens pratique. (Bourdieu 1980, 115)

[Doxa is the relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between a habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from the practical sense (trans. Hines, 68)]

ideas from his text, *L'Invention du quotidien (The Practice of Everyday Life)*. In this book, Certeau talks about the idea of strategies²¹ and tactics.²² For him, strategies are ways of doing things imposed by the ruling class as a means of creating conformity (51). The idea of chivalry is thus an abstract ideal to which knights are supposed to conform. These texts of chivalric conduct offer ways for knights to learn about and master these strategies in order to take part in the elite institution of knighthood. A tactic is a strategy used by one who is not part of the dominant class, to manipulate the strategy in order to find success. These texts become tactics when one who is not a member of the group to whom they are addressed reads the text for ways to subvert the institution of knighthood. As Droznek notes, “understanding the ‘tactics’ that individual people used to deal with the dominant ‘strategies’ requires knowing what those strategies were” (136). For example, a lower-class man may wish to copy the conduct of the knightly class in order

²¹ De Certeau's definition of strategy: J'appelle « stratégie » le calcul des rapports de forces qui devient possible à partir du moment où un sujet de vouloir et de pouvoir est isolable d'un « environnement ». Elle postule un lieu susceptible d'être circonscrit comme un *propre* et donc de servir de base à une gestion de ses relations avec une extériorité distincte. La rationalité politique, économique, ou scientifique est construite sur ce modèle stratégique (xlvi).

[I call a “strategy” the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an “environment.” A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* (propre) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, clientele, targets or objects of research). Political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model (trans. Rendall, xix).]

²² J'appelle au contraire « tactique » un calcul qui ne peut pas compter sur un propre. Ni donc sur une frontière qui distingue l'autre comme une totalité visible. La tactique n'a pour lieu que celui de l'autre. Elle s'y insinue, fragmentairement, sans le saisir en entier, sans pouvoir le tenir à distance (xlvi).

[I call a “tactic” on the other hand, a calculus which cannot count on a “proper” (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of the tactic is the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance (trans. Rendall, xix).]

to consciously or unconsciously subvert this institution by taking part in it even though he is not a member of the aristocracy. In this way, conduct literature can act as both strategy and tactic; helping to maintain the values of the order of chivalry while at the same time offering a means of subversion by allowing those who are not members of this dominant class to learn how it works.

Paradoxically perhaps, the Black Death, allowed social and economic opportunities to those who were not members of the nobility. These manuals allowed the non-nobility to understand the ways of those higher in the social hierarchy as they sought to climb the social ladder. Droznek states that social mobility is a reason for the popularity of conduct literature, since “members of the nobility, after all, would hardly need a book to spell out appropriate behavior for their social status, surrounded as they were by suitable role models in everyday life.” (139-140). Droznek also mentions that honor is based purely on the behavior between men, and has nothing to do with a man’s behavior towards the opposite sex (150-151). Jennifer Fisk Rondeau makes the important point that conduct was an important issue in the Middle Ages because one’s exterior behavior was thought to be a reflection of that person’s interior state (192). This is quite apparent in the works of chivalric conduct literature, in which articles of clothing, armor, and weapons are given deeper meanings, ones that reflect the knight’s internal characteristics.

A recent book that deals explicitly with conduct literature is an anthology of manuals edited by Mark D. Johnson. Apart from the introduction to this volume by Roberta Krueger mentioned previously, the book focuses on the texts themselves and does not provide in depth analysis or theory. One of the texts, *Enssenhamen de l’escudier*

was written between 1278 and 1295 by Amanieu de Sescás²³ (Johnston, “Occitan” 23). The text provides advice for a young squire.²⁴ Although this work is not directed at a knight, it deals with matters pertinent to a young man who will eventually become a knight. It instructs the squire on how to serve his lord (lines 304-375) as well as how to wear the equipment of knighthood and keep it in good repair (lines 376-415). This text does not mention the word chivalry but does mention courtliness (*cortesia*) (line 437), linking this directly to the knighthood. In this passage, the knight (*cavaylers*) is Bernard d’Astarac Lord of Gascony. This knight is honorable (*pretz* line 436) and worthy (Johnston’s translation of “pros” in line 442) because he is nobly bred (*gent apres*, literally ‘learned person,’ line 438). In this text, honor is more than mere prowess, extending to a host of qualities cultivated and identified in the text. A second text written by the same author was directed at young ladies. Johnston notes that this pairing of texts is helpful for the analysis of how advice was different for men and women during this period (Johnston, “Gender” 75). The text directed at young ladies does not speak of knighthood, for example, but rather, maintaining one’s appearance (line 129).

Conduct literature written especially about chivalry and the knighthood is a subset of this genre. While we are unsure about authorship of the earliest works, later ones can be attributed to authors who were well known for their skills in battle such as Geoffroy de Charny and Diego de Valera. Each of these authors had made a name for himself on the

²³ Not much is known about Amanieu de Sescás and Johnston mentions that the most information we have on the author dates from almost 50 years ago. We know that he served the king of Aragon and for this reason, his works are thus considered by Catalan scholars as part of their own literary history, but Sescás’s real origins are open to debate. (Johnston, “Occitan” 23)

²⁴ In a 2003 article on the same text, Johnston refers to the subject of the text as a poor young knight (77), but in the 2009 anthology, the young man is referred to as a squire (24).

battlefield before writing his manual.²⁵ This lends credibility to the idea that what they wrote, while allowing for a degree of idealization, was based in reality. This is not to say that what the authors of the conduct manuals wrote was free from certain personal and cultural assumptions and beliefs. In order to write these texts, the authors had to agree, at least partly with the idea of chivalric masculinity in which the knight is held up as the paragon of manliness. It would be impossible to separate these authors from their strongly held ideas. These are authors who were familiar with the practicalities of knighthood, and who were able to provide practical guidance and advice, even if this advice is transmitted to the reader through a lens that is colored by their own beliefs and experiences.

Even though each text in this dissertation provides a different perspective on the concept of knighthood and masculinity, each text also demonstrates how the knighthood is a dominant mode of masculinity in its historical context. By presenting an overview of the scholarship on matters of chivalry, masculinity and conduct literature, this chapter provides the theoretical framework that will be used in discussion of three works of conduct literature that create three visions of chivalry and knighthood that are unique and at the same time share a belief that the knighthood was the dominant form of masculinity in their societies.

²⁵ Each chapter provides biographical information about the author under consideration.

CHAPTER III

THE ORDENE DE CHEVALERIE: CHRISTIANITY AND THE INITIATION IN THE KNIGHTHOOD IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

At the end of *the Ordene de chevalerie*, the captive knight Hue de Tabarie is set free by his captor, the Muslim king Saladin. In spite of the fact that the two were on opposing sides of the crusade, the men had made a connection thanks to a shared interest in chivalry and knighthood. The message to the reader is clear: chivalric values resonate with warriors even from different religious backgrounds. Although the king is Muslim, the anonymous author²⁶ shows Saladin appreciating the religious significance of the different steps in the process of becoming a knight. In this text, both Saladin and the reader learn how the ritual of the *adoubement*²⁷ is intimately linked to the doctrines of the Christian faith and, through Hue, how a man is initiated into what is arguably the most powerful mode of medieval masculinity both in the crusader territories and in Western Europe in the thirteenth century. In this chapter, I will analyze this text in detail to explore what the chivalric ideal meant to the text's author and how he creates a script for the performance of the hegemonic masculinity in his cultural context.

The *Ordene de chevalerie* recounts the experience of Hue de Tabarie while he is held prisoner at the court of the Muslim leader Saladin. However, this is only a literary device used by the author as pretext for the real purpose of the work; an elucidation on Christian belief and its performance during the process of initiation into the knighthood.

²⁶ Michel Stanesco attributes the work to "Hugues de Saint-Omer, Seigneur de Tibériade et compagnon d'armes de Godefroy de Bouillon" (53). These claims are not substantiated by other authors who have studied the work in greater depth.

²⁷ The adoubement, or dubbing, is a ceremony that marks the entrance into knighthood. According to Maurice Keen, the earliest ceremony of this type recorded in historical narrative is in John of Marmoutier's account of the knighting of Geoffrey the Fair of Anjou in 1128 (64-65)

The setting of the story frames the lessons and also adds meaning to the text by allowing the author to present chivalry as a hegemonic form of masculinity appreciated even by those who were not members of the society in which it developed, those who, at times were even adversarial to western European society.

The text can be divided into four sections. The first section (lines 1-103) contains the portion of the frame story that explains how Hue arrived at Saladin's court and the ransom that Hue must pay in order to win his release. The second section (lines 104-300) contains the instruction that Hue gives to Saladin on the process of becoming a knight. This section contains the actual process of the ritual of initiation. The third section (lines 301-409) describes what happens after Hue has taken Saladin through the process of becoming a knight. In this portion, the emirs treat Hue as a respected visitor at court, which enables him to obtain freedom. The final section (lines 410-502) is not part of the story but is rather a further explanation of the knighthood and its value in society. This portion is addressed to the reader. In each of these portions, the author portrays the hegemonic nature of the knighthood.

According to Keith Busby, the text of the *Ordene de chevalerie* exists both in its complete form and in fragments in ten medieval manuscripts whose provenance is both French and British. In addition to these, modern editions dating from as late as 1918 can be found in libraries.²⁸ Even though copies of the manuscript exist in both France and Great Britain, Bernard Hamilton places the text's origins in northern France (383). The fact that so many manuscripts of the text exist indicates the popularity of the text. Busby

²⁸ Medieval manuscripts include Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 855 and Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, 793. Manuscripts of British provenance include London, British Library, Additional 46919. The 1918 version is a private edition of the dissertation of Roy Temple House for a PhD in Romance from the University of Chicago.

does, however, warn that the inclusion of the work in many different contexts, especially at the end of medieval codices, would suggest that it may have been used as a “filler” (*Ordene* 87). Busby also notes that one of the reasons for the many copies of the text has to do with its flexibility, which enabled the authors of the different versions to emphasize the aspects of the text that most interested their readers (“Three” 39). This flexibility also allowed the text to be placed in a number of collections either because the text represented chivalric values or because it was Christian in nature as can be seen from the other texts with which it was included (Busby, “Three” 40).

Hilding Kjellman has identified seven prose versions of the *Ordene* in French (141).²⁹ In the BN f. fr. MS. 770, the text of the *Ordene* has been interpolated into what Margaret Jubb refers to as *Estoires d’Outremer*.³⁰ The version of the *Ordene* presented in the *Estoires* has a slightly different frame story which changes the nature of the relationship between Hue and Saladin. Although the basic content of the ritual of becoming a knight remains intact in the *Estoires*, there are also alterations to the text that change the meaning of the ritual’s symbolism. For these reasons, the version contained in the *Estoires d’Outremer* will be explored in greater detail later in the chapter.

Margaret Jubb believes that there is a kernel of historical truth to the text. In 1178 or 1179, Hue de Tabarie (often anglicized as Tiberius), a French knight, was really taken captive by Saladin (*Legend* 68). The king, impressed by the knight’s valor, asked to be

²⁹ These are Paris, BN ms. fr. 770, 781, 25462, 17203, 12572 Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 5208, and Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale 867.

³⁰ Kjellman and the BNF refer to the text in this MS. as *L’Histoire de la prise de Jérusalem*. Kjellman notes that this manuscript is commonly called the *Chronique d’outre mer* (141), the title that appears on the title page of the bound manuscript, with the slight difference that the bound manuscript puts the word *Chronique* in the plural.

knighted. Busby states that early tradition attributes these actions to Homfroy de Toron³¹ who at that time was serving as constable of Jerusalem (*Ordene* 86). He goes on to note that the members of the Toron family were vassals of the Tabaries and that the change in protagonists may have even been made to bolster the greater lord's lineage (Busby, *Ordene* 86). An anecdote by Gaston Paris attributes the name change to an early manuscript that gave only the initials H. de T. theorizing that because of confusion in the transcription, the events of the *Ordene* became attributed to Hue de Tabarie (290).

The *Ordene de chevalerie* is the oldest text in this dissertation and perhaps the most important because its influence can be seen in later works on chivalry. Keith Busby tentatively dates the work at around 1220 because certain passages in the text seem to indicate that the question of the Albigensian heresy had not been fully resolved at the time of its composition (*Ordene* 92). The spirit of the crusades in the Middle East also influenced this work given its setting. The text, however, does not focus on the art of fighting. The author's intent is to stress that the hegemony of knighthood is intimately tied to western Christian religious orthodoxy.

The latest version of the text was produced by Keith Busby in 1983 and is the second text in a book that also includes the *Roman des eles*, another work of conduct literature which lays out a more secular vision of chivalry.³² The juxtaposition of the two

³¹ House spells the name Honfroi de Toron with the title Seigneur du Crac. Paris says that he was Seigneur from 1169-1172

³² The *Roman des eles* or *The Romance of the Wings* was written by Raoul de Houdenc circa 1210. The focus of this poem is on the knight's proper behavior, but unlike the *Ordene*, the text does not attribute any deeper or symbolic meaning to these actions. The title comes from lines 140-143 in which the author states that a knight cannot rise in esteem unless his prowess has two wings, largesse and courtesy (*larguece et cortoisie*). The rest of the details describe qualities that the knight should have attributing each one to a feather on the wings. In this text, the greatest impetus for courtesy is the love of a lady.

texts in this volume shows that among the multiple voices discussing chivalry; some wished to view it as a religious institution, and others as a secular institution. What the *Ordene* offers to the modern scholar is the opportunity to look at chivalry through the eyes of its anonymous author, thus gaining an idea of how chivalry was interpreted in a context separate from the epic and romance which attract much greater interest from scholars.

In his preface to the two texts, Busby lays out why the *Ordene de chevalerie* is so important. It, along with the *Roman des eles*, which was composed about the same time, are two of the earliest works in Old French that discuss matters of chivalry and courtesy. He goes on to point out that scholars who wish to explore these issues in the context of French literature often make reference to the Old French translation of Ramón Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* which fits imperfectly with the chivalry portrayed in the works of Chrétien de Troyes (Busby, *Ordene* v).

Busby's comparison of the *Ordene de chevalerie* and the *Roman des eles* sheds light on the probable occupation of the author of the *Ordene*. Whereas the *Roman des eles* is clearly a secular poem that focuses on the secular life of the knight, including the importance of love in encouraging the knight, the *Ordene de chevalerie* is moral and didactic in tone, which lends itself to the belief that the *Ordene* was composed by a cleric (Busby, *Ordene* 87). The anonymous author places the knighthood in the context of the physical defense of the Christian (Roman Catholic) church and its beliefs, something that clerics themselves were unable to do.³³

³³ In "Saints in Shining Armor" Katherine Allen Smith states that from the late tenth century religious men were prohibited from contact with weapons to preserve the ritual purity of their bodies (582).

Roy House, the editor of the 1918 edition of the *Ordene*, also ascribes the text to a cleric but for slightly different reasons. House believes that the text is the work of a cleric because of its views, or lack thereof, on the subject of women. House points out that the concept of chivalry, especially in romance, is intimately tied to a knight's service to a lady. In the *Ordene*, House notes, women are included among the "helpless beings," along with children and orphans, whom a knight must serve because of his Christian duty; there is, however, no sense of "sentiment" and "gallantry" towards women on the author's part (11). There is no mention of loving a woman as we see in the *Roman des eles* (see for example lines 270-276), and wanting to do great works in her honor is not stressed in the way that we will see later in the *Livre*. For this reason, House believes that the text was composed by a cleric, someone who did not have profound relations with women and who did not feel that they were a necessary component of chivalry despite the important role women play as encouragers of chivalric action in many medieval texts.

Hilding Kjellman agrees that the text was composed by a cleric, but for a different reason, one that comes directly from the text. Kjellman points to line 491 in which the author makes reference to reading Latin, something that a cleric was most likely to do (140). Because each of the three main scholars to study the *Ordene* have come to the same conclusion by different means, I believe it is acceptable to study the text with the assumption that the anonymous author of the text, was indeed a cleric.

The *Ordene*, like many works of medieval French literature, was translated into Dutch. G. J. ten Hoor remarks that the Middle Dutch poem *Dit es van Saladijn*, or *Van den conine Saladijn ende van Hughen van Tabaryen* written by Hein van Aken, is clearly related to the *Ordene* (254). Render P. Meijer, in his *History of the Literature of the Low*

Countries, states that a large part of medieval Dutch literature was composed of translations of French works, with chivalric romance and religious texts being the most popular (5). The *Ordene de chevalerie* was also popular in Italy. According to Keith Busby, it was paraphrased in a sonnet cycle by the minor Italian poet Folgore da San Gimignano³⁴. and included in Busone da Gubbio's³⁵ *Fortunatus Siculus* ("Three Redactions" 38). Keith Busby, in the same article, notes that the text was popular well into the fourteenth century which makes it unsurprising that Geoffroi de Charny would use the text as the basis of his ceremony of knighthood (38).³⁶.

The *Ordene* represents a marriage of Christian belief with a mode of masculinity that was often perceived as secular. Busby states that the romance genre represents a secularization of the idea of knighthood and, for him at least, this text represents an effort to reassert the Christian aspects of chivalry in a French text much like the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* by Ramón Llull³⁷ asserts the connection between Christianity and chivalry in the Iberian literary tradition (87).

Busby's use of the term "secularization" needs clarification. In this case, Busby is referring to a knighthood that is expressing its values in terms that are not explicitly Christian. Michel Stanesco notes that even if it is not religious, the purpose of the

³⁴ This was the nickname of Giacomo di Michele, who wrote two cycles of sonnets that describe the ideal aristocratic life based on jousting, feasting and hunting (Davie).

³⁵ He was an Italian soldier and politician who also wrote lyric poetry (Botterill).

³⁶ The influence of the *Ordene* on Charny's *Livre* is discussed in chapter three.

³⁷ Ramón Llull was born into a noble family in Palma, Majorca circa 1232 and worked as seneschal in the court of Jaime II of Aragon, but in 1263 and 1266 he experienced a religious conversion and decided to devote his life to the conversion of Muslims. He was stoned near Tunis while on a mission of conversion which led to his death in 1316. The text was probably written between 1274 and 1276 (Adams, viii).

“adoubement” is an “overture vers la dimension du sacré” [opening towards the dimension of sacred things] (47). The dubbing ceremony is a personal experience that is spiritual in nature for the new knight even if it does not occur in a context linked to the western European religious tradition of Roman Catholicism.

The spiritual nature of the dubbing in the *Ordene de chevalerie* comes from the ritual nature of the actions. For this reason, it is valuable to gain an understanding of previous research on matters of ritual and rites of passage. Mordecai Marcus, in his article “What is an Initiation Story,” explains that rituals are hard to define “because most human behavior follows prescribed patterns unreflectively. Everyday patterns of behavior are recognized as ritualistic only when they are so exaggerated or deliberate as to appear out of the ordinary” (221). Roy Rappaport makes a similar statement when he says that formality is what denotes a ritual (6). The actors and observers know that the act is taking place and so the ritual is more stylized, more “stereotyped” (6). Rappaport believes that rituals do more than communicate. The performance of the ritual is believed to be “doing something as well” (9). The rituals of the *Ordene* are anodyne actions of bathing, cutting hair and dressing. These actions are mundane because they are normal activities that take place in daily life. However, because they are being used in the initiation process into the knighthood, they have a deeper meaning. After having completed these actions, the initiate would in theory be considered a knight.

In the ritual of making Saladin a knight, the focus is on the gestures and actions. At no point in the text is there mention of specific words which need to be said in order to become a knight. There is no need for what John Langshaw Austin, in his famous Harvard lectures entitled “Doing Things with Words,” would call the performative

mood.³⁸ In fact, there are no words that appear to be necessary in the ritual as the only words which are spoken by Hue to Saladin are those of explanation for the various actions. It is by completing the ritual with these actions that Saladin is to be considered a knight. However, it is important to point out that in this text, Saladin is never made a knight despite the actions that take place. He cannot be made a knight because he is not a Christian. Because of this impediment, the ceremony is technically worthless, but the author shows that it still has an important effect on the behavior of the recipient, through the fact that he acts much more “chivalrously” to Hue and his captives after it has taken place.

Marcus believes that there are two types of initiation story. In the first type, the initiate moves from ignorance about the external world to some vital knowledge, while the second type entails a journey of self-discovery (222). The *Ordene* falls into the first category. Saladin is ignorant about the process of becoming a knight as well as its values and belief system, and Hue provides this knowledge of the external world to him.

From a sociological and anthropological perspective, one of the most important works to discuss the idea of ritual is *Rites of Passage* by Arnold van Gennep. Although the book focuses on primitive and non-western cultures, many of the ideas discussed in the text can be equally applied to western rituals, including the process of becoming a knight. For Gennep, the ritual is a means by which one is separated from the profane and incorporated into the holy world (99). Gennep states that there is a such a profound difference between the sacred and the profane, that one must pass through an intermediate step (1). As Hue takes Saladin through the ritual, he is introducing Saladin

³⁸ The performative mode is when the words that are spoken are in fact the action itself (Austin 6). a chivalric example would be the necessity of saying the words “I dub thee...” in order for the action to count as having taken place.

to the ideas which are sacred to knighthood, ideas which, in the author's conception of knighthood, are tied to the ideas which are sacred to the Christian religion. In order to become a knight, the initiate must be cleansed of the profane and secular world, and this is seen most clearly in the ritual bath that must be taken as part of the process of becoming a knight. Hue explains explicitly that this bath represents a sort of baptism, the traditional rite of initiation into the Christian religion (lines 113-125).

This process is also a means of purification, an idea which is at the very center of Mary Douglas's work *Purity and Danger* in which she states that holiness and impurity are polar opposites (7). Cleanliness is thus linked to holiness. The anonymous author of the *Ordene* makes a connection between knighthood and spirituality and faith. The focus is not on the warrior mentality of the knighthood but on the link between the knighthood and the divine.

This divine connection is important for the knight seeking to have power and authority. David Crouch, in his work on the medieval English aristocracy, makes this connection. He argues that texts on chivalry such as the *Ordene* are based on what he calls a "Judeo-Christian Davidic" ethic which explains why knights are superior members of medieval society. If the knight behaves ethically God will sanction his authority (*English* 200). This argument helps explain why the focus of the *Ordene* is on Christian ideals, as the knight's power comes from God. Diane Borstein makes a similar point in her book *Mirrors of Courtesy*, in which she states that the religious nature of the ceremony of chivalric initiation suggests "divine sanction and inspired awe" (95). In the *Ordene*, this divine sanction is suggested throughout the ceremony. The knight is taught the qualities that God expects from his knights, the implication being that not meeting

these standards means that the knight would lose favor with God. However, it is never stated explicitly in the text that the loss of favor with God would mean loss of authority on the part of the knight.

Ritual also serves as a means of uniting a group. According to Gerd Baumann in “Ritual Implicates Others” this bonding is done through shared performance (98). Baumann also states that ritual is a means by which a group “elaborates itself” (98). It is through rituals such as the initiation into the knighthood that the meaning of the group is fully explained. Terrence Deal and Allan A. Kennedy make a similar point in their book *Corporate Cultures*. Rituals are dramatizations of a company’s basic core values and behind each is a myth that symbolizes a belief central to the culture (62). Although the authors focus on the modern corporate world, this idea is also applicable to the context of initiation into the knighthood. When Saladin is bathed, he is dramatizing the ritual of baptism, and when he lies on the bed, he is dramatizing the resurrection of Jesus. Both of these actions represent basic tenants of Christianity, a faith which was central not only to the knighthood but much to of medieval Europe.

Albert J. Mills and Stephen J. Murgatroyd, in their work *Organizational Rules: A Framework for Understanding Organizational Action* stress that “belonging is a central idea in the understanding of organizations as cultures” (55). The initiation into the knighthood is an entrance into a group, and this sense of belonging is important in the midst of battle as well as crucial to the maintenance of the knighthood as the hegemonic masculine identity in medieval Europe. It is in the desire to belong that knights seek to enact a knightly ideal and so turn to works of chivalric conduct in order to understand

how to belong to the group and how to personify this hegemonic chivalric ideal of masculinity.

This sense of belonging is similar to Frank Young's idea of sex solidarity found in the chapter "Moving the Young Man into the Larger Society: The Foundation of Male Initiation Ceremonies: A Cross Cultural Test of an Alternative Hypothesis." Young defines sex solidarity as means of maintaining male supremacy and loyalty (186). In societies where this solidarity is the case, sex role stabilization is not complete until the young man fully identifies with the group (186). The youth must identify as a member of the group before he is truly considered a man. Rituals are a means of creating this identification with the group. Thus, the dubbing ceremony and the initiation into the knighthood is a means by which an aspirant can fully identify as a member of the group and be considered a knight.

