Fabricating the Martial Body:
Anatomy, Affect, and Armor in Early Modern England and Italy

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Abstract

This project investigates the physical nature of what I call the martial body—most prominently represented as the armored knight—in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English and Italian culture. Earlier studies assume that there is an innate link between elite masculinity, combat, and armor during this period. In contrast, I identify the martial body as a means by which some women and lower status men could occupy positions, express opinions, and exert influence in ways traditionally limited to the masculine martial elite. Marginalized individuals and groups used the trope of the martial body to justify rhetoric and actions that transgressed codes enforced by the hierarchical and patriarchal social structure. Incorporating methodologies from the history of medicine and warfare that derive from work with medical texts and the study of material objects like armor, my dissertation traces the construction of the martial body and its uses as physical construct and rhetorical trope in the Italian epic romances *Orlando innamorato* by Matteo Boiardo, *Orlando furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto, and *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso and the English *Faerie Queene* by Edmund Spenser. The literary sources are complemented by inclusion of English and Italian anatomical and surgical texts, fencing treatises, and armor. Because of transmission patterns from Italy to England for medical knowledge, armor design, fencing technique, and literary genre, an attempt to study the martial body in England presupposes inclusion of Italian materials.

The dissertation is structured so as to define the martial body moving progressively outward, so it begins by asking what the body is made of and then moves to an examination of the body's surface before turning to the chief marker of the martial

body, armor, and ends with a consideration of the martial body in combat. The first chapter investigates what the body was made of in the context of Galenic medical theory, Vesalian anatomical illustrations, and the allegory of the body in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. The second chapter considers skin and hair in all the epic romances as transactional sites that function by subtle manipulations of color, hardness, and presentation. The third again uses all four romances and turns to the martial body's most visible marker: armor. It focuses on armor as prosthesis for entry into the hypermasculine space of combat and the complications this poses for the always already inadequate wearer. The fourth uses English and Italian fencing treatises in an examination of combat in the romances. In doing so, I demonstrate that the martial body—the literal figure and rhetorical trope of elite martial masculinity—serves as a vehicle for some women and lower status men to access the very social spheres that seem most hostile to them in order to evade strict social control.

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Introduction

Queen Elizabeth Takes Up Arms: Occupying the Martial Body

As the massively superior forces of the Spanish Armada drew near the coast of England in 1588, Queen Elizabeth—dressed in armor according to a seventeenth-century legend—rallied the troops and inspired her people.[1] In her speech at Tilbury, she proclaimed:

> I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live and die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms.[2]

Analysis of this speech has noted its rhetorical complexity, its role in Elizabeth's management of the "two bodies" of the monarch,[3] and the careful contrast of a female body with a male heart and stomach.[4] What has received less attention is Elizabeth's invocation of a particular kind of body that can simultaneously accommodate supposed female weakness and male organs, a body that contains honor and blood and enables Elizabeth to "take up arms,"[5] a body that I call the *martial body*.

Armored fighters who "take up arms"—especially knights—were presumed inviolably male, making this particular figure an apt marker of ideal masculinity. I call

this marker the martial body. While I do mean the actual person in armor, including the protective layers of material armor, mail, and leather as well as the sexed body underneath, the martial body also has analogs in literature, artistic representation, and rhetoric. In England and Northern Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the man of armor, particularly the knight, occupied the hypermasculine extreme of the gender spectrum. Women or low-status men with suspect masculinity could intrude into the other traditionally male estates. In politics, courtiers often experienced critique for effeminate styles of dress and behavior while female monarchs like Elizabeth I and Marie de Medici challenged politics as an exclusively male space. Even academic and ecclesiastical spaces could be breached by women who may have been denied official positions in the academy but could gain access to learning via private tutors, and many holy women enjoyed positions of respect and authority. The martial body, on the other hand, represents the elite in status and is presumed masculine. The main argument of this dissertation is that this presumption paradoxically enables some women—as Queen Elizabeth I does in her Tilbury speech—and lower status men to occupy the martial body rhetorically, socially, and at times even physically to wield power, influence political contexts, and express opinions in ways traditionally limited to powerful, elite men. As such, it complicates assumptions about elite masculinity and the disciplinary separation of popular literature from the spheres of scientific inquiry and martial training and practice.

My articulation of the martial body as a prevalent fifteenth- and sixteenth-century phenomenon in a variety of forms draws especially on the double meaning embedded in

the related Latin words *ornatus* and *ornamentum*. Wayne Rebhorn and Frank Whigham, editors of George Puttenham's *The Art of English Poesy*, provide a fuller definition of ornament, the title of the third section of Puttenham's text: "The Latin word *ornamentum* meant the equipment of a soldier, his arms. It later acquired the meaning of the accouterments of a profession, such as the clothing of an actor, and, even later, that of mere decoration."[6] It is this sense of the word that Alexander Pope alludes to when writing about the work of the Roman orator Quintillian:

> In grave Quintilian's copious work, we find
> The Justest rules, and clearest method joined:
> Thus useful arms in magazines we place,
> All ranged in order, and disposed with grace,
> But less to please the eye, than arm the hand,
> Still fit for use, and ready at command.[7]

Pope's emphasis on practicality is not mutually exclusive with the decorative effect of ornament. Rather, ornament will "please the eye," but it will also fulfill the protective function of arms and magazines. In addition to ornament encapsulating armament and useful decoration, it occupies a prominent space in rhetoric, a position invoked by Puttenham's use of the concept in his rhetoric manual and Pope's reference to Quintilian. Joachim Dyck explains: "the *ornatus*, the body of rules covering the use of tropes and figures of speech, is also part of the emotional effect to be achieved by words; it is not an adornment to delight the intellect but a means of producing and reducing emotion."[8] Ornament, then, signifies a soldier's equipment, decoration and clothes, and the rhetorical

deployment of tropes and figures of speech. The polysemous power of the term in late medieval and early modern usage comes from its invocation of all or some of these meanings simultaneously. I examine how rhetorical ornamentation and social codes regarding dress and behavior come together to produce bodies that act in literature, war, and medical and rhetorical texts.

The archive that I have constructed to study the figure of the martial body is interdisciplinary and has significant implications for assumptions about the intersection of gender and status in early modern England and Northern Italy. Over the last decade, the turn to embodiment in the humanities and social sciences has led to studies of the body that take material culture into account, but no sustained literary analysis exists of the material, gendered nature of the combatant in the popular genre of epic romances. My dissertation fills this gap. Its interdisciplinary methodology combines textual analysis of literature, theories of embodiment, medical texts, and armor. Because of transmission patterns from Italy to England for medical knowledge, armor design, fencing technique, and literary genre, an attempt to study the martial body in England presupposes inclusion of Italian materials. The epic romances or *romanzi* constitute the literary core of the project. Matteo Maria Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, Ludovico Ariosto's continuation *Orlando furioso*, and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* all resonate in the late sixteenth-century masterpiece of English epic romance, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.[9] In this period, English and Italian stories are continually reworked, and earlier versions appear as palimpsests that link discourses about the martial body together across national and temporal boundaries.

The interconnections between these romance texts have received considerable attention,[10] as has the genre of romance.[11] Certainly, I draw upon studies showing Spenser's debt to Arthurian romance[12] and more obviously to Ariosto,[13] but rather than think of these texts as distinct from one another, enabling a scholar to trace a clear lineage from older text to newer text by following specific storylines, characters, objects, etc., I think of this network of texts along the lines of Barbara Rosenwein's notion of an "emotional community." Rosenwein defines an emotional community as "a group in which people have a common stake, interests, values, and goals."[14] This is not meant to be a rigid phrase, though; instead, she offers it as a heuristic to the interpretation of texts, material culture, and historical artifacts. Her approach stresses "the social and relational nature of emotions,"[15] which moves beyond examining particulars in isolation. Getting beyond the boundaries of region, nation, or genre, I want to think about the larger emotional community that these texts occupy.

To that end, my archive supplements the epic romances with conduct treatises, medical texts, fencing and rhetoric manuals, and work with Italian and English armor. Rather than focusing on a linear narrative that positions earlier text or artifact as direct influence on later so as to explain a particular feature, I seek to articulate connections as mediated by the figure of the martial body. These connections both constitute the forms that the martial body takes and reveal how this hypermasculine figure can be and was deployed by some women and lower status men to subvert the very social codes that enable the figure of the martial body to exist. I propose to give a local account of early modern armor in English and Italian epic romance framed in terms of global thinking

about the history of the body, emotions, and warfare to suggest a new paradigm of interstices for approaching the politics of gender in early modern Europe.

While scholars like Beverly Kennedy have done considerable work thinking about the connection between popular romances and contemporary chivalric handbooks,[16] uncovering the contents of the emotional community I am identifying requires moving beyond literary scholarship that identifies combat and armor as secondarily important[17] to thinking about the ways that the familiar physicality of armor likely resonated strongly with the contemporary readers of these epic romances. For fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers familiar with the appearance of armor—everything from the battered breastplates used repeatedly by common soldiers to the intricately decorated parade armor worn for festivals and tournaments—textual descriptions would resonate texturally, not just textually. Armor is intricately textured: the metal folds, ridges, and edges; the different consistency of steel plate, chain mail, and leather straps and layers; the roughness of embedded jewels, gold filigree, and embossed crests.

Commensurate with the increasing use of firearms, militaries shifted to plate armor that made the heavy cavalry more visible while strategy shifted to prioritize the infantry.[18] The decorative aspect of this armor spurred design changes that incorporated intricate, often anatomical designs into the surface, highlighting the shape of the encased body, especially in the Italian style *arma all'antica*.[19] Even as this ornamentation calls attention to the visibility of the armor as a symbol of identity, power, or wealth, its utility depends upon marshalling emotional responses—awe, fear, anger, relief—as well as on the protection of plate armor. Because of the material armor limned by textual

descriptions in the epic romances, critics who consider only the literary dimensions miss a rich resource available in arms, armor, and martial discourse around these objects. Armor and combat have an intimate relationship with the body: a body that moves, fights, and is wounded; a body that feels fatigue carrying the 60-70-pound weight of plate armor; a body that announces identity on the surface of decorated armor while concealing what lies beneath. My research on the affective implications of armor enable me to argue that definitions of acceptable gendered behavior shifted in response to the political reality of queens and women like Elizabeth I who occupied the martial body rhetorically if not verifiably physically when she spoke to her troops at Tilbury. Further, the disjunction between the male, virulent identity suggested by armor and the possible reality of a female or wounded body underneath complicates and necessitates shifting gender codes.

Why did the martial body enjoy such a wide-reaching presence, and how can it bridge the material world of the man of war and the literary, political, and rhetorical analogs mentioned? I argue that the answers to these questions require us to recognize that *all* early modern bodies were always already martial bodies. According to Galenic theory, there is a fundamentally agonistic relationship between the body and its environment. The composition of the body as well as the dominant temperament or complexion result in part from the influences of environmental factors like food and air. This means the body is fundamentally porous to its environment. In this model, humors determine behavior, disposition, and bodily composition, and these humors can and are changed by external and internal factors, rendering the body essentially porous.[20] The Galenic model also assumes a virtual sameness of male and female bodies; the female

body is simply a manifestation of incomplete development. In this close proximity of male-ness and female-ness, implications emerge for gender and identity construction.[21] If clear, visible boundaries are needed to distinguish between bodies and genders, the potential for armor to signify the wrong gendered identity blurs the already thin medical line between male and female.

Why, though, does this peculiar and scientifically outdated model of the relationship between the body and environment matter for modern readers? While the main elements of Galenic theory have been rejected, the fundamental imbrication of body and environment has returned as a central part of modern approaches like cognitive ecology. Evelyn Tribble and John Sutton define cognitive ecologies as "the multidimensional contexts in which we remember, feel, think, sense, communicate, imagine, and act, often collaboratively, on the fly, and in rich ongoing interaction with our environments." This approach to cognition holds that "mental activities spread or smear across the boundaries of skull and skin to include parts of the social and material world."[22] I find the concept of cognitive ecologies a helpful heuristic to think about the deep interpenetration between bodies, ideas, and environments.[23] Besides the benefit of a Galenic approach providing an accurately historicized interpretation of the martial body, this study builds on work by modern scholars by thinking about the ways that an allegory, illustration, or dense description remains inextricably linked to the materiality of the thing invoked.

I identify the passions as the most important constitutive element of the martial body because Galenic theory posits the passions as both external and internal, solid and

material while also intangible. This liminality of the passions makes them both building blocks of the body and something that influences and regulates it, affecting things like behavior and temperament.[24] Further, the early modern understanding of the passions and affections also considers them to be readable on the body. The most famous example of this would be the practice of physiognomy that asserts character and emotional behavior could be determined from interpreting the body. As Geoffrey Chaucer's Wife of Bath tells us, we know she is "likerous" and passionate because she is gap-toothed and has red cheeks.[25] I am less interested in this aspect of early modern emotion theory in favor of the common belief that imitation or performance of an emotion can and usually does invoke a similar emotional state.[26] William James's early twentieth-century essay, "What is an emotion?" identifies the physical experience of an emotion (racing pulse, sweaty palms, etc.) as the actual emotion.[27] Research on emotions affected by James's approach claims that the replication of the physical markers of an emotion can cause the experience of that emotion. Though modern research on emotions rarely cites early modern "emotionology,"[28] unless those modern researchers happen to also be early modern scholars,[29] even this cursory overview indicates the importance of the connection between bodily performance and experience of an emotion shared by both certain kinds of modern research on emotions and early modern theory. This theorization of the emotions or passions is firmly embodied.

Further, rhetorical persuasion also acts through the passions. Since many iterations of the martial body are rhetorically constructed, emotions again constitute a central component of that construction. Similarly, early modern rhetorical theory

understood persuasion to depend upon the circulation of passions invoked, controlled, and moderated by language, again possible because of the porosity of the body to passions.[30] Rhetorical theory connects persuasion to the body and emotions and provides a way for thinking about the persuasive effects of these epic romances and related texts and material artifacts. Stephen Pender explains that physicians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "commonly held that the passions were realized in matter."[31] Medieval and early modern physicians, philosophers, and scholars based this position on a Galenic theory of the humors,[32] as well as (later) on Aristotle's "enmattered"[33] explanation of the passions. In *On Rhetoric* Aristotle defines emotions as social and bodily: "The emotions are those things through which, by understanding change, people come to differ in their judgments and which as accompanied by pain and pleasure, for example, anger, pity, fear, and other such things and their opposites."[34] For the medieval and early modern poet or orator, the figures especially expressed, evoked, and produced passions, transferring them socially through reading, writing, and speaking practices. Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* notes that figures "do attend uppon affections, as ready handmaids at commaundemente to expresse most aptly whatsoever the heart doth affect or suffer."[35] In fact Peacham groups the figures by the degree of emotional effect.[36] Sara Ahmed, a scholar who focuses on modern cultural politics, also agrees that "'figures of speech' are crucial to the emotionality of texts."[37] Passions—absorbed, transported, transferred, contained—help construct surfaces on fluid bodies to separate individuals and categories like sex and gender. George Puttenham notes, "man is but his mind, and as his mind is his inward conceits be the mettle of his mind, and his

manner of utterance the very warp and woof of his conceits."[38] Using several figures himself (synecdoche with mind substituting for man and metaphor of weaving for thoughts for example), Puttenham connects utterances—written and spoken—to the mind, the self. Hence, figures and language enable the creation of boundaries for bodies, though given the underlying understanding of the body's porosity, these boundaries are far from secure.

The terms "rhetoric" and "affect" are integrally related to ideas about persuasion. Here, I turn to what can (retrospectively) be called the embodied language of rhetoric. Both early modern rhetorical theory and modern affect theory foreground the body. The literary texts that constitute the central focus of my inquiry are inherently persuasive even if the persuader and persuaded are ambiguous and messages are mixed. Spenser and Ariosto overtly persuade readers to support a particular political family or regime (Elizabeth I for Spenser and the Este family for Ariosto); Tasso overtly persuades his readers to accept a particular kind of post-Reformation Catholicism; Boiardo persuades his readers to accept the chivalric codes of behavior developed in the medieval romances he relies heavily upon. Yet, the clarity of persuasive role diminishes as the texts become increasingly complex and enter into a rich network of prior and future allusions, allegories, and anecdotes via direct and indirect textual references. The texts become persuasive in the same way that humors and passions change bodies they enter into and reside within. Both passions and humors were believed to effect real changes in bodies, changes that threatened to un-do the stability of sex, gender, and the codes for masculine and feminine behavior built on the assumption of stability.

Given the porosity of this martial body to passions and other influences, grounding the codes of gendered behavior on it paradoxically undermines that very system by revealing the ambiguous gendering and unstable borders of that body. The instability, I argue, enables some women and low-status men to temporarily occupy this high-status male sphere and use the persuasive power it affords. This challenges gender and socioeconomic-based codes of behavior as it exposes the paradoxical reliance of these codes on demarcating the martial body as the sole legitimate hypermasculine occupant of the space of combat even as this very figure of the martial body is inextricably bound up with unstable gendering.

There are currently many scholars working on gender in the early modern period. Since Joan Kelly provocatively asked "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in her 1977 essay, scholars have responded admirably to attempt to fill what until Kelly's essay was a canyon-sized lacuna in research. Over thirty-five years later, scholars of gender continue to focus largely on recovering women's writing, voices, and perspectives. Work on masculinity exists, of course,[39] but most research on gender studies femininity or masculinity in isolation, moving from an assumption of fundamental difference. As Kelly explains, though, this approach reifies a system that "rests on the single variable of physical difference."[40] Kelly argues that "we need a refusal of the fixed and permanent quality of the binary opposition, a genuine historicization and deconstruction of the terms of sexual difference"[41] because "a theory that rests on the single variable of physical difference poses problems for historians: it assumes a consistent or inherent meaning for the human body—outside social or cultural construction—and thus the ahistoricity of

gender itself."[42] Kelly did not mean for her critique to delegitimize the work of recovery done by many gender scholars working in the early modern period; rather, she warns against particular interpretive moves that make the stable sexed body a universal starting point. I propose to enter into the vast world of early modern gender scholarship building on Kelly's call to historicize the body and, by extension, gender. While I in no way wish to undermine work that finds and shows differences between women's writing and men's, women's voices and men's, women's experiences and men's, I want to question the assumed directionality of conclusions: because X was a woman and Y was a man, this explains why X's writing is different; since Y is a man, female characters in his work need to be analyzed in a way that determines whether Y was a proto-feminist, misogynist, or somewhere in between;[43] because X was a woman, her work props up or tears down static definitions of femininity and womanhood of her time period.[44]

These conclusions all proceed from stable sexed and consequently gendered bodies and perpetuate the "permanent quality of the binary opposition." If we invert the direction and start from what is observed and work back, we can arrive at very different starting points where the stability of sex and gender break down. The following four chapters incorporate this analysis about medical theory, armor, rhetoric, and gender to provide an account of the martial body, a figure that Queen Elizabeth mobilized in her speech at Tilbury and throughout her long reign.

The first chapter, "Compounded," relies on anatomical texts and illustrations as well as Galenic medical theory. Galen was a classical physician whose prolific writings largely determined medical practice and theory until the seventeenth century, particularly

in regard to his ideas about the four humors—blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. Both early modern and contemporary scholars cite Vesalius's separation from Galen as the beginning of the demise of Galenic medical theory, but in a reading of Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* and close attention to the illustrations that compose the series of musclemen and bonemen, I show how Vesalius's intervention is a Galenic reconstitution rather than an outright rejection. I pair this work with a reading of the allegory of the body in the romances of Ariosto and Spenser to argue that the early modern body is fundamentally porous and vulnerable to intruding foods, liquids, air, and passions. As a result, environmental factors cause external changes in behavior, sentiment, and at the extremes even gender and sex. Given this fundamental antagonism, the early modern body is always already in a state of conflict, already a martial body.

In the next chapter, "Naked," I move from what the martial body is made of to examine its surface—hair and skin. I argue that the martial body as a figure enables exercise of transgressive power by normalizing the surface of the body. Thus, social norms about hair and skin appearance depend upon regulating the skin's color and appearance and hair's color, length, and presence or absence. Using all four romances, this chapter explores the constructions of masculinity and femininity and the necessity of navigating contradictory appearances and behaviors by tracing martial female characters' hair and skin color—notably blond and white—and the treatment of beards and darkness of skin color for male characters. This literary material is paired with medical and conduct treatises that focus on skin and hair. Complying with social norms for hair and skin enables martial bodies who engage in transgressive actions to appear to be

acceptable in spite of not complying with social expectations. Consequently, martial bodies are exceptional in that their transgressive behavior can be obscured by the fact that their physical appearance suggests conformity.

The third chapter, “Armored,” turns to the martial body’s chief visible feature by incorporating research on actual armor and literary depictions of armored characters. While armor is most often considered to represent the peak of martial masculinity and does communicate identity at both the group and, sometimes, individual level, all of this depends upon the legibility of armor as a tool in service of a particular patriarchal and hierarchical structure. Only men wear armor, and only noble or very high status men wear the best armor. I argue that wearing armor, however, can radically destabilize these structures, and it does so paradoxically via the presumption that it is a reliable symbol for reading martial masculinity and status. When what the armor signals does not match the body underneath, especially in cases where women or low-status men wear elite armor, armor complicates the reliability of its status as identifying elite masculinity. Armor exerts agency to invest its wearers with a martial body, even if those wearers do not match either social expectations or the signifiers on the armor’s surface. As such, when armor is described in these long poems, it performs a communicative, and by extension, persuasive function; it is rhetorical, and it destabilizes ideals of masculinity and femininity even as it challenges expectations for gender behavior.

The final chapter, “Embattled,” examines the link between physical and verbal combat. For early modern people, the word “debate” signified both verbal dispute and physical combat. Similarly, instances of combat in the epic romances depend upon this

materialist understanding of the link between language and the material object. I combine literary descriptions of one-on-one combat and debate performance as a way of solving problems with Italian and English fencing treatises from the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The sixteenth century witnessed the rise of the rapier, a tool for social advancement and self-construction. Much like the class of knights, which evolved from a low-status fighter to the pinnacle of status during the Middle Ages, rapier and sword fighting in general enabled social mobility, just as the possession of rhetorical skills provided access to higher social levels. Using all four romances and focusing on episodes often discarded as unrealistic for combat, this chapter argues that being embattled carries significant bodily risk, but it also can afford opportunities for some women and lower status men to climb the socio-political ladder.

When Elizabeth I "took up arms" she assumed the figure of the martial body with the direct aim of defeating invading princes and protecting her kingdom. The enduring myth of her doing so in armor sharpens the association between martial rhetoric, armor, and gender performance. Over 400 years later and the martial body has a new avatar: the idealized combat soldier. Again, that body is associated with hypermasculinity, and again, it is a contested site where women and men deemed unfit occupy it. The long (and ongoing) debate over the rightness of LGBTQ service members and women in combat branches has deep historical roots in the time period I isolate in this dissertation. The strength of the martial body is its seeming obviousness as a representation of martial masculinity that is impervious to the intrusion of the wrong kind of body. That seeming obviousness also renders the martial body a timeless object that is always already modern

and ancient at the same time. It is, and has always been, the purview of elite masculinity, and that belief covers over a rich history showing that it is in fact a contested site that is continually remade. Precisely because of these contradictory impulses it functions as an especially effective nodal point that links together seemingly disparate discourses. When those points of connection are re-oriented so that the organizing principle is the martial body, the overlap between popular literature, medical discourse, armor and combat, and rhetoric appears. As a consequence, the dimensions of debates about gender and status in early modernity shift, and the figure assumed most inaccessible—the martial body—functions as an effective, if dangerous, tool for mobility. Elizabeth I likely gave her speech expecting defeat, but the English triumphed, and this moment marked a triumphant turn in her reign. Her occupation of the martial body carried with it both terrible risk and potential. By choosing to "take up arms," she showed the radical potential of occupying the space of elite martial masculinity.

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[1] For a comprehensive reading of seventeenth-century representations of Elizabeth, including her role in defeating the Spanish Armada, see Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth*.

[2] In *The Norton Anthology: The Sixteenth Century*, 763.

[3] See Levin, *The Heart and Stomach*, for an interpretation of this speech, 143-145.

[4] See Purnis, "Digestive Tracts," 1-2. See also Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, who says that Elizabeth suggests "that the traits traditionally identified with male rulers were available to her bodily interior" (37).

[5] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, briefly talks about this speech and the way that Elizabeth "exploited the tensions between her masculine political body and her feminine private body" as an example of slippages in early modern literature that lets females take on male traits and vice versa (122-123). However, he does not consider how this deliberate

construction of a particular kind of martial body incorporates the "slippage" into a constructed body that can be rhetorically occupied.

[6] Rebhorn and Whigham, 221n.1. See also Vickers, *In Defence*, who references Joachim Dyck, a German scholar, who makes the same point, and Vickers' expansion, 283-84.

[7] In *The Norton Anthology*, ll. 669-674.

[8] Qtd. in Vickers, *In Defence*, 284.

[9] Throughout the dissertation I use four main editions for the Italian and English texts. For Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, I use the Italian edition edited by Aldo Scaglione that comes from the 1500 Trivulziano manuscript (though published around 1483), for Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, I use the Italian text of the 1532 edition edited by Cristina Zampese, for Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, I use the Pietro Papini's edition from 1917 based on the 1585 publication, and for Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, I use the second edition of A. C. Hamilton that combines the 1590 and 1596 printings. I provide the Italian in brackets for all quotations from the Italian epic romances, and all English translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

[10] See especially Scarsi, *Translating Women*, Benson, *The Invention of Renaissance Women*, and Robinson, *Monstrous Regiment*.

[11] For discussions of epic romance that include genre, see Murrin, *The Veil of Ignorance*; Watkins, *The Specter of Dido*; Bateman "Amazonian Knots"; and Rhu, *The Genesis of Tasso's Narrative Theory.* For work on genre and Malory, see Edwards, *The Genesis of Narrative*, and Field, *Romance and Chronicle.*

[12] Rovang, *Refashioning "Knights and Ladies Gentle Deeds."*

[13] See Scarsi's *Translating Women in Early Modern Europe* for a comparison of Spenser and Ariosto in terms of Bradamante and Britomart (154-74). See also Benson's *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman* who in chapters four, five, ten, and eleven discusses *Orlando Furioso* and *The Faerie Queene*, though does not tend to focus on comparison. See also Robinson's *Monstrous Regiment: The Lady Knight in 16th Century Epic* who in chapter three writes about Ariosto and chapter five about Spenser. She makes some comparisons between Britomart, Bradamante, Radigund, and Marfisa throughout those chapters.

[14] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 24.

[15] Ibid., 25.

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[16] Kennedy, *Knighthood in the Morte*.

[17] Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, argues that Bradamante's armor is an instrument that holds together promise of psychic wholeness (121). She does not spend much time describing or analyzing that armor.

[18] This is commonly referred to as the Military Revolution, a concept first proposed by historian Michael Roberts in the 1950s. Roberts says it occurred in 1560-1660 as a result of the introduction of firearms. Since then, significant debate has occurred. Scholars critique his initial formulation as overly simplistic and exaggerated, and many push the date forward or backward. See Parker, *The Military Revolution*, for a sustained critique and reformulation. However, general agreement exists that firearms caused change in armor design.

[19] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace.*

[20] See Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, esp. pgs. 6-26, and Paster's *Humoring the Body*.

[21] See Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, for an anecdote about a girl changed to a boy while chasing a boy (6).

[22] Tribble and Sutton, "Cognitive Ecology," 94.

[23] While this term of art in cognitive science focuses on the cognitive processes of an individual and her relation to the world around her, it can also be used explore the role of the extended mind in early modern theater, as Tribble does in her book *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare's Theater*.

[24] See Sotres, "The Regimens of Health," who defines emotions from the medieval perspective and elaborates on the connection between passions and what we would call emotions or feelings as well as on the connection between passions and particular parts of the body (313-314).

[25] Chaucer, "Wife of Bath's Tale," ll. 600-20.

[26] This idea has received attention from several sources, but Miller "The Passion Signified," uses rhetoric and literature of the early modern period to argue "that passions are not so much our own, and do not so much always emerge from within, but rather get transferred from one person to another" (412). She argues that passions are felt by imitation of the physical appearances of passion (moving from outside in), which means that "the orator does not look within to imitate the nature of the passion, but without" (414). For Miller, copying the physical signs of passion results in experiencing that passion, a unidirectional movement from outside in.

[27] For a comprehensive overview of the Jamesian theory of emotion as well as exploration of modern research that draws on it, see Cornelius, *The Science of Emotion*, 58-111.

[28] Stearns and Sterns, "Emotionology," 813.

[29] For work on emotions in the medieval and early modern period, see Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, who focuses on the early Middle Ages; Cockcroft, *Rhetorical Affect*, who applies a cognitive theory of emotions to early modern English literary texts; and Pender, "Habits of Thought," and "Rhetoric, Grief, and the Imagination," who considers the relationship between rhetoric, passions, and the body. This is certainly not an exhaustive list, but these approaches are representative of the work being done in the medieval and early modern period in relation to emotions.

[30] See Pender, "Habits of Thought" and "Rhetoric, Grief, and the Imagination"; Paster, *Humoring the Body*; and Gross, *The Secret History of Emotions.*

[31] Pender, "Rhetoric, Grief," 54. Pender focuses on grief in this article, and according to his research, one physician, John Graunt, reports that fourteen people died of grief each year (77).

[32] Miller, "The Passion Signified," 408. She draws on the work of Paster and Schoenfeldt.

[33] Pender, "Rhetoric, Grief," 77n.10.

[34] Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, 113; bk. 2, ch. 2, section 1378a.

[35] Peacham, *The Garden*, 120.

[36] While both Vickers has made the point that emotion is conveyed by the figures and that these occur in a social setting, he does not consider the way in which the figures stand in for the embodying of language that, combined with early modern though on the embodied passions, suggests the porosity of the body to language and the social. He rejects this model, insisting that the figures are important for giving insight into the psychological or emotional state of the writer (*Classical Rhetoric* 121 for one of the many places he says this). This writer is a self-contained subject unconfronted by the instability of language for Vickers. While I agree with Vickers that the figures and theory around them connects rhetoric and emotion, the core of my argument depends upon the radical instability of language, text, and body that he vehemently rejects.

[37] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics*, 12.

[38] Puttenham, *The Art of English*, 223.

[39] For three representative monographs, see Finucci, *The Manly Masquerade*; Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion;* and Bates, *Masculinity, Gender, and Identity*. This has been a more-thoroughly studied phenomenon by modernists. See for example Chapman and Hendler, *Sentimental Men*; Kofosky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling*; and Stearns, *American Cool*. All of these texts connect particular emotional performances to masculinity. I will build on their work, but I want to think about how these emotional expressions are gendered differently in the early modern period, particularly in different contexts. Finucci and Vaught do some work to break down the modern association of emotions (except anger) with women and men with an a-emotional state, but they too often end up at weakness and emasculation. Instead, I think that compromised states—such as convalescence and being wounded—are intimately bound up with states of power and together elide clear boundaries between femininity and masculinity, particularly in the moment of wounding.

[40] Kelly, *Gender and the Politics,* 40.

[41] Ibid., 40-41.

[42] Ibid., 34

[43] This approach especially applies to Spenser and Ariosto's work. See Scarsi for a defense of Ariosto as feminist, though the English translator Harrington as misogynistic, and see Benson for a defense of Spenser as feminist. Benson argues that Spenser reworks Ariosto's treatment of "the woman problem" to more directly defend women and femininity (7). Silberman, "Singing Unsung Heroines," similarly says that by singing about real female heroines as opposed to Ariosto's reliance on fiction entirely, Spenser "shifts emphasis from fictitious heroines to the false men who have suppressed the exploits of heroic women" (259). Silberman argues for Spenser as a revisionist and sympathetic writer regarding women. Spenser is a more common figure in the debates over misogyny for a number of reasons. Two episodes that frequently are referenced include Britomart's brutal defeat of Radigund and return of control of the Amazons to the patriarchal order and the incidents in the House of Busyrane. Roche, "The Challenge to Chastity," in 1961 really got the debate started by reading the torture of Amoret as just a test of Britomart (189). Later feminist critics, including Elizabeth Heale, Catherine Bates, and Maureen Quilligan, have challenged this reading. See in particular Frye, "Of Chastity and Violence," about the violence and brutality of Amoret's torture and how that affects her reading of Spenser's treatment of women. See also Davies, *The Feminine Reclaimed.*

[44] See, for example, Pender, *Early Modern Women's,* who examines texts by women writers, including Aemilia Lanyer, Anne Askew, Anne Bradstreet, and others, focusing on how their self-denigrations are really a rhetorical trick for self-assertion.

Chapter One

Compounded

How is the martial body constructed, what are its uses, and what are the implications of its peculiar gendering? This chapter will answer these questions through a combination of Galenic theory, anatomical illustration, and literary analysis. In so doing, it lays the groundwork for understanding the importance of the martial body as a mode of early modern thought and challenges previous readings that have identified the space of combat as exclusively for men, especially high-status men and men intent on social advancement.[1] In the 1558 book *The Government of Health* (reprinted in a second edition in 1595) by English physician William Bullein, he defines anatomy as the process for discerning from what "is all the body compounded."[2] This chapter takes a leaf from Bullein's book and anatomizes the martial body, what John Donne might have described as "a little world made cunningly / of elements and an angelic sprite."[3] To describe the compounding of this martial body and identify the elements from which it is cunningly made, this chapter begins first with a consideration of Galenic theory, drawing on two representative sixteenth-century English texts—Bullein's and Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Castle of Health*—that have strong ties to the martial sphere. Using this Galenic material, I argue that the porosity of the body, particularly in regard to the passions, constructs an agonistic relationship between the body and its environment, rendering each body always already martial. In this way, the martial body's material characteristics serve as a conduit for access to the sphere of elite martial masculinity for some women and low-status men.

This existing Galenic framework for explaining the body's composition maps onto the work of the most famous sixteenth-century anatomist, Andreas Vesalius, in his 1543 *De humani corporis fabrica* (*On the Fabric of the Human Body*), and some of his sources and copyists. These illustrations anatomizing the body closely connect to paintings and sculpture in the particular orientation of the body in such a way as to convey (gendered) affections while often also directly invoking a military tradition. From these texts and illustrations, I argue that the passions or affections are the chief elements necessary for the *fabrica*-tion of the martial body as an always available construct that can be occupied to various degrees by a diverse array of people and characters. *Fabrica* and its related English words fabric, fabrication, etc., have a polyvalent resonance, meaning both the deep structure or internal foundation but also something external or on the surface, like an ornamental covering.[4] The anatomical illustrations stage the continual process of bodily deconstruction and reconstitution, a central tenet of Galenism, and in so doing these anatomical texts are not so much a divergence from but an extension or reconstitution of Galenism. They expand the ways in which the martial body can function as a conduit of access to the space of martial power. This includes positioning the reader or viewer as an anatomist so as to draw the reader or viewer into the constitutive process of Galenism and anatomical practice. My turn to anatomy as a theoretical lens for defining the martial body is itself early modern in nature. As Mauro Spicci points out, "what lies at the core of the early modern concept of anatomy is the idea that the body can be analyzed, discussed and transformed into a cognitive paradigm, which then can be applied creatively to a variety of different discursive contexts."[5] The enthusiasm for

anatomy fits nicely in what medical historian Nancy Siraisi calls a "Renaissance interest in the organized or didactic presentation of all kinds of bodily culture."[6]

Finally, I turn to depictions of the fabricated martial body in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*: the Castle of Logistilla and the House of Alma. As was often the case in actual dissections, I, like Spenser, leave the head for last, turning from the body to the container of the brain, wits, and memory both in Spenser's House of Alma and in Ariosto's description of Astolfo's fabulous trip to the moon to retrieve Orlando's lost wits. Together, these various texts and illustrations help describe the cognitive ecology of the martial body in early modern England and Northern Italy. This enables us to see the connection between the material reality of all bodies being martial and the deployment of this figure in the spaces of medicine, art, and literature. As a result of this connection, the movement of the passions and the body's innate porosity work to transgressively carve out conduits of access to the martial sphere for normally excluded people.

1. On the Parts of the Martial Body: A Galenic Structure

In the letter dedicating his magnum opus to Charles V, Vesalius explains the role of medicine: "Medicine is the addition of things that are lacking and the removal of what is superfluous."[7] The word medicine could be replaced by equilibrium, and the definition would still be exact. The search for balance in the constantly shifting medium of the human body defines both Galenic and Vesalian understandings of medicine. Importantly, this equilibrium continually shifts because of the body's porosity to a variety of substances—both material and immaterial—that enter and leave it; over time, this flux

literally reconstitutes the body. The place of Galen in medieval and early modern science, literature, and politics has received considerable attention, especially over the last few decades,[8] and some scholars have focused on the role of the passions in relation to Galenic theory.[9] Michael Schoenfeldt's *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* takes early modern psychological materialism as a starting point. Schoenfeldt is concerned with "the empowerment that Galenic physiology and ethics bestowed on the individual."[10] Further, critics like Gail Kern Paster have noted the centrality and significance of emotions as well as the porous nature of the Galenic body.[11] I build on this work to argue that the martial body's particular anatomy depends on the embodiment central to early modern theories about bodily constitution, and in so doing, the shared characteristics of porosity and passions simultaneously render each early modern body a kind of martial body. As a result, a linkage exists between those bodies, however abject they may be, and the elite male martial body most associated with the resplendently armored knight.

Taking embodiment seriously requires recognizing the inescapable bond between the material world and that which represents it. The figure of the martial body resides at precisely this presumed boundary between material and immaterial. As such, it is (im)material. Similarly, the passions constitute the material body while also influencing it externally. While this positioning of the passions as material contradicts accepted reception about the status of the passions among most historians of medicine, the treatment of the passions in literary reception of Galenic theory suggests that while the strict definition of the passions characterizes them as immaterial qualities, there is a place

for material passions as constitutive of the body. It is the emotions that most facilitate the porosity of the early modern body, and the potential power of the martial body depends upon maximizing the impact of emotional experience, manipulation, regulation, and control. To support this argument I turn to Galenic theory as developed in two early modern English texts, William Bullein's *The Government of Health* and Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Castle of Health*.

Galen's extensive writings formed the foundation of medieval and early modern medicine, particularly after the recovery of lost texts from Arabic sources in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[12] Though certain aspects were questioned, and medieval and early modern writers worked to reconcile points of conflict between Galen and Aristotle, Galenism was the dominant model into the seventeenth century.[13] Born around 130 and dying around 200, Galen was a Greek physician and writer with his own tie to the martial body; he was a physician for a school of gladiators in Pergamum.[14] A prolific writer, critical texts include *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* and *Anatomical Procedures* that deal explicitly with anatomical structures and their functions and *On Complexions* that explains the theory of temperament. While most aspects of Galenic theory come from Hippocrates and earlier thinkers, Galen's texts and widespread distribution made his version of human physiology influential.[15] This is largely because late ancient medical education was based on the Alexandrian curriculum that was heavily dependent on Galen's reading of Hippocrates. When lost Greek and Roman texts came back to the West via Arabic sources, they reinforced Galen's dominance.[16]

While the influence of Galen is obvious in virtually all medical texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, I focus here on the technical and schematic *The Castle of Health*, first published by Sir Thomas Elyot in 1536 and later published in a second version with some emendations in 1561, as well as William Bullein's 1558 *The Government of Health*. Bullein's book, written as a dialogue, directly appeals to a non-specialist reader. Elyot heavily influenced numerous later texts, including Bullein's. Additionally, both Elyot and Bullein share a link to the martial body. Whereas Bullein dedicates his book to a knight, Sir Thomas Elyot was a knight, though reluctantly. He bore the title, but as was the case for many sixteenth-century knights, the title came with undesired expenses and dissatisfaction. As such, his occupation of the martial body in name but not form indicates both the malleability of this category and how it could be used for particular political or personal purposes. Even though Sir Elyot received little appreciation for his service to the crown, he did enjoy much success as a writer and prominently noted his status of "knyght" on the cover page of *The Castle of Health*.

In this rhetorical construction blending the martial with the medical, Elyot showcases the usefulness of the parts of the martial body for the aspiring literary knight. The main text of *The Castle of Health* begins with a schematic breakdown of the "Thynges Natural," "Thynges not Natural," and "Thynges against Nature." These are the three categories of Galenic theory: the naturals, the non-naturals, and the contra-naturals. Elyot explains that the "Thynges natural be vii in number: Elementes, Complexions, Humours, membres, Powers, Operacyons, and Spirites. These be necessary to the beyng of helth, accordyng to the order of their kynde, and bee alway in the naturall body."[17] In

other words, these seven naturals combine material components imperceptible to sense with perceptible body parts to describe what the body is made of.[18] Following an identification of the four elements, Elyot defines the complexion as "a combynacyon of twoo dyuers qualities of the foure elementes in one body."[19] Each complexion or temperament displays certain emotional and behavioral characteristics, is prone to certain types of dreams, and needs particular kinds of diets. After this description, Elyot identifies the four humors: "Bloudde, Fleume, Choler, Melancoly."[20] He distinguishes between natural and unnatural phlegm, choler, and melancholy, describing the appearance and production of the various types. Humors, like the members, are part of the seven naturals. Like the humors—associated with the passions by their very names—the members are partly constituted by emotions. The chief members are "The brayne, The herte, The lyver, The stones of generacyon," and added to them are other members like the bones, fat, flesh, and instrumental members (bowels, stomach, etc.).[21] The naturals also participate in dictating the complexion, particularly the humors.

Galen standardized the number of humors to four: blood, phlegm, bile (also called choler or yellow bile), and black bile (or melancholy). The brain is most commonly associated with phlegm. The liver makes the humors of yellow bile, black bile, and blood by converting food and water taken into the body, but yellow bile was stored in the gallbladder and black bile in the spleen. Actual blood is a combination of the humor blood and the other three humors in various proportions, so managing blood also controls the amount of the other humors in the body.[22] At the same time, controlling the humors also directly affects behavior, temperament, and emotions. As Owsei Temkin notes,

Galen says that passion and desire are the temperaments of the heart and liver, and changing the somatic constitution of the body also changes behavior.[23]

The next category is the nonnaturals: "Thynges not natural be five in number: Ayre, Meate and Drinke, Sleep and watche, meuing and rest, Emptynes and replecyon, and Affeccyons of the mynde."[24] The six non-naturals are factors that affect health and come from Galen who first used the vocabulary and concept in various works.[25] The non-naturals are air, exercise and rest, sleep and waking, food and drink, repletion and excretion, and the passions or emotions, and it is principally through the assessment and regulation of these that Galenic diagnosis and therapeutics are effected. In the section of the book that discusses each of the nonnaturals, the last discussed is the "affectes of the mynde." He notes that even though he leaves these until last to write about, they are "not the least parte to be considered" because "if they be immoderate, they doo not onely annoye the bodye and shorten the lyfe, but also they do appair, and sometym use utterly a mans estimacyon." This nonnatural is so powerful and important that moderating it requires both the help of "physycke corporall" and the "counsayle of a man wyse and wel lerned in moral phylosophy."[26] He then addresses several of these passions of the mind, namely ire or wrath, heaviness or sorrow, and gladness or rejoicing.[27] These passions are kindled in the body, for example ire in the heart, and in excess cause injury or even death. The threat of excess passion applies as much to joy as it does to wrath, and the need for a balance of these similarly applies to all the passions that, along with the other nonnaturals, are involved in shortening or prolonging the life by enabling the maintenance of delicate equilibriums.

Finally, the three things against nature are "Sicknesse, Cause of sickenes, accident."[28] These contra-naturals are the three aspects of the disease complex: the disease itself, its causes, and its sequelae or consequences.[29] In contrast to Elyot, Bullein provides a more compact definition of the naturals, non-naturals, and contra-naturals when Humfrey, the learned speaker, answers John's questions about the body by providing a summary of Galenic theory complete with frequent references to Galen. John asks about the "partes of physick," and Humfrey replies:

> It is distributed in the thre forms one is natural, another unnatural, the iii against nature. The first is, by those things whereof the bodie is compact, constituted or made, as *Gallen* saith: in his iii boke of *Tempramentis Cap.* 4. The second is called not natural, as meates or thinges to preserue the bodie in health, they be not called unnaturall, because they be againste the body, but because the rasshe takynge, or glotonus vsinge of them, may bryng many thinges to the vtter destruction of the bodie.[30]

The learned speaker Humfrey then recites a poem that describes the four complexions complete with characteristics of appearance, behavior, emotional state, and dreams.[31] Of particular importance is the idea of the complexions or temperament, which is the balance of the qualities of hot, wet, cold, and dry particular to each individual as well as to specific organs, foods, and climates.[32] As Siraisi explains, "Complexion theory usefully accounted for psychological and social as well as physiological characteristics or stereotypes. The cold and moist complexion attributed to women explained timidity as well as menstruation."[33] In spite of the predispositions owing to sex, race, and the

orientation of the planets at birth, though, complexion is still continually affected by the non-naturals that can disturb the balance of hot, wet, cold, and dry, which are materially manifest in the preponderance of the humors. While the dominant temperament determines the effect of various combinations of the humors at a given time, this state of flux could render the body either open to self-control through manipulation of humors by means of diet and environment or vulnerable to deconstruction by the effect of those same forces. Hence, while passions are one of the non-naturals, they are so closely connected with the humors that they can be thought of as inhering in the body like one of the naturals.[34] Thomas Wright's 1604 *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* makes a related connection, explaining that "Passions ingender Humours, and humours breed passions."[35] Managing the passions (or being managed by them) depends upon the dynamic equilibrium of the body.

Maintaining equilibrium is especially difficult because not only does the body's health depend upon balancing of the humors, but the porosity of the Galenic body means that equilibrium outside of the body—maintained through air, the elements, and the cosmos—directly affects that within it. The Galenic body is not a closed system, which would mean that equilibrium could be reached and then maintained as a constant state. Instead, it is a constantly self-modifying process dependent upon numerous variables, and it is also a state that can be disrupted by the intrusion or introduction of excess elements, passions, food, drink, types of air, etc. The cognitive ecologies at work in early modern medical thought maintain direct links between thought, self-hood, and the environment, for better or worse. The invasion of the body by these forces can be harnessed for

empowerment, as Schoenfeldt argues, or they can devastate the body's health. This means that there is no permanently fixed self; some amount of change is always ongoing, even if that change is experienced as a result of an external force or influence rather than a willed action. Consequently, this body is always in a state of metaphorical war with the environment, rendering the Galenic body inherently martial and irrepressibly porous.

2. Anatomizing the Martial Body

The Galenic potential of the constantly reconstituted body centralizes the passions in the always already martial early modern body; similarly, Vesalius's work foregrounds Galenic theory, bodily porosity, and the subversive potential of anatomical illustrations inserted into elite masculine poses. Vesalius has long been praised as the beginning of the end for Galenic theory, but recent investigations note that his careful self-presentation in the preface obscures his intellectual lineage.[36] There is no question that Vesalius's text was markedly different from those that came before, but the teaching of anatomy and practice of dissection reaches back several centuries before Vesalius, particularly in Northern Italy at the universities in Bologna and Padua, where Vesalius himself finished his medical education, became instructor in surgery, and wrote the *Fabrica*. This system required regular public dissections and served as the training ground for many of the most famous medical writers in the late middle ages through the seventeenth century, including England's John Caius, who roomed with Vesalius for a time, and later William Harvey.[37] The most often-cited criticism of Vesalius by his contemporaries was his treatment of Galen,[38] and that same point is an often-invoked justification of modern critics who use Vesalius as a marking point for the beginning of medical modernity.[39] However, Vesalius

also presents himself as Galen's heir, situating himself in a medical lineage in which this rhetoric is not mutually exclusive with the psychological materialism central to theories about the humors, complexions or temperaments, and passions.[40] In fact, Vesalius presents himself as more Galenic than Galen so that his attack is not so much a rejection of Galenism but a refinement of it.[41] Vesalius-as-Galen is a compounded product of Galen's own methods, theory, and practice. Further, Vesalius's groundbreaking anatomical illustrations instantiate both the connection between the martial body and the passions and act out a relationship between the dense description of the text and the illustrations themselves that mimics the continually reconstitutive process of the Galenic body. This reverses the role of anatomized and anatomist, situating the reader or viewer as anatomist of the text and pulling the reader or viewer into the experience of the Galenic martial body.