By having a ritual of initiation, the knighthood is validated as a social group with a defined membership, i.e, those who have gone through the ceremony. John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, in their article "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," state that ritual is also used as a means of validation for an organization (355). A text such as the *Ordene* seeks to standardize the process of becoming a knight. This standardization affects not only the ritual itself but also the meaning behind each of the ritual actions. The *Ordene* defines not only the actions taking place in the initiation but also seeks to enforce a specific reading of these actions, one that stresses the Christian nature of the ceremony. Phillippe Buc notes something similar when he states, "But already in the early Middle Ages, the key importance of interpretation meant that interested parties sought to impose their reading on any

ceremony, and present this reading as uncontested” (200). This matter is important because, as Buc states, “A ritual's performance in and of itself did not shape political society one way or another; the way in which performance was ‘read’ did or might” (192). It is not the actions themselves that are important, it is the meaning that we attribute to those actions. In the *Ordene*, the author creates a link between Christian belief and the knighthood.

The *Ordene de chevalerie* is not a manual that focuses on the skills necessary to become a knight; it is rather a guide that presents a ceremony for induction into the knighthood as well as an interpretation of the symbolism of each action that takes place during it. It is the interpretations rather than the actions themselves that have greater importance, because these interpretations define a clear system of Christian values which the author wishes to teach to the body of knights who read the text. The ceremony is thus exegetical in nature and focused on the meaning behind the action rather than the action itself. The instruction in these values is contained not only in the frame story in which Hue goes through the process of becoming a knight with Saladin, but also later in the text, when the author speaks directly to the reader.

As we will see throughout this dissertation, each writer of chivalric conduct had his own knightly ideal, and questions about the role of faith in the life of a knight were something pondered over by many authors. The Christian ideal is peace but the basis of knighthood is war.³⁹ The question of how to integrate these two conflicting ideals forms the basis of many works on the art of chivalry, both medieval and modern. Earlier writers like Llull and our anonymous author take great pains to fit the knighthood into Christian

³⁹ For a full discussion of this paradox, see the first chapter of Richard Kaeuper's *Holy Warriors* entitled “Violent Knights, Holy Knights,” especially pages 11-12.

teleology, whereas later authors like Charny and Valera, who were not clerics, are much more interested in prowess and the aesthetics of chivalry. By the fourteenth century, authors were more concerned with preserving chivalry itself than with explaining its purpose in Christendom.

Modern medieval scholarship has not explored the *Ordene* as deeply as other medieval texts. This may be because the genre of conduct literature in general does not receive much attention from academics. One of the most recent articles to deal with the *Ordene de chevalerie* was published in *Speculum* in 2015. In “A New Approach to the Knighting Ritual,” Max Lieberman makes many important points about the nature of the dubbing ceremony. For instance, he shows that the ritual of creating knights was in existence at least as early as the eleventh century, but was linked to the rite of passage into adulthood (401). Although the article begins with a short discussion of the *Ordene de chevalerie*, Lieberman hardly covers the text itself and instead focuses on the concept of knighting.

In her 2003 article, “Joking with the Enemy: Beyond Ritual in the *Ordene de chevalerie*,” Michelle Warren makes a strong case for the idea that the entire ritual of knighting Saladin was in fact an elaborate joke, mocking the idea of conversion of Muslims during the crusade (265). Warren’s thesis turns the idea of many modern commentators, that the *Ordene* was a straightforward treatise on the ritual of knighthood, on its head. Warren does not however deny the fact that the text was taken very seriously by medieval readers (291). Whatever the original intent of the author,⁴⁰ other medieval

⁴⁰ The concept of authorial intention has a large bibliography with a variety of perspectives. E.D. Hirsch Jr. defines textual meaning as the verbal intention of the author (17). Monroe E. Beardsley takes an opposing view which he defines as the Principle of Autonomy (24). In this view, the text

writers treated the text as a valid manual for performing the ritual of initiation into the knighthood (Busby, “Three” 50; Charny). This has also been the perspective of most modern scholars of the text.

The fact that an anonymous author wrote the text complicates the endeavor to discover the author’s true intentions. We are able to make educated guesses about Charny and Valera’s true intentions for their texts in part because we know about their lives and their places in the political and cultural environments that surrounded them. We know nothing about the author of the *Ordene* and the only sense we have about who he could possibly be comes from scholars’ extrapolations from the text itself.

The chief barrier to accepting Warren’s idea that the text is just an elaborate joke is the fact that the author states explicitly that there are “Deus choses qui sont a loër,” or two things that one can find in the text which are worthy of praise (line 426). These two things are in fact the author’s reasons for writing the text. The second reason, that the author wanted to recount the story of Hue de Tabarie (line 481), may allow for the implication that this is just an elaborate joke. However, the author states explicitly that his first reason for writing the text is to show the respect that ought to be granted to knights because of all they do. As the poet says: “Que toz li mons doit honorer,/ Quar il nous ont toz a garder” [That everyone should honor/ For they have us all to guard] (lines 429-430). If this were in fact an elaborate joke, it would suggest that the author takes a dim view of the knighthood, in spite of mentioning all that they do for the good of the commonweal, such as protecting the church against its enemies, “ Quar il desfendent Sainte Yglise” [For they defend Holy Church] (line 433, trans Busby 174). If this is

“acquires meaning through the interactions of their words without the intervention of authorial will” (Beardsley 32).

meant to be a parody, it would be mocking the church's views that the Saracens,⁴¹ Albigensians,⁴² and barbarians are dangerous (lines 445-449). Although Warren's conception of the *Ordene* as a joke may be possible if we only consider the portion of the text that contains the frame story, the final portion, in which the author speaks directly to the reader calls this idea into question. Warren completely ignores this section. For this reason, I do not believe that the *Ordene* was meant to be a comic piece.

Ramón Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* is another example of a text in which the writer's vision of chivalric hegemonic masculinity is heavily influenced by clerical ideals. Ramón Llull's *Llibre* was much more widely known than the *Ordene* and was translated into both French and English during the Middle Ages (Taylor, "English" 69, 72). The *Llibre* shares many characteristics with the *Ordene de chevalerie*, including a frame story based on instruction and an explanation of the symbolism of the various articles of clothing that knights wore. Marc Bloch goes so far as to state that Ramón Llull was influenced by the *Ordene* (317). However, Busby discounts this notion saying that there is little common ground among the two authors in "the detailed execution of the description except for obvious features" (*Ordene* 89). In spite of this, Llull's *Llibre* is a helpful means of comparison because it too illustrates chivalry as perceived through the lens of the medieval Christian faith, and especially because of the *Llibre's* wide use among scholars as mentioned earlier.

⁴¹ John V. Tolan explains that references to Muslim and Islam did not appear in western languages before the sixteenth century; instead, they are referred to by ethnic terms such as Saracen or Persian (xv).

⁴² According to W.A. and M.D. Sibly, the Albigensians, also called Cathars, were a religious group based in the midi region of France. The Albigensians had a dualist theology, believing in two antagonistic principles of good and evil. The crusade against them began in 1209 and ended in 1229 (xxxiii-xxxiv).

Both the *Ordene* and the *Llibre* express the idea that membership in the Christian faith is one of the key qualities necessary to becoming a knight. For example, Lull makes this necessity clear in the question that he would ask prospective knights “En lo començant, cove demenar al scudder qui vol ésser caler si ama ni tem Déu, cor sens amar e tembre Déu nuyt home no és digne de entrar en l’orde de cavaylaria” [To start, one should ask the squire that wants to be a knight if he loves or fears God, for without loving and fearing God no man is worthy to enter into the order of chivalry] (189). Hue de Tabarie makes much the same point in his refusal to grant Saladin the knighthood: “Sainte ordre de chevalerie/ Seroit en vous mal emploïe/ Quar vous estes vieus en la loi/ De bien, de baptesme, et de foi;” [The holy order of chivalry would be useless to you, for you are vile in the law of goodness, baptism and faith] (lines 83-86, trans. Busby 170-171). Both of these passages stress that Christian faith is needed in order to receive the knighthood. The fact that questions of faith are the first matter touched on with the aspirant to the knighthood in the two texts makes it clear that for both authors, the Christian faith takes precedence over prowess and chivalric courtesy. The knight can be evaluated on the latter two qualities only if the question of faith has been settled.

This also demonstrates that the ritual only has any real value if the recipient first meets certain qualifications. He must be male and Christian, and although Saladin fulfills the first category he does not fulfill the second, and so the ceremony is not valid. These qualifications also therefore act as a limiting factor on who can take part in the hegemonic masculinity described in the text, thus keeping the group of men who exhibit these qualities extremely small, as Connell has noted (*Masculinities* 79). This does not mean that those in the text are not able to benefit from the patriarchal dividend that all

men gain from this hegemony (Connell, *Masculinities* 79). Saladin benefits from the knowledge learned by Hue in the increased respect that he receives from Christians for showing Christian values. In the text, both the other warriors that are captured with Hue, as well as the people in Hue's lands, benefit, because ten of the captured men are allowed to go free, and those in Hue's lands benefit from the distribution of the money that Hue was able to keep after paying off his ransom to Saladin because he showed himself to be such a good example of chivalric masculinity.

In spite of the clerical influence on the conception of chivalry in the text, the author does not try to model chivalric masculinity on the priesthood. The hegemony of chivalric masculinity can be attested to by the fact that clerical masculinity was influenced to a greater degree by chivalric masculinity than vice versa. The use of warrior symbolism by religious men, especially monks has already received much attention from scholars. P. H. Cullum has noted that the ideal medieval masculinity involved fighting and reproducing (182). R.N. Swanson says that for clerics, the renunciation of sexual status was a renunciation of gender status (162). For this reason, the clerical class needed to affirm its masculinity. This was done by portraying monastic masculinity as a type of spiritual battle with the monks as warriors.

Katherine Allen Smith explains that most monks came from the social class of "belatores" and that the imagery of battle was one with which they were already familiar (87). This also appealed to those who were from more humble origins (87). Allen Smith does not believe that monks questioned their masculinity, nor that they were passively shaped by the knighthood as a more hegemonic form of masculinity (88).

I question Allen Smith's assertions because she is never quite clear on the reason why the monks would choose to portray their own masculinity as if it were that of a warrior. The image of the knight and the warrior must have had an appeal to the monks in order for them to portray themselves in such a way. She defends her idea by noting that the concept of *milites christi*, soldiers of Christ, existed before the Middle Ages and in fact originates with the writings of Saint Paul (89). Even if that is the case, it is clear that identification with the warrior was an important component in the works of religious writers and obviously had an appeal for their readers.

An understanding of this idea is important because it not only shows the hegemonic nature of knightly masculinity, it also shows that this form of masculinity appealed to those who represented something different from what knightly masculinity stood for and that they sought to adapt this chivalric masculinity to fit their own ideals. I believe the author of the *Ordene*, much like Ramón Llull, is trying to show how the values of the church are compatible with warrior masculinity. For example, Hue states that the knightly ideal is keeping the body as in a state of virginity as the author says, "Est entendu que vo char nete,/ Voz rains, vo cors entirement,/ Devez tenir molt sainement,/ Aussi en virginité/ Vo cors tenir en netë. [Sire, [this belt] signifies that you should preserve in holiness your pure flesh, your loins, and your body, and keep your body pure, as in a state of virginity] (lines 178-182 trans Busby 172). This goes against what many authors have said about the conception of medieval masculinity (see for example Stone 31; Fenton 75). This remakes the knight in the image of the cleric and presents the knight as aspiring to live a life that was similar to that of the cleric, showing

that religious ideals could influence chivalric literature in the same way that chivalry influenced monastic literature.

Even if the text was composed by a cleric, and envisages a knighthood that is symbolically linked to the Christian faith, there are certain aspects of the text that demonstrate that chivalry was not necessarily an appendage of the Roman Catholic Church. Maurice Keen notes that Hue “has no need for a priest or a church’s altar for its [the ritual of entry into the knighthood] accomplishment” (7). The Christianity that is presented, while true to basic Christian beliefs, does not rely on the structures of the Roman Catholic Church in order for the ritual to be performed. Hue himself acknowledges that he has the right to perform the ceremony to make to make Saladin a knight (lines 86-87). Maurice Keen devotes a chapter of his work *Chivalry* to showing that although the church made attempts to place itself at the center of the ordination into knighthood, the ceremony itself was primarily a secular ritual which stressed the fealty of a knight to his lord (76).

In the *Ordene*, the text explicitly states that Hue and Saladin go off into a separate chamber in order to conduct the ceremony (line 73). There is no effort made to publicly present the knight. The process is about the internal change that occurs. The process of becoming a knight is a personal experience focused on internalization of values rather than recognition by society. In Lull’s text the ceremony of becoming a knight is done in a very public atmosphere, during the Catholic Mass itself, and the knight is then expected to ride through town to publicly show that he is a knight (197-198). This is a way of keeping the knight from shameful acts because he will be known to all as a knight. This ceremony focuses on the recognition of the knight by the greater community. This

ceremony also makes use of the structures of the Roman Catholic Church by linking the knighting ceremony with the Mass.

Not only does the text not rely on the Roman Catholic Church as a means of validating the ritual or entrance into the knighthood, it also distorts this ritual through the frame story by removing the concept of homage or swearing fealty to one's lord. Saladin is not swearing fealty to the one who ordains him but is only going through the motions so that he (and the reader) can learn about the initiation into the knighthood as well as the connection between chivalry and the Christian faith.

The *Ordene* demonstrates the hegemonic masculinity of Hue in the second part of the text by means of the role reversal which occurs in the text. Hue and Saladin switch roles in this section, Hue assuming the role of power in the relationship between the two men by means of his role as instructor of Saladin, who himself takes on the role of student. This role reversal has been discussed by Zeynep Çeçan in his article "The Use of the 'Saracen Opinion' on Knighthood in Medieval French Literature: *L'Ordene de chevalerie* and *L'Apparicion Maistre Jehan De Meun*," when he notes that in the *Ordene* the role of captive and captor are reversed (60). This reversal is a way in which Hue demonstrates his hegemonic masculinity. Hue assumes the role of authority and, as Connell notes, authority is linked to the idea of hegemonic masculinity (*Masculinities* 90). Hue has power because of his knowledge of the ritual. At the same time, Hue notes that he is a prisoner of Saladin and refuses to give the accolade.⁴³ Although Hue himself is demonstrating that he is in fact subservient to the whims of Saladin, he is at the same time demonstrating hegemonic masculinity when he states that he refuses to take this

⁴³ The accolade is a slap on the head or the flat of the sword on the recipient's shoulder. This action may be linked to an obscure Germanic custom which involved slapping the witnesses of legal procedures to help them remember the occasion (Lepage 67).

particular action, because doing so would be an act of wickedness on his part. The poem states:

...Mes mie ne la vous donron,

Quar je sui ci en vo prison,

Si ne doi fere vilonie

Por chose c'on me face et die;

si ne vous vueil por ce ferir.

[...but I will not give it to you, for I am herein your prison, and I should commit no wickedness, whatever is said or done to me; for this reason, I do not wish to strike you] (lines 251-255; trans. Busby 172)

In this way, Hue shows that he has a better understanding of the subject than Saladin and so continues to demonstrate his authority on the subject.

In the prose version of the text from the *Estoire d'outremer*, Hue gives Saladin the accolade or “collée” or ritual slap. In the *Estoire*, Hue at first refuses to slap Saladin, but his reasoning is not because he is a captive, but rather because Hue believes that Saladin should receive the gesture from a greater man than himself, “car jou varrouie volentiers ke plus haus hom de moi le vous dounast [I would gladly want that a greater man than me give it to you]” (112). When Saladin points out that he does not know any Christian greater than Hue, Hue slaps him. In the prose version of the text contained in the *Estoire*, the complete ritual of the knighting ceremony takes place, with the accolade technically making Saladin a knight if he were not a pagan in the eyes of the Christian audience of the text. Jubb goes so far as to link the two fictional extrapolations contained

in the *Estoire*,⁴⁴ bringing them together by stating that the first text may have been included as a way of softening the “outrage” of the Christian audience to the idea of a knighted pagan by using the *Comte* as a way of showing that Saladin’s roots actually lay in Christian territory (7).

Jubb seems to believe that the fact that Saladin is knighted is outrageous, and the poem itself seems to indicate this by making it clear that Hue is forced to perform the ritual on Saladin because Hue is his prisoner (lines 91-100). What is ignored by Jubb, however, is that as a part of the process, Hue dresses Saladin in the clothing of knighthood. By outfitting him as a knight, Hue is dressing Saladin as a Christian, and this too would be considered a taboo in the cultural context in which the text was written.

James Powell in his chapter, “The Papacy and the Muslim Frontier,” notes that dress was an important way of demarcating the different religious groups in medieval Europe and that this was necessary to, in Powell’s words, “avoid contamination” among the various religious groups (186). In order to do this, canon 90 of the fourth Lateran Council makes it clear that the church required that different religious groups dress differently in order to avoid mixing (Powell 189). This council occurred in 1215 around the time that Busby dates the *Ordene* (1220). This shows that the author is transgressing cultural norms not only by performing the ceremony with Saladin, but also in the act of dressing him as a Christian. The difficulty comes from the fact that clothing is an integral part of the ceremony and represents a way for the knight to identify as a member of his social group. By dressing Saladin in the clothes of the knight, the author is breaking a

⁴⁴ The *Ordene* is the second extrapolation. The first is the *Fille du comte de Ponthieu* and will be talked about in greater depth in the section on Saladin’s origins. The *Fille* presents Saladin as having a Christian mother

taboo of the Catholic Church and removing one of the main ways that the society in which he lived separated the various religious groups.

By having Saladin put on the clothing of the knighthood, the author presenting Saladin as a Christian in the minds of his readership. The difficulty that this may cause is partly avoided by the willingness of Saladin to accept the religious beliefs of his captive, as, in his own words, he acknowledges that what Hue is telling him is right (ce est droiture) (187). In having Saladin accept the ideals of the Christian faith, the author gives the reader the impression that Saladin may in fact be willing to convert. As Michelle Warren has noted in her article, although the Crusades at first were not focused on the idea of conversion, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, that had become one of the main goals of the fighting force in the Middle East (263).⁴⁵ The author of the *Ordene* is showing the reader that that it is possible for the Muslim to understand and accept the values of the Christian faith, and I would say, perhaps even become a knight.

Even though the ceremony ostensibly serves no purpose in regards to the order of chivalry, the text makes it clear that the relationship between the two men starts off cordially, and that they appear to grow closer together as the story progresses so that by the end, Saladin grants Hue honor as well as his freedom. The portrayal of the Muslim leader in the text is positive overall, or at least far from the traditional presentation of the “Saracen” in medieval western literature.

Jann Assmann and John Czaplicka see ritual as cultural memory (131). This cultural memory serves two purposes. The first is the educative one, providing a means of

⁴⁵ Benjamin Z. Kedar in his book *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* states that by 1147 “the ethic of Catholic Europe called for the sparing of the baptism-seeking Saracen” (67). Before this time, “revenge and battlefield brutality took their toll” (Kedar 67).

civilizing and humanizing. The second purpose is normative, providing rules of conduct. The ritual of the *Ordene* serves as a means of civilizing Saladin in the eyes of medieval Christian readers by moving him closer to the western European ideal of warrior manliness. Anne Kantor notes that “[i]f Saladin represents all that is foreign and mysterious to medieval Europeans, to Christianize him is to make him familiar, thus more accessible to the reader” (77). The *Ordene* is not the only text that makes Saladin accessible to a Christian audience, as we shall see below.

Norman Daniel says that although he remained an enemy of the Christians, “[Saladin] is the model for knights, none is more courtly than he...” (41). Starting in the thirteenth century, authors began to depict Saladin as a chivalrous knight. *La Fille du comte de Ponthieu* and the prose work *Saladin* both present the Sultan as a model of chivalry. *La Fille* even describes the legend in which Saladin is actually descended from the comte de Ponthieu’s daughter, giving him western parentage (Daniel 41). Édouard Langille talks about the role the Muslim leader plays in the discussion of chivalry. For Langille, the ascension of Saladin to such a role represents an attempt to reassert the knighthood over ecclesiastical and monarchical authority.

Qui plus est, l'attitude de Saladin est une valorisation sans équivoque de la chevalerie au détriment des pouvoirs royal et ecclésiastique. C'est alors que, fasciné par la force de cette noblesse française, Saladin se fait instruire dans les cérémonies et les obligations de l'institution de la chevalerie, lieu commun qu'il convient d'appeler « l'interpolation de L'ordre de chevalerie »

[Furthermore, the attitude of Saladin is an unequivocal valorization of the knighthood to the detriment of the royal and ecclesiastical powers. And that is when, fascinated by the strength of this French nobility, Saladin was instructed in the ceremonies and obligations of the institution of chivalry, a popular belief that it is appropriate to call “the interpolation of the order of chivalry”] (28)

Chivalry fascinates Saladin and he wishes to take part in this system. By allowing him to do so, the author takes power away from the church and the monarch in their traditional control over the body of knights. Although Langille makes bibliographic reference to the *Ordene de chevalerie*, its author does not intend to usurp ecclesiastical authority because the text is written by a cleric and goes to great lengths to illustrate the Christian nature of the “adoubement,” and to discuss the role that the knight has in acting as a protector of the Church. The author also makes it quite explicit in lines 83-90 that Saladin receiving the knighthood would be an affront to the church. In spite of this, the author is not interested showing the Muslim king to be a villain.

The image of Saladin that is presented in the text is one that does not seek to demonize the Muslim king. As the preface to Hannes Möhring’s biography of the sultan, *Saladin: The Sultan and His Times, 1138-1193* points out, in the West Saladin is often viewed as a “noble heathen” and secret Christian (vii). This idea can be seen in other medieval and Renaissance works such as the *Divine Comedy* in which Dante places Saladin in Limbo with other good people who were not Christians (*Inferno IV* line 129). Most of the other inhabitants of the same circle of hell are Greek and Roman.

This image of the chivalrous Saladin persisted into modern times. Möhring says that the German emperor William II called the sultan “a knight without fear or blemish, who often had to instruct his opponents in the art of chivalry” (102). Even in the nineteenth century Saladin is recognized as chivalrous. Gaston Paris notes, however, that perceptions of Saladin are dependent upon the date when the work was composed. Earlier works, those whose authors were likely to begrudge Saladin’s territorial conquests, were more likely to portray the sultan in a negative light (Paris 284-85).

According to Möhring, the real Saladin was impressed by the crusaders’ complete commitment to their religion (101). The sultan spared the lives of many of the Christians that he caught. Möhring states that this was probably so that they could be used as a bargaining chip in later negotiations (99). Sparing the lives of his captives may have helped form the image of the “noble heathen.” Möhring points out that this image may have been created by Christian theologians in order to resolve a conflict created by the difference between their views and the reality of the situation (96).⁴⁶ If Saladin spared the lives of his prisoners because of his religion, as may have been the case, that would mean that Islam was not the abominable religion that was portrayed to be in much of early medieval literature. This would not match the position of authors such as Ramón Llull and Riccoldo da Montecroce,⁴⁷ who worked to show the superiority of Christian beliefs when compared to Islam.

⁴⁶ Theologians as early as Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard tried to reconcile the concept of the noble heathen with the Catholic doctrine of salvation. D. P. Dunning provides a concise history of this discussion among medieval church scholars in the article “Langland and the Salvation of the Heathen” especially pages 48-51

⁴⁷ A Florentine Dominican who went on a pilgrimage and missionary expedition to Jerusalem in 1288. Monte Croce was persecuted and returned to Italy where he wrote his *Contra Legem Sarracenorum*, a polemical work against the Koran (Tolan 245-46)

To get around this issue of the Muslim warriors behaving in an ethical fashion, medieval writers created the image of the “noble heathen” who did not act benignly towards the Christians for religious reasons, but rather because of chivalrous ones (Möhrling 96). The story of Hue de Tabarie thus serves the purpose not only of instructing Christian knights in the meaning of the ritual of ordination but also of providing an origin story that explains to the Christian reader how Saladin came to learn about chivalry and become the “noble heathen” that he was perceived to be by the medieval West.

John Tolan discusses in depth the portrayal of Muslims in the literature of the Crusades. He says that in the early works, Muslims are portrayed as pagans worshipping multiple gods as well as the prophet Mohammed (190). This was not the case in areas such as medieval Iberia where the religion of Islam was better understood (107). The crusades brought western knights, including the French, into contact with the Muslims and this affected the Christians’ perceptions of them. Sharon Kinoshita notes that the Crusades created new identities that challenged conventional understandings (94). The *Ordene* is part of a vein of medieval literature that breaks with the conventional understanding of Islam as evil.

The connection between Saladin and chivalry is present even in modern biographies of the sultan. Charles J. Rosebault’s 1930 biography entitled *Saladin, the Prince of Chivalry*, stresses Saladin’s chivalric behavior but is based more on the traditional myths of Saladin as the noble heathen than on scholarly research. The text presents as fact the dubbing of Saladin by Homfroi de Toron (Busby and Jubb never mention if they believe if Saladin’s request was answered). Later, P.H. Newby, in his

biography entitled *Saladin*, argues that that the dubbing ceremony did not actually take place (50).