Additionally, the anatomized bodies continually act out reconstitution both in the series of illustrations—I will pay particular attention to Vesalius's bonemen and musclemen as well as some examples from his predecessor Berengario and successor Valverde—and in the existence of a single image as simultaneously a representation of a particular body and a Zeuxis-like assemblage of many bodies. This ongoing state of metaphorical war visually depicts the dynamic equilibrium of the porous Galenic martial body. The linkage to the masculine spaces of war and the academy for criminal bodies[42] generally denied access to these spaces (at least the space of the martial elite and formal academy), further demonstrates the versatility of the martial body as a construct as well as the subversiveness of positioning the most socially abject in poses of the male elite.

Ultimately, the decomposition and reconstitution of the body in the anatomical text offers alternatives to reading dissection as about shame or objectification,[43] especially when an analysis of reconstitutive possibility is combined with a consideration of artistic conventions that limit who can be depicted doing what. This interpretive level instead reveals the subversiveness of positioning the most vulnerable criminals—usually strangers, usually from the lowest social groups, and usually repeat offenders—in poses reserved for the elite. It is in this subversiveness that I locate the potential power that occupation of the martial body offers.

Vesalius's self-professed debt to Galen emerges beginning in the preface to the *Fabrica* and continues throughout the massive text. He repeatedly says in the preface that he is not disrespecting Galen and that Galen is chief dissector. Even though he points out that Galen boasted about his surgical experience with gladiators, he notes that Galen skinned the apes he dissected himself rather than entrusting a slave because of "how much he enjoyed working with his hands and how zealously he did so with the other doctors of Asia."[44] Vesalius acts similarly and uses this as proof of his authority. He also often adds honorifics of respect and softens criticism.[45] He seeks to follow in Galen's own example who corrected errors he had himself made earlier.[46] In Book II on the muscles, Vesalius notes a difference between Galen's writings and his own findings and ends saying, "but now let us turn to the other muscles moving the tibia, keeping always before our eyes the authority of Galen, our common preceptor and easily the prince of Anatomy professors."[47] This is just one example of the many instances where Vesalius differs from Galen but is careful about Galen's reputation. It is particularly interesting

that he uses the phrase "before our eyes" when speaking of Galen, invoking an immediacy of the second-century physician for his mid-sixteenth-century readers. The rhetorical technique of *enargeia*, sometimes translated as bringing before the eyes or vividness, has a strong emotional resonance. As Stephen Pender points out about *enargeia*, "it has an irresistible, emotional gravity. By making the absent present, it plays strongly on the passions."[48] Vesalius positions his text as an intermediary between the past and present, between Galen and the anatomized bodies he discusses and represents. This also reinforces the positioning of Vesalius as a reconstituted Galen. Further, both in the text of the *Fabrica* and in lecture notes from his anatomy demonstrations in 1540, Vesalius invokes humoral theory and the complexions.[49] Therefore, Vesalius seeks to improve but not entirely replace Galen. It is anachronistic to say Vesalius threw Galen out on the basis of his insistence on direct experimentation because that very model of experimentation comes from Galen himself. Even if the scope of the conclusions changed, as they did in the next century with William Harvey's explanation of the functioning of the heart, both Vesalius and Harvey used the same method of investigation that Galen the experimentalist advocated. This serves to entrench Galen's place in sixteenth-century medicine rather than displace him. While Vesalius does at times distance himself from Galen, he also takes pain to connect himself to Galen.

Galen's popularity guaranteed his longevity as a medical authority; Vesalius likewise enjoyed wide-spread acclaim, partly because of the increasing public interest in anatomy and dissection as medical and literary practices. In Italy public dissections became more common from the time of Mondino de Liuzzi, who taught medicine at the

university in Bologna in the early fourteenth century and was the first known to have systematically dissected a human body in a public demonstration.[50] Additionally, Italian medical writers composed at least eleven new anatomical treatises between 1490 and 1543, the year Vesalius published the *Fabrica*.[51] Most of the anatomical texts printed in the fifteenth century were printed in Italy, primarily Northern Italian cities, including Venice, Padua, and Milan.[52] While England lagged behind Italy and the French universities in Montpellier and Paris, English medical texts and public access to medical knowledge also grew in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and especially seventeenth centuries.

Henry VIII granted four criminal bodies for dissection to the Company of the Barber-Surgeons in 1540, and these regular dissections continued. Starting in 1565 the Royal College of Physicians in London obtained permission from Queen Elizabeth to perform dissections. These became public starting in 1588 with the new Lumleian anatomy lectures that had commenced in 1584.[53] John Caius obtained permission in 1565 for a yearly grant of two bodies to Gonville College, Cambridge.[54] As books of anatomy and medicine increased in number and reach, common knowledge of anatomy spread. As Richard Sugg asserts, "Around 1575 the wider English public appeared barely to have heard of anatomy; by 1600 it seemed at times unable to talk about little else."[55] In addition to these literary texts, popular texts that proposed to anatomize morals, wit, or melancholy also proliferated.[56] This confluence of both specialized and popular anatomical literature evidences the widespread interest in anatomy as a practice and in the body as site of knowledge production about both itself and related subjects.

In the setting of the rising popularity and exposure to anatomy and dissection, the illustrations in Vesalius's text—likely from Titian's workshop[57]—demanded attention due to their number, level of detail, and the way they accompany the dense description of the process of dissection and structures of the body. Even in this, though, he is not totally original, as Berengario da Carpi's *Commentaries on the Anatomy of Mondino* (1521) included several illustrations that switched from the more schematic diagrams occasionally present in medieval medical texts to more artistic illustrations that attempted to demonstrate gross anatomy.[58] Undisputedly, though, Vesalius's text immediately sparked controversy and mass plagiarizing, particularly of the illustrations.[59] In 1545 Geminus issued a pirated version of Vesalius's *Epitome* to the *Fabrica* in English with lower-quality copies of the wood-cut illustrations almost immediately after Vesalius's *Fabrica* was printed in 1543.[60] This was also true of Vesalius's illustrations in the earlier *Tabulae Sex*, and he repeatedly complained about the plagiarizing of his illustrations. The proliferation of images and the loss of authorial control over them inverts the subject-object relation between anatomist and anatomized. The ostensible subject is remade, and in that process, the stability of the objective originary anatomist erodes. Plagiarizing, reproducing, and dispersing Vesalius's text similarly erodes the anatomist's objective authority. This is itself a reconstitutive process that the images also reflect.

One of the most common observations about the musclemen in book II of Vesalius's *Fabrica* is that they start out with the fantasy of a living body in a natural space that ultimately breaks down as the anatomization progresses.[61] Devon Hodges asserts that this shows the violence and destructiveness of anatomy as a way of knowing

the body, which fundamentally objectifies the body and positions the anatomist as the agent.[62] However, when viewed as a series, I argue that the illustrations stage the continually reconstitutive process envisioned for the Galenic body.[63] While that reconstitutive process also destroys or at least changes the present body, it also provides access to new bodily constitutions and complexions. The musclemen facing forward move from a relative state of wholeness to decomposition. At the point of total decomposition, the body is reconstituted. From the ruins of the dissected body now empty of its muscular structure arises a new intact body, but in orientation, posture, and design, it suggests it is the same body rebuilt.[64] Vesalius emphasizes that all the illustrations can be added together to show a complete body, but that process of addition requires that "the reader would always have had the same labor of turning pages" because the various combinations of the figures go together in different orders.[65] Most analysis of these illustrations has not heeded his advice and instead considers one illustration in isolation from the rest. Taking them together in the various orders in which they are presented and can be combined to construct a roughly 360-degree image of a muscle, however, produces a composite body from particular pieces. These pieces come both from the individual illustrations and from the numerous material bodies dissected to

provide the corporeal point of reference for the illustrations.

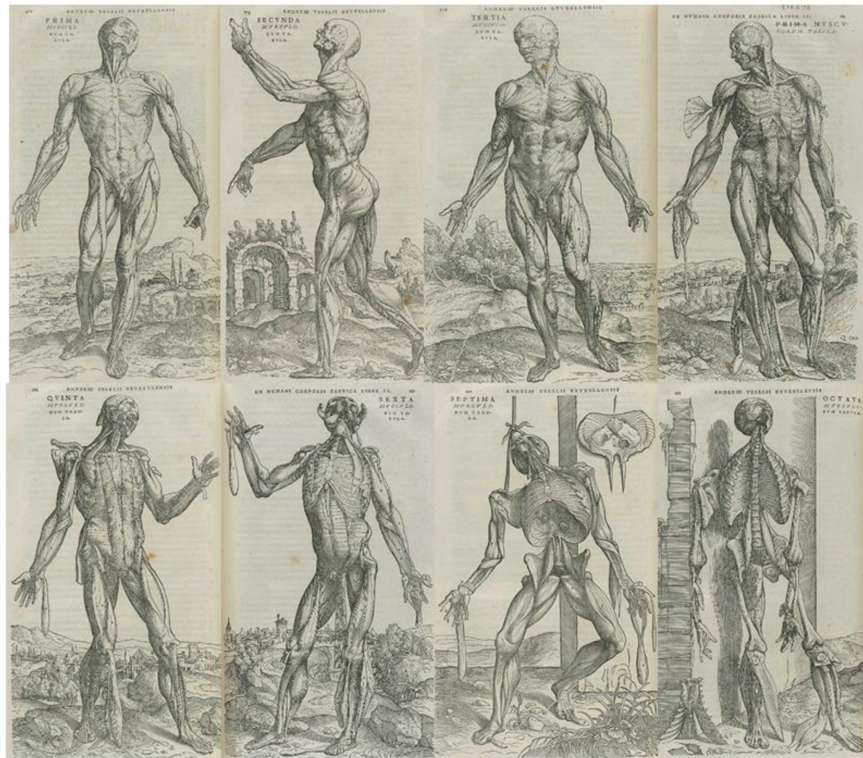


Figure 1. All forward-facing musclemen from Book II of *De humani corporis fabrica* by Andreas Vesalius (Basel, 1543), combination of pgs. 170, 174, 178, 181, 184, 187, 190, and 192. Courtesy of National Library of Medicine.

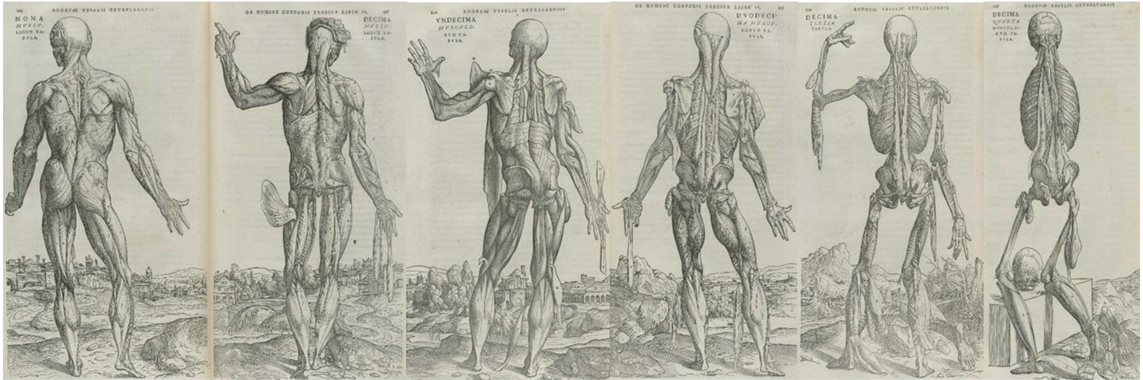


Figure 2. All musclemen with backs to the viewer from Book II of *De humani corporis fabrica* by Andreas Vesalius (Basel, 1543), combination of pgs. 194, 197, 200, 203, 206, and 208. Courtesy of National Library of Medicine.

Taken as a whole, the series acts out the process of recomposition. Also, as several scholars have noted, the fourteen plates, when rearranged and placed contiguously, reveal a continuous landscape.[66] While this interferes with the progressive sectioning of the muscles, the fact that for the landscape to be contiguous the bodies cannot be and vice versa reinforces the natural process of recomposition while also highlighting how the general whole—body or nature—depends upon the organization of numerous particulars. While the body again ends in a state of decomposition, the text next moves to thick description of the parts, which I argue is a constitutive—if violent—process similar to the use of the blazon in poetry. Even as a blazon deconstructs a body, it assembles a new textual one. Sawday notes the roots of the blazon as referring first to the

shield, then the decoration on the shield, and then to the literary process of (de)constructing a usually female body.[67] While I certainly do not deny that the blazon can be a violent dismembering, it, like these series of illustrations in combination with the vivid description of the parts of the body, is also a constitutive process similar to the eating of particular foods or bleeding that make a new Galenic body by transforming the old one by affecting the humoral balance and the complexion.

The possibility of reconstitution is also seen in bodies helping to dissect themselves.[68] There are several examples of this, but I have selected some from Barengario da Carpi, Vesalius's predecessor, and Valverde,[69] who published a book of anatomy shortly after Vesalius and used many of Vesalius's illustrations.

DE ANATOMIA

In hac fi-
gura hēs du-
os musculos
obliquos ascē
dētes:q se icru
ciāt cū duob⁹
descēdētib⁹ in
alia figura po
sitꝭ:qui qdē de
scendētes sunt
supra istos a-
scēdētes: ⁊ to
tus vnus ex p̄
dictis muscu-
lis descēdenti
bus supra po-
sitꝭ i alia figu-
ra cum corda
sua supequitat
obliq̄ muscu-
lū vnū ex istis
ascēdētib⁹ ob-
liq̄:⁊ faciūt si
mul figurā .x.
litteꝛ graece:⁊
istoꝝ musculo
rū ēt pars car
nea ē a lateri-
b⁹:Corde vo
coꝝ sunt i me
dio ventris:q̄
sunt ēt duarū
pellicularū: ⁊
hn̄t vnā pelli
culā tm̄ supe-
grantē muscu
los lōgos : a-
lia vero pelli-
cula ē ifra mu
sculos lōgos:
q̄ adheret cor-
dis latitudina
liū musculoꝝ:
⁊ istae cordae
ēt terminanꝶ i
linea:q̄ ē ime-
dio vētris :vt
vides.

Figure 3. Subject aiding own dissection from *Isagogue breves* by Berengario da Carpi (Bologna, 1523), 6r. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

VENTRIS INFERIORIS. 8

¶ In hac fi/
gura vides
duos muscu/
los longos de
nudatos a cor
dis musculorum
obliquorum/qui
musculi longi
sunt supra cor
das musculo/
rũ latitudina/
lium/ ⁊ quili/
bet musculus
habet duas di
uisiones ner/
ueas seu liga/
mentales in se
per latum ten
dentes.s.vnaз
supra vmbili/
cum: ⁊ aliam
ĩfra/vt vides:
⁊ ita quilibet
musculus lon/
gus videt di/
uisus in tres
partes seu in
tres musculos:
⁊ hoc fecit na
tura:qr quãto
villi musculo/
rũ sunt breuio
res:tanto me/
lius ⁊ facilius
cõtrahuntur.

Figure 4. Subject aiding own dissection from *Isagogue breves* by Berengario da Carpi (Bologna, 1523), 8v. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

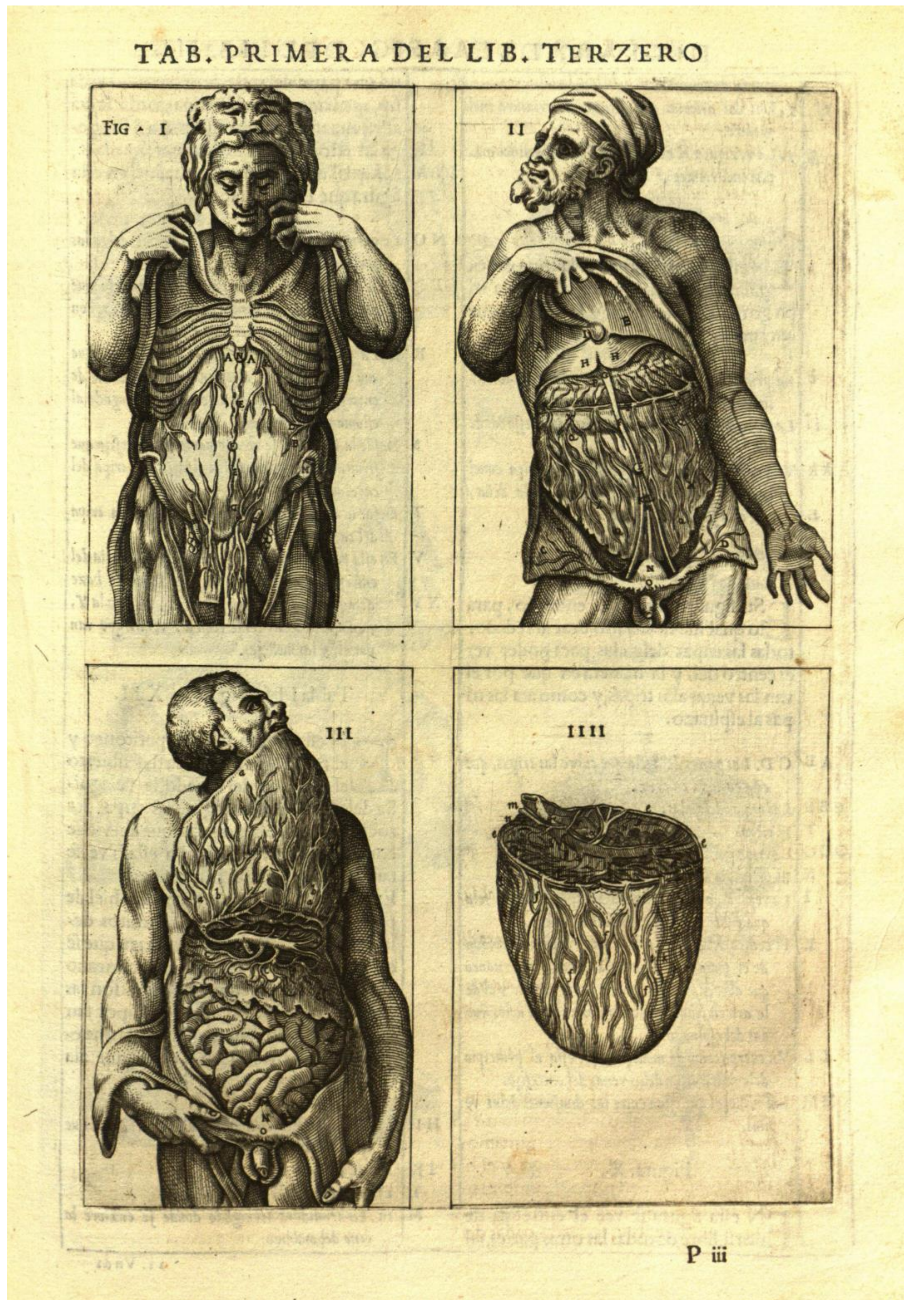


Figure 5. Subject aiding own dissection from *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo umano* by Juan Valverde de Amusco (Rome, 1560), Book III Table 1. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

These artistic representations paradoxically stage life as bound to increasing levels of decay. Removing parts does not fully de-animate these illustrations, just as the process of expulsion was considered to be central to the health of the Galenic body. The facial expressions of the figures do not suggest any pain; in fact, Figure 4 almost seems to enjoy participating in his dissection, and Figure 5 has no apparent qualms about holding part of his thorax in his teeth. The idea that putting the body back together in a literary blazon or anatomical illustration endows a kind of life would not be so shocking to a contemporary viewer or reader, many of whom believed that resurrection would be a literal reassembly of his or her dispersed body parts.[70] Death and decay become not the final threat but part of the process of imagined continued existence.[71] There is a difference, of course, between the divine power that reassembles disparate body pieces in resurrection and the imaginative power of reconstitution depicted in these illustrations and, as the next section shows, Spenser's allegory. The anatomist can no more put the dissected pieces of Humpty Dumpty back together again then the writer's fantasies can manifest in the physical world. The important point, though, is that the imaginative potential of bodily reconstitution derives from real natural processes as explained by Galen's theories. Though more limited in scope, this quasi-divine power of assemblage is presented as available to the human. As such, the reconstitutive effect of a bodily epistemology offers potential to remake oneself in a bid for greater social authority even as it confronts the very real limits on disadvantaged people.

Reconstitution has a protective component in its preservative effect. Given this, it is not so shocking that anatomy, like the blazon, links to the protective features of armor like the shield or, as in Valverde's illustration, the cuirass.

Figure 6. Thorax anatomy overlaid on Roman cuirass from *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo umano* by Juan Valverde de Amusco (Rome, 1560), Book III Table 2. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

By mapping the anatomy onto the armored torso, Valverde's (original to his text) illustration makes literal the connection Sawday traces between blazon and shield.[72]

Feather also emphasizes the link between the martial and the anatomical in the *Fabrica*, connecting the violence of anatomy to codes of warfare.[73] Vesalius calls on epic by citing Homer's praise of physicians who participate in the Trojan War by healing Agamemnon's warriors.[74] However, Vesalius's connections with combat do not end with references to classical epic.[75] Rather, the chosen postures for the musclemen and most of the venous figures and nerve figures echo the martial portrait of General Alfonso d'Avalos done by Titian in 1540-41.[76]

The pose modeled after General Alfonso d'Avalos (specifically the second forward-facing illustration of the musclemen in Figure 1) is uniquely militarized and masculinized and has particular affections attached to it. While only the second forward-facing muscleman is in the exact pose of d'Avalos, the shared physical characteristics like facial structure, size, and musculature suggest that the series of musclemen depict a singular ideal body. While a few scholars have noted that the illustrations of Vesalius and his imitators are influenced by changes in painting and sculpture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, no sustained consideration of the posture of these anatomical illustrations exists.

Certainly, painters and sculptors were interested in anatomy beginning especially in fifteenth-century Italy.[77] Leon Battista Alberti and Lorenzo Ghiberti during the 1430s to 1450s called for painters to know the body and watch dissections.[78] Leonardo da Vinci conducted dissections himself and had planned a book depicting the anatomy.[79] While it is not until Charles le Brun in seventeenth-century France that an artist lays out a system

for the representation of the emotions,[80] earlier portrait artists connected specific poses to both represented emotional states and gender.[81]

The close connections between art and anatomy also hinge on the passions because it was commonly accepted that emulation of a pose could result in the feelings attached to it.[82] Consequently, the martial pose is limited to men, as is mostly the elbow akimbo in which the elbow juts away from the body and the hand rests on the hip; this pose is also typically used for male military figures.[83] It was believed that depicting women in these postures, especially real women, could engender feelings of aggression and virility considered inappropriate.[84] Women were usually pictured with their legs together, hands clasped and in front of the stomach, and arms close to the body.[85] Hence, the female nude, often called Eve, in Vesalius's *Epitome* is nearly in the *Venus pudica* pose—one hand covering the genital area and the other the breasts—considered to indicate sexual shame, as is this version that Valverde copies from Vesalius.