Whatever the historical outcome of the request, it is undeniable that Saladin's forces were successful against the crusaders, both historically and in the *Ordene*. Although Hue is unsuccessful in his battle against the Saracens and is taken prisoner, the hegemonic and chivalric nature of his masculinity is called into question neither by the author, nor Saladin. The author does not equate the fact that Christians have lost the battle to weakness or failure on the part of the Christian knights—the text makes it clear in line 29 that the Christians fought valiantly— but instead attributes the failure to God. It is God who wished the knights to fail for some reason that is explained only as the fact the fact that God desired it to be so “...Mes il ne plot au Creator,/C'on apele le Roi de Gloire,/Que li nostre eussent victoire... [...but it did not please the creator, him who is called the King of Glory for our men to have the victory...] (lines 30-32; trans. Busby 170). When Hue is taken before Saladin, he is told that he must pay an exorbitant ransom,⁴⁸ one that Hue would be unable to pay by his own means, and this appears to be exactly what Saladin wishes. Hue will be able to gain enough money to pay off the ransom because of the great respect that others have for his chivalry. In this way, the author demonstrates to the reader the value of maintaining the knightly virtues which will be expounded later in the text. By displaying the qualities of hegemonic masculinity, Hue will be able to depend on the support of others to gain his freedom. Saladin expects Hue to benefit from what Connell refers to as the “material dividend” or financial gain of hegemonic masculinity because of who he is and what he represents (82).

⁴⁸ S.J. Allen, in *An Introduction to the Crusades* states that the poor captives tended to be slaughtered in battle because they would not provide a high ransom. The European Trinitarian Order was created in order to pay for the ransoms of the poor in the Holy Land (75).

Because the author of the text works to demonstrate how religion is connected to the hegemonic ideal of chivalric masculinity, the faith of Hue is also an integral part of Hue gaining his freedom from Saladin. Saladin allows Hue to depart because he knows that Hue will return once he has gained his ransom, since he has affirmed this on his religion and faith (lines 61-66). Therefore, the payment of the ransom in order to gain his freedom is based on both a chivalric and religious form of masculinity. The second part of the text goes on to demonstrate how this is possible through the ritual of becoming a knight, which blends these two types of masculinity into a single ideal.

This ideal of masculinity is not without conflict. Although the knighthood is primarily a martial profession focused on fighting, neither the ritual nor the text as a whole emphasize aggression. The battle that takes place in the beginning of the story (lines 29-35) is a plot device by the author, used as means to place the Christian knight Hue into the court of Saladin and before the sultan himself, so that Saladin may be able to learn about the process of initiation into the knighthood. Throughout the text, both during the ritual of initiation and after, we see that for the author, what legitimates the knight is not his ability or authority to cause violence, but rather his more peaceful values associated with the Christian faith. For the author, Christianity is central to the knighthood; it is for this reason that Hue refuses to make Saladin a knight, as he is not worthy because he is not of the correct faith. Hue only consents to go through with the ritual for Saladin because as a prisoner, he must do it. What this scene in the text demonstrates is that for the author of the *Ordene*, the Christian religion is inextricably linked to the identity of knighthood and so forms part of this form of hegemonic masculinity.

The author of the text is uninterested in the foremost way in which knightly identity is expressed. The values explained in the text such as cleanliness (144-146), and serving God (lines 200-203) are focused more on the interior life of the knight, rather than on the external expression of knighthood in battle. A consideration of other values such as justice (lines 212-218) examines the role of the knight in medieval society, but does so from a decidedly Christian perspective. For example, lines 212-218 discuss how the knight should use his power and prestige to protect the poor man from the rich. A portion of this states: ...Qu'il doit le pove homme garder/ Que li riches nel puist grever... [...He should protect the poor man so that the rich man cannot harm him...] (trans. Busby 172). Even the sword, the knight's most recognizable piece of equipment is used as a symbol to explain the ideas of loyalty and justice (lines 205-221) instead of as a tool for fighting the enemy. Although the frame story does contain fighting, the author of the *Ordene de chevalerie* clearly views knightly identity as primarily religious and Christian in nature.

The *Ordene* does, however, show ways in which chivalry is expressed publicly by the knight. These ways are not based on gaining distinction through battle, but rather by helping ladies (lines 269-276) as well as protecting the poor (lines 215-16). The one way in which the knight is publicly able to display his arms and demonstrate his knightly masculinity is through his ability to wear a sword in church (lines 456-460). In this way, the public display of knighthood is also takes place in the religious sphere.

Although the prestige and authority of the knight are not primarily based on violence in this text, the author does mention that knights are feared by those who are enemies of the church. This group includes Saracens as well as heretics of the church

such as the Albigensians (Aubigois) who are mentioned explicitly (line 446). The knight is thus seen as a force for the protection of the Christian church and the people, able to defend against those who are viewed as heathen or heretical. The knight, in this text, also acts as a protection against social ills through his protection of the disadvantaged.

The crusades form the setting of the frame story of the *Ordene*. The frame story serves a more important purpose in this text than it does in the work of Ramón Llull. In the *Llibre*, the frame story is used as an introduction, but an old knight presents the book to the young squires which contains the actual advice. In the *Ordene de chevalerie*, however, the guidance is integrated into the story itself with Hue imparting his guidance directly to Saladin instead of pointing him to the relevant resource.

In the text knights are led in battle by Hue de Tabarie, who is referred to as a prince in the first part of the text (through line 343) and as a count in two references after the frame story. The ritual of initiation into the knighthood is performed for the benefit of Saladin, who is sultan (referred to as king or *reis*). Nowhere in the text, however, is stated explicitly that the knight needs to be of noble birth. Unlike Ramón Llull who spends an entire chapter dedicated to the questions that an aspirant to the knighthood needs to be asked in order to protect the knighthood from those Christians who are unworthy (chapter III of the *Llibre*), the only specific barrier to knighthood mentioned in the *Ordene* is a need to be Christian as mentioned above.

After the ritual, the text continues to present Hue as an example of hegemonic masculinity in the way that he is treated by Saladin. The two men return to the public sphere and meet fifty emirs from all over the country. Although Hue takes a seat at Saladin's feet he is quickly given a seat right next to the king as the poem states: "Lors

est en sa chaire assis/Et Hues s'assist a ses piez/Mes tost en fu amont dreciez;/Si l'a dejouste lui assis..." [Then he sat on his throne and Hue sat at his feet, but was soon raised up; the King placed him at his side...] (lines 306-309 trans Busby 173). Hue is offered free passage into the country and is able to obtain the ransom from Saladin and the emirs that surround him. The fact that Saladin offers to share his seat with Hue shows that he is at least considered an equal of the Muslim king.

While this is never explicitly stated in the text, the reader can easily believe that this turn of events occurs because of the relationship built between the two men while enacting the ritual of becoming a knight in Saladin's room. The scene also demonstrates public recognition of the knighthood as a hegemonic form of masculinity because each of the emirs gives Hue a sum of money towards his ransom (lines 342-353). This action implies that they believe that Hue should be allowed to go free even though he is technically their enemy in the overall crusade between Christians and Muslims.

In spite of his hegemonic masculinity, the final scene between the two men shows that there are still limits to what Hue is able to do. He seeks freedom for all of his men that have been captured in battle, something which Saladin denies him: "Quant ce oï Salahadins,/Si en a Mahomet juré/Que jamés n'erent rachaté" [When Saladin heard this, he swore by Mohammed that they would never be bought back] (lines 374-376 trans Busby 174). The text shows in this exchange that the two men are in fact on opposing sides and that even the hegemonic masculinity of Hue and the respect and authority that it accords him in the eyes of Saladin does in fact have limits.

The author also shows the power of hegemonic masculinity in the final part of the text, which is addressed to the reader after the story of Hue has ended. In this portion the

author tells the reader the reason why the knighthood is so important to the church and the people. It is the knighthood which is authorized to use licit violence against the enemies of the church. It is the knighthood which protects the people and provides service. The author explains this explicitly to the reader as he indicates that this is one of the reasons for writing the text. As mentioned above, the knight has the authority to do these things because he is allowed to be violent. In this way, the text can be seen as a reply to those who are seeking to maintain the Peace and Truce of God.⁴⁹

The author makes the case that there is a possibility of violence even in the local church and that knights are necessary to protect them. Although priests railed against violent aspects of the knightly life such as tournaments (Kauper, *Holy* 68), the author, in explaining that the knight is the protector of the physical being of the local church and not just the idea of Christianity in general, makes the case that knightly violence is necessary. The final portion is in a sense an apologetic on knighthood. It is also clear from this passage that the *Ordene* was intended for a wider audience than the knighthood themselves. In fact, this text could very possibly have been written for priests. This is because the author makes references to “nos calices” (line 438) and the reference to reading Latin (line 491), although held up as proof that this text was written by a priest, may also point to the fact that this text was written for a priestly audience, a way of showing the clerical class the importance of knighthood even though they often considered knights to be dangerous.

⁴⁹ The peace movement was attempt by the church to control knightly violence by making licit war limited to higher authorities. The Truce of God was an attempt by the church to ban violence during times of religious significance (Kaeuper, *Chivalry* 73).

The prose version of the *Ordene de chevalerie* was contained in a historical chronicle of the crusader states entitled the *Estoire d'outre mer*.⁵⁰ This version follows the same general outline as the original poem, but there are important differences between the two texts. Two of these differences would be repeated in later biographies about the Muslim leader. The first of these major differences has to do with the location of the knighting ceremony. In the *Estoire* the ceremony does not occur in Saladin's palace but rather in a tent (*tente*) on the battlefield outside Jerusalem (110). This detail would become a part of the myth of the knighting of Saladin and would endure to even the twentieth century, as illustrated by Charles Rosebault's 1930 biography.

The second major difference involves the way in which Saladin treats his Christian captives, and also concerns the matter of when the knighting ceremony takes place in the timeline of the story. Unlike in the poem in which the ritual of making a knight occurs soon after Hue is brought before Saladin. In the prose version of the *Estoire*, it occurs the next day, after the two men have had dinner together (109). In this scene, Saladin orders that all of his captives be well served (“Salehadins commanda k'il fuissent bien servi”) (110). Saladin's actions show a level of respect for his Christian prisoners that would shape later perceptions of him (see for example Möhring above). This action cannot be attributed to chivalry, as Saladin had not been made into a knight yet.

⁵⁰ This thirteenth century text is based on the twelfth-century Latin chronicle of William of Tyre often referred to as *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* which may be where the name the *Histoire d'outre mer* comes from. Included in the chronicle are two fiction texts that both deal with Saladin, the first is the *Fille du comte de Ponthieu* and the second is the *Ordre*, both of these texts deal with Saladin and form the basis of what Jubb refers to as the legend of Saladin (Jubb, *Estoire* 6).

Besides differences in the plot, there are variations in the way that each text treats the meaning of the symbols used in the ritual of becoming a knight. The meaning that each anonymous author gives to explain the symbolism of each step of the ritual has great influence on the way chivalry is constructed in each text. Each text also differs in the way that it depicts Saladin reacting to each new piece of information. In the poem, Saladin asks Hue the meaning of the symbols as at lines 110 and 111 when the narrator explains, “Lors il commence a demander/Li rois que cil bains senefie” [Then The king began to ask him what the bath signifies].⁵¹ Saladin also comments on the meanings that Hue attributes to the actions he performs. For example, in line 158 of the poem, Saladin responds to the explanation of the meaning of the red robe with the line “Hues, fet il, molt me merveille” [Hue, he said, I am greatly impressed] (trans. Busby). These statements of reaction by Saladin, express his interest in and approval of the ideals of a Christian form of chivalry, and help to explain why Saladin was seen from the Middle Ages to the modern era as an example of the chivalrous Muslim. These questions and rejoinders do not occur in the prose version. Instead, Hue provides the meaning for each of the individual actions without being prompted or encouraged to continue.

The poem and prose version also diverge when it comes to the meaning of the symbols. For example, the white sheets (*blans dras*, line 139) in which Saladin is clad after the bath in the poem represent cleanliness of body (“...sa char nettement tenir” line 145), but in the prose version the white “chemise” only represents honesty (*hounesté*) (line 111). The prose version also lacks reference to a knights’ duty towards women. This

⁵¹ Busby’s translation. The prose version has a different reading of the text in which Hue asks Saladin if he understands the meaning of the bath by adding Hue as the subject of the sentence and the direct object pronoun *li* before the verb *demande*. This was also my initial reading of the lines of the poem, but I defer to Busby’s expertise of the text.

may have been a scribal error rather than a purposeful omission because Hue makes reference to four (iiii) obligations of the knighthood, but only declaims three of them to Saladin (112).

The other major difference between the prose version and the poem is that Saladin is willing to let all of Hue's men go and gives them gold, silks and horses (114). After becoming a knight, Saladin decides to leave the Christians alone and go fight in Persia (114). This text does not contain the final portion in which the author speaks directly to the reader, but it does create a perception of the knighthood as a hegemonic form of masculinity and in some ways actually presents the knighthood as a dominant form of masculinity in clearer terms than the original poem. Hue and his men are treated with greater respect by Saladin when they have dinner together. Hue willingly goes ahead with the accolade without worry that this would be offensive. The conflict between Saladin and Hue at the end of the narrative over the release of all Hue's men is also ignored in the prose version. The scenes in the text which demonstrate Saladin's authority over Hue have been excised. The fact that he no longer desires to wage war on the Christians in the prose version may also be linked to the king's newfound chivalric nature.

Unlike the other works of chivalric conduct explored in this dissertation, the *Ordene de chevalerie* contains a narrative and focuses on the relationship that develops between two men in the process of initiation into knighthood. Simon Gaunt, in his study of French romance creates a term for defining the masculinity between the two men as well as the nature of their relationship. For Gaunt, *monologic masculinity* defines the way that gender is examined between two men in a text when there are no women to act as a

means of definition (23). This term actually builds on a concept in the social sciences called homosociality which was discussed by Jean Lipman-Blumen in her 1976 article, "Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex-Roles: An Explanation of the Segregation of Social Institutions." Homosociality is the non-sexual attraction that one has for members of their own sex (16). Sharon Bird believes that homosocial interaction among heterosexual men is one of the main ways in which hegemonic masculinity is maintained (221).

In a group setting, hegemonic qualities can be reinforced and non-hegemonic qualities can be oppressed, especially when the hegemonic form of masculinity is uncontested (Bird 221). This can be seen in the *Ordene* through the ways in which Saladin accepts the process of becoming a knight as good and valid: he is not questioning Hue's actions in the ritual and in some cases, he agrees with them. This acceptance shows that the chivalric masculinity as presented by Hue is uncontested.

As he goes through the ceremony, any values or ideas that Saladin may have as a Muslim warrior are being suppressed with the acceptance of the Christian values that Hue presents as an integral part of his (and the writer's) conceptualization of chivalric masculinity. The author of the text further reinforces this idea by making no mention of a comparable masculinity among the Muslims. The text does not present the warrior masculinity that is a part of Saladin's culture and Hue makes no effort to gain an understanding of it. In this way, the author emphasizes to the reader that chivalric masculinity is a hegemonic ideal because it is the only form of masculinity presented. There is no mention of Saladin as a warrior or having any sort of masculinity beyond the one that Hue presents.

The author intimates that the new found good will on the part of Saladin at the end of the story can be attributed to the education he received in becoming a knight. For this reason, it is valuable to examine the relationship between Hue and Saladin. The masculinity between the two men is defined by their relationship to each other and not by their relationship to women. Todd Migliaccio in his article “Men’s Friendships: Performances of Masculinities” states that one of the aspects of male friendship that informs the dynamics of this relationship is a desire not to appear feminine (273). I would extend this definition to say that one of the dynamics of this kind of relationship is not to appear as any kind of “other” in order to fit in.

Thus, one of the results of the friendship between Hue and Saladin is that Saladin no longer appears as “the other,” because he has taken on the appearance of western hegemonic masculinity in the process of being outfitted as a knight as part of the ceremony. Steven J. Harvey notes that male friendships are based on shared experiences, what one of his interviewees describes as “being forged in the trenches” (102). This reiterates the idea stated above that the relationship between Hue and Saladin changes through the ceremony of knighthood. In the beginning of the text, Saladin says that Hue must pay a ransom or be faced with the threat of death, but at the end of the text, Saladin and his emirs are the ones who provide the money in order to pay off the ransom and more besides which is then distributed among the people when Hue returns to Christian territory. The clearest explanation for the change is the bond that is forged between Hue and Saladin through the ritual of becoming a knight, Hue’s relationship with Saladin changes from that of enemy combatant to that of friend who is seated next to the king. This friendship is based on the joint experience of the ritual of initiation into the

knighthood. This ceremony teaches Saladin and the reader about the values of chivalry from a clerical perspective while still showing how the knight ought to be highest regarded mode of masculinity by the writer's medieval audience.

CHAPTER IV

LE LIVRE DE CHEVALERIE DE GEOFFROI DE CHARNY:

PROWESS AS HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Geoffroi de Charny lived a life full of chivalric adventure. In this chapter, I hope to show how Charny embodied the chivalric ideal of masculinity in his own life and tried to encourage other knights to follow his path to honor through prowess. This chapter will examine how Charny reinforces the idea of the knighthood as the hegemonic masculinity by presenting another dominant masculinity, the priesthood, as weaker than the knighthood. Another important aspect of the text explored in this chapter is the way in which Charny helps to prepare knights for the rigors of battle and opens a path for those who were not knights to take part in chivalric masculinity. Finally, I discuss how the “chivalry topos” shapes Charny’s conception of love and how he takes it in a direction opposite of the chivalric romances in which it normally appears.

The *Livre de chevalerie de Geoffroi de Charny* is a text that is very different from the *Ordene de chevalerie* in both form and content. Unlike the *Ordene* which was most likely written by a priest, the *Livre* was written by a knight and member of the nobility. For the modern reader, this text provides an articulation of chivalry from the perspective of someone who actually lived it and made a name for himself as a model of chivalric behavior. By means of this text, Charny is able to communicate—to both a contemporary and a modern reader—how a knight represents the hegemonic ideal of masculinity in fourteenth-century France.

Unlike the *Ordene de chevalerie* whose authorship and provenance are unknown, we know a great deal about the author of the *Livre de chevalerie* and the probable context in which it was written. The name and exploits of the author, Geoffroi de Charny, appear in the chronicles of Froissart⁵² and Geoffroi (Galfridi) le Baker.⁵³ Charny's *Livre* provides encouragement and instruction to the body of knights, and asserts the hegemonic nature of chivalric masculinity in the overtly institutional setting of a royal chivalric order. As we shall see, the author emphasizes the idea that chivalric masculinity is superior to even the masculinity of clerics. This hegemony is not based on social status or religious faith but on honor gained from showing prowess in battle. This prowess on the part of the knighthood was necessary, as at the time of the text's composition, France was fighting England in the Hundred Years' War. Although the war is never mentioned in the text, we shall see that it is a product of its historical setting.

According to Edouard Perroy, France in the year 1300 was the most developed country in Europe which allowed it to exert "political and cultural hegemony" (35). John Bell Hennenman Jr. notes that France was the incubator if not the birthplace of chivalry (218). By the time Charny, wrote his *Livre de chevalerie*, the situation was very different. France had lost the battle of Crécy (1346) as well as the city of Calais to the English. The loss of the latter was especially worrying as the city could be used as a beachhead by English troops. Geoffroi de Charny himself had been sent by King Jean II to recover the

⁵² Charny is mentioned in Volumes I and V of the *Chroniques* of Froissart.

⁵³ Geoffroi le Baker makes multiple references to Charny in his *Chronicon Angliae temporibus Edwardi II et Edwardi III*, which deals with the history of England during the reigns of the two titular kings. At one point in his text, Le Baker refers to Charny as the Lord of Matas. This may be a reference to the property that Charny had received from the king for his service (Cazelles 281). Le Baker says that Charny "was more practiced in military matters than any other French knight" (90).

city by means of a stratagem that involved paying off Amery of Pavia, a knight of Lombard origin, who had been made captain of Calais by Edward III in order to open the gates to the city for them. Unfortunately, Edward III got wind of the plan, which led to Charny's first incarceration (Le Baker 91). Meanwhile, in addition to the English troops, bands of routiers⁵⁴ ravaged the countryside. In a sense, the secular powers of the time were not fulfilling their duty of maintaining the peace. This was the traditional feudal duty of the class of *bellatores* or fighters. Georges Duby in his book, *Les Trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*, notes that as far back as the late 400s Pope Gelasius separated society into those who helped maintain the peace in heaven and those who maintained the peace on earth (100). The failure of the knighthood in these instances chipped away at the perception of chivalry as the hegemonic ideal of masculinity in the eyes of the French populace. For example, the *Chronicle of Jean de Venette* airs many of the concerns of the populace regarding the knightly class (101). Charny's text was therefore most likely a tool prepared by its author for use by the king of France as a means of returning the knighthood to its former glory and enabling the French to regain credibility in their battles with the English.

The *Livre de chevalerie of Geoffroi de Charny* has also proved very useful to modern scholars, as a means of understanding fourteenth-century chivalry from the perspective of an actual knight. Scholars have used it to compare the reality of chivalry to

⁵⁴ According to Nicholas Wright, the just warrior, as proposed by legal theorists of that time, responded to the summons of his sovereign and then returned home at the end of fighting with his just profits of war. There were many soldiers who also became "routiers" (Wright uses the word "freebooters") "because of their own cruelty or greed or to support the cruelty and greed of someone else." According to the etymological dictionary prepared by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* of France term can be traced back to Latin and an irregular past participle form of "ruptus," to break. Routier came to mean a band of soldiers. Wace uses "route" to mean a band or troop in his *Brut*. (Routier)

its description in fictional accounts as well as a means of understanding the difference between the various conceptions of chivalry from different epochs. Norman Housley makes a connection between Charny's *Livre de chevalerie* and the *Livre de faits* about the fifteenth-century knight Boucicaut (29-30). Gerald Morgan uses Charny's text to show that Chaucer's ideal knight as depicted in the *Canterbury Tales* was entirely plausible ("Experience" 205; "Worthiness"). Morgan also uses the text to discuss the idea of medieval misogyny, by showing that ladies spurred knights to demonstrate their prowess, and that they felt an obligation to protect widows ("Medieval Misogyny" 266-67). I question, however, whether Charny is the best source to use in understanding English chivalry, especially since English knights were much more successful on the battlefield than their French counterparts. A better source would be the biography of the Black Prince by Chandos Herald, which seeks to show the prince as a model of English chivalry.

Zeynep Çeçen mentions that Charny, like Llull, wished to put knighthood on par with the clergy (69). I disagree with this idea as well, because I posit that Charny believes the knighthood to be superior to the clergy. In his text, as we shall see later in the chapter, the knight perseveres through constant confrontations with his own imminent demise, while lacking the comforts afforded to the clerical order. Charny's text has also appeared as a source in recent unpublished dissertations (Riddell, Beck). Unfortunately, none of these works delves deeply into the text itself. In short, there has been no scholarship exploring the nature of the chivalric masculinity expounded in the *Livre*.

Charny's text has, however, come to greater prominence thanks to the scholarship of Richard Kaeuper⁵⁵ and Elspeth Kennedy through their 1996 edition of the work. All contemporary research on the *Livre* leads back to either the discussions of the text written by Kennedy and Kaeuper in English, or those written by Philippe Contamine in French starting in the early 1980s. Most twentieth-century references to the *Compagnie de l'estoile* — known in English as the *Order of the Star*— direct the reader towards Jonathon Boulton's *Knights of the Crown*. For this reason, this chapter makes heavy use of these works in its historical overview; in addition, I have obtained and studied the original sources when possible.

Three medieval manuscripts of the *Livre de chevalerie* exist. The most complete version is a fourteenth-century manuscript located at the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brussels (MS 1124-26), which contains 136 folios of parchment. An incomplete fifteenth-century manuscript is located at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, 4736). A third manuscript is located at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (MSS 9270).⁵⁶ This third manuscript has received very little attention from scholars. There is no record of any translation having ever been made before the 1996 translation by Kaeuper and Kennedy which includes the original Old French version of the text,⁵⁷ and a 1999 edition entitled *A Knights' Own Book* which is an exact duplication of the 1996 edition that does not contain the Old French version. The only modern appearance of the complete text before the 1996 translation is in Kervyn de

⁵⁵ Kaeuper especially has made use of his work on the *Livre* in his books *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* and *Holy Warriors* which together have been widely cited.

⁵⁶ Jesús Rodríguez -Velasco mentions this manuscript in his book *Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile*. He states that the *Livre* was well-known and distributed widely which contradicts the research of Kaeuper and Kennedy (181).

⁵⁷ This version uses the MS 1124-26 as its base.

Lettenhove's publication of Froissart's *Chroniques* in 1867. Lettenhove makes reference to a copy of the manuscript of the *Livre de chevalerie* in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne as his source (I, 462), but there is no other record of the existence of such a manuscript.

In his discussion of the text, Richard Kaeuper states that: "authorship does not imply penmanship" (*Livre* 18). We do not know if Charny wrote the text or dictated it to a scribe or even if any manuscript was contemporaneous of the author. Yet, because of his important role in royal and diplomatic affairs, it is safe to assume that he was at least literate. None of the manuscripts have any markings that would indicate that they are connected to the *Compagnie de l'estoile*, the chivalric order for whom the text was supposedly written. Kennedy and Kaeuper were unable to narrow a date of production of the manuscripts beyond the fourteenth century. The *Livre* itself is quite long when compared with the other manuals of chivalric conduct in this dissertation. Whatever Charny's role in the production of the manuscript, the text itself offers a very thorough account of the chivalric ideal provided by a member of the knighthood who tried to live up to his own ideal.

Charny writes using the first person in both singular and plural forms while referring to knights, with some exceptions, in the third person. The authorial voice speaks directly to the reader, and unlike the *Ordene de Chevalerie*, does not use a frame story. Elspeth Kennedy points out that Charny's sentences tend to be "long and rambling" (*Livre* 83). Charny is first and foremost remembered as a knight, and is not known to have had any other literary experience besides his manuals.

Charny would ultimately produce three works on the topic of knighthood. The first, *Demandes pour la joute, les tournois et la guerre*,⁵⁸ was composed of a series of questions on chivalric practice in battle, which were designed to be answered by knights at the formal meetings of the *Compagnie*. The only modern complete version of the text is in Michael Taylor's 1977 unpublished dissertation, which is a critical edition of the two shorter works of Geoffroi de Charny.⁵⁹ The second work, entitled *Livre Charny*, focuses on the qualities of a chivalric life. It is a short work written in verse and although it has a similar theme and tone, it is not as long as the *Livre de chevalerie de Geoffroi de Charny*, which is the topic of this chapter.

The *Livre* is written in prose and covers a much wider range of issues than the *Livre Charny*. The text does not discuss battlefield tactics, but rather presents a philosophical approach to knighthood, one that covers all aspects of an honorable knight's life from comportment in the field, to matters concerning dress, and even to personal habits. For Charny, the most important trait of a young knight is "tres grant volenté" [a lot of determination] (*Livre* 100), and this determination is what pushes him to gain the prowess which will bring him honor.

⁵⁸ These questions delve into the minutia of jousts, tournaments, and war. For example, if both knights unhorse each other, do they switch horses? (Taylor 80). Most questions end with the interrogative expression "Qu'en dictes vous?" (What do you say?). For a more recent treatment of the *Demandes* see Muhlbuenger 2014. Unfortunately, no written answers to these questions exist.

⁵⁹ Taylor explicitly states at the beginning of his dissertation that his project excludes the longer *Livre de chevalerie* because a complete version of that text was published in Lettenhove's edition of Froissart (n.p.)

Instead of providing instruction on how to use weapons in combat along the lines of Vegetius' *De rei militari*,⁶⁰ a Roman text that was still held as a model of chivalric literature in the Middle Ages, Charny suggests that the best way for a knight to improve his prowess is to watch how others comport themselves on the battlefield, and listening and asking about what one does not know. Charny states: "... et chascun bon de cest mestier d'armes doit on priser et honorer, et regarder les meilleurs et apprendre d'eulz oir et escouter, et demander de ce que l'en ne scet..." [Every man who does well in this military vocation should be prized and honored, and one should observe those who are best and learn by listening to them and asking about what one does not know] (*Livre* 104, trans. Kennedy 105). This, as well as firsthand experience in the defense of castles and during sieges, is all that the knight really needs to know (*Livre* 102). This advice to knights, to seek information on the mechanics of battle from examples and experience rather than relying on instruction from his own text allows Charny to focus on the philosophical underpinnings of chivalry as a means of reminding French knights of their duty to seek prowess as well as practical advice on maintaining readiness away from the battlefield. Such an approach makes Charny's text stand in contrast to a purely didactic training manual, like that of Vegetius, which contains tactics and practical methods for waging war, but which does not encourage knights to live a strenuous life. The *Livre* is focused on exhorting those who have been dubbed knights to assume the responsibilities of their order and to seek military prowess. The main thrust of the text is that all men-at-arms (*gens d'armes*) should do as much as possible to gain the greatest possible renown.

¹⁰ This text, composed circa AD 390, contains a detailed guide to military life and covers such diverse topics as basic training, keeping accounts and how siege engines are constructed. For historical information on this text, see *Vegetius in Context* by Michael B. Charles.

This focus and philosophical approach fits neatly with King Jean II's plans to improve the quality of the French knighthood.

The *Livre* is closely attached to its historical milieu and this information is important for gaining a deeper understanding of the text; moreover, I argue that the *Livre* demonstrates a desire to maintain knighthood as the hegemonic masculinity in France during the first part of the Hundred Years' War. Charny's life is also essential context because the representations of him in the chronicles present a man who strove to live up to the ideas he expounded. He is, in a sense, the personification of the ideal hegemonic masculinity that Jean II sought to encourage among the French knighthood. Although Connell states that the number of direct examples of hegemonic masculinity (i.e. Those that embody perfectly the hegemonic ideal) may be quite small (*Masculinities* 30). Charny's life is one of the closest things to an example of a society's hegemonic masculinity put into practice.

When Jean II ascended to the throne in 1350, he set in motion a plan of chivalric reform that included the founding of a new order of French knighthood, *La Compagnie de l'estoile*, which was modeled on the English *Order of the Garter*.⁶¹ Correspondence between Jean, who was then still Duc de Normandie, and the Pope has shown that Jean II's desire to set up a chivalric order dates to 1344, when Jean was waiting to ascend the throne. He had written to the Vatican asking permission to set up a church for his order,

⁶¹ The *Order of the Garter* was a chivalric order created by King Edward III of England sometime between 1347 and 1350, as part of an effort to restore the Round Table of Arthurian legend (Collins 6-10). The Order was created to link the current king with King Arthur as well as to create a more congenial relationship between the king and the more powerful members of the knightly class. For a history of the founding of the Order of the Garter see *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461* by Hugh L. Collins.

and for the right to have clerics who would be allowed to perform certain rites for the knights (Déprez, 883).

For unknown reasons, the order was never created during the rest of Jean's tenure as Duc de Normandie. Yet, this desire carried over to his reign and was useful for political purposes, as Jean II tried to unify the nobility around his right to rule. This chivalric project took on even greater importance after Jean's troops were defeated at the battle of Crécy (1346). Many saw this defeat as a punishment from God for the sins of the privileged orders (Cazelles 124). Cazelles also states that Geoffroi de Charny was selected to be a member of the Conseil Royal after the meeting of the États Généraux in 1347 (Cazelles 146). This selection had much to do with the fact that Jean wanted more than political reform, he was seeking moral reform as well (Cazelles 123). Cazelles goes so far as to list the qualities that Charny and the other new members of the council possessed: honesty, loyalty, justice and piety. Charny may have been born a member of the lesser nobility, but these supposed moral qualities, in addition to his abilities, allowed him to become an important member of the king's cabinet, charged with such matters as helping to retake the city of Calais from the English as described in the chronicles of Froissart and Le Baker.

The French historian Philippe Contamine notes that Charny was the second son of a cadet branch of the noble Mont-St. Jean family ("Charny"108). This may be one reason why Charny made such an effort in matters of chivalry. According to Contamine, "Force lui était de tenter l'aventure s'il voulait vraiment s'imposer" [He was obliged to seek adventure if he truly wanted to make a name for himself] ("Charny"108).⁶² For all his

⁶² My translation.

discussion of honor, when he was starting out, Charny may have been driven by economic reasons. In the records of Philippe de Valois he is described as a *bachelier*, a member of the lesser of the two levels of knighthood, and was paid as such (Contamine, “Charny”108). We get a sense of Charny’s true status only through the amount that was required for his ransom which, according to Contamine, was equivalent to that of a “grand seigneur” or a captain of renown (Contamine “Charny”112). Kaeuper states that we know Charny was not a member of the upper nobility because his battle cry, which is used at the very end of the *Livre*, does not contain a place name, but only his patronymic (*Livre* 4).

By 1356 Charny had acquired a residence in Paris that had been confiscated from Josseran de Macron by the king due to Macron’s disloyalty (Cazelles 281) He also received a castle in Liry as his residence upon his second marriage to Jeanne de Vergy, Lady of Montfort and Savoisy, with whom he had a son, also named Geoffroi and a daughter, Charlotte (Kaeuper, *Livre* 4). His son later died without issue, ending the family line. It was at the castle of Liry that the relic which came to be known as the Shroud of Turin⁶³ was displayed, in a church that became a center of pilgrimage. We know this information from the discovery of pilgrim badges in the Seine river bearing Charny’s coat of arms (Kaeuper *Livre* 40). On June 25, 1355, Charny was made the bearer of the *Oriflamme*, the royal battle standard, which was the highest honor of French

⁶³ There is another Geoffroi de Charny, who acted as preceptor of Normandie at the time of Jacques de Molay, the final Grandmaster of the Knights Templar. The elder Charny was executed with Molay in 1314 (Barber 332). For a fictional yet historically accurate account of the execution see *Le Roi de fer* by Maurice Druon. According to Ian Wilson, the Shroud of Turin was a relic originally belonging to the Knights Templar and at the dissolution of the order, it was passed to the Charny family for safe keeping. This is how the younger Charny gained possession of it. Although the elder Charny did indeed exist, the information about the shroud passing into the family is merely speculation started in the 18th and 19th centuries according to Barber (332).

chivalry.⁶⁴ According to Froissart, Charny died clutching the *Oriflamme* at the Battle of Poitiers on September 19, 1456 (I, 117). This was an apt death for someone whom Raymond Cazelles calls the “spokesman and chief theoretician of chivalry, in its highest and most noble form” (121).

It is not surprising that Jean’s first steps in creating a new order were to communicate his desire to the church. Chivalric orders originally developed as religious organizations during the crusades (Boulton 16). Bernard of Clairvaux wrote the manual for the first chivalric Order around 1128. This order was known as *the Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon* this is the full name of the order more famously known as the Knights Templar. The order proved so successful that its power spread beyond the Holy Land to Europe itself. Boulton notes that because of the military and financial success of such orders, it was not surprising that kings would seek to create their own orders which answered directly to them (21).

The creation of an order that was loyal to the crown was still a reasonable proposition almost 200 years later given the political situation in France when Jean became king. Graeme Small states that Jean’s hold on the kingdom was tenuous (102). France was undergoing a period of centralization and the nobility was fighting to protect their rights of autonomy against the encroachment of the royal government, which was seeking more control, especially over matters of taxation. Cazelles states that this was a major issue in the kingdom of France during the Hundred Years’ War, especially after the

⁶⁴ The *Oriflamme* was a red, swallow-tailed banner that was the royal battle standard of France. It was kept at the royal abbey of St. Denis. Although there is much legend surrounding how it came to be an important symbol to the French, the first historical record to mention the *Oriflamme* dates to 1124, when it was raised at the Abbey by King Louis VI (Contamine *Guerre, état et société* 5). In Charny’s time the knight chosen to bear it in was considered to be the pinnacle of chivalry, and was usually an older knight (Contamine, *Guerre, état et société*, 23).

defeat at Crécy in 1346 (122). Barbara Tuchman explains why this was such a major issue. The nobility was exempted from paying taxes due to their role as protectors of the realm (Tuchman 15). Failure on the warfront led to questions as to why the nobility was absolved from paying the crushing hearth tax, a medieval property tax calculated by the number of hearths in a household.

The person of the French king was also the only thing that united the kingdom. Many nobles, especially in Normandy, styled themselves as sovereign lords as much as possible (Small 1). Jean needed a way to make the nobility more loyal to the crown. By creating the *Compagnie de l'estoile* formally known as *La Société de Notre Dame de la Noble Maison*, Jean hoped to instill such a sense of loyalty. The purpose was thus political and secular in nature, but wrapped in the trappings of religion, like the Templar Order that preceded it. It was for this *Compagnie* that Charny wrote his *Livre de Chevalerie*.

The second purpose for the creation of the *Compagnie de l'estoile* was to improve the quality of the French knighthood. According to the chronicle of the Liégeois writer Jean le Bel (c. 1290-1370), King Edward III of England created the *Order of the Garter* in order to reward the knighthood in England for their loyalty and prowess (II, 26). In Boulton's opinion, Jean was also seeking to reward loyalty and prowess but his order was created because this is exactly what the French knighthood lacked (201). Leopold Pannier takes a slightly different view of the matter. According to him, the main reason why the king created the *Compagnie de l'estoile* was so that he could surround himself with "gaies compères" (cheerful friends) and show himself before the ladies as "le modèle du chevalier parfait" (the model of the perfect knight) (87).

The knights of this new order of chivalry were supposed to gather twice a year. At these meetings, the knights were to be asked questions about chivalry which had been prepared by Charny (Boulton 200). The *Demandes* themselves state that they were produced by Geoffroi de Charny for use by the knights of *Notre Dame de la Noble Maison* and this was probably accurate (Muhlberger 83). The new order was thus partly a pedagogical tool to instruct the French knights in how they should comport themselves. According to Kaeuper, Geoffroi de Charny was commissioned by Jean II to write a series of works to act as a sort of manual for the members and to set what Kaeuper calls “the moral tone of the order” (Kaeuper, *Livre* 13).

Jean wanted knights to comport themselves in a way that reflected the chivalry of the past as well as that of the knights of epic and romance (Pannier 87). The knights were to tell scribes about all of their adventures from the previous year both positive and negative, so that they could be written down and read out to the whole body of knights; following this, the order doled out rewards and punishments to those who deserved them (Boulton 200). Boulton also states that while this action was new for an order of knighthood, other sorts of confraternities had similar practices (200). Elspeth Kennedy builds on Boulton to point out that chivalry in the real world draws more from chivalric romance than it appears on the surface (*Livre*, 70). The original vision for the order that Jean sought to create in 1344 shared many similarities with the Franc Palais of *Perceforest*, a prose romance probably written between 1330-1344 (Bryant 43-52). An order to honor the most chivalrous and, above all, the most loyal knights was necessary because knighthood had become something that was no longer earned, but rather,

something that was given to all male nobles automatically when they reached maturity (Boulton 170).

The order is known to have met only once. Right before what was expected to be their second meeting, Jean sent the *Compagnie de l'estoile* into battle at Mauron in Normandy. The battle was a catastrophe and as many as 80 knights of the *Compagnie* are known to have been killed (Boulton 182). This was partly due to one of the oaths that each of the knights swore — to be either killed or captured, but never to flee more than four arpents from the battle (Déprez 204-206).⁶⁵ Documents on the battle indicate that many of the deaths occurred because these knights tried to remain loyal to their oath. In spite of these heavy losses and the cancelation of the second general meeting, it appears that Jean desired to continue with his chivalric project. He wanted to resurrect the order later but the time was never politically opportune. It is thought that he was getting ready to restart the order after the battle of Poitiers (1356), but he was captured by the English and held for an enormous ransom (Kaeuper, *Livre* 15). His son Charles V, who acted as regent during his captivity focused on securing the release of his father. The order may have continued as an honorary title, however, until the death of Charles V in 1380 (Boulton 188).

Kaeuper assumes that the *Livre* was not read as widely as other works of chivalric conduct such as the *Llibre de l'orde de Cavalleria* of Ramón Llull because the former work was intimately tied to the *Compagnie de l'estoile* (Kaeuper, *Livre* 20). When the order was abandoned, the manual seems to have fallen into obscurity. This neglect may also be partly due to the fact that the values and ideals presented in the text did not represent the values and ideals of the generation of knights for whom it was written. If

⁶⁵ An “arpent” was a pre-metric unit of land measurement equal to about 3,420 square meters.

the generation of knights that lived in France at the time of Charny shared his values, the reform project of the king would not have been necessary. We know from both Charny's and Venette's texts that knights were no longer interested in the strenuous life that Charny believed to be such an important component of chivalry. Unfortunately, when these values were reintroduced by means of the rule of the *Compagnie de l'estoile*, it led to the dissolution of the chivalric order itself. Although Charny may have embodied the ideal of French chivalric masculinity in the fourteenth century, from a purely practical standpoint, not everyone had the ability or desire necessary to uphold these ideals.

In Charny's *Livre de chevalerie* the hegemonic nature of chivalric masculinity is based on the knight's actions in battle, his prowess. Charny himself does not use the word prowess in the text and instead relies on the adjectival form "*preux*" of which the closest English translation is the word "valiant." Yet, even if he does not explicitly use the word "*prouesse*" it is the word that best describes the ideas that Charny sets forth in his text. The word prowess can be found at least as far back as the *Chanson de Roland*, the first French epic poem written down sometime between 1040 and 1115, (*proecce*) in which it was used to express an idea of bravery and valor in battle.⁶⁶ Prowess was a quality linked to the warrior hero from very early in the development of one of the literary genres that would appeal to knights. Kaeuper provides a more graphic definition of prowess: "Skillful, courageous, hands-on violence, the bloody and sweaty work of fighting superbly at close quarters with weapons is the glorious means of securing honor..." (*Holy* 43). Prowess is linked to success on the battlefield and subsequent honor, which makes it a cornerstone of Charny's knightly ideal. Charny's advice extends beyond the battlefield itself and also into discusses how the knight can best prepare himself to face

⁶⁶ This word is used in *laisse* CXXI, line 1607 and in *laisse* CXXXI, line 1731.

the challenges of knighthood. The contents of the *Livre* can be divided into three main categories. The first category contains the material which encourages the knight to actively seek opportunities to fight in battles as well as how to avoid the obstacles that keep a knight from fighting.

The second category of material provides advice on how the knight should comport himself off the battlefield in order to maintain his honor. These passages discuss the knight's habits and dress as well as his behavior with others, including ladies. The third category deals with spiritual matters and talks about importance of faith in the life of a knight. I believe that in these portions of the text, Charny seeks to demonstrate that the order of chivalry is superior to the order of the clergy. Whereas the *Ordene* seeks to demonstrate the close link between religious faith and the knighthood, Charny's text in many ways uses faith in God as a means of ensuring prowess in battle. In the *Livre*, the knight does not act in the service of God, but rather in the service of prowess.

Modern scholarship has shown that the relationship between the knighthood and the clerical class was complex as can be seen in the scholarly works that discuss the mutual perceptions of the two groups. This complexity can even allow for two modern scholars to interpret the same text in different ways. Andrew Romig argues that the *Vita of Gerald of Aurillac* written circa 930 by Odo of Cluny shows that "Carolingian spiritual advisors affirmed the fundamental equality between the secular and professional religious men" (41). Discussing the same text, J. L. Nelson states that Odo faced "a difficult balancing act" to show how a secular man, one tainted by bearing arms and having relations with women, could also have the qualities necessary to become a saint (126). According to Andrew Holt, the church began to feel superior to the secular state at the

time of the Gregorian reforms (ca. 1050-1080) (187). George Hunston Williams states that this superiority was present as far back as St. Ambrose (circa 337-397), who described the priesthood as the purest metal, gold, while the secular state was described as resembling the basest metal, lead (45).

Frederick Russell in his book, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* shows that there was not one monolithic view among the clerical class concerning the behavior of knights. The author of the twelfth century *Decretum Gratiani* took a dim view of the ferocity and cupidity of the knights, calling into question the patristic vision of the Christian soldier and “thereby striking at the core of the knightly practice” (61). However, in a later chapter Russell states that Thomas Aquinas was much more supportive of the knighthood and believed that even clerics were free to take part in hostilities (269). Aquinas also had a loose definition of what violence was licit, another point of contention among medieval clerics. Russell notes the Aquinas believed that knights were always just in killing sinners (273).

As noted in chapter II, the martial image was a popular trope in medieval monastic literature. Jennifer Thibodeaux, shows that many members of the secular clergy took part in tournaments and jousts as well as competed in duels just like those who had been dubbed knights. She notes that these behaviors were related to the fact that many priests were raised in knightly households and so “had absorbed these values as children” (“Man” 393). Even though clerics and knights shared the same values, there was a strong flavor of anti-clericalism in literature popular with knights. Peter Noble says that in works such as the twelfth-century epic poems *Raoul de Cambrai*, *Girart de Vienne*, and *Girart de Rousillon*, the clerics are not respected or shown as respectable people (151).

According to Noble, the clergy is present in the text in order to help the hero when needed but is held in contempt by the knights (154).

R.N. Swanson asserts that anti-clericalism shared characteristics with views of gender. In Swanson's own words, "Anti-clericalism is often voiced in the same tone as medieval misogyny" (167). Although not the focus of this dissertation, the connection between anti-clericalism and misogyny would prove to be a rich topic for exploration. In spite of the fact that there was disagreement between knights and clerics, Georges Duby affirms that there was one thing in which knights and clerics were in complete agreement: women were both weak and dangerous (*Le Chevalier*, 46).

This agreement on the status of women did not completely unite the divide that was perceived between the two forms of masculinity. Current scholarship on medieval clerical masculinity compares and contrasts it with its secular counterpart.⁶⁷ R.N. Swanson goes so far as to create a third gender which he calls "*emascularity*" due to the tensions between the two which stem from the medieval conception of manhood based on procreation, something that the clerical class was forbidden to do (161). In his *Livre*, Geoffroi de Charny gives the modern reader the opportunity to read how one knight demonstrates the idea that chivalric masculinity is superior to the masculinity of the secular clergy.

The Christian and secular spheres of medieval society were often intermingled (Tuchman 32).⁶⁸ Therefore, it is not surprising that Charny provides his own

⁶⁷ See especially the anthologies *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, and *Negotiating Clerical Identities* as well as the monograph, *The Manly Priest*.

⁶⁸ In her recent book, *Medieval Crossover: Reading the Secular Against the Sacred*, Barbara Newman points out that in the modern world, secularity dominates and the sacred is relegated to a niche in society. She goes on to explain that in the Middle Ages, the opposite was the case (viii).

commentary on the role of the priesthood. In a reversal from the *Ordene de chevalerie* in which a priest discusses the qualities of the ideal knight, in the *Livre* a knight lays out the qualities of a good priest. He stresses that they must be free of sin and sing mass with devotion:

Et pour miex en avoir la cognaissance qu'il soit ainsi, devez vous savoir que a touz prestre qui a si haut service sont ordenez de faire, appartient a mener honestes vies; et quant il veulent venir en l'eglise pour chanter la messe, il y doivent venir nettoiz de tous leurs pechiez et en tres grant devocion...

[And in order to have a better understanding of this, you should know that it behooves all priests to live honest lives; and when they come to church to sing mass, they ought to come there cleansed from all their sins and very devout...] (*Livre* 180, trans. Kennedy 181)

He claims that the priesthood is the worthiest order “La plus digne ordre qui soit” (*Livre* 172), but in the text, Charny’s relation with the priesthood is ambivalent. The author does not always hold members of the religious class in the highest regard. Charny ostensibly creates an image of the priesthood in which priests are warriors for God. While this sounds like the highest compliment that a knight can give, immediately after this passage he declares that knights are in many ways stronger than these clerics:

Et trop bien peut apparoir que es ordres de religion, combien qu'il leur soit dit a entrere, quant l'en cuidera mengier, l'en jeunera, quant l'on voudra

Her work discusses how writers of romance such as Chretien de Troyes, used ambiguity to create works that could be both secular and sacred at the same time.

jeuner, lors convendra mengier, et quant l'en cuidera dormir, il convendra veillier et moult de teles autres choses, n'est ce mie comparasons d'asses souffrir comme en l'ordre de chevalerie.

[It will indeed be apparent that, however much it may be said to those entering the religious orders that when they want to eat, they will fast and when they want to fast they will have to eat, when they want to sleep they will have to keep vigil, and many other such things, that is all nothing in comparison to the suffering to be endured in the order of knighthood.]

(*Livre 174* trans. Kennedy 175)

In this passage, Charny paints a picture of life in the religious orders that is comfortable compared to life on the battlefield. Charny presents the men of the religious orders as weak compared to the hardy knights. Richard Kaeuper in his book *Holy Warriors* uses examples from romance to illustrate that knightly suffering was perceived to be, in his words, “*meritorius*” and had “spiritual underpinnings given the cultural milieu” (100-103). What these examples from the *Chanson d'Asprement* and *Girart de Vienne*, do not show, however, is a view of the knighthood as superior to the clerical class as Charny illustrates in his work.