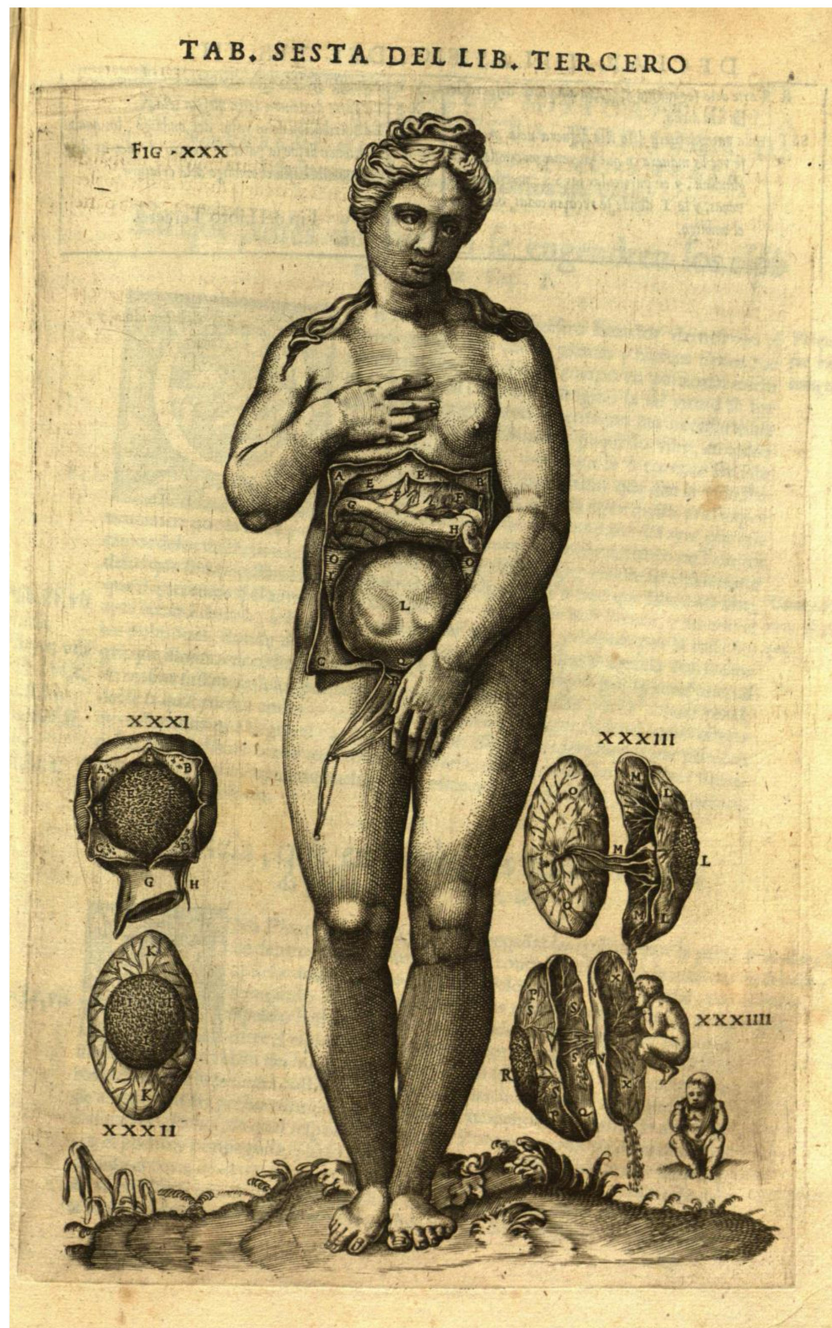


Figure 7. Female anatomical subject copied from the *Fabrica* by Juan Valverde de Amusco in *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo umano* (Rome, 1560), Book III Table 6. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

It was rarely used for portraits of actual women.[86] Noting that illustrations of anatomized women focus almost solely on the uterus, scholars often comment on the eroticization and objectification of women in anatomical illustrations.[87] While these critiques certainly are important, these readings do not fully take account of early modern beliefs that depicting women in particular male poses could result in other women feeling the "wrong" passions, which could result in improper behavior. Given that the musclemen are in martial poses limited to men in conduct handbooks, the decision not to illustrate women in the same manner follows artistic practice. Positioning the dissected female body in a masculine pose would have been entirely inappropriate to contemporary viewers, as evident, for example, by criticism of the "excessive" description of women's genitalia in Helkiah Crooke's 1615 textbook on anatomy.[88] For women to access the martial body, the route of anatomical illustration is problematic because of the visualization of violation.

While women's access to typically masculine spheres is limited in these anatomical illustrations, the martial postures of many of the musclemen indicate that the figures repeatedly depicted in that pose appropriately express power, status, confidence, and aggression.[89] The actual bodies anatomized to provide the material canvas for these illustrations, however, would never be seriously depicted this way in a portrait. Vesalius primarily used the bodies of criminals, so presenting a composite of actual abject bodies in the posture of a conquering military figure undermines class distinctions, paradoxically providing in death access to a level of status previously impossible, much like the paradoxical relationship between bodily decomposition and vivacity.

While the musclemen invoke the martial, the bonemen are in rhetorical postures associated with the academy or church. These illustrations have an evident connection to the *memento mori* tradition,[90] but combining the image of death with recognizable rhetorical gestures also grants authority to these illustrations. Teaching literature and rhetoric also included teaching particular gestures intended to model and then provoke particular emotional states. Portraits often "gave men the same gestures that rhetoricians and preachers used to strengthen the effect of their words."[91] The postures and gestures of the bonemen suggest exposition, contemplation, and prayer.[92]

Figure 8. The three bonemen from Book II of *De humani corporis fabrica* by Andreas Vesalius (Basel, 1543), combination of pgs. 163, 164, and 165. Courtesy of National Library of Medicine.

The first gravedigger plate uses an argumentative gesture while also demonstrating the elbow akimbo often used in portraits of military men, though replacing the typical sword with a shovel.[93] The second image with the chin resting on the hand suggests melancholy, a complexion often associated with scholastic or studious men.[94] The third is in a posture of prayer, and while that is certainly not limited to the male elite, the quintessential symbol of it—ordained religious figures—is. Taken together these plates use learned and sacred gestures to position themselves as works of art like the great Italian paintings that use similar strategies of gesture to convey status, mood, and occupation. The subversiveness of placing criminal bodies in these elevated spheres is further reinforced by the motto on the front of the plinth in the second plate—*Vivitur in genio caetera mortis erunt*—which is variously translated as "Genius lives on, all else is mortal" or "It is his genius that yet walks the earth; all else of him may go down into silence."[95] This genius comes from a combination of the bodies dissected to construct the images, the work of the artists and the anatomist himself, and the text as a whole. Through dissection and representation, men who would usually find only silence in history claim a part of Vesalius's self-declared genius. They also seize a kind of life because the early modern word "genius" derives from the Latin *gignere* meaning to give birth. Much like Spenser's character Genius who is a guardian of procreation in the Garden of Adonis, the bonemen and their corporeal analogs defeat mortality and continually generate through their artistic recomposition.

These two postural displays of the body localize the musclemen and bonemen in the spaces of war, the academy, and the church. Access to both the scholarly or religious

and martial worlds—two of the classic medieval male estates—is obviously limited or impossible for most men. However, as previously noted, un-fit men's bodies gain a degree of access to these spaces through their occupation of martial, sacred, and academic postures in anatomical illustrations.

Illustration, like dense description, functions ekphrastically by trying to bring something material, something of another substance, before the eyes of the viewer or reader.[96] Vesalius clarifies the purpose of the illustrations in the *Fabrica*:

> How much pictures aid the understanding of these things and place a subject before the eyes more precisely than the most explicit language no one knows who has not had this experience in geometry and other branches of mathematics. Our pictures of the body's parts will especially satisfy those who do not always have the opportunity to dissect a human body, or if they do, have a nature so delicate and unsuitable for a doctor that, though they are obviously captivated by a knowledge of humankind.[97]

As noted previously, this setting of a material thing like a body—material or artistic composite—or a long-dead famous medical authority before the eyes is a rhetorical figure that contributes to the persuasive effect of these scientific illustrations.[98] This links the anatomical process of embodying the material in the text and illustrations[99] with the ways that the "maker,"[100] as Sir Philip Sidney calls the poet, uses language to invoke the corporeal.[101] While this embodiment offers access to the space of the martial body to criminal males in Vesalius's medical illustrations, Spenser and Ariosto's allegories of the body carve out some space for women to occupy the martial body.

3. The Fabric of the Martial Body

In Helkiah Crooke's 1615 anatomy textbook *Microcosmographia*, he relies almost entirely on continental anatomists and uses many Vesalian illustrations, but he also invokes Spenser's House of Alma episode. In the preface to the twelfth book, he considers his whole project and structures his book along the same lines as Spenser's allegory, and he follows the same order of dissection that Spenser does, moving from stomach, to thorax, to head, which is a common order in anatomical texts like Mondino's *Anathomia* (1316).[102] In spite of this anatomical connection, however, scholars often overlook anatomy in the *Faerie Queene*,[103] even though literary critic Herbert Silvette claims that it is "the literary man" rather than "the technical works of the scientist and physician" who reveals the impact of medicine on the "broader intellectual life of any period."[104] While Silvette may exaggerate the role of "the literary man," the point that popular literature often functions as a filter for the dissemination of medical knowledge is well taken. Even beyond dissemination of knowledge, though, Roy Porter notes that there was "a body of medical knowledge—including humoralism, the system of regimen and the non-naturals, etc.—which was perforce accessible to educated laymen."[105] General familiarity with medical concepts—especially Galenic ones—enables popular literature to draw upon and interrogate common knowledge. Both Spenser and Ariosto rework Galenic and anatomical knowledge in the allegory of the body. In so doing, these texts grapple with the problematic gendering of the martial body and explore the means by which some women might occupy the martial body. By staging the reconstitution of the body through allegory, Ariosto and Spenser differently interrogate the link between the

compounding of the body, porosity, and passions. While both position women accessing the martial body, Spenser carefully differentiates between the natural and monstrous compounded body to mark off certain kinds of bodily reconstitution as transgressive.

The Castle of Logistilla in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* is one of the many influences on Spenser's House of Alma.[106] Anatomical detail is less obvious in Ariosto's allegory in part because he is writing before the explosion in anatomical interest following Vesalius. Berengario da Carpi's book was published between the first and second versions of *Orlando furioso*, and both appeared before Vesalius's groundbreaking work. Ariosto, the Este family he worked and wrote for, and Ferrara all had strong ties to anatomists.[107] With the nearby universities in Bologna and Padua arguably the best medical schools of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the public dissections that have already been discussed, the anatomical atmosphere no doubt influenced both the creation and reception of popular literary texts like Ariosto's. For the Castle of Logistilla, however, I want to call attention to several features that it shares with the compounded martial body.[108]

First, the primary function of the Castle of Logistilla and the armored body is to afford protection and enable offensive attack. Logistilla's house not only has strong walls—" the material and the refined construction contend with each other so that one cannot judge which excellence is better" [ma la materia e l'artificio adorno / contendon sì, che mal giudicar puossi / qual de le due eccellenze maggior fossi] (x.60.6-8)—but there is an army and a navy. The army is unrivaled: "The army is without peer in the world" [L'escito ch'al mondo è senza pare] (x.52.7). Logistilla's martial forces "will save

his [Ruggiero's] liberty and life" [salvo la libertà e la vita] (x.51.8). Ruggiero's reliance upon Logistilla to escape the assault of Alcina positions him as needing rescue, a reversal of the usual role of the hero knight. In this way, Ariosto depicts that all bodies—even the most apparently militant—are at war and at danger of losing.

Ruggiero is not the only knight Logistilla has saved and harbors in her castle. She offers refuge to Astolfo and other knights fleeing Alcina, but beyond refuge she offers them sage advice, much like a military counselor in a war camp. Logistilla "discussed with herself how to help Ruggiero and after him that duke (Astolfo)" [Discorre poi tra sé, come Ruggiero, / e dopo lui, come quell duca aiti] (x.66.3-4), telling them that "I will ponder my thoughts and in two days I will give you counsel]two days hence I shall let you know what I have devised" [Io ci porrò il pensiero, / e fra dui dì te li darò espediti] (x.66.1-2). Though usually associated with reason, Logistilla also suggests word or language through the relation to *logos*. Through her role as counselor to these martial men, she uses language as a means of guiding them. Perhaps this is why she takes counsel with herself rather than others; she literally is the word they need. She provides Ruggiero transportation in the form of a winged horse, instructions on how to guide the horse, and directions about where to go next. For Astolfo she similarly provides him with directions and also with a book of knowledge to hopefully help keep him from repeatedly falling into error. Logistilla's central role as both protector and advisor not only echoes the function of the ideal martial body, but it also fits the trappings of that martiality onto her own castle-body.

Furthermore, Ruggiero sees himself literally reflected in the walls of Logistilla's castle, thus associating his masculine, armored body with Logistilla's. The walls are covered with a particular kind of jewel: "That which makes these jewels far exceed every other on is that, looking at them, a man sees to the middle of his own soul; he sees reflected there his vices and virtues, so that he no longer believes flattery nor does he want to blame those who wrong him: Looking into the bright mirrors he discovers himself and wisdom" [Quel che più fa che lor si inchina e cede / ogn'altra gemma, è che, mirando in esse, / l'uom sin in mezzo all'anima si vede; / vede suoi vizii e sue virtudi espresse, / sì che a lusinghe poi di sè non crede, / né a chi dar biasmo a torto gli volesse: / fassi, mirando allo specchio lucent / se stesso, conoscendosi, prudente" (x.59.1-8). While Lacan would likely have a lot to say about this mirror stage as a means of acquiring knowledge of the self, this way of learning the self through visual inspection also reflects Vesalius's claim that the proper object of study is the body,[109] known most immediately through visual perception of either an actually dissected body or his own published collection of illustrations and dense description. Yet, as the viewer learns about the self, he or she identifies the object with the self, associating the allegorized body-castle with the (in this instance) armored knight Ruggiero who sees himself reflected in its surface.[110] This also serves to undermine the subject-object dichotomy by interweaving the perceiver with perceived through the medium of visualization of the self in the other. Just as the idea of cognitive ecologies depends upon this kind of interpenetration of subject and object, the Galenic understanding of the relationship between the body or self and the environment also depends upon bodily porosity.

Movement in Ariosto's allegory of the body takes the place of this porosity. Logistilla sends four ladies outside of the castle to support Ruggiero. These are "valiant Andronica, wise Fronesia and Dicilla the the just and chaste Sofrosina" [la valorosa Andronica e la saggia Fronesica e l'onestissima Dicilla e Sofrosina casta] (x.52.3-5). Standing in for beauty, prudence or wisdom, justice, and chastity, these women are a mix of virtues, temperaments, and characteristics.[111] The fact that they leave the confines of the castle, however, suggests that this is not a rigidly contained allegorized body. Logistilla's control over her space is such that it is perennially spring: "here though the garden was perpetual, the beauty of the flowers was eternal" [ma quivi era perpetua la verdure, / perpetua la beltà de' fiori eterni] (x.63.1-2). This is due to her careful attention: "the beneficience of Nature did not temperately govern there, but Logistilla with study and care and without need of higher powers (that which seems impossible to others) maintained her spring without end" [non che benignità de la Natura / sì temperatamente li governi; / ma Logistilla con suo studio e cura, / senza bisogno de' moti superni (quell che agli altri impossibile parea), / sua primavera ognor ferma tenea] (x.63.3-8). Just as Nature results in changing seasons and imperfect gardens, the body unregulated tends toward disorder. Logistilla's "studious care" enables her to maintain a perpetual equilibrium of spring within the confines of the castle. Just as the medical texts discussed earlier suggest, "studious care" through diet, bloodletting, and other practices can help maintain equilibrium in the body. Logistilla embraces porosity and masters movement to maintain a desired internal environment.

While both Ariosto's Logistilla and Spenser's Alma centralize a martial component in the allegory of the body and connect the body to porosity, Spenser's allegory foregrounds a desire to contain the feminized within the body, particularly certain kinds of feminized passions and any sort of female access to the offensive capabilities of the martial body. Significant scholarly attention has been given to how Spenser reworks the allegory of the body as castle or house,[112] but the literalization of that allegory is often lacking, even if sixteenth-century writers and readers literalize quickly. While the metaphor of the body as a house or castle is not unique to either Spenser or Ariosto, Spenser's anatomical detail and militarizing of the body set his allegory apart from his contemporaries. The fact that the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* were published in 1590, well after the 1543 publication of Vesalius's *Fabrica* and its popular reception, is likely part of the explanation for Spenser's more anatomized allegory. However, both in terms of the order in which Spenser moves through the body, which mimics medical texts, and in the description of the active processes understood within the Galenic model, anatomy and medicine are a natural point of entry into the allegory of the body in Book II.

When the knights Guyon and Arthur approach the castle-body in canto nine, they find it besieged by "a thousand villeins" (II.ix.13.2). These villains are later revealed in canto eleven to be "strong affections" (II.xi.1.2) that besiege "*Sight,*" (II.xi.9.1) "*Hearing,"* (II.xi.10.1) *"Smell,"* (II.xi.11.1) *"Taste*," (II.xi.12.2), and the last "fift Fort" (II.xi.13.5), which is the sense of touch left specifically unnamed. The order of senses listed coincides with accepted medieval and early modern hierarchies of the senses that

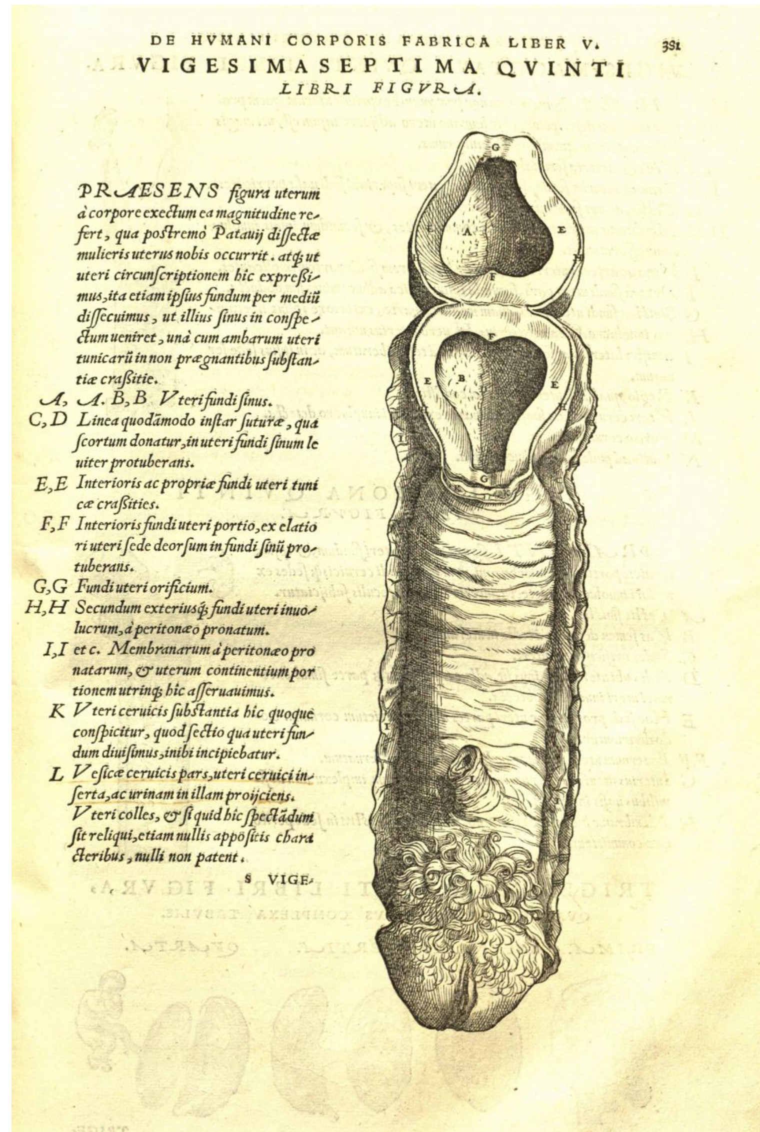
also correspond with gender, perhaps explaining why touch—the lowest and most closely associated with the feminine—is left unnamed.[113] Located outside and attempting to move into the body via the senses, these affections represent a threat because of the porosity of the body, which threatens the imbricated soul.[114] Alma certainly is the soul, as Hamilton's footnote to stanza eighteen points out, but the pre-Cartesian mixing of body and soul means that this assault of affections threatens the entire being.[115]

Spenser's bodily allegory also conjoins the porosity of the passions and body-soul with the functioning of the stomach and digestive systems in a way that draws upon Galenic theory. Bodily porosity is most apparent in the description of excretion: "all the rest, that noyous was" from "the backgate brought, / That cleped was *Port Esquiline*, whereby / It was auoided quite, and throwne out priuily" (II.ix.32.5, 7-9). Both by casting the body as a castle with a slimy wall (II.ix.21.5) permeable to the assailing affections and in the description of excretion, Spenser's allegory attempts to constitute borders or surfaces to slow down if not prevent diffusion of undesired emotions and social influences. Julia Kristeva in *Powers of Horror* examines excremental passages as models that simultaneously divide the self from other or outside and identify the slippage in this division, as the abject—that which was expelled—comes from within the "I" or "me."[116] Passions are outside and want to get in and excrement secretly moves outside, but both emotions and excrement break down the fantasy of a hermetically sealed body. As Schoenfeldt notes, "the exigencies of the stomach require the individual to confront on a daily basis the thin yet necessarily permeable line separating self and other."[117] For Schoenfeldt, though, this permeability is not the threat identified by Kristeva. Rather, the

non-natural category of retention and expulsion in the Galenic system, or the process of eating, digesting, and expelling, is central to the health of the early modern humoral body. He reads the ability to change the configuration of the body through consumption as empowering the consuming self.[118] While his reading of digestion in Spenser is persuasive, his argument does not adequately account for gender.[119] The texts and characters he focuses on are already in positions of relative authority over themselves. Women's access to the same kind of self-empowerment Schoenfeldt locates in control over the diet is more limited. Consequently, gendered bodies' troubled access to self-control manifests itself in ambiguity, specifically the medically ambiguous sex and gender of Alma's body.

This ambiguity has Galenic roots. As Thomas Laqueur has famously argued, the Galenic system advocates a "one-sex" model of the body.[120] Laqueur argues that sex was conventional but gender, the term now considered to be a cultural category, was primary or real so that "in the world of one sex, it was precisely when talk seemed to be most directly about the biology of two sexes that it was most embedded in the politics of gender, in culture."[121] The one-sex model holds that the sexes are basically identical, but due primarily to a lack of heat, the female sex organs are an inverted version of the male's.[122] This lack of heat explains sex-based differences, but fundamentally, sexual difference is derivative rather than prior in this model. While Joan Cadden[123] and Katherine Park,[124] among others, have questioned the absolute wide-spread acceptance of the one-sex model, numerous medical writers of the sixteenth century specifically reference it, including Berengario da Carpi in his 1521 commentary on Mondino and

most famously Andreas Vesalius in the 1543 *Fabrica*. This illustration of the uterus, vagina, and labia dramatically visualizes the extent of the homology of the sexes.



DE HVMANI CORPORIS FABRICA LIBER V. 391

VIGESIMASEPTIMA QVINTI LIBRI FIGVRA.

PRAESENS figura uterum à corpore exectum ea magnitudine refert, qua postremò Patauij dissectæ mulieris uterus nobis occurrit. atque ut uteri circunscriptionem hic expressimus, ita etiam ipsius fundum per mediū dissecuimus, ut illius sinus in conspectum ueniret, unà cum ambarum uteri tunicarū in non prægnantibus substantiæ crassitie.

A, A. B, B *Vteri fundi sinus.*

C, D *Linea quodāmodo instar suturæ, qua scortum donatur, in uteri fundi sinum leuiter protuberans.*

E, E *Interioris ac propriæ fundi uteri tunicæ crassities.*

F, F *Interioris fundi uteri portio, ex elatiori uteri sede deorsum in fundi sinū protuberans.*

G, G *Fundi uteri orificium.*

H, H *Secundum exteriusque fundi uteri inuolucrum, à peritonæo pronatum.*

I, I et c. *Membranarum à peritonæo pronatarum, & uterum continentium portionem utrinque hic asseruauimus.*

K *Vteri ceruicis substantia hic quoque conspicitur, quod sectio qua uteri fundum diuisimus, inibi incipiebatur.*

L *Vesicæ ceruicis pars, uteri ceruici inserta, ac urinam in illam proijciens.*

Vteri colles, & si quid hic spectādum sit reliqui, etiam nullis appositis characteribus, nulli non patent.

s VIGE-

Figure 9. Female reproductive system from *De humani corporis fabrica* by Andreas Vesalius (Basel, 1543), Book V Figure 27, pg. 391. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

Another sixteenth-century surgeon, Ambrose Paré, relates the case of the fifteen-year-old French girl Marie Germain who apparently became a man after chasing a pig

and jumping over a ditch due to an extreme disruption of homeostasis by excessive increases in bodily heat.[125] While this example is obviously extreme, it represents both the fluidity of the body and the instability of categories of sex and gender that come with the one-sex model. Christine-Marie Pouchelle notes that for Paré, the fact that "women have as much hidden within as men expose without" meant that women could "turn into men under some accidental pressure from inside."[126] Even if Laqueur exaggerates how wide-spread acceptance of the one-sex model was, it did enjoy considerable prevalence in the sixteenth century in particular, and his argument that gender is primary—in the sense that role defines both it and sex—sheds light on the ambiguous gendering of the martial body, especially evident in the way Spenser sexes Alma's body.