Charny states later in the passage that knights have to put up with much the same conditions as the religious orders, having to fast when they are hungry and stay awake when they want to sleep. However, he also mentions other difficulties that knights must endure and then emphasizes the fact that for them, there is always the lingering threat of death or being captured by the enemy (*Livre 183*). He asserts:

Et pour ce est-il bien assavoir que a ces bons chevaliers peut avenir assez de dures vies et aventures, que l'en leur peut bien dire que quant ils cuident dormir, il les convient veillier, et quant il voudront mengier, il les faut jeuner, et quant il ont soif, il n'ont rienz a boire moult de foiz, et quant il se cuident reposer, lors les convient travailler et a tresnuitier, et quant ils cuident estre asseur, lors leur viennent il de grans paours, et quant il cuident desconfire leurs enemies, aucune foisse treuvent desconfiz ou mors ou pris et bleciez et [en] la paine de garir

[Hence it should be understood that good knights may have to undergo hard trials and adventures for it truly can be said to them that when they want to sleep they must keep vigil, when they want to eat, they must fast and when they are thirsty, there is often nothing to drink, and when they would rest, they have to exert themselves all through the night, and when they would be secure from danger, they will be beset with great terrors, and when they would defeat their enemies, sometimes they may be defeated or killed or captured and wounded and struggling to recover.]

(Livre 176, trans. Kennedy 177)

In the above passage, Charny repeats what has already been said about the suffering of the members of the religious orders and then adds to it. This repetition stresses the commonality between the knights and the priestly class. The knights are implicitly shown to be stronger than the priests because the list of what knights are forced to endure is longer and more dangerous.

The final sections of the text focus on spiritual matters. Although the knight is always to remember God as a protector and bringer of prowess, as before, the priesthood is viewed negatively because of the lack of physical suffering on the part of the clerics. Here Charny states explicitly that knights need to have greater integrity than priests:

Mais les bons chevaliers et les bonnes genz d'armes...bien pourroit l'en tenir que leurs vies souverainement devoient estre honestes autant ou plus comme il pourroit appartenir a nul prestre, car il sont en peril touz les jours, et la ou cuident estres le plus assurez, c'est adont que soudainement les convient armer et prendre plusieurs foiz de dures et perilleuses aventures.

[But of the good knights and good men-at-arms...it might well be considered that should they should have as great or even greater integrity than might be required of a priest, for they are in danger every day, and at the moment when they think themselves to be most secure, it is then that they may suddenly have to take up arms and often to undertake demanding and dangerous adventures] (*Livre* 182, trans. Kennedy 183)

Richard Kaepuer claims that chivalry was almost a quasi-religion for the knighthood, and here Charny is seeking to exalt the followers of this quasi-religion over the clerical class, or followers of the actual Christian religion (Kaeuper *Holy*, 6). The first section of the passage may fit with the ideals that Ramón Llull set forth in his *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* which was arguably the most popular book during the Middle Ages on matters of chivalry. Llull's ideal was the knight as a warrior priest, a fusion of

the two dominant modes of masculinity into one hegemonic ideal.⁶⁹ An examination of the full passage, however, shows that Charny does not create a similar fusion between the two modes of masculinity. Charny uses the word “honeste,” which in his day expressed an idea that denoted nobility of character or according to how the CNRS online dictionary of Old French defines the word “être digne de considération.” (“Honeste”)

This idea opens a discussion about the quality of the priesthood and its fitness to take the lead in spiritual matters. Modern historians in works such as Barbara Tuchman’s *The Distant Mirror* explore this topic in greater depth.⁷⁰ Medieval authors also wrote about the failures of priests to live up to the standards expected of them. It is an issue that other works of conduct literature, such as the *Livre de manières* by the twelfth-century Breton Bishop Étienne de Fougères, also discuss. Charny does not touch on this matter explicitly, but illustrates the superiority of the knighthood required by the suffering that must be endured on the battlefield.

Although he honors the clergy for saying mass, Charny points out that priests face danger only from devils “dyables” (*Livre* 180). By contrast, knights face death every day, and far from the safety of a church. Charny tells knights that they should pray often and be prepared to die (*Livre* 196). Knights must also maintain a clearer conscience than the other orders because the knighthood is a dangerous profession:

...Et sanz nul peril de leurs corps ne a grant travail d’aler aval les champs
pour eulz armer ne en doubte d’estre tuez. Et pour ce le font il bien et

⁶⁹ The clearest example of the fusion of these two ideals occurs in the chapter that focuses on the meaning of the articles of knighthood. Each item is used in war, the purview of the knighthood, but each item is given a spiritual meaning as well that represents values that are much more clerical in nature.

⁷⁰ The second chapter in Tuchman’s work entitled “Born to Woe: The Century.” is especially useful to this argument.

doivent faire ce a quoy leurs vies et leurs estaz sont establiz et ordenez si paisiblement. Mais quant a l'ordre de chevalerie, pour bien dire et monstrer veritablement que c'est la plus perilleuse et d'arme et de corps et la ou il appartient plus et mieux gouverner nettement conscience, ceste ordre de chevalerie, que nulle autre ordre qui soit en ce monde

[...they are spared the physical danger and the strenuous effort of going out onto the field of battle to take up arms, and are also spared the threat of death. Therefore they do and should do that for which their way of life has been established and ordained in such peaceful terms. But as for the order of chivalry, it can truly be said and demonstrated that it is the most dangerous for both soul and body, and the one in which it is necessary to maintain a clearer conscience than in any other order in the world] (*Livre* 166, trans. Kennedy 167)

When Charny states that the knight must have a “clearer conscience” than any other order, the implication is that the knight’s conscience must be clearer than that of a priest. This notion is especially apparent because before making this statement, Charny states that priests do not have to worry about the fear of death from their peaceful lives like knights do.

All of this does not discount the fact that God does figure prominently in the text. Charny views prowess as a gift from God. He believes that knights should make an effort to pray to Him for protection, as well as the Virgin Mary as she prays for the for the poor, sinning knights and guides and teaches them [“nous autres povres pecheurs dont elle prie et qui nous ravoie et enseigne touz les jours”] (*Livre* 196). In the *Ordene*, the author

deemphasizes the need for the ceremonies of the church in the ritual of initiation into the knighthood. Charny does the same by using what is almost a direct copy of the ceremony that Hue performs with Saladin in the *Ordene de chevalerie* in his manual. As discussed in the previous chapter, the author does not stress a need for the rituals of the Catholic faith and the intercession of clerics. In spite of the religious trappings of the chivalric order for whom it was written, Charny presents in this text a faith that adheres to the principles of military prowess while at the same time, separating the knighthood from clerical control.

Cutting out the clerical role is a tricky matter. The Roman Catholic faith, the dominant religion of Charny's time and place, is a sacramental system. Alan Hayes states that until the time of the Reformation, the Catholic priest was seen as the mediator between God and man (24). Knights needed priests as conduits of divine grace. One of the biggest fears of any knight was dying unconfessed (Kaeuper, *Holy* 45). At the same time, as we have seen in chapter II, clerics needed the knights for physical protection and to wage war against heretics. There is therefore a symbiotic relationship between them, as each needs the other. In this text, however, the superiority of the chivalric class over the clerical one is made clear when the author states that knights face greater demands than those who are ordained priests. Charny says:

Et par ainsi peur l'on trop bien cognoistre et savoir que telx services et ytelx mestiers, et lequel l'en peut trop bien faire et selon et selon Dieu, est trop plus douteux, perilleux et penibles a faire pour les corps et pour les ames que nulles autres genz qui soient ordenez a servir Nostre Seigneur en Sainte Eglise...

[And through this one can know and fully understand that such a service and calling, which can well be performed according to God's will, is very dangerous and perilous, and its practice makes greater physical and spiritual demands than those required of any of the men who are ordained to serve Our Lord in the Holy Church...] (*Livre* 182, trans. Kennedy 183).

Charny does, nevertheless see a use for the religious orders in the life of a knight. When the body is no longer able to keep up with the rigors of the battlefield, the knight may retire to a religious life. Charny says that the religious life is the best option when one has grown old.⁷¹ He states:

Si en y a d'aucuns, quant il sont sur leur aaige et qu'il ne pueent plus travailler au monde, si se mettent et rendent en religion pour y finer leurs jours plus sainnement pour les corps et pour les armes, et ainsi est bien.

[Then there are some who have reached old age and are no longer capable of striving in this world, and they leave it to enter religious orders so that they can end their days in a more salutary way, for both their bodies and their souls; and this is right.] (*Livre* 172, trans. Kennedy 173).

He feels that this is best for the body and the soul after one is too old to continue striving in the world. Charny is advocating for entrance into the regular clergy instead of

⁷¹ A literary example of this can be found in the story Guillem de Varoic (William of Warwick) at the beginning of *Tirant lo Blanc*. Guillem goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in order to be absolved of his sins. Upon his return, he becomes a hermit and continues to seek penance (penitència) (Martorell 113). He reads to Tirant from the “Arbre de Batalles” (The Tree of Battles which is based on Lull’s *Libre* (Martorell 173-186). Charny does not mention a need for the forgiveness of sins but instead the need to end life in a salutary way (*finir leurs jours plus sainnement*).

the secular clergy.⁷² Despite his emphasis on physical prowess, and despite the model of his own death at Poitiers nowhere in the text does Charny make a claim that death on the battlefield brings the highest honor.

Charny does not limit his discussion of religion to the clerical class. He also talks about characters from the Bible but he does so from a martial standpoint. His discussion of Judas Maccabeus for example, puts greater stress on this character's chivalry than on his faith. Charny talks about the deeds (*faiz*) of Maccabeus especially those that protected his faith (*la foy*), and claims that it was for these accomplishments that God numbers him among the saints, and keeps his memory alive as a reminder of his "tres haute chevalerie" (very high chivalry) (*Livre* 162). What Charny stresses in this passage is that Judas Maccabeus was loved by God firstly because of his chivalric actions. His faith and other good qualities are mentioned in the passage, but they are secondary reasons for God's love, factoring below his prowess. Charny uses Maccabeus as the biblical model of knighthood, a way of using the ever-present faith of the Middle Ages as a means of spurring the knighthood to greatness. The use of Judas Maccabeus in this context is not surprising, as D.A. Trotter points out. Characters from the Bible were used as exemplars of valor for knights of the twelfth century to emulate (128). Later, Maccabeus was included as one of the nine worthies in the *Voeux du Paon* written circa 1312 by Jacques Longuyon.⁷³

These knights were considered the best examples of chivalry, and the group was composed of three Pagan, three Old Testament, and three Christian exemplars. The Old

⁷² The regular clergy is composed of those who separate themselves from the world as opposed to the secular clergy which interacts with the world (Klaiber 241).

⁷³ For a complete retelling of the nine worthies see *The Famous and Renowned History of the Nine Worthies of the World* by R.B. (1701) especially pages 20-23

Testament examples especially were a means of connecting chivalry with religion while at the same time bypassing the message of peace contained in the New Testament. In following Longuyon's use of strategic Biblical examples, Charny is able to co-opt the main source of church doctrine and use it as a tool to illustrate the hegemony of chivalric masculinity.

In the society of the Middle Ages, the nobility and the priesthood were the two dominant groups. In the *Livre*, the author demonstrates the idea that knights are faced with greater challenges than priests. Charny also diminishes the role of the priest as mediator between God and man, and in doing so, weakens the claim of priests to the position of dominant masculinity. Whereas members of the religious class may hold the soul to be of greater spiritual importance than the physical body, Charny seems to view the two as intimately connected, and insists that greater physical demands require that more attention be paid to maintaining a clear conscience.

In addition to the attention paid to the spiritual matters, the knight must be prepared for the physical rigors of the knighthood. Charny's text provides guidance on how the knight should prepare himself for life on the battlefield. Much of this advice is directed at those who have become too comfortable in their life at court. Charny states that pampering the body is "la plus mauvaise amour qui soit" [The worst kind of love there is] (*Livre* 122). For instance, Charny cautions against going to bed early and sleeping late because a life spent in bed would make it difficult to acquire knowledge (*Livre* 122). There is an entire section devoted to sleeping, including such detailed proscriptions as not getting too comfortable in a bed with a firm mattress and clean sheets as this could cause a knight great difficulty on the battlefield (*Livre* 124).

Charny is especially concerned about the fact that some knights are more interested than they should be in fine cuisine which cannot always be conveniently had in the field:

Avecques ce enseignant li bon dessus dit que gens qui a celle honour veulent venir ne doivent mettre entente ou vivre de leur bouche delicieusement, ne en trop bons vins, ne en trop delicieuses viandes, car ces delices sont trop contraires ou temps que l'en ne les pouoit avoir ne trouver a sa volonte...

[In addition, the above-mentioned good men-at-arms teach that those who want to achieve this honor should not set their minds on the pleasures of the palate, neither on very good wine nor on delicious food, for these delights are very out of place at a time when they are not to be had nor to be found at will.] (*Livre* 110, trans. Kennedy 111)

The advice given in these sections is much more practical and specific than that which is in the other books of chivalric conduct in this dissertation. This text is the most explicitly focused on improving the body of knights of the three texts. Although the aim of the entire book is to encourage men to take up arms on the battlefield, the advice in this category is not for times when knights are in the middle of fighting, but rather, for when they are home. The knighthood is thus more than a profession, it is a way of life, one that defines all aspects of a man's life. This is something that is less apparent in the other works of chivalric conduct discussed in this dissertation, because these other texts do not treat such an intimate level in the life of a knight as talking about pastimes and sleeping and eating habits. Charny's experience on the battlefield gave him insight into what was

needed for and from men who fought in battles, and into how the French knights could improve; as we have seen from the historical context of the text presented in this chapter, the improvement of the body of knights was most likely his purpose for writing the *Livre*.

Charny worries that knights of his generation have become too soft and might be unwilling to put up with the rigors of knighthood in a time of war (*Livre* 122). He even complains about the games that knights play. He says that knights should be out jousting and not playing games like tennis:

Ne des gieux de la paume aussi; quar grant tort en a l'on fait aux femmes,
que li gieux de la pelote souloit estre li gieux et li esbatemens des femmes.
Et toutevoies devoit il sembler que li plus beaux gieux et li plus beaux
estabatemens que telles gens qui tel honnonour veulent querre devoit faire
seroient qu'il ne se doivent lasser de jouer, de jouter, de parler, de danser
en compagnie des dames

[The situation is the same for real tennis, women have greatly suffered over this, for ball games used to be women's pastime and pleasure. Yet it should be apparent that the finest games and pastimes that people who seek such honor should never tire of engaging in would be in the pastimes of jousting, conversation, dancing and singing in the company of ladies] (*Livre* 110, trans. Kennedy 111)

The knight's pastimes bring him into contact with ladies, which is honorable. These activities also help the knight to avoid bad company such as those who play dice and ignore opportunities for acts of prowess (*Livre* 114).

Charny was not the only writer complaining about the weakness of the French knighthood in his day. The Carmelite friar Jean de Venette also writes about the fragility of French chivalry in the chronicle attributed to him from the same time period.⁷⁴ The *Chronique* talks about prophecy and matters of religion as well as the general situation in France between 1340 and 1368. The chronicler has harsh words for the nobility. In the time before Charny's death in the battle of Poitiers, we read about the weakness of French knights. Venette writes that these knights have strayed from the battlefield and have begun to live comfortable lives playing dice, while the poor around them suffer. They have also started wearing revealing fashions that make them more likely to flee in battle (Venette 75). Charny corroborates what Venette says in his *Chronique*. He complains that men's fashions have become totally inappropriate. When men sit down, what they wear does not cover "ne devant ne derrieres [neither in front or back]" of which they have no shame (*honte*) (*Livre* 188). Stella Mary Newton notes that a change in fashion to shorter, tighter, clothing occurred around 1340 and that the change seems to have lingered in the public mind because it was mentioned in many texts from the period (8). Margaret Scott pinpoints the scandal of men in tight clothes to 1335 (97). François Pipponier and Mane Perine state that the middle of the fourteenth century was the time when fashion became a phenomenon and imposed its tastes and rhythms on upper classes (114). I disagree with this statement because as I have illustrated in chapter I, that the fashions of the aristocracy were influencing dress as early as the time of Orderic Vitalis. Fashion was a phenomenon before the time of Charny and when he comments negatively on the dress of his day, he is repeating concerns similar to those made by earlier writers.

⁷⁴ Modern scholars have questioned whether Venette is the actual writer of the chronicle, and whether he even really existed (Beaune 9).

Charny also explains why clothing had become so disruptive to battle. According to him, fashionable men wished to appear as thin as possible and so wore garments that would constrict their midsections as if seeking to hide the stomachs that God had given them. In his words, "...que le ventre que Dieu leur avoit donné il veulent mettre a ny qu'il n'en ont point..." (*Livre* 188). This affected their physical ability on the battlefield and led to many being captured or even dying because they were unable to defend themselves (*Livre* 190). This behavior on the part of the knights was far from Charny's vision of the ideal knight and complicated matters for the king, who was in the early stages of the conflict that would come to be known as the Hundred Years' War.

As we saw in chapter I of this dissertation, complaints about current fashion trends are not new to Charny; it is a topic that comes up continually in historical chronicles. These chronicles explore the idea that fashion choices on the part of the knights could influence the choices of the other classes, but could also cause their scorn, and could potentially damage the image of the knight as the dominant masculine force in fourteenth-century France.⁷⁵ Charny does see a place for the latest fashions but it is not for men. Women are allowed to enhance their beauty because for Charny, that is the way that women gain honor. The value of a woman is thus determined by her appearance whereas a man is judged by his deeds (*Livre* 192). E. Jane Burns notes that clothing creates a public identity (10). The fashions of the day were creating a commotion which decentered prowess as the key characteristic of knights.

By delving into such personal aspects of a person's life such as his pastimes and choice of clothing, Charny's *Livre de chevalerie* demonstrates that, for Charny at least,

⁷⁵ For example see the *Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis* (2:85).

the knighthood was more than a simple profession; instead, it was a way of life that affected many of what may at first appear to be mundane aspects of a knight's life. This material is more specific than what was written in either the *Ordene* or the *Espejo* and gives a more complete image of this elite masculinity. At the same time, the fact that many knights were not living up to the standards that Charny describes in his *Livre* indicates, as Connell says, that the number of men practicing hegemonic masculinities may be quite small (*Masculinities* 79). Those demonstrating this exalted masculinity, however, help to stabilize the gender order (Connell, *Men* 84). Many members of the chivalric order in France of the fourteenth century were either unable or unwilling to make the lifestyle changes necessary to embody Charny's ideal conception of the knighthood. It was essential therefore that the state (in this case the king) institutionalize a specific masculinity (through the *Compagnie de l'estoile*) in order to regulate other masculinities (Connell, *Men* 30).

The main premise of the *Livre*, the one that the author repeats throughout the beginning of the text is that prowess is the key to chivalric manhood. The largest and perhaps most important category of material in the *Livre* is the portion that spurs the knight to seek out battle and gain prowess. Much like what Tony Coles describes in his discussion of the interaction of dominant versus subservient masculinities (34), Charny makes clear from the very beginning that chivalric identity, like other types of masculinity, has various degrees of honor which are tied to the amount of risk the knight is willing to take, and how far he is willing to roam in order to gain renown.

The opening sections of the book repeatedly stress that there are different levels of prowess and that one should seek to reach the highest level of chivalry possible. For

Charny, honor is a spectrum : “...Car toutes telz choses sont assez honorables, combien que les uns le soient assez et les autres plus et adés en plus, jusques au meilleur. [For such things are quite honorable, although some are honorable enough, others are more and even more until the best]” (*Livre* 84). There are some who do a little and so receive a little honor, while those who do more receive greater honor. These early sections of the text lay out the various ways in which chivalry can be displayed, starting with the joust, which is not a real battle, but Charny believes that its participants deserve praise because, as Charny says:

Et pour ce di je qu’il est bien de le faire pour celi qui le fait, quant a Dieu lui en donne telle grace du bienfaire; car tuit fait d’armes font bien a loer a tous ceulx qui bien y font ce qu’il y appartient de faire. Car je ne tieng qu’il soit nul petit fait d’armes fors que tous bons et grans, combien que li un des fais d’armes vaille miex que li autre.

[I therefore say that it is good to do for him who does it, when, by the grace of God he does it well; for all deeds of arms merit praise for all those who perform well in them. For I maintain that there are no small feats of arms, but only good and great ones, although some feats of arms are of greater worth than others.] (*Livre* 86, trans. Kennedy 87)

This type of battle is enough for some, but there are other ways in which the knight can bear arms and show prowess that are even better. The more effort a knight is willing to exert, the greater honor he will receive. Charny ends the third section of the text (which describes the joust) with the words “Et por ce di je que: qui plus fait, miex vault. [Therefore I say he who does more is of greater worth]” (*Livre* 86)* Charny writes

something similar at the end of the fourth section which discusses the value of the tournament. “Et vraiment il font bien a loer, combine que: qui plus fait, miex vault” [Indeed they are worthy of praise because, he who does more is of greater worth] (*Livre* 86, trans. Kennedy 87). At the end of the ninth section, which discusses distant journeys and pilgrimages we read, “Et vraiment c’est grant bien; mais toutesfoiz di je: qui plus fait miex vault [And indeed it is a fine thing but again I say, he who does more is of greater worth]” (*Livre* 92). From the very beginning, Charny stresses the importance of prowess and the various levels of prowess that exist. The highest level of respect is reserved for those who are willing to risk their lives in fighting in wars. Those that face greater hardship and exert themselves more are worthier of praise than those who do less.

Because Charny stresses prowess above all else, he changes the paradigm of the hegemonic ideal of masculinity from one that places importance on riches or good birth, to one that is available to all men who are willing to put forth the effort in feats of arms. His text reflects his belief that prowess can be found even in those who have not been dubbed knights. From the very beginning this difference affects the concept of masculinity. Whereas other chivalric texts, most notably those of Ramón Llull and Étienne de Fougères⁷⁶ placed great emphasis on maintaining the social order, and on knights as an upper rung of the medieval social pyramid, Charny directs his texts not only to knights but to all men who bear arms (*gens d’armes*). We can be sure that Charny was not using *gens d’armes* as a way to speak only about knights because in one passage he differentiates the two using expressions like “chevaliers et gens d’armes” He states: .

⁷⁶ Étienne de Fougères was bishop of Rennes from 1168 to 1178 and his *Livre de manières* stresses the tripartite view of society.

Et pour ce nous enseignent li bon chevalier et les bonnes gens
d'armes dont vous avez oï ci devant retraire et parler et raconter les grans
biens, honneurs, proescs et vaillances que ilz ont aquiz par leurs grans
peines, travaulx et paours et perilz de corps et perte de leurs amis mors
que ilz ont veu mourir en plusieurs bonnes places ou ilz ont esté...

[We therefore learn from the good knights and men-at-arms whose great
achievements and honorable deeds of prowess and of valor have been
related, described, and told above and which they have accomplished
through suffering great hardship, making strenuous efforts, and enduring
fearful physical perils and the loss of friends whose deaths they have
witnessed in many great battles in which they have taken part...] (*Livre*
108, 110, trans. Kennedy 111)

Prowess is a great equalizer on the battlefield when men of all ranks are faced with the
possibility of their own deaths.

This change in semantics is important because it is a subtle recognition that all
soldiers, not just knights are capable of demonstrating qualities of prowess: “Et tousjours
la meilleure voie seurmonte les autres; et cilz qui plus y a le cuer va tousjours avant pour
venir et attaindre au plus haut honneur... [And always the best way rises above the
others, and he who commits to it with greatest heart always goes forward to reach and
achieve the highest honor]” (*Livre* 84). According to Charny, the greatest determiner for
someone’s ability to win honor is heart. Charny sees prowess on the battlefield as a more
important determiner of chivalry than the social rank into which a knight was born.
Honor is thus something that is available to all men and not just those who have the

financial means to maintain a horse and the equipment necessary for the knighthood. Charny's construction of hegemonic masculinity based on honor and prowess and not just the power that one wields due to fortune or title.

As Clifford J. Rogers points out in his study of warfare during the Hundred Years' War, the cavalry, the traditional realm of the knighthood lost its tactical advantage during this time and was replaced by what he calls "the infantry revolution" (143). Most members of the infantry came from the common classes and this changed the dynamics of human capital. The costs were lower for military leaders because they did not have to pay large sums to equip their troops. Wages were also lower. Charny's work reflects this transformation by giving a more inclusive view of those who could seek honor, by basing his ideals on prowess. In this way, the *Livre* acts as both a book of strategies and tactics (to use de Certeau's terminology)⁷⁷—because it teaches knights how to fulfill their role in society—and at the same time acts as a guide, teaching those who are not knights how to display chivalric masculinity.

While Charny uses prowess as the defining characteristic of the hegemonic masculinity of chivalry, allowing those who are not knights to display similar characteristics, he also suggests that the ruler and the upper nobility are still worthy of greater honor because of their willingness to display these characteristics, even though it is not necessary for them to do so in order to gain renown (*Livre* 106). Charny's conception of hegemonic masculinity is based on prowess and so even those who have wealth and power seek to show prowess in order to partake fully in its benefits. They should therefore be more respected than the poor knight. Although Charny states that

⁷⁷ For a full explanation of these terms see chapter one

“...li autre ne valent de rien moins” [the others are not less worthy] (106), the nobleman (li grant seigneur) is more highly honored because of the honorable and weighty burdens he bears (honorables et pesanz faiz a porter) (108).

Charny’s explanation of how rulers come to receive their power shows the obvious influence of the work of Ramón Llull, and is also repeated in Diego de Valera’s *Espejo de Verdadera Nobleza* as we shall see in chapter IV. According to Charny, rulers are chosen because they are the best examples of the qualities needed to rule over the people. Kings share many of the qualities of knights, but in his explanation, Charny presents the good ruler as having something extra— for example, the good ruler is able to gain victory over his enemies just like the ideal knight, but the good ruler does so with humility (*Livre* 142). In this way, the good ruler displays what Charny perceives as the characteristic of the hegemonic masculinity (prowess), but has even more positive characteristics that serve to make him even greater than those who display prowess such as humility.

Some knights were forced to show humility because knighthood was an expensive profession and not all could afford to be outfitted in the same way as the richer knights, and, as Phillipe Contamine noted above, this may have been an issue even for Charny. Charny stresses prowess and is very practical in his realization that not all the best men-at-arms can afford the outlay that fighting requires. He gives examples of ways to earn money, such as going to Italy and working as a knight errant even though the knight may have wished to stay in his own lands. Charny tells the reader, “Mais toutesfoiz s’en partent et vont en Lombardie ou en Touscane, en Puille ou es autres paÿs, la ou l’en donne soulz et gaiges...” [But nevertheless they leave and go to Lombardy or

Tuscany or Pulia or other lands where pay or other rewards can be earned...] (*Livre* 92, trans. Kennedy 93).

One of the traditionally held central tenets of chivalry was largesse,⁷⁸ or the willingness of a knight to spend liberally on others. Charny does not stress largesse as an important value and in fact cautions against spending too much money in case the need to pay one's debts inhibits one's ability to take part in battle and demonstrate prowess, or as Charny succinctly states: "Dont est ce grant dommage quant il convient que bon corps sejourne pour outrageous mise..." [It is then a great shame when a good career is held back by excessive spending...] (*Livre* 96, trans. Kennedy 97). The excessive spending mentioned in the text is not tied to the value of largesse, but rather to the desire of the nobility to demonstrate their own grandiosity by means of showy displays of wealth.

For Charny, there is no dishonor in selling one's skills to others in order to afford the costs of fighting. The knight has become a mercenary even though this is never stated explicitly in the text. It is a reflection of the historical reality of the time. Keen states that one of the important purposes of the Black Prince's "chevauchée" across Languedoc in 1355 was the acquisition of booty (230). He also notes that the distinction between knight and mercenary "was hard to draw in practice" (Keen 231) Charny also sees this practice as an opportunity for the knight to gain honor and renown beyond his own land (*Livre* 90).

What matters most to Charny is that knights are given the opportunity to fight because that is where prowess is displayed. This display is important in order to earn the honor and respect of others. For this reason, he cautions against losing sight of the overall

⁷⁸ See for example the *Roman des Eles* discussed in chapter two of this dissertation. It places largesse as one of the two wings on which chivalry is based.

aim of a military adventure, saying that some become more interested in money than in fighting, and that these men may decide to give up bearing arms once they have enough (*Livre 92*). This behavior is seen as quite shameful in Charny's eyes and would cause a man-at-arms to lose honor.

Et quant Dieu leur a donné tel grace d'onneur pour leurs bons faiz en ce mestier, icelles gens font a loer et honorer partout, mais que il ne delaisent mie pour leur proffit trop tost du continuer; car trop tost le delaisse, de legier s'abaisse de renommee.

[And when God has given them the grace that is honor for their good actions in this work, such men deserve to be praised and honored everywhere, provided that they do not give it up for their profits too early, for he who gives it up too soon, easily lowers his renown.] (*Livre 92*)

Charny's ideal is for the knight to continue striving as long as physically possible in order to continue cultivating his renown. When he no longer cultivates his renown for whatever reason, he should fear a loss of honor. Another example of this same fear but for a different reason can be found in *Erec et Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes' Enide expresses distress that her husband has lost his renown because he has spent all of his time with her (lines 2492-2502). The conceptions of renown and honor in both of these texts, although chronologically separated by two hundred years, are remarkably similar. In both texts renown and honor must be continually proven, or the knight loses them.

In the many romances like those of Chretien de Troyes love plays an important role in supporting the expression of knighthood. Charny also discusses the encouragement that comes from the love between a knight and his lady. Charny's views

on the role of women in the life of a knight are influenced by the ideals of courtly love and chivalric romance. Both the knight and the lady play a role in inspiring each other to love, often in secret to protect personal honor.⁷⁹ Like Enide above, the lady's contribution to the relationship is to encourage her knight to show prowess on the battlefield. This love is based on what R.W. Hanning calls the "chivalry topos." (3). In this topos, the knight's prowess inspires the love of a lady, who in turn encourages the knight to greater feats of prowess, which encourages even greater affection on the part of the lady (Hanning 3). This is the perfect model of love for Charny's *Livre* because love and attraction are based on chivalric prowess on the battlefield. This love is dependent on the success of the knight.

Most romance focuses on the successful articulation of this topos. Charny, however, illustrates for the reader, the feeling of the lady whose knight does not demonstrate prowess:

Laquelle des deux dames doit avoir plus grant joye de son amy
quant elles sont a une feste en grant assemblee de gens et elles scevent la
couvine l'une de l'autre, ou celle qui ayme le bon chevalier et elle voit son
amy entrer en la salle ou l'en menjue et elle le voit honorer, saluer et
festier de toutes manieres de gens et tirer avant entre dames et
damoiselles, chevaliers et escuiers, avecques le bien et la bonne renommee
que un chascun lui donne et porte, dont icelle tres bonne dame s'esjoist en
son cuer si tres grandement de ce qu'elle a mis son cuer et s'entente en
amer et faire un tel bon chevalier ou bon homme d'armes. Et encores,

⁷⁹ Pieter Spierenburg has noted, however, that in many cultural settings throughout history the concept of manly honor is different from feminine honor. The former is focused on prowess, while the latter is focused on sexual continence (2).

quant elle voit et congnoist que avecques les amours qu'elle y a , chascuns l'ayme, prise et honoure, dont elle est tant liee et tant aaise de cuer du grant bien qu'elle voit et congnoist , qui est en celui qui l'aime, dont tient elle son temps a bien employé. Et des autres dames s'aucune en y avoit qui aymast le chaitif maleureux qui ne se veult armer et sanz nulle essoine, et elle le voit entrer en celle salle mesme, et elle voit et cognoist que nulz n'en tient compte de lui, ne on le festie, ne fait semblant, et pou de gens le cognoissent, et ceulx qui le cognoissent n'en tiennent nul compte, et demure derriere les autres, que nulz ne le trait avant.

[Which one of two ladies should have the greater joy in her lover when they are both at a feast in a great company and they are aware of each other's situation? Is it the one who loves the good knight, when she sees her lover come into the hall where all are at table and she sees him honored, saluted, and celebrated by all manner of people and brought to favorable attention before ladies and damsels, knights and squires, and she observes the great renown and glory attributed to him by everyone? All this makes a noble lady rejoice greatly within herself at the fact that she has set her mind and heart on loving and helping to make such a good knight or good man at arms. And when she also sees and understands that, in addition to the true love for one another which they share, he is in addition loved, esteemed, and honored by all, this makes her so glad and happy for the great worth to be found in the man who loves her, that she considers her time to have been well spent. And if one of the other ladies

loves the miserable wretch who, for no good reason, is unwilling to bear arms, she will see him come into the hall and perceive and understand that nobody pays him attention or shows him honor, or notices him and few know who he is, and those who do think nothing of him, and he remains hidden behind everyone else, for no one brings him forward...] (*Livre* 120, trans. Kennedy 121)

In the passage above, there are many references to the act of seeing, the female gaze. A. C. Spearing, specifically discusses the gaze and its significance to the chivalry topos. Knights are watched in battle by the ladies and know they are being watched and this is what drives them onward (25).⁸⁰ Charny's context is not that of the tournament, but the gaze of the lady is still present with it she weighs the value of the knight she loves as compared with others. The lady who loves the man who is respected is full of joy to see the respect that others give him. This respect spurs her to greater affection. The lady who loves "the wretch who refuses to bear arms" sees that he receives no respect, and this causes her anguish and the cycle of encouragement to greater heights of love and prowess is broken because of the weakness of the knight. The knight is no longer living up to the ideal of knighthood and courtly love, which are often linked in works of chivalric romance such as *Erec et Enide*.

As we have seen above, Geoffroi de Charny was a knight whose life was an example prowess on the battlefield and devotion to the chivalric ideal. He wrote a manual to help encourage and institutionalize these qualities among the knights of the *Compagnie de l'estoile*. This manual explains how knights can gain honor through prowess. At the

⁸⁰ A more recent expression of many of the same ideas can be found in J. A. Burrow's *Gestures and looks in Medieval Narrative*, especially chapter two, "Looks."

same time, this manual encourages the perspective of knighthood as the dominant masculinity of the author's cultural milieu by demonstrating how knights face greater demands than the clergy, another powerful form of masculinity in Charny's period. Despite these demands, knights continue to show prowess on the battlefield and are spurred on by the desire for honor and the respect and love of a lady. In this way, he shows the knighthood to be what R.W. Connell calls the hegemonic masculinity of fourteenth-century France. Although the manual did not become one of the more well-known works of chivalry, it provides the modern reader an opportunity to explore how one aristocratic knight perceived his own social order in fourteenth-century France.

CHAPTER V

THE ESPEJO DE VERDADERA NOBLEZA: CHIVALRY AS AN INSTITUTION IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN.

By the fifteenth century, chivalry and knighthood were well-entrenched aspects of French and Iberian society. On the Iberian Peninsula, this can be attested to by the popularity of “literatura caballeresca” or knightly literature, a genre which is essentially the equivalent of French romance.⁸¹ This genre would later be mocked in one of the most important works of Spanish literature, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. The popularity of this genre also reveals that the knighthood was a hegemonic form of masculinity in the popular consciousness. As in France in previous centuries, the knighthood played such a prominent role in Iberian society because of ongoing military struggles.

The reconquest of Al-Andalus, for example, was a military project that required the knightly class, and that also required the adaption of the concept of knighthood — mores specifically, the question of who was considered a knight— to the needs of the Iberian kingdoms. These aspects of Spanish chivalry provide fertile ground for the study of chivalry as an institution. The exploration of the topic of knighthood as an institution in society will allow for a greater understanding of how the concept of hegemonic masculinity is able to maintain its place as a dominant force in society despite attempts by other forms of masculinity to become dominant. This chapter explores this institutionalization of chivalry in a fifteenth-century work of Castilian conduct literature, the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* or the *Mirror of True Nobility*. In addition to a literary

⁸¹ Alan Deyermond in his article “The Lost Genre of Medieval Spanish Literature” states that authors of Spanish romance had the same aims as authors of French romance and fall into similar categories (235). Beltrán in his introduction to the anthology *Literatura de caballerías y orígenes de la novela* states something similar (9).

analysis of the text, this chapter explores how chivalry can be considered an institution by means of discourse analysis.

The Biblioteca Nacional de España holds a total of six manuscripts that contain the *Espejo*. One manuscript MSS.MICRO /1485 contains only the *Espejo*. Two other manuscripts contain the text as part of larger collections of works by Valera (MSS.MICRO/282; MSS.MICRO/4611). The *Espejo* is also contained in one collection of “Tratados Varios” attributed to Bartulio Sassoferrato (MSS.MICRO/ 5290). Two other manuscripts in the library collection contain the *Espejo*: MSS.MICRO/15841 in which the *Espejo* is entitled *Tratado de la nobleza é fidaguía* and MSS.MICRO/6473, in which the *Espejo* has the slightly different title of *Tratado de la nobleza o fidaguía*. There have also been three modern reprintings of the text including both the 1878 version used in this dissertation that was prepared by *La Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles* and the 1964 version published in the collection *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV* as part of the series *Biblioteca de autores españoles*. The 1964 edition, edited by Mario Penna, includes a biography of the author. The third modern edition is a 2015 reprinting of the 1878 version by Editorial Órbigo.

Diego de Valera did not come from a long line of nobility. His father, Alfonso Chirino, of converso origin, worked as the court physician for Juan II (Penna C).⁸² Much of what we know about Alfonso Chirino comes from extrapolations from his work *El Espejo de medicina*. He was married twice, the first time to María, daughter of Juan Fernández de Valera. She died at some point during Diego’s childhood. After the death of María, Valera went to live with his mother’s family (Amasuno Sarraga 36). Diego would

⁸² For a complete bibliographical overview of Valera’s life in Spanish, see Penna and Torres y Franco Romero. Vanderjagt.provides.biographical information in English.

later adopt his mother's family name. The relationship between father and son has been a matter of discussion among scholars. Torres y Franco Romero notes that Diego was the youngest of Chirino's four sons but was not mentioned in the father's will although this may have been because he was "menor de edad" [underage] (14). Even though Diego used the name Valera, which was his mother's maiden name, as a knight, he carried the arms of the Chirinos, five white fleurs de lys arranged in a cross on a red field (Torres y Franco Romero 36).

Valera was a member of el "orden de los donceles" which according to Rodríguez-Velasco was "una especie de escuela de caballería" [a type of school of chivalry] (*Debate* 209). It is unknown if family connections played a role in allowing Valera to gain access to the upper echelons of the Castilian court. Alfonso Chirino's profession may have been an embarrassment for Diego; medicine in fifteenth-century Spain was considered an "arte mecánica,"⁸³ a profession that was considered below the nobility (*Debate* 203). This may have been an impetus for the younger Valera to prove himself. If he did not have the fortune or the title of the other young men at court, he could at least best them in prowess and knowledge (Torres y Franco Romero 9). We cannot know for sure what motivated Valera to choose his path.

The young Diego left Spain and proved himself by joining the fight of the Austrian emperor against the Hussites. For his valor, he was eventually invited to sit on the imperial council and was awarded the three highest honors of Austro-Hungarian chivalry in November 1438 by Albrecht II of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia (Boulton

⁸³ Hugh of St. Victor named seven mechanical arts that remedy physical weakness and tried to raise the status of what had been considered the "servile" arts. This was challenged by the arrival of Arabic philosophy and the Aristotelian corpus (Shiner, 29-30).

329). After returning to Spain from Austria, the king would then send Valera as an ambassador to Denmark, France and Burgundy. Valera is mentioned in the work of the French author Olivier de la Marche in his *Mémoire sur la maison de Bourgogne*. In the text he is referred to as Diage de Valière, un chevalier d'Espagne. Valera is further described as being, “de petite et moyenne taille, mais de grand et noble vouloir, gracieux et courtois et fort agréable à chacun.” [short in stature but of great and noble will, graceful and courteous and very pleasant to each person] (De la Marche 383).

As with Charny, writers of historical records portray Valera as embodying the knightly ideal. Like Charny and his *Livre*, Valera is not writing his ideas of knighthood from the outside looking in, but rather as a respected knight in his own right. During his time in Burgundy, it is very possible that Diego de Valera came in contact with Pierre de Beaumont, Sieur de Charny and descendent of Geoffroi de Charny, the subject of the previous chapter. Rodriguez-Velasco goes so far as to claim that the two became friends and that Valera was presented with a copy of one of the works of Charny's ancestor (*Debate* 226).

Valera was not only a chivalrous knight, but also made a name for himself as an author. Valera was a very prodigious writer whose works often served a political purpose. For example, he wrote the *Tratado en defensa de virtuossas mugeres* to add to the discussion of the role of women in society that was going on throughout Europe at that time. Valera wrote the text in defense of María of Aragón, the first consort of King Juan II. His most influential work is often referred to as the *Valeriana* but its official title is *La Crónica abreviada de España*.⁸⁴ This chronicle of Spain was completed at the behest of

⁸⁴ The *Valeriana* was written between 1479 and 1481. Moya García considers it to be the Valera's masterpiece, showing him at his best intellectually (18). It does not contain new material but is

Isabel of Castile and was used to cement her right to the throne after the fight over succession. Valera probably wrote the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* around 1441.⁸⁵

One of the latest collections of essays on Valera is subtitled *Entre armas y letras*. This represents the dichotomy perceived between those who were writers and intellectuals and those who waged war as knights and soldiers. P. E. Russell notes that this debate was not a creation of twentieth-century scholarship, being a matter of discussion in the fifteenth century as well. A certain segment of the knighthood felt that it was improper for knights to write anything but courtly love poems (209). This debate would continue until *Il Cortegiano*⁸⁶ but the theme was still current enough to be included in *Don Quijote* (Castro 215). For writers, the pen was the true sign of social and political power (Gómez-Bravo 16). There is scant information about the knighthood's defense of their view because of their disdain for writing. Valera takes a middle road where both are of value as can be seen in his *Epístolas*: "...yo, aunque el menor destos miembros, sé esforçarme servir mi Príncipe, no solamente con las fuerças corporales mas

rather a collection of other sources. It covers the history of Spain and in many ways acts as a mirror for princes as the author adds commentary as a means of advising Isabelle II. At the time of its writing, Valera had become a member of the highest governing body of the kingdom, the Consejo Real.

⁸⁵ The date of the *Espejo* is up for debate. Kaplan has concurred with Netanyahu that the *Espejo* comes after the *Setencia-Estatua* and the *Defensorium Unitatis Christianum* by Cartagena and so dates it after 1450 (62). Federica Accorsi also considers the work to contain "Los marcos de los escritos postoledanos"(29). The 1878 edition of the text used in this dissertation dates the work at around 1441. Florence Serrano agrees with this date because of historical information that places Valera in Bourgogne in 1443 (see footnote on Padrón below) (199). Serrano makes the stronger case for 1441 because the physical evidence of the book in the collection of the Duc de Bourgogne as well as the fact that Valera is mentioned in Olivier de la Marche's work as having attended the tournament in Bourgogne is stronger than the date of Netanyahu and Kaplan who appear to arrive at their date based on the content of the text and the historical events of that time. Vanderjagt believes that the translation into French occurred after 1459 (Vanderjagt, 229).

⁸⁶ Gerry Milligan states that the type of masculinity presented in the text is "far afield" from the virile Roman model, precisely the model that Valera advocates in his text (349).

aun con las mentales e intelectuales” [I, although the least of these members, know how to exert myself in the service of my prince, not only with bodily effort, but also mental and intellectual effort.] (Penna 7).⁸⁷ Valera offers both his physical strength and his mental faculties in order to serve the prince. Valera clearly recognizes that both have value to the king and that both can be found in the same person. He exemplifies this belief by taking part in tournaments and winning honor for Castile as well as by authoring works on various subjects.

During his time in Austria, Valera supposedly took part in a discussion with a German knight in which he defended the Spanish king’s rights to use heraldic emblems which had been captured in battle by the Portuguese (Balenchana IX). Valera defended his ideas using the treatise of Bartulio Sassoferrato entitled *De insignis et armis*. This text along with Sassoferrato’s treatise *De civitibus*, would form the basis of the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* which was written upon Valera’s return to Spain. This anecdote, recounted in many sources including the anonymous *Cosas sacadas de la historia del rey Don Juan II*⁸⁸ is used by scholars such as Jesus Rodriguez-Velasco to prove that Valera had a knowledge of Sassoferrato’s text, even though this text is not known to have been translated into Spanish until the sixteenth century. According to the *Cosas Sacadas*, it was because of this discourse, as well as Valera’s exemplary behavior at the Bohemian court, that Juan II bestowed upon Valera the title of “mosén” the highest honor that could be bestowed upon someone who was not a member of the nobility (33).

⁸⁷ My translation. All translations are my own as this work has yet to be translated into English.

⁸⁸ This manuscript, BL MS Egerton 1875 dated tentatively 1500 by MacKay and Severin contains a complete recounting of Valera’s time in Bohemia includes Valera’s defense of the Spanish king. The work of Sassoferrato is mentioned by name in the speech declaimed in Latin because Valera did not know German (Severin and Mackay, 31-33).

There has been some debate on whether Valera actually read the texts that he mentions in the *Espejo*. Rodríguez-Velasco does not believe so. He thinks that Valera was familiar with the stories, but that he had not read the texts themselves. Rodríguez-Velasco calls Valera a “name-dropper” who did not necessarily complete a “lectura detallada” [detailed reading] of the works he mentions in his text, but who instead relied on “glosarios, índices, et florilegios” (*Microliterario* 88-89). Elsewhere, Rodríguez-Velasco states that Valera had read the works of authors such as Valerian and Sassoferato (*Debate* 218). To do so would have required some knowledge of Latin as Sassoferato was only available in Latin at that time (Rodríguez-Velasco, *Debate* 210). Ottavio di Camillo takes an opposing view and says that Valera was not exactly a Latinist (Castellano 118). This question is rather important because of the text’s copious use of references and exempla from Roman authors. This use of Roman authors is something which makes Valera’s work different from previous works in this dissertation, as these previous works have no explicit intertextuality except for references to the Bible. This use of Roman sources is also one of the markers of humanism in this text.

Peter Russell states that humanism entered the Iberian Peninsula through the kingdom of Castile rather than, as it is often assumed, through the kingdom of Aragón and its Italian possessions (51). Martin Bierseck notes that there was a difference between Spanish humanism and that of the Italians. For the Spanish, it was unacceptable to criticize the Goths as the Castilian monarchy based its legitimacy in part on presenting itself as heir to the Visigothic kingdoms (33).

Ottavio di Camillo in his chapter on humanism in Iberia states that the “first stirrings” of humanism can be found as early as the second decade of the fifteenth

century, when authors, and especially moralists, started to make heavy use of classical authors in their works (“Humanism” 59). Di Camillo also notes that when Iberian readers came into contact with the work of classical authors, it was usually in the vernacular; he uses the term “vernacular humanists”⁸⁹ to describe these readers (“Humanism” 74-75). Later in the chapter, Di Camillo specifically states that humanists in the Iberian Peninsula were interested in improving society and so created a conception of honor that was based on virtue (“Humanism” 82). Valera follows this model and defines virtue as the key to true nobility in his *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*.

The introduction to the *Espejo* contains many characteristics common to literary prologues of the Middle Ages while at the same time demonstrating certain features that are associated with the humanist endeavor. The author begins his introduction by explaining his reasons for writing the text. The reasons Valera give are both personal, to avoid “occio” or idleness (179), and for the greater good, because he has heard questions about matters of nobility in courts both in Castile and abroad. The author then explains why he has the authority to write the text. In this case, the author relies on the traditional ideals of *auctoritas*.⁹⁰ This work is a compilation of the ideas of others, so that, according to the author, the authority of these others can be remembered, praised and accorded great value. Valera says: “é asy pueda su actoridad ser conseruada, loada é tenida en el caro

⁸⁹ According to Andrew Galloway, the term “vernacular humanism” was originally coined by Warren Boutcher in his 1996 chapter “Vernacular Humanism in the Sixteenth Century” (446) Boutcher uses the term to designate a category of literary production that “emphasized a moral authority that was not drawn from theology or classical languages but from nature itself” (196). This is more complex than di Camillo’s use of the term in his 1988 chapter.

⁹⁰ Minnis provides the definition of auctor and which has been used in many sources such as Losse (20). This “title an accolade bestowed upon a popular writer by later scholars who use the writers works as sententious statements or auctoritas” (Minnis 58)

precio que deue [and in this way their authority can be conserved, praised end held in the high value they ought to be] (170). Valera states that one of the purposes of writing this text is to aid those who are not as well-read as he is (170).⁹¹

Valera dedicates the text to Juan II of Castile and of Leon. In doing so, Valera shows reverence to the one who he seeks to portray as the highest authority on matters concerning the nobility, the one who has the power to both confer and take away this status. This is not the first text that the author of the *Espejo* had written to the king, as most of the *Epístolas* are also addressed to Juan II.⁹² Holzknrecht notes that in the Middle Ages, treatises were often written as “a kind of long letter” and directed at individuals or small groups rather than a larger public (127). The introduction is structured in such a manner, with the king being addressed directly. According to Valera, he is the one most able to correct the faults of the author allow the publication of the book. In Valera’s words:

É commo en aquesto con grant diligencia trabajase, muchas vezes pensaua
quién sería este á quien más digna mente mi pequeñuela obra destinasse,
por quien mis errores podiesen ser mejor corregidos, por cuyo favor sy

⁹¹ In this sentence, the structure of the Spanish is somewhat confusing to the modern reader. Valera uses the expression “los que menos de mi leyeron” in modern Spanish this would translate to “those that have read less of me” and this could be the case considering that Valera was a very prolific writer. However contextually in the passage, the reading of less than me is more appropriate.