Spenser omits a stanza about the genitalia in his allegory.[127] Hamilton's note to stanza twenty-nine explains that the sexual organs are not described because Alma had not yet felt Cupid's rage. Alma's body is, he says, "epicene, containing only what both sexes have in common." Yet, if that is the case, what they have in common looks quite similar based on Vesalius's illustration. Spenser also earlier marks the body as apparently male when he describes the face in stanza twenty-four as having a "wandering vine" or beard and being "enchaced with a wanton yuie twine" or moustache (II.ix.24.4, 5). This ambiguity of gender, omission of sexual organs, and anxiety about movement in relation to the borders of the body connects to Spenser's expressly stated concern at the beginning of the ninth canto. He writes the concern is "mans body . . . distempred through misrule and passions bace: / It grows a Monster, and incontinent / Doth loose his dignitie and natiue grace" (II.ix.1.3, 6-8). While entirely possible that the use of man is meant to

universally represent the human, the exterior male marking of the allegorized body supports a specifically gendered reading. The worry here is that passions will make the body become "a Monster." Aristotle suggestively defined the female sex as monstrous or a deformity (even if a necessary one) in Nature because it is a deviation from male.[128] Perhaps picking up on this definition, Spenser articulates the fear of a sex change for this barely male body—it is after all a thin moustache rather than a full beard—as a result of excess permeability to passions. The passions distemper the male body much as excess cold distempers a metal blade in the quenching process, compromising the weapon and rendering it brittle. This deformity results in further porosity or becoming "incontinent." Control over excrement and urination is central to a self-possessed or contained body, and losing control over this movement symbolizes a critical loss of self-hood. Hence, containing the body-castle and controlling things like affections and food that come in and go back out is inextricably linked to the occupation of a controlled self, a self imagined to be male even if the explicit description of the genitals is not provided.[129]

However, the armored body in the House of Alma isn't fully masculine. The most famously annotated twenty-second stanza of canto nine[130] introduces that ambiguity:

> The frame thereof seemed partly circulare,
>
> And part triangulare, O worke divine;
>
> Those two the first and last proportions are,
>
> The one imperfect, mortall, feminine;
>
> Th'other immortall, perfect, masculine,
>
> And twixt them both a quadrate was the base,

> Proportioned equally by seven and nine;
>
> Nine was the circle sett in heavens place,
>
> All which compacted made a goodly diapase (II.ix.22.1-9)

I will not here offer a lengthy commentary but first call attention to what numerous scholars have noted. The juxtaposition between the imperfect and feminine—spelled foe-minine, suggesting that the feminine is foe to man—is bound up in the same soul—linked to the number twenty-two and this is the twenty-second stanza—or body in spite of the fundamental opposition between mortal and immortal, imperfect and perfect.[131] Both visually in the way the words line up vertically in the fourth and fifth lines and in the mixture of these two parts that the stanza describes, unusual binaries are constructed between imperfect and immortal, mortal and perfect, and feminine and masculine. By reversing the order, the common binaries are muddled, suggesting that a clear distinction between the gender binary is similarly muddled. Critically, the assumed hierarchy of the binaries is questioned by aligning mortal with perfect, and immortal with imperfect. Even if the lines are read chiastically, this results in muddled categories of feminine with immortal, mortal with perfect, and imperfect with masculine. The alignment of the feminine with the body, a medieval and early modern commonplace, and the masculine with the soul in this stanza does not map neatly onto the allegory in which the animating person is the female Alma.[132] Representing the soul as female for a marriage with God is also a commonplace, but pairing the inversion of binaries in the twenty-second stanza with the suggestive description of the castle-body as male with a female soul obscures

distinct borders between male and female and undermines the strength of the hierarchy assumed from this binary.

This mixing of genders is further reinforced when Guyon, the titular Knight of Temperance, and Arthur accompany Alma to the heart where they meet the affections and come to recognize themselves in two of the women there. At this point, Spenser naturalizes the invasion of the passions previously depicted as encamped around Alma's castle. Those passions remain a threat. Indeed, Alma needs rescued from them and relies on Arthur to defeat them, but these feminized versions of the passions not only pose no threat to Alma but also stand in for the male armored knights. Guyon wonders at a "strangely passioned" (II.ix.41.9) damsel who is characterized by silence and a specific affective reaction: "flashing blood with blushing did inflame / And the strong passion mard her modest grace" (II.ix.43.3-4). She turns out to be Shamefastness, and Alma tells Guyon that she is the manifestation of his chief personality trait—what could be understood as his complexion or temperament. Upon recognition of this diagnosis, Guyon "did blush in privitee, / And turnd his face away" (II.ix.44.1-2). The whole point of a blush, however, is that it is an affective response that generally cannot be controlled or hidden.[133] An attempt to hide a blush often makes it worse, and turning the face away draws more attention to an undesired or at least unexpected affective reaction.

Arthur similarly encounters his chief trait in the lady Praysdesire. When Alma tells him who she is and that he himself is "blotted with the same," (II.ix.38.5) Arthur is "inly moved at her speech" (II.ix.39.1). Arthur's inner movement as a result of Alma's speech follows the rhetorical understanding of how persuasion works by causing a

motion inwardly through e-motion. Other critics have noted that in these moments Arthur and Guyon recognize that they are the body allegorized.[134] This body is in some ways their bodies: they occupy this martial body even as the process of occupying it constructs their own martial-on-the-surface bodies. They act out the rhetorical figure of *metalepsis* or transumption, which means the transfer of qualities from one place to another or a metaphorical transfer of terms. The rhetorical effect of this transfer further enmeshes the knights and Alma's body, particularly the feminine affections with whom the knights identify. The connections between the female Praysdesire and Shamefastness and the male Arthur and Guyon further compound the body-castle as an ambiguously gendered place.[135] Between the moustache and Arthur and Guyon's self-recognition, this body is (con)figured as male even with the absent genitals and the dominant female presence of Alma; hence, the absence is neither a naturalization of anxieties about ambiguous sex or gender nor a tacit acceptance of this potential ambiguity. It nonetheless is a category that may be exploited. As such the fabricated martial body is a dangerous but potentially advantageous construct for women needing to temporarily (or in the case of Ariosto's literary lady knight Marfisa permanently) occupy a martial body marked male or for the man who also does not quite fit (see the earlier discussion of criminal males and subsequent chapters).

Having moved through the body, Spenser's allegory ends with the head, where the brain, memory, and wits are located. Though Ariosto's episode of the House of Logistilla does not include a specific analogy with the head, another episode does focus on the contents of the head—the wits. In one of the most imaginative episodes in *Orlando*

furioso, Astolfo travels to the moon on the chariot of the Old Testament prophet Elias, or Elijah, to recover Orlando's lost wits while Orlando has gone mad and rampages throughout Europe and Africa, destroying anything that he encounters.[136] While this episode is not connected to Logistilla's castle, it is, I contend, a representation of the head, which Spenser does include in his allegory of the body. The moon's shape is important: "that which resembles a little sphere" [il quale a un picciol tondo rassimiglia] (xxxiv.71.3), but this sphere that seems so small from far away grows to match the earth in size close up: "they find it equal in size or a little smaller to that ultimate globe which is the earth" [e lo trovano ugual, o minor poco / di ciò ch'in questo globa si raguna, / in questo ultimo globo de la terra] (xxxiv.70.5-7). On the moon are all sorts of lost objects from Earth, including a great collection of wits. The roundness of the moon, the repository of these lost wits, mimics the roundness of the protective skull that houses the material brain as well as the more immaterial wits, memories, and fantasies. The moon is also connected with the brain in astrology; lunacy as a term for insanity makes explicit this link.

As Leonard Barken has shown, the analogy of the body as world or the human as microcosm resonated during the Middle Ages and Renaissance,[137] so finding this linkage in Ariosto is not surprising. The fact that it is the brain or intelligence that functions as synecdoche is also not surprising given the inherent importance of the brain as the seat of judgment and sense: "Then it comes to that part that is so innate in us that never were prayers made to God to not have it; I speak of sense or judgement" [Poi guinse a qual che par sì averlo a nui, / che mai per esso a Dio voti non ferse; / io dico il senno] (xxxiv.82.5-

7). Hence, the innateness of the brain or rather wits or intelligence elides the separation of material object from conceived notion of the self. Unlike the anatomists, however, Ariosto's description of the contents of the human head does not depend on either received tradition about the cells or ventricles of the head or brain or visual evidence obtained through dissection. Instead, the wits are "like a thin, soft liquid apt to evaporate if one does not keep it tightly closed" [come un liquor suttile e molle, / atto a esalar, se non si tien ben chiuso] (xxxiv.83.1-2). This liquid is stored in phials, and the lost wits can be returned to their owners via inhalation. This viscous substance as the source of self-knowledge further reinforces the connection between unique self and intelligence. In fact, this liquidity fits in a physiology of a porous humoral body because, as John Sutton notes, "it [was] hard to separate brain function from the active runny parts of the churning internal environment with its needs for purging, bleeding, and sealing."[138] Yet, it also fits with ideas about psychological materialism because the changes in behavior, character, and selfhood that come with the loss of this substance reinforce a direct connection between the external world and the internal equilibrium of the self. Wits are lost in a variety of ways: "Others lose it in love, others in honors, others scouring the sea in search of riches; others hoping in lords, others in the magical arts" [Altri in amar lo perde, altri in onori, / altri in cercar, scorrendo il mar, richezze; / altri ne le speranze de' signori, / altri dietro all magiche sciocchezze] (xxxiv.85.1-4). These and other kinds of interactions between the subject and presumed external objects—people, jewels, fame, etc.— can mean the loss of wits and judgement, but they can also be regained. Just as medieval and early modern people thought that control over diet or bleeding or avoiding certain

climates could restore lost personality traits or change temperaments, the episode of Astolfo's recovery of his own and Orlando's wits from the moon reinforces a connection between cognition and the environment.

While Ariosto's treatment of Orlando's psychological instability is more theoretical or imaginative, Spenser's allegorization of the head is much more anatomical and precise. Taking the two of them together enables us to see how any study of the martial body must consider the cognitive ecologies that produced, disseminated, and perpetuated this figure in various discourses that include popular literature and medical texts. After their time in the heart, Guyon and Arthur walk up "ten steps of Alablaster," (II.ix.44.9) or vertebrae, to reach the head:

> That Turrets frame most admirable was,
> Like highest heauen compassed around,
> And lifted high aboue this earthly masse,
> Which it suruewd, as hils doen lower ground;
> But not on ground mote like to this be found,
> Not that, which antique *Cadmus* whylome built
> In *Thebes*, which *Alexander* did confound;
> Nor that proud towre of *Troy*, though richly guilt,
> From which young *Hectors* blood by cruell *Greekes* was spilt (II.ix.45.1-9).

Just as Ariosto establishes a relationship between the moon and earth, Spenser relies upon a similar cosmological kinship to relate the head "like highest heauen" to the body or "earthly masse." The protective capacity of the head is also noted by the reference to

"turret," a small tower that often housed both defensive weapons and provided lookout points to watch for attacks. The militaristic association is strengthened in this stanza by the reference to Thebes that Cadmus built and Alexander defeated as well as Troy where Hector's blood was spilled by cruel Greeks. These cities were both sites of extensive conflict, as alluded to in the stanza's references to Alexander's conquest of Thebes and the Greeks' sacking of Troy.

Beyond this connection of Spenser's allegorized head to martial history, however, the selected examples both feature important roles for the head and/or brains. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Cadmus is famous not only for founding Thebes but also for sowing dragon's teeth in the earth that grow into men who fight each other until only a handful remain. The founding of the city immediately follows the account of the sowing of the dragon's teeth, linking the two events if not causally at least contiguously.[139] Teeth come from the head, of course, so these earth men and the city associated with them come from the very body part Spenser allegorizes, and just as significantly, that association reinforces the martial conflict of Alexander's assault because the earth-born men slay each other as their first action. Similarly, the reference to Troy emphasizes both the martial element and the connection to the head. While the story of the Trojan War makes the role of armed conflict obvious, the invocation of Hector's spilled blood also connects the event to the head because in the mid-sixteenth century Latin-English dictionary by Thomas Cooper, he connects the incident in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* when the Greeks through Hector's son, Astyanax, down from a tower to the effect of that action, which is the cleaving of Astyanax's brains to the tower.[140] The relation between tower and brains,

subtly implied by this stanza and the intertextual resonances discussed, maintains the inherent violence of the human condition that necessitates the protective capacity of the skull or, as I will discuss in chapter three, armor.

From this stanza, Spenser describes three rooms with three sages, which correspond to the three ventricles or cells of the brain with the three interior senses of the mind.[141] This schematization reflects accepted medical and popular knowledge about the skull's interior and the brain's functionality.[142] Even sixteenth-century anatomical texts echo this three-part structure. The following illustration of the dissection of the head from Vesalius's *Fabrica* roughly falls into three areas: front, middle, and back. Even though Vesalius attacks parts of ventricular neuropsychology when he denies the existence of a controllable process by which fantasies enter into memory and then are returned to reason, the schematization survives in anatomical illustrations.[143]

Figure 10. Anatomy of the head from *De humani corporis fabrica* by Andreas Vesalius (Basel, 1543), Book VII Figure 12, pg. 617. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

Spenser draws upon this established understanding when identifying the occupants of the three rooms: “The first of them could things to come foresee; / The next could of thinges present best aduize; / The third things past could keepe in memoree” (II.ix.49.1-3). The three rooms with their occupants follow a front-to-back spatial order so that the front, nearest the eyes, is *Phantastes*, who can “foresee” and also imagine or compound things like “Infernall Hags, *Centaurs*, feendes, *Hippodames*” (II.ix.50.8).

Fitting the busy work of imagination, the room is full of loudly buzzing flies. The second room, whose occupant can best advise about the present, has walls that:

> Were painted faire with memorable gestes,
>
> Of famous Wisards, and with picturals
>
> Of Magistrates, of courts, of tribunals,
>
> Of commen wealthes, of states, of pollicy,
>
> Of laws, of iudgementes, and of decretals;
>
> All artes, all science, all Philosophy (II.ix.53.3-8).

In the footnote for the next stanza, Hamilton states that this sage "receives and digests images of sense experience, as his room full of murals indicates."[144] I find this insight useful, particularly in light of what I will discuss shortly about the potential threat of sense perceptions and sensations—closely connected to passions and affections—to the body, but what I want to note now is the link between sense experience and the public realm of policy. Almost all of the activities of the un-named "man of ripe and perfect age" (II.ix.54.2) focus on policy actions such as courts, tribunals, states, laws, etc. Like the bonemen and musclemen in Vesalius, this room's occupant has access to the almost exclusively male domains of politics and the academy. Unlike the criminal bodies used to construct those illustrations, however, this man is perfectly suited to these realms. While this room receives the least number of stanzas of the three, the connection between the male management of bodily sense experience in the domains of politics—which include war and combat—and the academy identifies a reason why the invocation of the martial body can be a means of access to those realms.

From this room, they move on to the third where memory resides. He is "an old, oldman, halfe blind, / And all decrepit in his feeble corse" (II.ix.55.5-6). Memory has books of history that Guyon and Arthur find and read to discover truth about themselves and their futures. Once again, the armored knights Guyon and Arthur find self-knowledge in this allegorized body. Just as the recognition of themselves in the ladies (Praysdesire and Shamefastness) in Alma's heart, seat of the sensible soul, blurs the line between their bodies and this allegorized one, the textual bridge between Alma's memory and Guyon and Arthur's futures and pasts further intermingles the particular character with the general allegory. This serves to demonstrate the flexibility of the martial body that may be occupied temporarily, but it also calls to mind the ambiguous gendering that I noted in the earlier episode in Alma's heart.

Spenser clearly identifies each of the three occupants of the three chambers of the brain as male, and he also identifies the role of these three who "counseled faire *Alma*, how to gouerne well" (II.ix.48.9). Interestingly, Vesalius uses the opposite gendering of the brain in *Fabrica*:

> Controller and governor of two concupiscible souls, the brain is the seat of reason and sits enthroned like a queen at the summit of the body. That it be guarded by some sort of protective bulwark is therefore in the highest degree expedient; so the provident Creator of everything did not entrust its protection solely to skin and areas of flesh (as in the abdomen) or to bones spaced well apart from each other (as in the chest) but enveloped it completely in bone like a helmet.[145]

The martial metaphor of the helmet for the skull ties nicely with the protective and martial associations Spenser makes explicit in his references to Cadmus, Hector, and Alexander, but the identification of the brain with an enthroned queen here as opposed to Spenser's figuration of the brain as entirely masculine reinforces the ambiguous gendering of the body in the same manner as Arthur and Guyon's self-identification with Alma and Ruggiero's with Logistilla. The martial body can accommodate this kind of gendering, however, and can also increase access for (admittedly almost exclusively upperclass) women and unfit—due to social status, character, political role, etc.—men to a typically aristocratic male sphere.

Yet, Spenser also limits this access by curbing mobility. In contrast to the mobility of Logistilla and her ladies, Spenser limits Alma's movement to the confines of the body and even further limits the affections to the heart. This limitation of mobility and porosity in Spenser's body results from a discomfort with the potential implications of bodily reconstitution that enables access to typically male spheres. For Spenser, there is a fine line between the natural and the monstrous, and Arthur's battle with Maleger in canto eleven stages the importance of this demarcation.[146] While Arthur's battle with Maleger orchestrates an ongoing process of bodily reconstitution, Spenser gives voice to anxieties about the potentially uncontrollable nature of porosity, passions, and bodily (re)compounding. These anxieties coalesce in the monstrous form of Maleger, who is anticipated in the earlier stanza in canto nine worrying about the monstrosity of the uncontained or unmanaged body. In that stanza, I suggest that this is the fear of becoming un-manned in regard to the feminization of the body's sex or temperament, but in the

Maleger canto, Spenser presents the threat of the ill-made man who attempts to usurp the place of the Arthurian hero.

Much like the criminal bodies assembled to depict the victorious, martial body of General d'Avalos in Vesalius's illustrations challenge accepted notions of proper illustration of the abject male body, Spenser's Maleger episode stages the potentially subversive strength and triumph of "strong affections" (II.xi.1.2). Unlike Ariosto's greater comfort with porosity, movement, and offensive capabilities of the allegorized female body and Vesalius's reconstitutive illustration of criminal bodies in the postures of elite men, Spenser consigns the offensive capabilities of Alma to Arthur and depicts the eventual defeat of "strong affections" to celebrate "a body which doth freely yeeld" (XI.2.1). Only in a body in this abject position can Alma "florish in all beautie excellent" and be "goodly well for health and for delight" (XI.2.7, 9). While Spenser does locate offensive capabilities akin to Logistilla's army and navy in Alma, he displaces those capabilities to the fully masculinized Arthur. Further, while the entire allegory of the body does emphasize the role of bodily porosity, particularly to passions, the threat of the inherently reconstitutive capacity of the body results in the presentation of Maleger as the epitome of bodily reconstitution, an extreme that Spenser marks as dangerous to the good gentlemen he hopes his poem will help fashion[147] as well as to the ladies who ought to, like Alma, "freely yeeld."

The eleventh canto begins by returning to the siege of strong affections on Alma's body through the senses. Guyon takes off in spite of the visible threat, which is described in relation to the five senses in stanzas eight through thirteen. Each "troupe" (II.xi.8.1) or

military unit attacks a specific sense and is comprised of animals and creatures traditionally associated with the (perversion of the) sense: “Gryfons” with sight, “Puttockes” with smell, “Toades” with taste, and “spyders” with the again unnamed touch (II.xi.8.4, 11.5, 12.5, 13.3). These associations reinforce both the threat posed by these troops and the monstrous nature of the assault of affections on the body through the senses. Alma “was much dismayed with that dreadful sight” (II.xi.16.2), and while I do not want to make too much of the echo of dis-maid, the assault on the body by affections through the highest and most masculinized sense of sight poses a threat to Alma’s virginal and pure, maiden state. Herein lies the threat of this alliance of affections and senses: the body can be un-done from a (for Spenser) desirable state, can be reconstituted into something monstrous. In this case, the reconstitution of the body offers not access to a privileged sphere for abject bodies, but rather a loss of a particular kind of selfhood that Spenser identifies as desirable. To neutralize this threat, Alma relies on the proffered aid of Arthur.

While Arthur is a distinct and recurrent character in the *Faerie Queene*, he is at this moment domiciled within Alma’s body. The identification of himself in Alma’s affections blurs the distinctive line between his body and hers, between male and female. The fact that Spenser calls Alma the “house of Temperance” in the heading to canto nine amplifies the elision of difference between Guyon as knight of temperance and the female Alma as representation of temperance. The choice of house rather than castle further contributes to this blurring. The Latin *domus* for house has the appearance of a male noun due to the –us ending; however, as a fourth-declension noun, it is feminine in

spite of the linguistically male appearance. While Logistilla commands "il castel" (x.53.1) or the (masculine) castle, in Spenser's house of temperance, both the structure or house and the dominant occupant are feminine. Because of the strength of this elision and identification of Arthur with Alma, Arthur becomes Alma's offensive capabilities similar to Logistilla's army and navy. The fact that Spenser specifically isolates these martial offensive capabilities in the bastion of knightly chivalry, Arthur, undermines the previous elision and circumscribes the access of the female to the traditionally male space of the martial. Arthur both goes out from and returns to Alma's body in this canto, however, needing her "balme and wine and costly spicery / To comfort him in his infirmity" (II.xi.49.4-5). Once contained again within Alma's body, "shee causd him vp to be conuayd, / And of his armes despoyled easily" (II.xi.49.6-7). She easily removes his arms, the key marker of both his martial body and masculinity, and absorbs within herself the martial capacity he exhibits in combat with Maleger, returning us to the gendered ambiguity most clearly depicted in Arthur and Guyon's recognition of themselves in Alma's affections. As such, Alma's body undergoes a reconstitution through the actions of Arthur fighting Maleger. He goes forth to remove the threat much as an actual body deploys white cells to attack intruding foreign bodies.

In addition to the display of Alma's body undergoing reconstitution first as dis-maid and then as returned to the pre-attack state after Arthur's victory, Arthur and Maleger also stage bodily reconstitution. Yet, while Arthur's reconstitution depends upon blood loss, weakness, and eventual healing in the sanitized space of Alma's house, Maleger's stems from his connection with the earth, "from her womb new spirits to

reprize" (II.xi.44.9). Maleger acts out the reconstitution depicted by Vesalius's anatomical illustrations, moving from an intact state to progressively one more flayed open and laid bare. Just as this bare state continually rejuvenates itself in the series of illustrations embedded in thick textual descriptions in the *Fabrica*, Maleger's decomposition paradoxically offers him greater strength:

> Flesh without blood, a person without spright,
> Wounds without hurt, a body without might,
> That could doe harme, yet could not harmed bee,
> That could not die, yet seems a mortall wight,
> That was most strong in most infirmitee (II.xi.40.4-8).

These five lines could be affixed to Vesalius's musclemen series and it would not seem at all out of place. Rather than this paradoxical state affording access to spheres of power, however, Spenser frames Maleger as monstrous:

> As pale and wan as ashes was his looke,
> His body leane and meager as a rake,
> And skin all withered like a dryed rooke,
> Thereto as cold and drery as a Snake,
> That seemd to tremble euermore, and quake:
> All in a canuas thin he was bedight,
> And girded with a belt of twisted brake,
> Vpon his head he wore an Helmet light,
> Made of a dead mans skull, that seemd a ghastly sight (II.xi.22.1-9).