⁹² Valera wrote many letters of advice to Juan II which are now referred to as the *Epístolas*. Liss comments that Valera was “remarkably at ease” in giving advice to the king and prescribing solutions (107)

algo de bien escriuiese podiese ser actorizado, aprouado é publicado...

(170)⁹³

[And so while working with great diligence, many times I thought about to whom it would be most worthy to dedicate my little work, by whom would my mistakes be best corrected, by whose favor if something of worth was written be authorized, approved and published...]

In Valera's eyes, the person most able to do these things is the king.

This prologue is somewhat akin to the model of prologue linked to Boethieus which Alistair Minnis describes in his book *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (65).⁹⁴ Valera

⁹³ In contrast, the *Cadira de honor* written by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, takes an opposing viewpoint at the request of "algunos señores mançebos" [some noble young men] and is directed towards them (3). This is not surprising as the *Cadira* emphasizes the rights of the nobility due to their lineage. Padrón lists four requirements for the nobility, authority of the prince, clear lineage, good customs and old money (7). The *Cadira de honor* is structured similarly to the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*. The introduction to the text explains the reason for its creation and to whom it is addressed. Like Valera, Padrón draws upon a wide range of sources from Ovid to Boccaccio and Andreas Cappellanus. Valera describes three types of nobility: natural, theological and civil. The first pertains to the nobility in nature, the second pertains to matters of God and the third pertains to the nobility of rank. Padrón creates four types of nobility vulgar, theological, political and moral. Vulgar nobility is the nobility that comes from industriousness and hard work. Padrón's idea of theological nobility is similar to the idea put forth by Valera. The moral nobility is similar to the civil nobility of Valera in the sense that it is based on virtue. Padrón's fourth category is political and it is the nobility of those who have a title. Padrón explicitly separates the two types of nobility that Valera intermingles in his concept of civil nobility. By separating the two, Padrón is able to praise the nobility of the virtuous life while at the same time defending the right of the nobility of lineage.

⁹⁴ Of particular interest to this project is the first chapter which focuses on academic prologues of "auctores." Besides models such as that of Boethieus, prologues often follow the traditional "circumstantiae" of rhetoric, answering questions which could be succinctly stated as the who, what, what, where, why, and how of the text (Minnis 64). This was shorted in some prologues to focus on persona, locus, and tempus, or person (author), place (of writing), and time (when it was produced) (Minnis 64). Kevin Dunn states in *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance* that Renaissance authors often followed a model based on the four goodwills of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* which include the speaker's own ethical presentation, an appeal directly to the listeners or judges, the strengths of the case, and the opponent's weakness. Valera's text does contain a direct appeal to the listener or judge, in this case the king.

provides an “operis intentio,” or the purpose of the work —its *utilitas*, or utility and its *ordo*, similar to the table of contents.

When Valera discusses idleness at the beginning of the text, he supports his idea using quotes from both Seneca and the Apostle Paul (169). From the beginning, Valera demonstrates a knowledge of ancient texts as well as the Bible. Many times, titles of works and even chapter numbers are given by Valera to support his ideas. What this intermingling also shows is that the author of the *Espejo* puts the Christian scriptures on the same footing as texts that were written in the pre-Christian era. Instead of making an effort to demonstrate his Christian faith, the author uses the Bible as he would any other philosophical treatise (although he does not explicitly discount the sacred nature of the text). Alastair Hamilton notes that humanists treated the Bible differently from the scholastics that came before them. Whereas the scholastics studied the Bible for purposes of interpretation, humanists viewed the Bible as a work of literature and treated it as such (100). This is different from many previous works of chivalric conduct literature including the *Livre* and the *Ordene* in which the trappings of Christian faith are an important part of the knighthood. The two previous works do not, however, engage the Bible directly as a text.⁹⁵

In the beginning of the first chapter, Valera starts with a definition because, according to the ancient writer who Valera refers to as Tullius.⁹⁶ “Toda doctrina para ser bien conocida ó declarada deve començar de su difinicion” [All doctrine in order to be well understood or declared ought to start with its definition] (173). Valera notes that

⁹⁵ This may be partly because of the council of Toulouse of 1229, which discouraged the laity from reading vernacular translations of the Bible.

⁹⁶ Probably Marcus Tullius Cicero

Aristotle, Boethius, and Boccaccio give definitions of nobility which are based on riches or heritage (173-174). For Valera however, true nobility is based on virtue, virtue that can be seen as continuous if one defines virtue in considering its definition in Ancient Egypt and among the French (175). Valera states that in France, if a “Villano” demonstrates these good qualities over a period of seven years, he can then be considered a “gentile onbre” and take advantage of the benefits bestowed upon him by the title. This focus on individual virtue is another example of the humanistic qualities of the text.

Valera goes on to state that he knows this not from having read about the French way of bestowing nobility upon “villanos” (lo qual no digo por abtoridad que leyese) but from having heard about the matter from French knights (175-176). What this passage demonstrates is that there was an exchange of ideas going on among the knighthood. The knights were not only fighting, they also entered into philosophical discussions about chivalry (as can also be seen in the incident recounted in the *Cosas Sacadas*), and about the nobility, as demonstrated in this passage. For Valera, the knowledge gleaned from these discussions gives him the authority to prove his point, just as the traditional “auctores” do.

The *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* is also a reflection of the cultural and political situation of Castile in the fifteenth century and how one writer viewed the institution of chivalry in his time and place. The theoretical framework of discourse analysis allows us to study how a text such as Valera’s contributes to the institutionalization of chivalry in fifteenth-century Spanish society, and to the ideology of hegemonic masculinity of the knighthood which is buttressed by this institutionalization.

Margaret Wetherell, in her introduction to the anthology *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*, explains that discourse analysis is the study of language in use, the way language makes meaning (3). Discourse analysis studies how language creates a version of reality (Wetherell 17). Discourse analysis started in the field of linguistics, but scholars have appropriated it as a means of investigation in fields as diverse as literature and nursing. I believe that discourse analysis relies on the same foundational constructs in all of these fields, and that because of this, an interdisciplinary approach can be taken wherein the methods of discourse analysis which are common in one field may be applied in another. For instance, the model for discourse analysis that is used to examine institutional theory, considered to be part of management studies, can also be applied to the study of the *Espejo*. While this use of discourse analysis, one based on material from research used for the field of business management, may seem out of place in a discussion of literature, the logic behind the construction of institutions is helpful in the examination of a text that seeks to comment on the institution of chivalry.

The study of institutionalization is valuable to the discussion of chivalry and hegemonic masculinity because institutionalization is one of the means by which hegemonic masculinity is able to maintain its supremacy. Stephen Barley and Pamela Tolbert define institutions as “historical accretions of past practices and understandings that set conditions on action, in such a way that they gradually acquire moral and ontological status of taken-for-granted fact, which, in turn, shapes their future interactions and negotiations” (99). Society has become so used to knighthood enjoying a high social status that this has become an unquestioned fact, and is even celebrated in literature. Meyer and Rowan are more succinct when they explain how institutionalization occurs

when a social process comes to take on a rule-like status in society (341). Connell mentions that institutionalization is one way in which the dominant form of masculinity is able to maintain its status without the use of force (“Rethinking” 846). There is no longer a need for the threat of physical violence, when members of the lower echelons of society accept and even honor knighthood for its status in society. A contemporary example of this process is described in Frank Barrett’s article “The Organizational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: The Case of the US Navy.” In this article, Barrett explains how the navy has socialized men by means of a specific blueprint, creating an institutionalized idea of hegemonic masculinity that is accepted and honored by the wider society. I contend that discourse analysis will allow us to examine how Valera’s text institutionalizes chivalry and supports a hegemonic form of masculinity.

Norman Fairclough has stated that discourse analysis is a framework which allows us to study language and its relation to power and ideology (1). Valera’s *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* serves an ideological purpose by defending a concept of nobility which is not based on the traditionally held belief of lineage. Instead, starting in the tenth chapter, Valera asserts the possibility of a powerful and respected knighthood whose members adhere to what Valera believes to be the traditional values of chivalry. By using discourse analysis, we can thus critically examine how language is used in the text to promote Valera’s ideological construction of the institution of chivalry. This ideological construction of chivalry is not based on Christian faith, military prowess, or lineage but rather on virtue and merit. This is partly a reflection of the particularities of knighthood in the Iberian Peninsula.

Because of the ongoing reconquest of Al-Andalus, there was a great need for knights. For this reason, the Spanish knighthood was slightly different from the knighthood in other European countries such as France or Germany where the knighthood developed as a class among those who could afford it, the nobility. The Castilian knighthood was more heterogeneous. There was the knighthood of the nobility, but also the “caballería popular,” also referred to as “caballería villano,” which sought to follow their example. The knighthood was an honor to be received, but this honor did not necessarily give the recipient a place in the nobility. Nobility could be granted to knights however if they served with distinction (Carcellor Cerviño 99). Military necessity allowed the knighthood in Spain to be open to all who showed capability. It is because of this, that Valera, a “pleybeyo” (plebian) was able to rise in social rank and become close to the royal authority.

Because of the heterogeneity of the knighthood and the fact that the non-nobility was able to play an important role at the royal court, the question arises as to the true definition of a noble. Are the true members of the nobility those who can point to it by right of their lineage or those upon whom the king has conferred it? Diego de Valera, in his text, supports the idea that nobility is not a matter of lineage but rather a matter of personal honor and service to the king. In the *Espejo*, Valera makes it clear that decisions on matters of nobility are the purview of the monarch who has the right both to give the honor of nobility and to take it away. This is where the ideas of the Italian legal scholar Bartulio Sassoferrato (often spelled Saxoferrato)⁹⁷ play a role in the text. Valera uses

⁹⁷ Bartolus or Bartulio Sassaferrato was born in Ancona in the future duchy of Urbino sometime between November 1313 and November 1314. Scholars extrapolate this from the fact that we know that he received his doctorate from the University of Bologna at the age of 21 in 1334. He eventually gained much renown and was awarded a jurist coat of arms. It was this, according to

Sassoferato's definition of nobility not only to define the concept, but also as the main theme of the text. This definition states, "nobleza es una calidad dada por el Príncipe, por la qual alguno parece ser más acepto allende los otros onestos plebeos"[Nobility is a quality given by the Prince by which someone seems more acceptable than the other honest plebeians] (170). Other writers such as Hernán Mexía⁹⁸ and Juan Rodríguez del Padrón⁹⁹ take an opposing view and say that nobility is based on lineage. In some ways those that believed that nobility was a matter of lineage had the upper hand since, as Maria del Pilar Carceller Cerviño points out, those who received the knighthood quickly created a lineage for themselves whether based on fact or fiction (107). She also states that this position is understandable for Valera because he was of converso origin and unable to claim any nobility based on lineage (104).

One of the most notable aspects of the *Espejo* compared to other texts in this dissertation is that there is very little mention of fighting and other martial characteristics of the knighthood. The text instead focuses on honor and virtue. This is in fact representative of the royal desire for the knighthood. Even though the reconquest of Al-

Francesco Maiolo, that inspired Sassoferato to write his tract *De Insigniis et Armis* around 1355 (Maiolo, 226). This tract would act as an inspiration for the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* nearly a century later.

⁹⁸ Mexía's text, *Nobiliario vero*, was written later, in 1485, but unlike Sassoferato, Mexía sees nobility as a matter of lineage.

⁹⁹ When visiting the Burgundian court in order to attend the tournament of "Arbre de Charlemagne" in 1442, Valera presented the Duke with a copy of Rodríguez del Padrón's work *Triunfo de las doñas*, a text which added to the conversation on the "Querelle des Femmes," along with a copy of the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (Serrano 2010, 114). Florence Serrano views the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* as a work that responds to Rodríguez del Padrón's own *Cadira de honor*, a text written to defend the infantes de Aragón in their opposition to Juan II (Serrano 2009, 199). This text stresses the nobility of blood over the power of the monarch to promote and demote the nobility at will. Serrano believes that Valera's own discussion of the "Querelle des femmes," *Tratado en defense de virtuosas mujeres* had not been written yet, suggesting that it had been, it would have been included instead of Padrón's work (2009, 200).

Andalus had not been completed, the monarchy wished to use the knighthood as a form of ennoblement so that “caballeros villanos” could have a place in court and take important positions in the government (Rodríguez-Velasco, *Invención* LII). The king used this strategy as a way to check the power of the blood nobility who were playing a “preponderant” role in the government. (Rodríguez-Velasco, *Invención* XIII). The role of the knighthood had changed in society in order to represent political authority instead of martial authority. For this reason, the text focuses on the authority of the king to grant nobility to those who are worthy of it through virtue, or to those who will aid the monarchy in the affairs of the Castilian state. Valera, in his role as diplomat and emissary, as well as in his role of political writer, represents this new knighthood, one of civil service. At the same time, Valera was also respected for his martial ability as a fighter. In this way, he acts as a bridge between the traditional image of the knight as warrior and the new image of the knight as courtier and servant of the king.

In the fourth chapter of the text, Valera takes great pains to assert that the king takes the place of God on earth, “Ca los Príncipes tienen el lugar de Dios en la tierra,” and that it is the job of the nobles to follow his laws (178-179). In the *Cadira de honor*, the text that opposes the ideas of the *Espejo*, the author states that although a young man (mançebo) may show himself valiant in battle and able to forcibly enter a thousand strong castles and win as many battles, he cannot be considered a knight if he has not gone through the process of investiture (6). In this Padrón is in agreement with Valera., who, following Sassoferrato, states that nobility is a quality given by the king (178). The difference between the two authors is that for Valera, virtue is the main prerequisite for

receiving a place in the nobility. Padrón, however, views virtue as one point in a larger list of requirements for the nobility.

Because virtue is the overriding quality of nobility, it can be gained or lost depending on the behavior of the noble. Valera equates nobility with dignity, and sustains the idea that “sola mente dignidad es aquella que diferencia entre el noble y el plebeo” [Only dignity is that which differentiates between the noble and the commoner] (193). This quote is also from Sassoferrato according to Valera and he uses it to defend against the idea that nobility is something that is inherited. For if one has gained the nobility from “los antepasados” (ancestors) but has since committed an act that has led to infamy, that person has lost his dignity. With that loss of dignity comes the loss of nobility (194). The example that is given in this passage is that of Cain, who lost his nobility when he murdered his brother. This is a biblical example, but it is treated by the author as only a story illustrating a point.

The gain or loss of nobility is not just a matter of virtue, however; marriage also plays a role. Valera mentions the example of the “mujer plebea” who marries into the nobility and becomes a noble; the reverse is also the case, as a noble woman can marry a plebian and lose her social status (179).

Marriage is not the only way in which one is able to change social status, and Valera explains to the reader the key quality necessary for an individual in order to ascend to the rank of the nobility. This quality is virtue. Valera states: “ca por los actos virtuosos se deuen dar las dignidades” [For by virtuous acts should dignity be given] (180). A noble must be always striving for honor through virtue. This is rather different from the other texts in this dissertation, which define honor otherwise. In the *Ordene*,

honor is a matter of Christian piety and in the *Livre*, Charny stresses military prowess above all else as the means to gaining honor. The fact that Christianity plays a smaller role in Valera's conception of honor has to do with the humanistic nature of the text, as the Christian faith plays a less significant role in shaping the world view of the author. Prowess is not emphasized in Valera's text, except for the final chapters that focus on the knighthood, because this text focuses more on the noble in court than on the role of the noble on the battlefield.

Just as Charny ranked the knighthood of his day based on prowess, Valera creates a hierarchy among the nobility: noble, más noble, and mucho más noble. Even among kings there are those who are greater than others. In the ninth chapter, Valera relies on Sassoferrato to point out that while the idea of nobility may be based on virtue and dignity, not all those who receive it act in a virtuous or dignified manner (203). The plebian woman may marry into a noble family or a child may be born to noble parents, but that does not mean that they are necessarily virtuous. Valera and Sassoferrato answer this question by saying that nobility is something that does not always represent the present virtue of those who have received it. Nobility can demonstrate virtue in the past or present, or even a hope for virtue in the future, as in the case of the baby. If one loses one's nobility due to vicious acts but then returns to virtuous life, then one's nobility can be restored not automatically, but through the king's consent (207).

In the seventh chapter, Valera includes the knighthood as a dignity along with "reyes principes, marqueses duques, condes, and barones" (193). There is no differentiation here between the different types of Spanish knighthood. Much of the rest of the chapter is given over to examples of nobles who have lost their nobility, who did

not continue in the ways of their fathers. Many succumbed to grisly ends in the process. Among those included in the list are kings and emperors such as Nero. One example is that of Quintus Fabius, the Roman Consul who forgot the virtues of his fathers and lived luxuriously. He was eventually removed from the “Orden de Caballería.”¹⁰⁰ Also punished were four hundred knights who did not fulfill the duties given to them by the Roman Senate (198). These examples of loss of nobility and removal from the Order of Chivalry demonstrate two weaknesses that Valera identifies in the knights of his day later in chapter ten. These examples also show that chivalry is something that can be taken away, rather than something that is part of a man’s character. This is counter to the literature of the time, as Jesus Rodríguez-Velasco explains. In works such as *Amadís* and *Zifar*, the characters display qualities which would be considered chivalrous even when they have lost their knighthood. Chivalry was perceived to be a sort of genetic characteristic (*Invención XXXVI-XXXVII*). Valera shows that nobility and chivalry are not like this. Once it has been lost, the noble does not continue to display qualities of nobility, if he has not been virtuous.

What does Valera mean by virtue?¹⁰¹ It is clear that Valera sees virtue as a happy medium between any two extremes. He defends this argument by pointing to one of the core virtues of chivalry, largesse. Between “escanza,” where one is unwilling to share

¹⁰⁰ The 1878 edition of the text capitalizes these words. On page 198 there is also the “Orden de Caualleria,” an older spelling of the same expression.

¹⁰¹ The definition of virtue and its importance for the individual and society has been a matter of discussion since antiquity, the most important ancient philosopher to treat the subject being Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. Medieval writers who discuss virtue include Boethius, in his *Consolation of Philosophy (De consolatione philosophiae)* (524) in which he talks about virtue and men of rank (in the sixth prose section of the second book). Another medieval discussion on virtue which uses a wide variety of sources including non-Christian sources, is in the second part of the *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas (1265-1274).

what one has, and profligacy, where one shares too much, virtue is the happy medium (181). Virtue brings dignity and according to Valera “dignidad sea un resplandescimiento de honra á quien es reuerencia deuida, ésta deue ser dada á los virtuosos” [Dignity is a radiance of honor, to whom honor is proper. This should be given to the virtuous] (180). The king commits a mortal sin when he gives the honor of nobility to one who is not worthy. Valera takes this idea from the works of Saint Thomas and the *Regiment of Princes* by Thomas Hoccleve.¹⁰² Valera attributes the actual quote to Alexander the Great, the speaker in Hoccleve’s text. Virtue is the highest honor but one must also guard against those who appear to be honorable, but who actually display negative qualities that are misinterpreted as positive ones. “Escaseza” could be viewed as temperance and prodigalidad could be viewed as largesse to the untrained eye. To explain how one would be able to distinguish between the two, Valera once again points to both a scriptural idea as well as an ancient one.

Valera uses Matthew 7:16 “de las sus obras conosceredes aquellos,” often rendered in English as “by their works you shall know them” He then states that according to Seneca,¹⁰³ when there is weakness, one cannot have one of the four main virtues completely and that if this is true, cannot have any of these main virtues (182).

The tenth and eleventh chapters discuss matters pertaining to the knighthood. The chapter follows a format similar to the text as a whole. Valera first explains the reason for

¹⁰² Padrón also uses *El Regimiento de los príncipes* as a source in his work *La Cadira del honor*

¹⁰³ Valera attributes this to the work *The Four Virtues* by Seneca, I have not however been able to locate a work that bears the name that Valera gives for the work “Quatro virtudes,” but Maurizio Virolli states in *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics 1250–1600* that the idea of the four virtues was wrongly attributed to Seneca throughout the medieval period and that the idea actually belonged to St. Martin of Braga (18).

writing the chapter on the knighthood and then tells how the knighthood began. The next section explains his ideal of knighthood using examples from Roman texts and continues with a discussion of the weaknesses of the order of knighthood. The eleventh chapter discusses the uses of arms and heraldry.¹⁰⁴ This chapter is also useful for dating the manuscript. We can be sure that this text was written after Valera served in Bohemia because he mentions that he saw King Albrecht distributing arms with his own eyes (222). He also explains why a king that has lost his flag in battle is allowed to continue using it. This, of course, is the same defense that Valera gave while at the court of Albrecht in Bohemia (223). The second part of the chapter discusses various aspects of heraldry including the use of colors and the shapes of pennons.

Maria Lourdes Simó discusses the use of heraldry in Diego de Valera. She notes that discussions of heraldry are also present in the *Cadira de Honor* and *Nobiliero Vero* (42). Because of its presence in other texts that deal with matters of nobility, it appears that heraldry was considered a significant part of the discussion on nobility on the Iberian Peninsula. What Valera says does not differ greatly from what other authors have to say on the matter. The meaning and symbolism of the colors was for the most part fixed, something that Valera attributes to Sassoferrato. Simó does not go to great length to analyze why heraldry was so important but she does state that its inclusion provides a “fiel reflejo de la panorama caballeresca de la España del siglo XV” [faithful reflection

¹⁰⁴ A modern definition of heraldry will make reference to a coat of arms. The aspects of Valera’s treatise which discuss heraldry should be considered in this sense, as the focus is on understanding the coat of arms. A more traditional definition would say that heraldry is the science of the herald. Allcock explains that heralds “blazoned (called out) the insignia of participants, proclaimed their titles, recited past victories and noted their standing in the lists” (9). A thorough explanation of not only the colors and shapes on the shield as Valera presents, but also the meaning of animals and the markings of other pieces of armor can be found in *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* by Arthur Charles Fox-Davies.

of the chivalric panorama of Spain in the fifteenth century] (53). Heraldry is intimately linked to the idea of knighthood. It is important enough to the author that he consecrated an entire chapter to the subject in the *Espejo*, and later wrote an entire text on the topic. As is the case with the other authors in this dissertation, outward symbols of the knighthood are just as important to a knightly identity as the internal values the author wishes to impress upon his reader. Whereas for Charny and the *Ordene*, these external symbols are primarily part of the clothing, Valera is more concerned with the symbolism of an item that is not always worn, but one that can act as a representation of the bearer and his honor even when he is not present. This fact may be why the discussion Valera had with the German knight is included in the eleventh chapter. The king is not present but his flag being in the possession of the Portuguese speaks to a loss of honor. For this reason, the validity of its continued use by the king is questioned. Valera rebuts this argument by stating that the king's honor is not damaged because of the loss of a flag. The honor is located in the person.

Matters of knighthood and chivalry are treated in many ways by the author as institutions, in the same way that theorists of management define institutionalization, or the construction of an institution. Philips, Lawrence and Hardy write that "institutions are constituted through discourse and that it is not action per se that provides the basis for the institutionalization, but rather the texts that describe and communicate these actions" (635). Institutions are thus created through texts and in the medieval world; chivalry was created as an institution through the production and popularity of texts that fit into the genres of epic and chivalric romance. Both Elspeth Kennedy and Martin Riquer reflect on the ways in which literature and reality feed off each other in these genres. Authors such

as Joanot Martorell, the Valencian author of *Tirant lo blanc* and contemporary of Valera, who were actually knights themselves, used their own personal experiences in the texts they wrote. The reader was then inspired to imitate the chivalry of their heroes, the knights in the story (Riquer 69).

In discourse analysis, the idea of the text or discourse is not just what is written down. To borrow Ian Parker's definition, "the text is a system of statements which constructs an object" (5). Fairclough notes that discourse cannot be studied directly; it can only be examined through texts and how their production, dissemination, and consumption affect social reality. For the purpose of this discussion, I will take a narrower view of text and limit its meaning to what has been written down and preserved for modern scholars to study.

Valera presents chivalry as a given in this way in the very first line of the tenth chapter, where he states quite clearly that knighthood is now the most common dignity "Commo la cauallería agora sea la dignitat más commun en el mundo, no syn rrazon algo della deuemos tractar..." [As the knighthood is now the most common dignity in the world, it is not without reason that we address it.] (215). According to the footnote in the 1878 edition, the meaning of the word *dignitat* or dignity in this context invokes ideas of nobility and honor. This is juxtaposed with the word "commun" later in the sentence which is in many ways its opposite. "Commun" gives the sense of something that is not rare, and, the knighthood was not rare in the Iberian Peninsula during the fifteenth century. This is in opposition to an earlier note included to clarify an idea of dignity. In it the author states that the Spanish tradition of knighthood is like that of other countries in which receiving the knighthood bestows upon the recipient membership in the nobility.