Maleger becomes one of Vesalius's bonemen, a *memento mori* imbued with all the features that invoke fear of death. His thinness and skin color betoken pestilence and death.[148] His chief bodily humor is cold and dry, as evident by his "skin all eithered like a dryed rooke," meaning he has a melancholy complexion.[149] This complexion was understood to almost uniquely afflict men, but it is connected to effeminate men, identifying Maleger as another ambiguously gendered body that Spenser would surely classify as monstrous. The helmet of a skull maps onto Maleger's body the traditional *memento mori* image while also associating him with a perverted form of the martial body. His scanty armor contrasts sharply with the resplendent glory of Arthur's described a few stanzas earlier, yet Maleger wins the initial encounters. His apparent weakness and depravity strengthen his resistance because of his intimate connection with the source of bodily reconstitution. Galenic theory holds that the humors and the earth share the same material substances, so Maleger's link to the earth as the source of his ability to continually reconstitute his body makes explicit this aspect of Galenic theory. In so doing, Spenser's anxiety about this reconstitutive process in relation to the affections, senses, and comportment of the body requires that Arthur triumph, even if it requires him to resort to undignified methods.[150] Arthur crushes Maleger, "having scruzed out of his carrion corse / The lothfull life," (II.xi.2-3) but Maleger rebounds. Only when Arthur throws Maleger's body into water, separating it from contact with earth, does he end Maleger's reconstitutive cycle.

By critiquing the implications of Galenic re-compounding through Maleger and contrasting it with Arthur's own reconstitution *within* Alma's house, Spenser separates

properly moderated bodily reconstitution from improper. His line of demarcation hinges on the category of the monstrous, a category that signifies lack of control over porosity, passions, and gender. In contrast to Ariosto who does not attempt to limit mobility, Spenser very much wants to align certain complexions with gender and limit female access to the martial body. While Galenic theory, Vesalius's anatomical illustrations, and Ariosto and Spenser all share a concern with the link between bodily compounding, porosity, and passions or affections, there is far from unanimous agreement about the limits of reconstitution. This disagreement fits in a world where the early modern body is always already martial in the sense that reconstitution can both provide access to positions of power and threaten the temperament of the body.

As has been noted, Guyon and Arthur approach the castle of Alma as it is besieged by the senses and affections, and Orlando loses his wits on account of strong passions. This corresponds with the Galenic model of the body that defines passions as simultaneously non-naturals and intrinsic components of the naturals, the things of which the body is compounded. The paradoxical status of the passions means that they play an integral role in the ongoing modification and reconstitution of the body while simultaneously existing as something outside of and apart from the body. The role of the passions also speaks to the porous nature of the body and the early modern focus on temperance, the chief virtue of Spenser's second book.

But what is temperance? It is an ongoing process of modification given one's dominant humoral temperament, meaning that the maintenance of temperance requires constant reconstruction of the body and behavior through manipulation of the non-

naturals, surrounding environment, and passions. This continual process of reconstitution of the body's desired temperament is modeled by anatomical illustrations that act out the fantasy of a body continually able to be re-compounded.[151] Just as these allegories of the body in Ariosto and Spenser play out the process by which a (healthy) body is managed through the experience, production, and incorporation of various affections of the martial body, the artistic choices made in Vesalius's *Fabrica* repeatedly figure the seemingly contradictory relationship between dissection of the individual and construction of the composite bodily image. This plays out in the series of the bonemen and musclemen in particular, but that fantasy of reconstitution in these medical and literary texts depends upon a fundamental porosity of the body. This porosity both props up a system placing hot, dry men as superior to cold, wet women and undermines that system in the constant threat of change in temperament based upon what goes into or comes out of a body. As such, it is fitting that Spenser's next book is chastity, epitomized by the lady knight Britomart, which the sixteenth-century writer Robert Allott in *Wits theatre of the little world* defines as "an especiall branch of temperance."[152] In other words, temperance and chastity are less distinct virtues than depictions of the same thing from different perspectives. I think it is no coincidence that Spenser's avatars for these two related virtues are the opposite sexes but not always the opposite genders.

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[1] See Feather and Thomas, "Introduction," 1-22. For an extended discussion of the relationship between masculinity and violence, see chapter 4.

[2] Bullein, *The Government of Health*, Fol. Xxii.r.

[3] Donne, "I am a little world," ll.1-2 in *Norton Anthology: Sixteenth Century*, 1411.

[4] *Cassel's Latin Dictionary* provides a number of definitions for *fabrica* and related words *fabrefacio, fabricatio*, etc. The definitions emphasize that it is to make or fashion skillfully, a place like a workshop, a maker, and construction (237). The link between the body and textiles has been made by several scholars, but the connection of parts of the body to textiles is common in anatomical texts. Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, elaborates on the frequency of this type of metaphor in Henri de Mondeville's treatise on surgery, which includes a section on anatomy, written between 1306 and 1320 (107). Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, also put pressure on how the term *fabrica* is translated: "The word *fabrica* may be translated as *structure* or framework, but, as used by Vesalius, it has greater functional overtones. It could also mean a place where a thing is made, as well as the thing made. Obviously the word *fabric* most commonly referring to material or cloth, can also be used as a metaphor for the intricacies of the tissues and organs of human anatomy" (128). Shackelford, *William Harvey*, translates *fabrica* as architecture (28). This translation further supports my connection between this anatomical text and the allegory of the human body as a house or castle in literature.

[5] Spicci, "'After an Unwonted Manner,'" 55.

[6] Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions*, 44.

[7] Vesalius, *De humani*, "Preface," folio 2r., v.1.1. All quotations from the *Fabrica* come from this translation. Notes provide references to the 1543 edition (usually Book.Chapter.page) and then a citation to volume and page number for Garrison and Hast translation.

[8] Much of this work cites and builds on that of Owsei Temkin, long recognized as the dominant authority on Galen and Galenism, including *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy*. It also incorporates work on cognitive ecologies, especially, for example, in the work of John Sutton.

[9] Temkin, *Galenism*, points out that Galen states passion and desire are temperaments of the heart and liver, and he notes that for Galen, "mental behavior is said to result from the temperament" (83). Paster, *Humoring the Body*, in particular focuses on passions within the Galenic scheme, arguing that "the passions actually *were* liquid forces of nature, because, in this cosmology, the stuff of the outside world and the stuff of the body were composed of the same elemental materials" (4). Paster notes that "as one of the six Galenic nonnaturals, the passions or perturbations of mind were fully embedded in the order of nature. Thus to report on an emotion—whether subjectively as experience or objectively as observed—was, among other things, to describe an event occurring in nature and thus understandable in natural terms" (27). In an effort to get at the connection between emotion and natural event, Paster focuses on the language of the emotions in Shakespearean drama. See also Crane's *Shakespeare's Brain*. Crane is more

interested in isolating the brain from the body and, I would argue, ends up reifying many of the problems of Cartesian dualism that she seeks to critique (8-10).

[10] Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, 11. Schoenfeldt's selection of elite male literary examples, however, overlooks some of the very real limitations on early modern people, particularly codes of behavior that carefully restricting the actions of women, lower class people, foreigners, etc.

[11] Paster builds on Deleuze and Guattari's idea of a "Body without Organs" because she finds linkages between the BwO and the early modern emotionally volatile, penetrable humoral self with reciprocal relations to its environment (21). This ecological relationship between the body and its environment is at the heart of cognitive ecology, meaning that these relations are constitutive of early psychophysiological truth about self and emotion (28). See also Sutton, "Porous Memory," 134. While making a similar point, Sutton does so working with Descartes on the brain. He points out that Descartes was not actually as dualist as is often assumed. I agree with Sutton's reading of Descartes, but for lack of a better phrase, I use Cartesian dualism to mean the mind/body division. For more on materialism and the passions, see Cook, "Body and Passions," who connects the post-Cartesian view of the passions and the body to political views on the construction of the nation state (33-42).

[12] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance*, 84-5. Temkin, *Galenism*, outlines the transmission pattern from Arabic sources into various European languages (68-69).

[13] Temkin *Galenism,* 150-52.

[14] Ibid., 3-4.

[15] Wear, "Medicine in Early Modern," estimates that "between 1500 and 1600 there were published around 590 different editions of works of Galen" (253). Temkin, *Galenism*, points out that in 1477 the English printer Caxton printed an English edition of Galen's sayings titled *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (71), and in 1525 the first edition of Galen's collected works in Greek was published (125). Jouanna, "The Birth of Western," is one of several scholars who note the debt Galen pays to Hippocrates (and other earlier Greeks) for the theory of the four humors and the idea that health is a state when the humors are balanced and mixed. Galen gets the most credit historically, however, because the idea spread rapidly through Galen (60).

[16] For more on Ancient medical theory and training, see Jouanna, "The Birth of Western," 22-71, and Vegetti, "Between Knowledge and Practice," 72-103. For more on the transmission of antique medical texts to the Arabic tradition, see Strohmaier, "Reception and Tradition," 139-169. For a comprehensive treatment of these issues, see Nuttan, *Ancient Medicine*, 216-47.

[17] Elyot, *Castle of Health*, folio 1.r (using Elyot's numbering, but it is the first page of the first book after the table of contents)

[18] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance*, 101.

[19] Elyot, *Castle of Health*, folio 2.r.

[20] Ibid., folio 8.r.

[21] Ibid., folio 10.v.

[22] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance*, 104-06.

[23] Temkin, *Galenism*, 83.

[24] Elyot, *The Castle of Health*, folio 1.r (first page of first book).

[25] Numerous scholars point out Galen's inheritance from Hippocrates, but see Bylebyl, "Galen on the Non-Natural," 482-85.

[26] Elyot, *The Castle of Health*, folio 64.r.

[27] The focus on the passions as something that requires extra attention is shared by other medical writers. As French notes, *Dissection and Vivisection*, several anatomists identified the emotions as one of the key factors distinguishing the human from the animal (131).

[28] Elyot, *The Castle of Health,* folio 1.r.

[29] Siriasi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance*, 101.

[30] Bullein, *The Government of Health*, folio viii.r-v.

[31] Ibid., folio ix r-x.v.

[32] Jouanna, "The Birth of Western Medical Art," notes that the seasons also caused changes in the humors: winter was the time of phlegm, cold, and moist; spring, blood, warm, and moist; summer, yellow bile, warm, and dry; and autumn, black bile, cold, and dry (42).

[33] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance*, 103. See also Cadden, *Meanings of Sex*, who points out that the difference between male and female complexions was for

many the most important difference between the sexes, more important than observed physical differences (170-71).

[34] This is a common feature noted in medieval and early modern medical texts. An example is found in the seventh-century "On Anatomy" section of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* where he says that the "Some also think that it [the spleen] was made as a source for laughter, for we laugh with the spleen, are angry with the bile, understand with the heart and love with the liver" (723).

[35] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde*, 46.

[36] See Bylebyl, "Interpreting the *Fasciculo*," for evidence that Vesalius exaggerated how dissections routinely happened so as to make an argument for his own method as new and totally different (285-316). In fact, Bylebyl points out that academic surgeons would often conduct their own dissections like Vesalius did. For an account of the prepeartion of the *Fabrica* that details both Vesalius's novelty and historical debts, see O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, 111-86.

[37] See Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, who point out that Vesalius worked with Caius in Padua (134), and that they shared lodgings in Padua (140). See also O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, 101-06. See Landers, "Early Modern Dissection," who notes that William Harvey was a student of Fabricius ab Aquapendente, who had been a student of Vesalius. Fabricius lectured at the medical school in Padua, which was the uncontested center of anatomical science at the time because of the reputation of Vesalius (9). See also French, *Dissection and Vivisection*, who points out that the French school at Montpellier, where dissections were done every other year starting in 1340, used Guy de Chauliac's text to learn anatomy, but Guy de Chauliac had studied in Bologna by Bertruccio, who was a student of Mondino. For this reason, Berengario implied that dissection in other places was essentially Bolognese (132).

[38] One of Vesalius's former teachers, Sylvius, bitterly attacked Vesalius for being critical of Galen. This is just one example provided by O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, 156.

[39] Temkin, *Galenism*, states that "the anatomical movement of the Renaissance played a very significant role" in the decline of Galenism (136). This claim is often referenced by later scholars who similarly identify Vesalius as counter to Galen and the beginning of modernity. Feather, *Writing Combat and the Self*, compares Vesalius to Udall, Gemnius, and Vicary, noting that the others reference the humors to represent bodily flux whereas Vesalius emphasizes function and "presents an almost entirely mechanistic description" (57-8).

[40] During his anatomical demonstrations, Vesalius, according to a student's notes, *Andreas Vesalius' First Public Anatomy*, explained appearance as a result of complexions

and humors: "The inner skin was whitish, having the form of the sperma, out of which it has its origin. Because, he said, the complexion always takes the form and nature of the components, out of which they originate, as the skin, in otherwise the same conditions, in colour take and appropriate the nature of its humours" (87). This is only one of many examples demonstrating that Vesalius' so-called radical break from Galenism has been exaggerated.

[41] French, *Dissection and Vivisection*, states that Vesalius's attack on Galen was "possible only by Vesalius being more Galenic than Galen" (144). See also O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, who notes that while Vesalius does attack Galen, he was still "a follower and admirer of Galen" (105). In several places O'Malley points out where either Vesalius replicated an error of Galen or was careful to point out that "there was much in Galen that was worthwhile and ought to be preserve" (151-52).

[42] As Park, "The Criminal and the Saintly," points out, there was a nearly universal stipulation that the publicly dissected bodies be those of criminals of foreign birth and preferably low degree. She quotes the anatomist Alessandro Benedetti in 1497: "By law only unknown and ignoble bodies can be sought for dissection, from distant regions without injury to neighbors and relatives." The university of Bologna statutes required that the cadaver belong to a person who came from at least thirty miles away (12). She uses this information to support her argument that dissection is not about shaming a criminal body, but rather that the stipulation to use criminal, poor bodies to protect family status. The fact that private dissections were often conducted on both men and women of high status and noble birth further supports her point.

[43] See Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 57. In this section of the book, Sawday writes about public dissection as a way of enhancing the shame of the criminal who is being dissected. Sawday is certainly not the only person to make this argument. For example, see also Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, 70, 82, and chapter 5 in general. Traub, "Gendering Mortality," focuses on the more lurid illustrations in Estienne's anatomy, but her general argument is that opening female bodies situates dissected women as promiscuous (81). Nunn, *Staging Anatomies*, deals with wounded female bodies on stage, comparing them to opened women in anatomical texts, and argues that the anatomized female body "offers audiences a glimpse of its inevitably sexualized secret interior" (87). For Nunn, this inherent sexualization of the anatomized female body enables plays to invoke the figure of the wounded female to offer judgments on chastity and female propriety. Stephens, *Anatomy as Spectacle*, argues that the male body is represented as standard or normal anatomy with female figures used to show only the female reproductive system and fetal development (125). Consequently, anatomical models cannot be de-gendered, which means "assumptions about gender will continue to inform—in more or less obvious ways—the aesthetics of anatomical modeling" (126).

[44] Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica,* "Preface," 2recto, v.1.2.

[45] Vesalius often includes honorifics when writing about Galen, such as “Galen, the chief of the professors of anatomy” (I.1.3, v. 1.18), but even when disagreeing with Galen, Vesalius is often careful to qualify his language, writing “Hence, the words of Galen are not altogether authoritative” (I.3.10, v. 1.29) with the cushion of “altogether” rather than an outright rejection. Similarly, when disagreeing with Galen on the structure of double joints, Vesalius tries to provide an explanation for why Galen was wrong: “But this is what Galen affirms, saying that ginglymus is made in this way, and perhaps not noticing that if what he claimed were so, three bones would have to meet” (I.4.15, v. 1.37). While the case can be made that Vesalius intends greater insult, this is not consistent with the other examples of his praise of Galen. At the end of the chapter on joints from which the previous quotation comes, Galen ends with a section on his disagreement with Galen, and his primary response is to point to the ways in which Galen’s own thought evolved and attributes his own deviations from Galen to Galen himself: “His own account gave me the first reason for not following him” (I.4.16, v. 1.41). Numerous other examples are available, but this article directs the interested reader to the work of O’Malley and French in particular. Even when it is possible to identify examples where Vesalius dismisses Galen or seems to hold him to account, that criticism is tempered by his treatment of the ancient authority as a whole.

[46] O’Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, 151-52.

[47] Vesalius, *Fabrica*, II.53.404, v. 1.657.

[48] Pender, “Rhetoric, Grief,” 66-67.

[49] Book II. Table 1. 172, for example, in the label for the first muscle man, part A is a group of glandules: “these are the ones often troubled by influxes of humors in children and are frequently infested by goiters” (v.1.338).

[50] Singer, *“*Historical Essay,” 21-E. Park, “The Criminal and the Saintly,” notes that audiences for dissections increased during the early sixteenth century in particular whereas statues generally limited the size of audiences and stipulated who could be in the audience earlier in the fifteenth century (15). Private dissections for pedagogical or diagnostic practices existed long before Mondino’s public dissections and continued at a much higher rate than their public counterparts, as Siraisi and Park have documented.

[51] Park, *Secrets of Women*, 166.

[52] Singer, “Historical Essay,” 21-O.

[53] 1588 as the date of the first public dissection as part of the Lumleian lectures comes from Whitteridge, *William Harvey*, 86. The information on Henry VIII and the

Company of the Barber-Surgeons can be found in several places, but see K. F. Russell, *British Anatomy*, 2-3. For more on legislation in Europe from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, see Duffin, *History of Medicine*, 18-19.

[54] Russell, *British Anatomy*, 5.

[55] Sugg, *Murder after Death*, 2.

[56] Several scholars have explored this, but see Sugg, *Murder after Death*, who notes that between 1576 and 1650 120 literary anatomies were produced along the lines of John Lyly's *Anatomy of Wit* and Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. That number increases by 84 when including the common anatomical synonyms of "lay open" or "rip" (3). Hodges, *Renaissance Fictions*, also devotes chapters to literary anatomies of wit, absurdity, comedy, and other topics.

[57] For a history of the wood blocks used in the text and their likely origin in Titian's workshop in nearby Venice, see Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, 136-38. See also Duffin, *History of Medicine*, who notes that Jan Stefan van Kalkar, who worked in Titian's studios and also came from Belgium like Vesalius, is a likely candidate for artist (26).

[58] For discussion of Berengario's illustrations, see Park, *Secrets of Women*, 182-85. This is just one example of her discussion of one of the illustrations of the anatomy of the uterus. See the whole book for more on other illustrations.

[59] Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration*, lists several plagiarisms of Vesalius and points out that in a letter by Vesalius printed at the beginning of the 1543 edition of *De Fabrica*, Vesalius complained about authors and publishers who had abused his imperial privileges and copied his earlier works (121-22). For more on plagiarism, see the authoritative biography of Vesalius by O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius*, 89-90.

[60] Landers, "Early Modern Dissection," 15-16. Landers notes that while the images came from Vesalius, the text of his *Compendiosa totius anatome delineatio* likely came from Thomas Vicary's 1548 *Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*. The text of *De fabrica*, according to Landers, appeared in England during the late sixteenth century and influenced especially the anatomical text of Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (16). This same text, as I point out later in this essay, invokes Spenser's House of Alma allegory of the body.

[61] See Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 75-77 and 101-102, and Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius," 46-9.

[62] Hodges, *Renaissance Fictions*, 5.

[63] Sugg, *Murder after Death*, in an analysis of the musclemen states that the individual illustrations each give "the impression of a living and dynamic entity" (8). I draw upon Sugg in emphasizing the always already animated quality of the Galenic body that these illustrations capture. Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, notes that the "culture of dissection" was also an incisive recomposition of the human body (ix). Ultimately, however, Sawday moves from recomposition to focus on how the dissected body is broken down and shamed.

[64] Nunn, *Staging Anatomies*, does not focus on the sequence of illustrations, but she notes that even in the two illustrations of the most broken down bodies, one hanging and the other propped against a wall, the fact that the feet of the carcasses struggle against the ground to support the weight of the body and that they continue to hold their arms way from the torso depicts a continued animation (71).

[65] Vesalius, *Fabrica*, II. "Preface." 169, v.1, 334. The full quotation on the various combinations is: "All the figures go together so that one which represents the anterior can be followed by another which shows the posterior. Thus it is possible for the ninth to follow the third, then the fourth, the tenth, the fifth, the eleventh, the sixth, the twelfth, the seventh, the thirteenth, and after it the eighth and the fourteenth. You would therefore do well to examine these muscle figures both ways to see what each sequence best illustrates" (II. Chapter preface. 169 or v.1, 334).

[66] Several scholars have noted this, including O'Malley in his biography, but for example, see Antoniu, "Fugitives in Sight," 5.

[67] Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, points out that as the human body in the Renaissance was embellished through art and poetry, it was also hacked to pieces by blazon (ix, 192).

[69] The text of Valverde's book is in Spanish, but it was published in Rome and he studied with Realdo Colombo who succeeded Vesalius in his post at the University of Padua. Therefore, Valverde's anatomical text may be in Spanish, but its matter is Italian. For this brief biography, see Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, 134.

[70] Opinion on this varied, of course. Aquinas pointed out that God could make the body of Peter from the dust of Paul in resurrection. Others tended to emphasize the importance of the previous body as necessary material for the resurrected body. The common factor, however, is the shared belief in resurrection as resulting in new physical bodies made from earthly elements.

[71] Nunn, *Staging Anatomies*, notes that the English "perceived the flesh as carrying echoes of its former inhabitant . . . Thus, though the legal system admitted no

extension of judicial torture in granting a criminal's body to the Barber-Surgeons or Physicians for dissection popular beliefs continued to attribute a degree of volition to the corpse even as the anatomist stripped away its tissue" (65).

[72] The comparison of parts of the body to armor is also frequent in Henri de Mondeville's treatise on surgery, as Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, points out (108). Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration*, states that "modern critics have been particularly irritated by the illustration of the abdominal situs encased in a coat of mail" (124). He notes that this fits in a Manneristic style of painting and art. Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, point out that this is a Roman conceit (214).

[73] Feather, *Writing Combat and the Self*, 42.

[74] Ibid., 25-27.

[75] Coincidentally, Vesalius's next post was entering the Royal Service as Emperor Charles' personal physician where he accompanied the Emperor to the battle front.

[76] Antoniu, "Fugitives in Sight," explains that Erwin Panofsky made the connection between the section plate of the muscle-man in profile and the historical figure who was depicted in a painting by Titian (16).

[77] Marino, "Art and Medicine," details further connections between art and anatomy in fifteenth-century Italy, pointing out that artists would study anatomy and the works of Mondino de' Liuzzi from the early fourteenth century to overcome medieval traditions (171-175).

[78] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance*, 96.

[79] Ibid., 97. While she states that the influence of Leonardo on anatomical illustration should not be overstated since the drawings remained in private notebooks, she does state that "trends in fifteenth-century art may have contributed to the subsequent development of improved techniques of anatomical illustration and also helped to create a new climate of visual attentiveness to the skeletal and surface anatomy of the human body" (97). She does not, however, consider the relationship between art and anatomical illustration further, particularly in regard to the resonance between the posture of anatomical figures in Vesalius and artistic poses. For more on the anatomical studies of Leonardo, see Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 68-109.

[80] See Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions*, for a thorough treatment of his theory of the passions and their expression in painting.

[81] Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, quotes Alberti who says that painters should show the movements of the soul, or affections, in movements of the body (60). For more on Alberti and anatomy, see Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, 28-32.

[82] Filipczak, "Poses and Passions," 71-72.

[83] Spicer, "The Renaissance Elbow," 86, 95.

[84] Filipczak, "Poses and Passions," 72-73. Filipczak draws on several comportment books to support this point.

[85] Ibid., 72-73.

[86] Ibid., 79.

[87] See above references to Sawday, Traub, Nunn, and Stephens.

[88] Sugg, *Murder after Death*, notes that Crooke's *Microcosmographia* caused an ongoing scandal because of his description of the genitalia and sexual organs of the female body. John King, the bishop of London, objected to the Royal College of Physicians about the publication of Crooke's book. Crooke's response was that in public dissections the body of either sex was cut up and explained in the vernacular (112-13).

[89] This is what Alberti and other early modern writers called ornate. Ornateness was not merely surface decoration, as Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, explains. Instead, the term comes from the Classical period, specifically Quintilian's *Education of an Orator* and has the qualities of piquancy, polish, richness, liveliness, charm, and finish. It is also usually reserved for men (131-32).

[90] Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 115.