R. L. Jepperson adds that institutions influence behavior because departures from institutions are counteracted in a regulated fashion, by repetitively activated, socially constructed controls (146). Philips, Lawrence, and Hardy note that non-conformity becomes associated with increased “costs” in 3 ways: economically, cognitively, and socially (637). Chivalry is able to police itself by declaring that those who have not followed its precepts are acting in a dishonorable manner, which has social and probable economic consequences. Valera argues that chivalry as an institution has weakened because that sense of honor which acts as an enforcer no longer has power; those who hold the status of knight are no longer worried about a loss of honor. Valera expresses this idea as he compares the knights of the past with the knights of his day. He uses exempla from Roman authors to describe the knighthood of imperial times, explaining that the life of the knight was not one of joy but one of service, and that a high price was paid for disobedience. These exempla are juxtaposed with the knighthood of Valera’s own day, in which knights are more interested in personal gain. For example, as Valera discusses the discipline of the Roman knighthood, the reader cannot help but recognize that the author is making a comparison to the contemporary knighthood of the author’s times, and that the comparison is not at all favorable. Valera states:

Sin duda quien querrá bien considerar la disciplina militar que los romanos guardaron, no se maravillara haver estendidio el su señoría fasta los postrimeros términos de la tierra; por eso el pueblo romano con poca gente muchas veces grandes compañías venció, e con poca cabdal muy ricos reyes desbarató é la fuerza de la fortuna debaxo de sus pies metió, no por cierto por fermosura de fablar ny por rriqueza de vestiduras, más por

sola virtud de corazones ardidés; los quales avian la voluntad apartada de toda torpeza é desonesta ganacia e mas deseaban caballos é armas que ropas é joyas ni otros deleytes.

[Without a doubt if one wanted to consider the military discipline that the Romans had, one would not be amazed that they extended their dominion to the furthest reaches of the earth; that with few people the romans were able to vanquish greater armies and with little riches they were able to rob kings with much greater fortunes and put the force of fortune under their feet. It was not because of beauty of speaking, or the richness of dress but only by means of burning hearts did they have the desire, separated from all ineptitude and dishonest gains. For how much more they wanted horses and arms than clothing, jewels and other pleasures.] (217-218)

What was once considered inappropriate has now been legitimized. Legitimation is an important aspect of institutional theory because, as James Taylor and Elizabeth Van Every point out, legitimation “derives from the interestedness that arises from the occupation of organizational territory, and the competition for limited resources” (292). Valera is striving to create a knighthood that is above the fray and not in competition for resources. Valera’s ideal knight is very much an ascetic who disdains pleasures or “deleytes” considering them as detracting from the knight’s chivalric role (216). This way of life is accepted and even welcomed because the knight’s service is their highest honor.

It is important to note that Valera turns most often to Roman authors for his examples of the knightly ideal and for his legitimacy as well. He does not use biblical sources as we have seen in the books of chivalric conduct in previous centuries. This is

not to say that the Bible was no longer a source of legitimation. Valera's work shows us that at the time of his writing, he was able to support his ideas with those of ancient authors. This hints at the Renaissance, which would gain traction in Valera's home kingdom of Castile later in the century.

Valera spends much time in the text comparing the knights of his day to the knighthood of Roman times. But is Valera's image of the knighthood in Roman times an accurate reflection of ancient values, or is the author using the canvas of Ancient Rome to paint his own picture of manhood? Colleen Conway provides a succinct image of Roman manhood, comparing the values of Jesus Christ and those of the Roman world in which he lived. Her reading of Roman sources such as Suetonius and Cicero, as well as Seneca and the gnomic texts that Roman schoolboys copied is helpful because these are authors that Valera himself mentions. Conway presents a Roman masculinity that is similar to the one that is presented in Valera's text. For her, Roman masculinity is based on activity versus passivity as well as on self-control (25). This activity versus passivity is not just in a sexual sense. The ideal Roman man was physically active and willing to take the lead for the good of Rome. Valera worries that the knights of his day have become too passive, unwilling to sacrifice (216) and no longer caring for the public good (*El bien público*) (219).

Valera does not only rely on Roman authors, but also uses the work of Ramón Llull, who wrote the *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* discussed in chapter III. Llull's work was probably the most widely read and translated work on chivalry in medieval times.¹⁰⁵ Llull's work is thus central to the construction of the ideology of chivalry. By using the

¹⁰⁵ The text made its way into English through a translation by William Caxton in the mid 1400's, a translation that is still in print.

same founding myth, Valera is able to create continuity with Spain's chivalric past. This founding myth states that the people were divided into thousands and from each thousand the most honorable man was chosen to be a knight (167). This myth did not originate with Lull, but can actually be traced back to an older source, the *Etymologiae* by Isadore of Seville written circa 600-625. In the third chapter of book nine, Isadore explains that the word "miles" is used to mean a soldier because one was chosen from every thousand people (201). "Miles" is a word often used in medieval Latin texts to denote the concept of the knight (Mantello 216). To say that these men were the most honorable, instills legitimacy on the institution of knighthood not only in the eyes of the knights themselves, but more importantly, in the eyes of on those with whom the knights are fighting for "scarce resources."

The fifth chapter of the *Espejo* contains Valera's discussion of how the nobility came about. Valera's story of the origin of the nobility is similar to the start of the knighthood described above. All men were created equal, but some were able to exert their will over others (184-185). The main difference is that whereas the knights were created as a class in order to protect those below them, the nobles became tyrants who sought to place those who were weaker into their service (*servidumbre*.) Thus, the nobility was formed from ill intent. Here Valera makes reference to the works of both Aristotle in his *Politics*¹⁰⁶ and Pope Innocent III in his *de Miseria Humanae Conditionis*.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Aristotle's *Politics* or *Politikôn* in the original Greek is a fourth century BC treatise that discusses all matters pertaining to the polis (Kraut and Skultety xi)

¹⁰⁷ This text was written by Cardinal Lotario dei Segni in 1195 before he became pope and is divided into three books. The first deals with the disgusting physical aspects of humans, the second deals with the goals of men (riches, pleasures and honors) and the third focuses on the

Besides legitimacy, an institution also seeks longevity. Philips, Lawrence and Hardy cite the French discourse analyst Paul Ricoeur, who explains that what we seek “is not the fleeting event, but rather the meaning which endures” (194). The previous illustration of Valera’s use of the Roman Empire to instill a sense of legitimacy also demonstrates how he uses this example to create a sense of longevity, the knighthood has endured for a thousand years. The subtext of the author, however, is one of questioning if the knighthood will be able to endure after the actions of the knights in his generation. The trope itself is perhaps as old as the knighthood, but this is often the reason why authors choose to pick up the pen and write a book of chivalric conduct.

In discourse analysis, there is recognition that the text in and of itself is useless without a reader. For Taylor and Van Every, “a text that is not read, cited or used is not yet a text” (292). The reader is thus needed to complete the loop of textual dissemination. In order to examine this aspect of the process of institutional construction, it is most helpful to return to the area of discourse analysis that examines literature.

Allen Bell demonstrates how discourse analysis may be applied to the written text as he examines the scriptural story of the tower of Babel. Bell sees the value of this method as a way of gaining a deeper understanding of the content and social import of the text, not just as a tool for studying the text’s structure and form (520).

To support his ideas, Bell leans on the work of Paul Ricoeur, already mentioned above, who discusses the difference between the written word and the spoken word. For Ricoeur, one of the most important aspects of the written text is the sense of

putrefaction of the body and the pains of hell. The work was highly influential in the Middle Ages and was used in the works of many authors such as Chaucer.

distanciation¹⁰⁸ between the reader and the writer (139). We the readers are not present when the text is written so we do not have the ability to ask the author to explain the meaning of his text; we are left on our own to glean what the author is trying to say. This idea is especially important when dealing with works of conduct literature because in this genre, the author expects the reader to be changed by the experience of reading the text, and even to apply in his own life what he has learned from the author if the reader is a member of the writer's intended audience. This is not to say that other genres such as epic and romance do not create a change in the reader, but with these genres the change is much less explicit. The author shares his ideological point of view through the use of characters; they are the ones who receive explicit instruction, either from discourse or experience. The reader is changed by the experience of the characters in the story, as they are his model.

In the *Espejo*, Valera is speaking to his reader and imparting his knowledge to him directly; there is no character who acts as a model as of behavior. Valera clearly hopes that Juan II and other readers will learn from and become the model of the lesson that he is trying to teach. We could say, therefore, that although there is distanciation between the writer and reader, due to separation of time and space, Valera and his reader are actually closer than those of other works because there are no characters or plot that come between the writer and his message. For example, in the *Ordene de chevalerie*, the message is communicated by means of the story of Hue de Tabarie. As he inducts Saladin into the knighthood and teaches him about the order of chivalry, there are many cultural and social aspects that come into play in the text that add another layer of meaning, one

¹⁰⁸ Bell notes that “distanciation” is an anglicisation of the French translation of the German word “*verfremdung*” (527).

that could have an effect on how the reader interprets the message that the anonymous writer is trying to get across.

In Valera's text, it is the king himself who plays the role of Saladin from the *Ordene* in receiving instruction from the author. He is acquiring the knowledge that the author wishes to share and acts as a stand-in for the other readers of the text.

Distanciation does in fact exist in this text but the distance is not as great for the intended reader. A simple analogy would be that the reader is experiencing this text in the second person instead of the first or third.

Valera speaks directly to his reader in the text. He makes use of apostrophe, and, for example, begs God that those of his own day return to the customs of the past:

¡O bien aventurada tienpo aquel en el qual la virtud asy florescia, onde bien tanto quanto los vicios eran punidos, asy eran las virtudes loadas é los virtuosos remunerados!...

¡Ploguiese á Dios en nuestros tienpos retornasen aquellas primeras costumbres! [Oh, that adventurous time when such virtue flourished, when as much as vices were punished, virtue was praised and the virtuous were remunerated!... Oh, that it were pleasing to God that our time be returned to those customs!] (218).

In these statements, Valera is asking for a return to his idealized version of the past. The second part of the statement is balanced citing both a negative and a positive aspect of the past. He appears to state that in his day, the bad are not properly punished and the good are not properly rewarded. This fits well with the overall idea of the text that the nobility is not open to those who are virtuous but who lack bloodlines, and that those who do have the lineage are not worthy. This statement is focused specifically on the knighthood however, and it is this group's lack of remembrance that appears to worry

Valera the most, because they are the ones whose duty it is to protect the people and the country (216). It is in these apostrophic moments that the author pretends to reveal his reasons for writing this chapter of the treatise, when in actuality he has been guiding the reader to come to the same conclusion by himself. Apostrophe is another way for Valera to ensure that the reader is going in the direction that he wishes them to take or to, “suivre le bon sens” (follow the right sense) to use the vocabulary of Ricoeur (30).

As we have seen, discourse analysis allows us to understand the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* by allowing us to examine the text on the macro level as part of the institution of Spanish chivalry and on the micro level in terms of how the text interacts with the individual reader. By exploring the work on both levels, we are able to get a fuller picture of a text which presents the concept of chivalry on the eve of the Renaissance.

The first nine chapters of the text deal with the idea of nobility. Although this is not directly related to the idea of chivalry and knighthood, in these chapters the author supports the idea of a nobility based on merit and virtue, rather than one that is based on family lineage. This ideal of nobility mirrors that of the Spanish knighthood, which was open to anyone who was willing and able to fight. This focus on the martial aspects of chivalry is at odds with the practice of awarding the knighthood to the titled nobility as their right. Although we modern readers often equate the nobility with riches, this is clearly not what Valera imagines, as he stresses virtue and duty to the sovereign and nation above all else. In this text, Valera makes the case for a meritocracy, and in this system, those who are excluded from the nobility because of lineage like Valera himself would be able to enjoy the benefits that come with a title.

This advocacy for a breakdown of traditional hierarchal structures, one of the core components of a feudal society is very different from the works of previous authors such as Ramón Llull who stressed the maintenance of the traditional social order. For Llull, the knight is made noble because he is more noble than others:

Tant és alt e noble l'orde de cavaller que no bastà a l'orde que hom lo faès de pus nobles persones, ni que hom li donàs les pus nobles bístias ni les pus honrades armes ans convenc que hom faès senyors de les gents aquells hòmens qui són en l'orde de cavaylaria

[So high and noble is the order of knighthood that it is not enough that the knights are made of the most noble persons nor that they are given the most noble animals or the most honorable arms. It is in the best interest that men make nobles of the men who belong to the order of chivalry].

(169)

Llull here makes the assumption that knights are automatically the noblest people, who deserve to be part of the nobility. For Llull, the problem of those who are not virtuous can be remedied by the study of chivalry, for this reason he advocates books and schools (170-171). What has happened by Valera's time is that the knighthood seems interested in other things such as making money and "delytes" or pleasures.

Valera then ponders the fact that knights are no longer bound by oath (constreñidos por juramento), no longer taught their duties (*nyn tampoco ser avisados*), and are no longer paid by the state (*ny les ser dado mantenimiento*) (219). Others believe that they should be forgiven for not doing their duty for these reasons, but Valera is adamant that they chose to become a part of the "Orden de Caualleria" and they should

not be excused because they do not know their duty. It is here at the end of the chapter that a reference to faith and the church is mentioned; just as a habit does not make a monk, the golden [armor] does not make a knight [“Asy como el ábito non faze el monje, asy lo dorado no faze el cauallero”] (220). This statement addresses the fact that knighthood had become a matter of appearance rather than a matter of upholding the values of the “Orden de Cauallería.” Just as faith without works is dead, Valera states, ignorance does not excuse the knight.¹⁰⁹ Although these references are full of Christian symbolism, Valera is much less interested in the faith of the knight than making sure that the knight upholds the values of the knighthood.

In this way, Valera also differs from Llull in that he does not see chivalry and knighthood as Christian based institutions. This is most clear in the way in which Valera relies on pre-Christian authors and imagery as he sets forth his knightly ideals. Even though Valera makes the case for a more meritorious ideal of nobility, one that is based on virtue rather than on blood, there are still aspects of the traditional knighthood that are embraced by the author. Valera wants a knighthood that is focused on the martial life. Unlike Llull, who is almost more concerned with faith than with fighting, Valera wants a force for the protection of the state and the people (216). Llull states quite plainly that he views the role of the knighthood as that of protector of the Roman Catholic Church: “Offici de Cavayler és mantenir e deffendre la sancta fe cathòlica, per la qual Déu lo Pare tremès son Fil pendre carn en la verge gloriosa nostra dona sancta Maria...” [The office of (the) knight is to maintain and defend the holy catholic faith, through which God the Father sent his son to become flesh in the glorious virgin our lady holy Mary] (173). The

¹⁰⁹ É bien tanto quanto la fe syn obras no aprouecha, otro tanto la Cauallería syn guardar su Orden; nyn tampoco pueden por ynorancia escusarse.

knighthood, according to Llull, is centered around God and the Catholic faith. The very first question that a squire is asked when he is interviewed to become a knight is centered on his faith and belief in God (189). For Valera, the knighthood is centered around the sovereign. Religion is of no concern to the author of the *Espejo* in matters of chivalry. As we examine the first portion of the book, we see that faith plays only a supporting role as Valera states quite explicitly that religious matters are best left to those who are more knowledgeable on such matters (177).

A comparison between the work of Valera and that of Llull is helpful because it gives a sense of the changes to the society of the Iberian Peninsula in the two hundred years between the writing of the two books. Both authors comment on the knighthood because of the deficiencies that they perceive to exist in the class of men who have been dubbed into the order of the knighthood. But whereas Llull advocates for the creation of something that could almost be called a warrior priesthood, in which knights adhere to values such as faith and chastity, are beholden to God, and are cautioned about the sin. Valera seeks a knighthood that has the respect of the people and is focused on fighting. In this sense Valera has more in common with Charny.

Where the Spanish author differs from the French one is that Charny is much more concerned for the knight to gain the respect of those who are members of his own class, whereas Valera makes it clear that the knight should be respected by everyone, and that the knight's role is service to the people. Service and virtue are concepts which Valera feels are important to the nobility in general as well. Although there is not a specific mention of chivalry in the first portion of the work, as the author notes, knights

are members of the nobility and so the guidance which is provided for the nobles also pertains to the knighthood.

This deference to royal authority and to authority in general is found throughout the work, including the last two chapters dealing with the knighthood. For Valera, there is a very clear hierarchy that needs to be respected and this is shown quite clearly in the examples that he gives which draw from Roman history. These exempla are used to show that there is still a hierarchy among men, but that this hierarchy is based on merit. In one example, he shares an illustration in which fathers are forced to put to death their own sons for disobeying the commands given by the Roman Consul Lucius Postumius Albinus and Titus Manlius Torquatus (216-217). Valera wants the reader to understand the importance of respect for hierarchy and obedience and that these are the qualities which win wars and command respect. Like the other authors in this dissertation, Valera treats the knighthood as a class, but one that does not exist by itself. In the work of Charny as well as in the *Ordene*, the knighthood is a social class which is able to exist without the state. The *Ordene* shows this clearly by demonstrating that the knighthood is something that can be conferred from one knight to another man without the need of a supervising authority, going so far as to remove any higher authority from the process of conferral.

Charny also rejects the idea of a need for an outside authority in matters of the knighthood by encouraging those who need money to offer their services in places such as Italy where there is always a need for knights. Being a knight, a warrior is thus an identity that is not dictated by any outsider; instead, knighthood is simply based on prowess and honor as well as being acknowledged as such.

For Valera, the identity of the knight in Roman times (and by extension, the ideal knight of his day) was tied to his oath (*juramento*) to honor and service the prince, the republic, the captain, and his brothers in arms (216).¹¹⁰ The knight is not a singular figure and Valera does not explicitly put him under the authority of God, although in the next section we read that he should care for the widows and poor and guard the churches and the priests. Both Charny and the *Ordene* place the knight under the authority of God, but this text puts greater emphasis on the knight's place in the earthly military hierarchy. The fact that Valera would have this point of view is not surprising because it fits with the overall idea of the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* as well as that of his other works, such as the *Valeriana* in which Valera makes the case for royal authority and stresses the royal family's legitimacy.

The knights in the exempla above are punished for fighting without the proper authority to do so. The knight's role as warrior is thus defined by others who must approve the use of force. The knight cannot fight simply because he wants to, and can fight only if the battle is for the greater good. If the reason to fight is removed from the knight, what is left? How can he acknowledge his status as a member of the class of *bellatores* if he can only do so when he has received approval? The answer to this question lies in the final chapter of the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* and in another work by the same author, the *Tratado de desafíos et repietos*. The answer is heraldry. Heraldry plays a prominent role in the final chapter of the text because it is a way to acknowledge the knighthood as a class without the need for proving membership on the battlefield. The coat of arms has continued to be a symbol of knighthood and nobility down to our day

¹¹⁰ ...estrecho juramento fué tomado, principal mente que guardasen el honor é servicio del Príncipe, el bien de la república, la ordenança del capitan, el onor de la Orden é de los compañeros á ella rescebidos...

because it is a representation of honor that does not challenge the higher authority. As Dunlop notes, as chivalry declined, the tournament became more about pageantry, little more than a production to relive the glory days of the high Middle Ages (161).

Knighthood became more about the trappings of social class, rather than what it was originally intended to be about, fighting. The social class of knighthood could thus continue to exist even though knights were no longer necessary due to advances in military technology that rendered the armored knight on horseback obsolete.

Diego de Valera's *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* displays many of the qualities often linked to the concept of Renaissance humanism. The author is not a noble and uses his text to support an idea of nobility based on virtue rather than lineage. The final chapters of the *Espejo* explain how this virtue can be interpreted in the context of knighthood. At the same time, this text works to institutionalize the concept of knightly masculinity and through this institutionalization, to help the order of chivalry maintain its hegemonic role in a society that is emerging from the Middle Ages and entering the Renaissance.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, we have seen how three works of medieval chivalric conduct literature demonstrate how knighthood asserted itself as the hegemonic masculinity of their respective historical and cultural contexts. The second chapter provided a historical background of the concepts of chivalry and masculinity by examining important works of scholarship in these fields of study. This chapter also proposed the use of the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a means of examining these three texts in the genre of chivalric conduct literature. This theoretical framework has received attention from scholars in the fields of sociology and management studies but has not been used heavily in the field of literary studies. This chapter demonstrated how this framework can be applied to the Middle Ages and how it has potential for modern scholars as a means of interpreting the genre of medieval conduct literature.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is a theory first proposed by R.W. Connell in her work *Masculinities*. This theory asserts that in every time and place, a specific group of men are able to maintain their superiority over women and other, less dominant forms of masculinity by creating and maintaining a certain ideal of masculinity that other groups accept as powerful and hegemonic. I proposed that in the Middle Ages this ideal was that of the knighthood.

In the third chapter, I applied this concept to the *Ordene de chevalerie* a text most likely written by a priest in northern France around 1220. I demonstrated how the author used the ritual of initiation into the knighthood as a means of creating a conception of chivalry based on the Christian faith and its values. I also showed how the anonymous

author presented the knighthood as the hegemonic form of masculinity by means of the story which frames this ritual. In this story, a captive knight displays a masculinity that is dominant to that of Saladin. This chapter also touched on the perception of Saladin in the European literary tradition and how chivalric masculinity was co-opted by clerical writers as a means of conceptualizing their own masculinity. This use by the clerics bolsters the claim that chivalric masculinity is in fact a hegemonic form of masculinity in the clerics own cultural milieu.

In the fourth chapter, I examined how Geoffroi de Charny creates a knightly masculinity based on honor gained through military prowess. The chapter studied how the backdrop of the Hundred Years' War played a part in demonstrating the necessity of the text as well as why Charny could be accepted as an authority on such matters. This chapter also showed how the *Livre* creates a hegemonic form of masculinity by explaining how knights are superior to clerics. This chapter also explored the text's assertion that through prowess, this hegemonic form of masculinity is open to all who are willing to make an effort in martial pursuits.

The fifth chapter discussed Diego de Valera's conception of chivalric masculinity through the lens of discourse analysis, specifically the concept of institutionalization to show how chivalry as the hegemonic form of masculinity is institutionalized in the text of the *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*. This chapter also considered how Valera's text advocates for a nobility and knighthood based on virtue and not lineage. This chapter also showed how the text displays characteristics of Renaissance humanism.

From this exploration of the three works of conduct literature above, we can see that each author created a conception of knightly masculinity that demonstrates qualities

that meet the definition of hegemonic masculinity as Connell theorizes it. At the same time, each writer fashions the knighthood into what he personally believes it should be, thus allowing the modern reader to see how even chivalric manhood could be manipulated to represent the values of each author as well as those of the society in which the definition was produced.

This research is valuable to scholars of the Middle Ages because it provides an opportunity to examine how medieval writers conceived of the knighthood in a genre that puts greater emphasis on explicitly stating the values of knighthood, without the constraints imposed by other genres such as epic and romance. This research brings attention to the value of examining medieval literary texts through the lens of gender, and how masculinity was perceived in the Middle Ages. This research also shows how ideas from the fields of sociology and management can be applied to medieval literature. For scholars in the fields of sociology and management, this dissertation offers the opportunity to explore how theories which are accepted in these fields can be applied to both medieval and literary studies. This research also brings attention to texts that have sometimes been used for the purpose of supporting other arguments, but have not been studied in depth by themselves. Finally, this dissertation shows how the genre of chivalric conduct literature as whole can provide a fruitful field of study for scholars wishing to pursue areas of medieval literature which are often overlooked.

Further research in this field can examine how other works of chivalric conduct literature display qualities of hegemonic masculinity. This dissertation has touched on other works of conduct literature such as Ramón Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* and Etienne de Fougères' *Livre de Manières* by but has not explored these works in the

detail they deserve. Future scholarship can also apply the concept of hegemonic masculinity to other genres of literature, considering for instance how knighthood as a hegemonic form of masculinity is displayed in the works of Chretien de Troyes or in epic poems such as the *Chanson de Roland* or the *Cantar del Mio Cid*. Further research using this theoretical framework can also be used to show how authors create conceptions of other forms of medieval masculinity especially that of the clerical class and the sovereign. Although this dissertation is focused on medieval European and Christian manhood, this theory can also be applied to the conception of medieval manhood in other parts of the world and in other religious traditions.

The genre of medieval chivalric conduct literature allows the modern reader to engage with the concepts of knighthood and masculinity. Orders of knighthood, such as the *Order of the Garter*, have continued to exist into the modern era as an honor that is offered in many countries to those who make important contributions to their societies. Although knights no longer take part in battle, they continue to be esteemed by those who award such honors for the work they have done and what they represent. Although no longer a hegemonic form of masculinity, the concept of knighthood continues to have meaning for many social groups. Masculinity also remains a topic of discussion not only among scholars but also in the genre of self-help books, a modern form of conduct literature. Current titles such as *The Manual to Manhood* (2014) and *The Illustrated Art of Manliness* (2017) instruct men on how to represent a certain ideal. Even though the writers of the three works contained in this dissertation have different opinions on how knightly masculinity should be constructed, their goal was similar to that of modern

writers of self-help books on the topic of manhood, to provide advice that enables men to better assume their role in the society that they live in.

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