[91] Filipczak, "Poses and Passions," 80.

[92] Kemp, "Temples of the Body," writes that "these gesturing figures in their continuous landscape act out a grand drama, gesturing like Old Testament prophets or collapsing in martyr-like death" (54). While Kemp does not specifically connect rhetorical poses to the illustrations, he does emphasize the affective impact of the illustrations.

[93] Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, 144.

[94] Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 61. Baxandall identifies this posture as associated with melancholy but does not discuss this particular image.

[95] Roberts and Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body*, 146

[96] The link between an object and mental image has been discussed since the Classical period, as Franklin, “Diagrammatic Reasoning,” points out. From Aristotle, who said that thinking requires an image, to the scholastics, who had a theory of the inward wits that involved five internal faculties, Franklin notes the history of the mental image is long (86-87). Hence, the assertion that illustration and dense description invoke a mental image of the material thing fits in a long tradition, so it is natural to extend this tradition to include a focus on embodiment and on the link between the mental image and the material thing as inseparable from the representation.

[97] Vesalius, *Fabrica*, “Preface” 4recto, v.1.8.

[98] See Hall, “The Didactic,” who poses the question, “cannot pictures acquire authority through their power to convince?” (29). He focuses on the way early modern scientific illustrations acquire authority, though he does not consider medical illustrations.

[99] Kemp, “Temples of the Body,” says that Vesalius and many of his successors have a “rhetoric of reality” that uses “uncompromising naturalism” in the visual references to the act and tools of dissection “accompanied by texts or captions that emphasized the concrete situations and procedures by which the representations were generated” (43). In another chapter, “Vision and Visualization,” Kemp notes that anatomy is a descriptive science, which means that “anatomical illustration lends itself to sequential, step-by-step exposition in which the visual presentation acts as a surrogate for the eye-witness experience or as a visual summation of many eye-witness experiences” (19). While Kemp’s focus is not on the rhetorical effect of embodying that I suggest and will explore more in later chapters, I draw upon his point about how realistic illustration has a rhetorical effect and his point that anatomical illustration stands in for experience, bringing a material event before the eyes, so to speak, of the reader or viewer.

[100] Sidney, *Defense of Poesy*, l. 154. Sidney’s emphasis on the imagination in this essay depends on the ability of the poet to create mental images, and as Franklin, “Diagrammatic Reasoning,” points out, this is a literalization of the imagination (89).

[101] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, states that there is an interpretive dialogue between the corporeal and the linguistic that constitutes the meanings of the body (119). Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, links the surgeon or the dissector with the artist since both peer into the body-interior or past the surface. In other words, both, he says, have “a privileged gaze” (12). He also notes that in the poetry of Spenser, Donne, Herbert, and others, the body’s corporeality is of the highest significance (86).

[102] Singer, "Historical Essay," says that the order of Mondino's text is more like the order of a dissection. After the opening on the nature and purpose of the human, he starts with digestion and the related parts as well as the alimentary canal, spleen, and liver; then he discusses the generative organs (in the same place where Spenser does not address them); and then the thorax and its contents, principally heart and lungs; and then the parts of the head (21-G). Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, points out that this was the standard order because of the rate of decay of the body, and this order was adopted by the publisher of Vesalius's text in English in 1553 (132 and also 167-68).

[103] One of the few studies that connect the House of Alma episode to anatomy is Davis's "Mirroring, Anatomy, Transparency," but his treatment of the actual text is scanty, and his argument is that the body is "a mirror-like device whose purpose is the recapturing for recognition of attributively collective knowledge or experience" (85). While noting that Spenser's allegory is an anatomy in a "somewhat Vesalian meaning of a precise, painstaking examination and exposition of bodily forms or processes in their functional interconnectedness," (88), his concern is with the relationship between individual experience and collective knowledge. This means that for Davis the frame of Temperance comes into view after the fighting of canto 11 instead of after the body as structure in canto 9 to show the connection between individual and collective morality (89-90). Sawday is also an obvious exception, though his argument is that both the culture of dissection and Spenser's allegory show how the individual is to be fashioned and surveyed. Many critics do reference anatomy passingly, but only a handful of sustained studies of anatomical influence in Spenser exist. See also a forthcoming article drawn from this chapter, Taylor, "The Body as Battleground."

[104] Silvette, *The Doctor on the Stage*, 1.

[105] Porter, "Introduction," 12.

[106] One of the earliest studies on Ariosto's influences on Spenser makes a loose association between Logistilla and Alma. See Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations," 151-204. Surprisingly, this is not a connection generally made in scholarship about Ariosto and Spenser, but as this chapter shows, that association is present.

[107] Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance*, points out that though small, Ferrara was "a center of intellectual influence in medicine during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century" (55). One of the important individuals in this period, who moved in literary and medical circles, as was common, was Michele Savonarola (d. after 1466), who graduated in arts and medicine at the University of Padua and then eventually became a professor of medicine at Ferrara and court physician to several rulers of the city, including several members of the Este family (69-70). Choulant, *History and Bibliography*, records that the famous physician and author of several anatomical texts written in the early sixteenth century Berengario da Carpi lived in Ferrara for much of the

last years of his life (about 1527-1530) and treated patients. He left a considerable amount of money to the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, whom Ariosto also served (136). Herrlinger, *History of Medical Illustration*, notes that Giovanni Battista Canano of Ferrara published a quarto volume with twenty-seven illustrations in 1541 and planned to do seven volumes on the muscles (85).

[108] Scholarship on Logistilla tends to focus on her representation of virtue in contradiction to her sister Alcina's representation of temptation, lust, violence, and generally unvirtuous behavior. See Kennedy, "Ariosto's Ironic Allegory," 50-66. For an overview of this position and connections between Alcina to earthly delights and Logistilla to spiritual ones, see Saccone, "Wood, Garden," 10-17.

[109] Vesalius describes the body as a microcosm and perfect thing to study: "the construction of the most perfect of all creatures, and take pleasure in considering the lodging place and instrument of the immortal soul—a domicile which, because it admirably resembles the universe in many of its names, was fitly called a microcosm by the ancients" ("Preface," folio 4verso, v.1.9).

[110] I am certainly not the first to comment on the significant of mirroring in the House of Logistilla. See, for example, Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art*, who explains that all body-castle allegories are mirrors, "for the man who looks at it from the outside and beholds himself. But Ariosto has reduced this physical analogy to the mirror itself. The gems of the walls are anthropomorphic in that they reflect the body and soul of the viewer" (161). What I build on from Barkan's analysis of this episode is his claim that for many early modern people "the concrete or in this case corporeal side of allegories has an absolute reality" (162). However, Barkan makes no connection to the martial body and does not consider the implications of self-recognition for the male, armored knights in a feminized body.

[111] Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art*, points out that the women are also the four cardinal virtues (161).

[112] For information on the long-standing tradition of comparing the body to buildings, see Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, 126-128 and 130-132. I will not provide an exhaustive list of scholars who have written about the House of Alma as allegory of the body, but see Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art*, (162-174), for an analysis that says Spenser's House of Alma is the culmination of the tradition of the body-castle and best example of "the simultaneous possibilities of the human body for unity and fragmentation" (163). See also Hamilton's note to II.ix.18, 238.

[113] Classen, *The Color of Angels,* writes about the hierarchy of the senses and the link to gender (1 and 66-8).

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[114] Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, notes that a common idea was that the senses were breaks in the wholeness of the body that let the outside world enter and through which the body cast out its substances and superfluities (149-50).

[115] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, states that this porosity means that "borders between blood, semen, other residues and food, between the organs of reproduction and other organs, between the heat of passion and the heat of life, were indistinct" (42). While he says that this would be unimaginable, even terrifying for a modern person, it was likely threatening for early modern persons, too.

[116] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 3.

[117] Schoenfeldt, "Fables of the Belly," 244.

[118] Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, 11.

[119] For this interpretation, see Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, 54-66.

[120] The use of the phrase one-sex model is complicated. What is meant is more a one-species model in which males and females are the same species but differ in development due to heat. Aristotle is more the origin of the one-sex model, which Laqueur points out, but there was not agreement on this issue. Hippocrates differed, as did many following in the Alexandrian tradition. I use the phrase because Laqueur does, though recognize its limitations.

[121] Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 8.

[122] Galen is the source of this position, as Laqueur, *Making Sex*, notes (28).

[123] Cadden, *Meanings of Sex*, directly rebuts Laqueur's argument about the "one sex" model throughout her book, but the main argument is that while evidence for this model exists, it was neither the only model accepted nor even always the dominant model in the Middle Ages (3).

[124] Park, *Secrets of Women*, summarizes her response to Laqueur (which she has made in several publications): "Although much has been made of such expressions of the homology of the male and female genitals, they should not be taken as evidence of a 'one-sex' model of the human body that supposedly characterized the period from Galen through the eighteenth century, as argued most famously by Thomas Laqueur. Anatomists' commitment to this homology correlates strongly with their interest in *on the Use of Parts*, the work in which Galen described it; as I have already mentioned, this text had relatively little circulation in Latin Europe before the late fifteenth century and was not published until 1528. For this reason, references to the homology appear most clearly

in the works of Renaissance anatomists such as Zerbi, Berengario, and, later, Vesalius, who had direct access to this work. But these two generations of anatomists do not exhaust the fourteen hundred years that separated Galen from his sixteenth-century followers. References to the homology between the male and female genitals were conspicuously absent from medieval anatomical texts and images before the thirteenth century, when they began infrequently to appear as a result of the influence of Avicenna's *Canon*. However, the vast majority of medieval medical writers on anatomy (including Mondino) who had never read *On the Use of Parts* and relied instead on its abbreviated version, *On the Uses of the Members*, supplemented by *On Interior Things*, made little or no mentioned of the homology. As Mondino put it in his *Anatomy*, 'the members of generation of men and women are similar in some respects and different in others'—the most crucial difference being the inability of the female testicles to produce real seed. And although the idea of genital homology enjoyed a real vogue in learned medicine in the first half of the sixteenth century—a vogue that persisted considerably longer in vernacular sources—it soon came under attack by anatomists and learned physicians" (186-87).

[125] Numerous scholars include this anecdote. For example Finucci, *The Manly Masquerade*, 6, and Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 7, 126-27.

[126] Pouchelle, *The Body and Surgery*, 136.

[127] Much has, of course, been made of this omission, but Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, states that scholars who focus on that omission are imposing "our own sense of the primacy of the genitals" (62). Instead, he says that alimentation is more important for Spenser. Other scholars, especially those working from a psychoanalytic or Derridean framework, have dwelt on this absence and instead point to other possibilities. This article's conclusions are more in line with this approach. For examples, see Miller, "Spenser's Poetics," 170-85, and Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories."

[128] Qtd. in Finucci, *The Manly Masquerade,* 129-30.

[129] While Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art*, includes none of the gendered analysis I do in this paragraph, he also points out that this stanza shows that "the negative possibilities are always tied directly to the idealization itself" (164). By this he means that Spenser shows the body not as something intrinsically good or whole but as something that contains within itself "powers both to submit and to conquer" (164). While he does not specifically connect the idea of the ideal and debased, Alma and Maleger's crew, being bound together to bodily porosity, this is a logical conclusion of the argument and one that my own analysis makes explicit.

[130] Up until the later twentieth century, most criticism on the stanza treated it as a numerical puzzle to be unlocked, relating it to the quadrivium, early modern numerology,

music, and philosophy or ethics. For examples of these approaches, see: Brooks-Davies, *Spenser's Faerie Queene*; Jordan, "*The Faerie Queene*," 436-40; Fowler, *Spenser and the Numbers*; Hageman, "Alma, Belphoebe, Maleger," 225-6; Heninger, Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony*; Leath, "Spenser's Castle of Alma," 456-57; and Sadowski "Spenser's 'golden squire,'" 107-31.

[131] See Hamilton's footnote to stanza 22.

[132] Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, makes similar points about this problematic alignment, though he does not consider the implications of this ambiguous gendering (57).

[133] Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, makes the same point (165).

[134] Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art,* states that Alma becomes a mirror for the two knights. His analysis also notes that Arthur's bodily reaction to recognizing himself or his essential quality. However, Barkan's point is that this recognition is the realization of the individual that the body is a multiple container like the House of Alma demonstrates. This supports his overall argument about the human as microcosm containing conflicting impulses and desires (171-72). Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned,* also points out that Guyon and Arthur come "face-to-face with simulacra of themselves . . . Their own social identities are to be displayed within a mirror of themselves" (164).

[135] Scholars of ambiguous gendering in Spenser have often focused on hermaphroditism, and while I find this work interesting, I am intentionally not moving from ambiguous gender to hermaphroditism because the persuasive power and appeal of the martial body, I argue, is its liminality, which enables women and untypical men to access a space normally reserved only for a particular kind of aristocratic male. I also avoid making the jump to hermaphroditism because of the medical controversy around this term in the early modern period. Since it was recognized as a real medical condition, it became a way of policing female sexuality in particular. A few cases exist where diagnosed hermaphroditism offered a reprieve from death due to the charge of sodomy. One such case is that of Marie le Marcis, who in 1601 was condemned to death for sodomy with a female lover. Her defense was that she had a hidden penis, which was confirmed by a physician named Jacques Duval. After this, Marie was acquitted and became Marin who lived as a bearded male tailor. The case was attacked by Jean Riolan, a professor of anatomy at the University of Paris, but this and a few other cases speak to the medical and legal controversy tied up with hermaphroditis. For this case and more on the connection between hermaphroditism and policing female sexuality, see Park, "The Rediscovery of the Clitoris," (179) for the case.

[136] For a good overview of scholarship on this episode, often read as a representation of the poem as a whole, and for an argument about how this episode is a

celebration of the power of poetry to be both useful and entertaining, see Carthy, "Ariosto the Lunar," 71-82.

[137] Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art*, 48. The macro-microcosm analogy was also a prominent feature in anatomical texts, as French, *Dissection and Vivisection*, notes (130). Drawing on Panofsky, Schultz, *Art and Anatomy*, notes that the use of human body parts as units of measure for distance and architecture is part of the idea of the human as microcosm (41-42).

[138] Sutton, "Body, Mind, and Order," 135.

[139] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* book III. 95-130.

[140] The incident is recounted in XIII.415-17 of the *Metamorphoses*. For Cooper, "Dictionarium Historicum Poeticum."

[141] For an early connection between early modern psychology and the spatial organization of Alma's brain, see Boughner, "The Psychology of Memory," 89-96. Other common approaches include linking this section to the process of rationalization and prudence. See Anderson, "Prudence and her Silence," 29-46; Black, "Prudence in Book II," 65-88; Cooney, "Guyon and his Palmer," 169-92; Mills, "Prudence, History, and the Prince," 83-101; and Reid, "Alma's Castle," 512-27.

[142] Singer, "Historical Essay," explains that Mondino's *Anathomia* presented the brain as divided into three vesicles or ventricles, locating imagination or fantasy in the middle vesicle and memory in the farthest ventricle (21-I).

[143] Sutton, "Body, Mind, and Order," 135.

[144] Hamilton note to stanza 54 pg. 245.

[145] Vesalius, *Fabrica*, I.6. 26, v. 1.57.

[146] Other scholars have also examined Maleger's monstrous nature. See, for example, Campana, "Boy Toys and Liquid Joys," 465-96. See also, Wofford, "Spenser's Giants."

[147] Spenser, "A Letter of the Authors," l. 8.

[148] See, for example, Anderson, "Body of Death."

[149] See, for example, Nohrnberg, *The Analogy*.

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[150] For an analysis of this stalemate as emblematic of Spenser's meditation on paralysis, see Oram, "Spenserian Paralysis," 49-70.

[151] Spicci, "'After an Unwonted Manner,'" makes a similar point about the link between anatomy and reformulation as a rhetorical strategy: "The anatomical body offers itself spontaneously to being rewritten and reformulated through a rhetorical strategy that exploits the method, the complex system of figurative associations and the intertextual discursive references of anatomy" (58). While I found this approach helpful, Spicci does not make an argument about how the illustrations visually act out this rhetorical reformulation, nor does he connect this anatomical method to anything that could fall under the category of the martial.

[152] Albott, *Wits Theatre*, 83.

Chapter Two

Naked

Figure 11. An écorché holding skin by Juan Valverde de Amusco in *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo umano* (Rome, 1560), Book II Table 1. Reproduced by permission of the Wangensteen Historical Library of Biology and Medicine, University of Minnesota.

While most of the illustrations for Juan Valverde de Amusco's *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* (*History of the Composition of the Human Body*) come

directly from Vesalius's *Fabrica*, four are original. The anatomy of chest and abdomen imposed on an *arma all'antica* cuirass discussed in the previous chapter is one example of the original copperplates, as is the anatomy of the abdomen with the skin peeled back and held in the teeth of the anatomized body. This écorché—a French term that translates as skinned and refers to anatomical illustrations depicted entirely or largely without the skin—invokes Vesalius's musclemen in posture and martial atmosphere. The elbow akimbo and fully exposed body posture are not exactly the same as Titian's general given new life in Vesalius's musclemen, but the posture is again distinctly masculine. The inclusion of the dagger rather than an anatomist's scalpel furthers the illustration's connection to the martial sphere. The dagger resembles the design of the *cinquedea* (five fingers), a popular short sword/long dagger in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The guard curves downward instead of upward like the traditional *cinquedea*, and the tip is sharper than the *cinquedea*'s more rounded shape, but like the *cinquedea*, this dagger is a thrusting weapon meant for combat rather than the careful process of dissection. Besides reaffirming the link between anatomical illustration and the martial body, this écorché also affirms a link between the flayed body and the intact skin it holds.

The story of Marsyas, the satyr who challenges Apollo to a music competition and then is flayed alive when he loses, is an intertext—or rather interimage—with Valverde's illustration, and both Marsyas and Valverde's illustration declare the continuing link between the intact, empty skin and the flayed body. Marsyas is tied to a tree and his empty skin left nailed to the pine tree, but his skin lives on in a cave that is the origin of the river Marsyas. The Phyrigians saw it as a sign of resurrection.[1] Later paintings and

drawings of Marsyas, a favorite subject in Renaissance painting,[2] often depict his skin intact either in the process of removal or fully removed. These representations often render the skin as retaining recognizable facial features and hair. Interestingly, Marsyas's name derives etymologically from the Greek word *marnamai*, which means battler.[3]

In addition to this mythic connection, Valverde's skin echoes Michelangelo's fresco *The Last Judgment* (1534-1541) in which the resurrected St. Bartholomew shows his skin as proof of martyrdom. Scholars have shown that Michelangelo portrayed himself in the martyr's flayed skin, making this Michelangelo's only self-portrait.[4] Rather than emptying the skin of a connection to the body and selfhood, Michelangelo invests it with an excess of identity, linking it to both St. Bartholomew and himself.

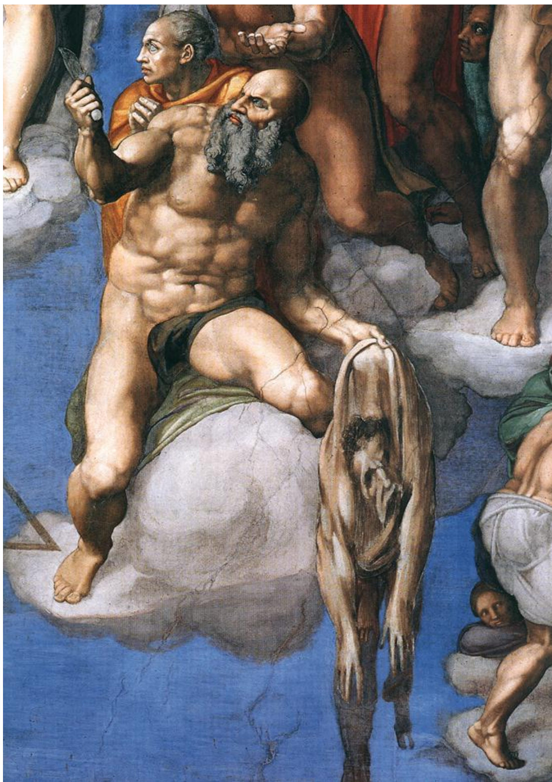

Figure 12. Michelangelo. Self-portrait. Last Judgment. Sistine Chapel.

St. Bartholomew was flayed alive for converting a king's brother to Christianity, and he is the patron saint of bookmakers, a fitting connection for Valverde's illustration found on the page of a book.[5]

These three stories and illustrations share several factors in common. First, there is a strong martial presence in the form of the thrusting dagger, the meaning of Marsyas' name, and the inherent violence of flaying as a punishment. Next, all circulate as textual stories and illustrations that affirm a link between skin and text, making skin a textual surface with a "writerly effect."[6] Third, all affirm a continued link between skin and body, suggesting that flaying, like dissection, is a regenerative process. Valverde's écorché, Marsyas' afterlife in art and literature,[7] and St. Bartholomew's resurrection dependent upon his skin as evidence all reaffirm identity even as the constitutive features of that identity evolve. This regenerative process parallels the reconstitutive processes of dissection and the operation of the porous body explored in chapter one.

The constellation of these factors largely contradicts the ways that modern theorists have interpreted skin and flaying. Benthien's work on flaying, which refers to all three of these cases among others, concludes that "the act of flaying deprives the victims of their identity along with their lives; in extinguishing the skin, it obliterates the person."[8] This position comes largely from her project of tracking what she sees as two levels of meaning for skin: it is either an external protective covering that encloses but is not the self, or skin is the subject with the skin standing metonymically for the whole person.[9] What her very interesting analysis misses, however, is that for the late medieval and early modern period the bifurcation of skin and body does not leave only two options

where skin either is or is not the person. Instead, skin and hair are extensions of humors and part of Galen's seven naturals, so they are made of the same things as the rest of the body.[10] However, as the last chapter notes, bodies are not discreet but rather intermingled, so the skin and hair are constituted of and by the influences of external factors even as they also exert rhetorical and persuasive effect, making skin and hair highly charged communicative surfaces.[11]

This chapter draws on skin and hair in Italian and English epic romances—Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato,* Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*—to argue that the martial body as a figure enables exercise of transgressive power by normalizing the surface of the body. Skin is a textual surface in that it both is inscribed by the outside world and influences the external, infusing skin with the rhetorical effect of a persuasive text. In this way the figure of the martial body is porous, as is the skin of the reader/viewer. Skin, then, is both surface and depth, a claim that reflects both modern scientific knowledge that in embryos the brain develops from the same material as the skin, making thought an affair of the skin,[12] as well as early modern medical practices that read skin to determine health or illness.[13] Thus, social norms about hair and skin appearance depend upon regulating the communicative effect of skin's color and appearance and hair's color, style, length, and presence or absence. Complying with social norms for hair and skin enables transgressive martial bodies to communicate broader social acceptability even while particular actions belie that categorization. Consequently, martial bodies utilize the logic of exceptionalism to justify or obscure transgressive behavior, and when their actions or appearance lay

bare the logic of exceptionalism by which they operate, their excess threatens the social order. This makes skin and hair a textual surface that sutures the reader or viewer to the martial body. These encounters mimic the flaying of Valverde's écorché, Marsyas, and St. Bartholomew in serving as regenerative encounters that maintain the link between skin, body, and identity while also constantly shifting the relations between these terms.

Hair

For both men and women in the epic romances, hair plays an important part in constructing the surface of the martial body. This is due in part to understandings about the purpose and functionality of hair. In Helkiah Crooke's 1615 anatomical textbook *Microcosmographia*, he records what had been standard knowledge for at least several centuries: "The Haires are a velature or couering for the more vncomely parts, a defence for the head, which we may encrease or diminish, keepe on or leaue off at our pleasure and for our necessity, an ornament for the face, and finally a conuenient outlet and way of expence for the thicke and smoaky vapors, which otherwise would smother and choake the Braine."[14] Hair as an ornament features prominently in discourses about women's hair practices, and the protective or defensive functions of hair range from providing a layer of cushioning to its ability to protect the wearer from particular social judgments attached to different kinds of hair appearance. Lastly, the connection between mental and bodily health and hair makes explicit a connection between hair and madness that appears often in literature wherein a lovesick man goes insane and subsequently grows long, wild, bushy hair. All of these associations feature prominently in both the interpretation of hair in general and hair on martial bodies in epic romance.

For the most part hair practices conform to idealized social expectations of beauty. While women in romances cover their hair much less frequently than actual fifteenth-sixteenth century women, the compliance with hair practices that distinctly mark a body as feminine by virtue of hair length does open up the transgressive potential available through hair modification.[15] The nearly continuous maintenance of ideal feminine beauty standards for hair enables martial women to communicate their femininity while also transgressing standards for behavior and comportment. The fetishization of loose blond hair contributes to the logic of exceptionalism that justifies the transgressive behavior of martial women. However, Bradamante's cut hair, wild men with long hair, and beards being shaved or pulled identify test cases in which display does not match expected gendered body characteristics. These cases lay bare the logic of exceptionalism even as they make clear that access to the martial sphere is something that can be changed like hair can be cut or grown long. The modification of hair challenges assumptions about the fixity of identity, gender, or status. In so doing, these diverse hair practices reinforce the reconstituting potential bound up in the martial body.

By far blond is the most frequently referenced hair color in the epic romances of Spenser, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso. Whether described as golden, honey colored, or some other variation, the prevalence of blond hair in these epic romances fits into broader late medieval and early modern literary and artistic practices.[16] As Christine de Pisan observed in 1404, "there is nothing in the world lovelier on a woman's head than beautiful blond hair."[17] Christine's specification that blond hair is particularly lovely for women partly explains the proliferation of female characters described with golden hair.

However, several male characters also have golden curls adorning their heads, and they, like the women with blond hair, are associated with beauty and desirability. Why all these blond characters? In her study of medieval French literature, Rolland-Perrin suggests that brown hair, for example, is less prevalently described because brown is a more common color so that variations of blond stand out as exceptionally beautiful.[18] Other scholars and popular culture connect blond hair to sexuality and desirability,[19] but as Milliken demonstrates in her study of hair in medieval art and literature, there are and were conflicting associations with blond hair. Flowing blond locks adorn holy women as well as prostitutes and "bad" women in art.[20]

In *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*, psychoanalyst Charles Berg asserts that a focus on head hair is displaced concern with the genitals and pubic hair.[21] While his thesis has been debated by several anthropologists and historians,[22] hair's connection to sexuality remains strong even in accounts of hair symbolism that include nonsexualized practices. An underlying sexual resonance occurs in these epic romances as well where the female characters with blond hair include almost all of the warrior women, the sexually active or tempting "bad" women, and young women portrayed positively or at least neutrally in terms of their moral status. The fetishization of blond hair results in a paradoxical state in which golden hair is simultaneously angelic, pure, and holy as well as seductive, tempting, and shameful. For the female martial body, the emphasis upon idealized beauty as represented by blond hair continually threatens to uncover the potential transgressiveness of her comportment because of the paradoxical state of blond hair as both good and bad. Under this blond cloak of hair, female martial bodies and

"good" female characters authorize their behavior through the persuasive effect of their beautiful hair even while the alluring blond hair of the "bad" women threatens to reveal the logic of exceptionalism that depends upon the positive persuasive effect of blondness while the negative resonances remain.

I place the labels "good" and "bad" in quotation marks because the categories implied by this binary depend upon conflicting expectations of behavior and appearance and also because this categorization of women largely comes from judgment about their sexuality. The texts themselves, however, reveal the instability of these categories. For example, Boiardo's Fiordelisa who becomes Ariosto's Fiordeligi has sex with her lover (eventually husband), is abducted, and travels alone and also with men. All of these actions would be classified as markers of a "bad" or loose woman in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, yet she is repeatedly described as good, loyal, and a model for women, particularly when she dies out of sorrow when her lover Bradamante is killed. This kind of contradiction extends, in different ways, to all prominent female characters in the epic romances. However, the basic categories remain understandable and useful as a tool for escaping the label of "bad" through a manipulation of the characteristics, values, and appearances associated with these categories. Hence, while the behavior of the warrior women transgresses the contemporary category of "good" woman, some warrior women escape this negative label because of their association with characteristics positively associated with goodness. Blond hair is one way of manipulating these categories to escape condemnation.

For women like Fiordeligi whose actions would be criticized in one context but whose overall status remains positive, blond hair persuades in their favor. When Florimell bursts onto the scene in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* she does so dramatically and in a suffusion of gold:

> Her garments all were wrought of beaten gold,
> And all her steed with tinsell trappings shone . . .
> And her faire yellow locks behind her flew,
> Loosely disperst with puff of euery blast:
> All as a blazing starre doth farre outcast
> His hearie beames, and flaming lockes dispredd (III.i.15.6-7 and 16.3-6).

While the other color emphasized—white or crystal—will be considered in relation to skin later, the repeated emphasis upon gold and yellow suffuses the scene. The visibility of the color both in terms of beaten gold's refractive capacity and in relation to the movement of a comet turns the fleeing Florimell into a yellow blur due to the effect of her clothes, hair, and horse's trappings.[23] She ceases to be a terrified woman and collapses solely into the color of her hair writ large. In this case, that color inspires sexual desire in the pursuing forester as well as in Guyon and Arthur who chase after her and Timias who chases after the forester, which basically means also chasing after Florimell.

The color of Florimell's hair as a chief part of her unmatched beauty appears later in the scene when a witch makes a counterfeit Florimell to satisfy her son after Florimell leaves: "In stead of yellow lockes she did deuyse, / With golden wyre to weaue her curled head, / Yet golden wyre was not so yellow thryse / As *Florimells* fayre head" (III.viii.7.5-

8). The material connection between human hair and gold metal again appears, deepening the association between blond hair and a valuable object.[24] False Florimell becomes that material object of exchange as she changes hands from one male owner to another until exposed as false later in the romance. The actual Florimell continues her pattern of celestial flight until she ends up entombed under the sea by the god Proteus, a comet sinking into the horizon. Florimell ends up with Marinell, whom she has loved for quite some time, but even when they are united after much turmoil for both of them, she is careful to monitor her outward signs in ways that Marinell does not because of "modestie, / For feare she shold of lightnesse be detected" (IV.xii.35.7-8). The contrast between the two equally beautiful, equally blond Florimells epitomizes the paradox of blondness as simultaneously a marker of sexuality and modesty.

Other blond female characters like Spenser's Amoret,[25] Boiardo and Ariosto's Angelica,[26] Ariosto's Olimpia,[27] and Tasso's Erminia[28] struggle with the same type of contradictory messages of blond hair, but they, like Florimell, end their stories in marriage or an honorable death to seal their categorization of "good." Similarly, the warrior women considered good—Spenser's Belphoebe and Britomart, Ariosto and Boiardo's Bradamante and Marfisa, and to a lesser extent Tasso's Clorinda—all have blond hair dramatically revealed at precisely a moment in which their male-gendered performance of fighting conflicts with their long blond hair's announcement of their female sex. Belphoebe is hunting, a typically masculine activity but one women did at times participate in,[29] when we first encounter her as the object of the male gaze of

Trompart in Book II. Her blazon lasts several stanzas and is capped by a description of her hair:

> Her yellow lockes crisped, like golden wyre,
>
> About her shoulder weren loosely shed,
>
> And when the winde emongst them did inspire,
>
> They waued like a pennon wyde dispred
>
> And low behinde her backe were scattered:
>
> And whether art it were, or heedelesse hap,
>
> As through the flouring forrest rash she feld,
>
> In her rude heares sweet flowers themselues did lap,
>
> And flourishing fresh leaues and blossomes did enwrap (II.iii.30).

Like Florimell, her hair suggests valuable golden wire, and also like Florimell, her blond hair streams away from her body, though hers is less like a comet and more like a pennon—traditionally a flag attached to a lance or helmet as an ensign for a knight or company. This subtle concatenation of Belphoebe's hair with martial trappings is fully realized in the next stanza that makes explicit her link to Diana and the Amazons. Belphoebe differs from the other warrior women in these epic romances, though she shares the most in common with Marfisa. Nonetheless the common trope of gold for her yellow hair and her masculine activity of hunting—a close analog for archery as a critical military strategy since the Battle of Agincourt in 1415—connect her to her more overtly martial sisters. Her hair is loose and decorated only with flowers rather than coiled in

elaborate braids or adorned with jewels or fake hair pieces, as was the practice of upperclass women in the late sixteenth century.[30]

Similarly, the moments of revelation for Britomart, Bradamante, Marfisa, and Clorinda occur in a martial setting and depend on the display of naturalized blond hair. Ariosto's Marfisa removes her helmet after helping Ruggiero, Richardetto, and his cousin Aldigiero defeat some attacking Saracens and Maganzas (the clan identified as enemies of the Este family for whom Ariosto worked and wrote). Marfisa impresses Ruggiero—Bradamante's future husband and her own twin brother, though unknown to them both at this point—with her prowess in battle. She had joined them shortly before this battle and they "willingly accepted her in their cadre" [l'accettar volentier ne la lor schiera] because they "certainly believed it was a knight and not a damsel, not the person that she was" [ch'esser credeano certo un cavalliero, / e non donzella, e non quella ch'ella era] (xxvi.9.2-4). After the combat they remove their helmets and "all see how it was a damsel who gave them help" [tutti vider come / avea lor dato aiuto una donzella] (xxvi.28.1-2). Her blond hair is a key marker of this femininity in the midst of the masculine-gendered behavior of combat: "it was known by the golden curly hair and by the delicate and beautiful face" [fu conosciuta all'auree crespe chiome / et alla faccia delicata e bella] (xxvi.28.3-4). Having established the men's belief in both her masculinity and status as a knight, this moment of revelation demands a reorientation of the assumptions of gendered performance. The fixity of gender in the early modern period means that this disorientation—we might call it dysphoria—requires a radical reorientation of what it means to be a woman.[31]

Her companions seemingly adjust to the fact that Marfisa is both a knight or warrior and a woman, but it is immediately after this revelation that Marfisa dons a dress for the only time in either Boiardo or Ariosto's romance: "At the prayers of her companions, Marfisa has dressed in women's clothes and ornaments" [Marfisa a' prieghi de' compagni avea / veste da donna et ornamenti presi] (xxvi.69.1-2). At the end of the stanza it again emphasizes that this unusual behavior is at the request of her companions: "and like a woman, at their request she let herself be seen in a dress" [e come donna, / a' prieghi lor lasciò vedersi in gonna] (xxvi.69.8). My translation is overly literal; a more poetic translation, like that of Guido Waldman, would be "let herself be dressed as a woman as she had been asked."[32] However, I literalize "prieghi" as prayers rather than the less forceful request and emphasize how Marfisa's wearing a dress is very much both to emphasize her femininity and her willingness to accede to male demands about her appearing "like a woman." While the immediate revelation of her female sex seems to be received well, this incident reveals underlying anxiety about her gender nonconformity, and their prayers induce her to temporarily conform her sex with her gender performance. This conformity places her immediately at risk when another wandering knight, Mandricardo, sees her and wants to capture and give her to another knight, Rodomonte, in exchange for taking Rodomonte's lady. Mandricardo defeats the other three knights and tries to claim Marfisa, but she has other ideas: "Your opinion is very much in error. I concede to you that you would speak truthfully that I would be yours by the custom of war when my lord or champion was one of these knights you have thrown to earth. I am not his, nor none of these others are mine: Therefore whoever wants me must take me" [Il

tuo parer molto erra. / Io ti concedo che diresti il vero / ch'io sarei tua per la ragion di guerra, / quando mio signor fosse o cavalliero / alcun di questi c'hai gittato in terra. / Io sua non son, né d'altri son che mia: / dunque me tolga a me chi mi desia.] (xxvi.79.2-8). While acknowledging women as objects of exchange under the normal chivalric code, Marfisa rejects the idea that this applies to her because her gender performance is masculine even if her appearance, beautiful blond hair and all, is feminine.[33] In her forceful rejection of being owned by others ("I am not his"), she also distances herself from claims on others. Waldman translates this line as "I belong to nobody, only to myself,"[34] and while this emphasizes Marfisa's self-possession, it also elides the fact that she makes no claim to ownership of others. In this way, this martial woman excepts herself from the normal system of exchange that other women and these men fighting over her participate in.

She calls for her arms and warhorse, pulls off the dress, and becomes a man in all parts of her body except her face: "and the beautiful features and well-arranged body showed, in each of her parts outside of the face, the resemblance of Mars" [e le belle fattezze e il ben disposto / corpo mostrò, ch'in ciascuna sua parte / fuor che nel viso, assimigliava a Marte] (xxvi.80.6-8). While it does not specifically say that her hair remains female while the rest of her body becomes like Mars, the epitome of masculinity, the association of the face with the hair and the previous emphasis on her beautiful blond hair suggests that the lingering feminizing effect of her blond hair keeps this part of her female. This episode exhibits the anxiety underlying moments of revelation in which gender performance does not match sex, and it also indicates the riskiness of this

disconnection for martial women. Marfisa defeats Mandricardo and remains her own person throughout the romance, but similar revelatory moments for Britomart, Bradamante, and Clorinda result in immediate bodily damage.

Britomart, Bradamante, and Clorinda are all engaged in battle when the revelation of their female blond hair alerts viewers to their femininity, and these moments are accompanied by head wounds of varying severity. Britomart's is the least damaging. While dueling with her future husband and the object of her quest, Artegall, he hits her helmet and cuts away the ventail (the moveable front of the helmet, usually including the visor). This reveals her face, and then Spenser devotes an entire stanza to her now revealed hair:

> And round about the same, her yellow heare
> Hauing through stirring loosd their wonted band,
> Like to a golden border did appeare,
> Framed in goldsmithes forge with cunning hand:
> Yet goldsmithes cunning could not vnderstand
> To frame such subtile wire, so shinie cleare.
> For it did glister like the golden sand,
> The which *Pactolus* with his waters shere,
> Throwes forth vpon the riuage round about him nere (IV.vi.20.1-9).

The familiar connection between the valuable metal of exchange and blond hair reminds us of the capitalistic valence of these moments of revelation, but Spenser also evokes classical resonances by his reference to the river Pactolus known for golden gravel.[35]

Greek mythology attaches the river to Midas, whose touch turned anything to gold.[36] While this subtly reaffirms the commodification of blond hair, it also places blond hair in the classical imaginative space also populated by Amazons.

Combat stops as a result of this revelation of seemingly contradictory gender performance and sex. While Britomart is "full of wrath" (IV.vi.23.1) and continues to fight, Artegall stops, effectively ending the combat. In the revelatory moments of Bradamante and Clorinda, combat continues, and they are both wounded more seriously. Tasso's Clorinda, who fights with the Saracen forces to defend Jerusalem and is Muslim, similarly has her helmet damaged by one who loves her, the Christian crusader Tancredi. He slices her helmet laces "and it (the helmet) fell from her head and there in the middle of the battlefield appeared a young woman and her golden tresses scattered to the wind" [ei le balzò di testa; / E, le chiome dorate al vento sparse, / Giovane donna in mezzo 'l campo apparse] (iii.21.6-8). As soon as he recognizes her, he stops fighting and gets her to leave the battle for single combat, which he then refuses to participate in. They are in the midst of a battle between Christian and Saracen forces as part of Tasso's imagining of the storming of Jerusalem in 1099 as part of the First Crusade, so there are others fighting around them and one of these men strikes Clorinda. Tancredi blocks the blow but not completely so that "it struck near the white neck of that beautiful head. It was a glancing wound; and her blond mane was reddened by the shed drops" [ne'confini / Del bianco collo, il bel capo ferille. / Fu levissima piaga; e i biondi crini / Rosseggiaron cosi d'alquante stille] (3.30.1-4). Clorinda wraps her head up and keeps fighting, but the fact

that this moment of revelation results in a bloody wound reinforces the threat to martial women whose behavior does not fit expectations for women.

Boiardo's Bradamante willingly takes her helmet off to reveal herself to Ruggiero after the two of them have been walking for some time, and the first detail described is her hair: "Her helmet came off and her braids broke loose that were the color of bright gold" [Nel trar de l'elmo si sciolse la treccia, / Che era de color d'oro allo splendore] (III.v.41.1-2). Ruggiero is, of course, "overcome and stunned and he felt his heart tremble in his chest, which seemed to him like it was wounded by fire" [Rugier rimase vinto e sbigotito, / E sentissi tremare il core in petto, / Parendo a lui di foco esser ferito] (III.v.42.2-4). Bradamante's golden hair and beautiful face impress themselves on him physically in conformity with late medieval and early modern theories of vision that considered looking a penetrating force.[37] The persuasive effect of Bradamante's golden hair and face results in Ruggiero's bodily experience of trembling, speechlessness, and feeling faint.[38] Bradamante asks him to reveal his own face, but at that moment they are attacked. Before she can helm herself again, she is struck by an assailant who "gave her a gaping wound on top of her head" [E fece in cima al capo una gran piaga] (III.v.46.4). She wraps her head up, puts on a helmet, and gets her revenge. These encounters all have effects on the women's blond hair. While Clorinda's is stained red and Britomart's forcibly loosened from its bands, Bradamante has to have her hair cut for the wound to be treated. I will deal more with the significance of cutting female hair, but these wounds target the very part of the body that marks these martial women as women, and not as just

any women but as beautiful women. As such, these moments of revelation give shape to the anxiety around martial women's nonconforming performance of gender.

Numerous scholars connect wounds to sexuality[39] and scholars like Berg connect hair to sexuality,[40] and while a psychoanalytical reading of these wounds in relation to fear about female sexuality of warrior women is totally apt and one I am sympathetic to, I want to focus more on how golden hair recuperates (some) warrior women whose litigious behavior transgresses social codes of conduct. The fact that these women fit into idealized standards of beauty enables them to benefit from a kind of exceptionalism. At the same time, the risk involved in revelation of their hair threatens to make apparent this logic of exceptionalism, which would result in the condemnation of their behavior and their character, solidly placing them in the category of "bad" women. The fact that this does not happen depends largely on the responses of men who bear witness to these revelations. In three out of four cases, the men already love or immediately love the warrior woman, and in the other case, Marfisa must defend her choice to except herself from the custom of war. This betrays the vulnerability of exceptionalism as a justification for warrior women, which is probably why women actually wearing armor and engaging in combat were exceedingly rare—and why those who did, like Joan of Arc, often met unfortunate ends. Instead, these literary martial bodies depict the ways in which the occupation of masculine spaces requires a careful mediation of gender display and bodily performance so as to persuade others of their acceptability.

Hair plays a critical role in this rhetorically persuasive process, but given that other blond women do not escape censure in the same way as these women, it is clearly

not the only persuasive factor. Spenser's epic romance includes many beautiful blond women like Duessa in disguise in book I,[41] the naked girls in Acrasia's garden,[42] and False Florimell. Ariosto has Alcina, and Angelica's status was constantly debated by contemporaries.[43] Tasso's Armida is especially interesting: "under blond hair and seeming tenderness and wisdom, she hides a man's heart" [che sotto Biondi / Capelli, e fra si tencre sembianze, / Canuto senno e cor virile ascondi] (4.24.1-3). She is the inverse of the warrior women whose gender performance is masculine and body (sometimes or at least in some parts) female. Armida later tries to match her "man's heart" with male behavior. She comes to Emirem, the emperor and head of the Saracen forces and says she has come to fight. Even though she is a woman, she is "a royal woman . . . a queen" [regal donna . . . reina] (17.43.3-4), and this gives her the right to fight. Her argument that as a queen she is fit also to carry a sword and use it in battle draws upon the logic of exceptionalism used by Queen Elizabeth in her speech at Tilbury and by the warrior women previously discussed. However, once in battle and faced with Emirem's forces losing, she flees like Cleopatra (20.118.1-3). The comparison of Armida to Cleopatra calls to mind Cleopatra's relationships with Julius Caesar and Marc Antony and the association of Cleopatra with sexuality. Armida earlier gets men to leave Godfrey and fight for her by manipulating their desire for her. The expression of sexual desire, by Acrasia and Alcina, and Armida's use of it for her own purposes, triggers the negative connotations of blond hair so that these women are unable to use the logic of exceptionalism to justify their performances. By aligning the previously discussed martial women with chaste sexuality or, in the case of Marfisa, undisplayed sexuality,[44] these

warrior women are able to evade judgment in ways that other beautiful, transgressive women are not.

The link between desirability and blond hair is not limited to women. Ariosto says any should weep who "is the servant of two wandering eyes and a beautiful braid or head of hair" [che già sia fatto servo / di due vaghi occhi e d'una bella treccia] (XVI.3.1-2), but it isn't only men who prefer blonds. While the color of male hair is rarely stated unless the man is old or graying, when specified it is almost always blond, and in almost all of these cases of men or boys with golden hair, their blondness marks their desirability to women, particularly powerful women. Both Boiardo and Ariosto record Angelica's preference for blonds. In *Orlando innamorato* when Astolfo is quickly unhorsed jousting with her brother and is imprisoned in their tent, Angelica intervenes after staring at his face, which "is so fair and delicate" [era sì vago e delicate] (I.i.66.5). She has him put in a tent without a guard and enjoys looking at him: "In the light of the moon, Angelica admired him as much as could be seen" [Angelica nel lume della luna, / Quanto potea nascoso, lo amirava] (I.i.67.3-4). When it becomes fully dark, she put him in a curtained bed and, with her giants, "stood guard" [facea la guardia] (I.i.67.8) When Feragu later defeats her brother, which should render her Feragu's prize, she rejects him because she "wanted in any case a blond" [lei voleva ad ogni modo un biondo] (I.ii.11.2), and Feragu does not meet that standard: "a pointed head had the baron with curly hair as black as coal" [Il capo acuto aveva quel barone, / Tutto ricciuto e ner come un carbone] (I.ii.10.7-8). The contrast between Astolfo's fairness—likely blond based on Angelica's preference—and Feragu's darkness focuses primarily on hair color. The contrast between

Astolfo and Feragu also concerns martial skills. Astolfo is continually the butt of jokes and expected to fail, and even when he does great feats because of a magic lance, he is still considered as lacking in his masculinity. Angelica's treatment of him stages a role reversal in which he is the object of her gaze and desire and she is his protector, his "guard" during the night. Angelica's attraction to Astolfo adumbrates her eventual choice of sexual partner and husband, Medoro. Medoro has lovely fair skin and golden curls,[45] and when Zerbino grabs him by the hair to kill him, he stops and spares Medoro because of the beauty of his golden hair.[46] These same qualities attract Angelica to the wounded Medoro, and the two later consummate their love, marry, carve their names all over trees, return to her kingdom in the east, and presumably live happily ever after.

Another beautiful young blond is Ziliante in *Orlando innamorato*. He is beloved by and thrall of Fata Morgana. Her treatment of him is echoed in Acrasia's treatment of her young man in *The Faerie Queene*. Ziliante remains in Fata Morgana's power even when he wants to leave and is only later freed by Orlando. Fata Morgana's forelock, perhaps not coincidentally, is blond.[47] Orlando grabs her by the forelock to control her and eventually free Ziliante. While this can be read as effeminizing, the connection between beauty and blond hair also conveys benefits. Medoro is not killed and then falls in love with a beautiful, rich woman who has been pursued across Asia and Europe by countless powerful and hypermasculine men, and Astolfo receives better treatment as a prisoner and goes on to accomplish notable feats, including returning Orlando's wits. All of this suggests that blond hair is desirable in both men and women. This observation fits naturally in the Italian context where women would attempt to bleach their hair blond.

Classical sources also record the preference for blond hair in both men and women.[48] That preference certainly is at times sexual, but blond hair also becomes a persuasive tool that can enable martial women to escape censure or martial men—Astolfo is a knight and Medoro did fight for his previous lord—to secure better treatment or even mercy from an enemy. In this way, blond hair on the martial body contributes to the logic of exceptionalism that enables martial bodies to transgress codes of behavior.

Matters of hair go beyond color to include style and length, important considerations for both men and women in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The intricacies of hair length and style apply much more rigidly to real people, but even in the space of these epic romances, hair styling and display reflects standards for policing gendered behavior. The mid-seventeenth century *The Loathsomnesse of Long Haire* by Thomas Hall, a Presbyterian preacher, sets forth longstanding, conservative views about hair practices for men—on whom long hair is loathsome—and women, about whom Hall says: "Their hair was given them for a covering to their heads, not cheeks and faces, which should be visible; it is an abuse of the haire, when the locks are hung out to be seen of others; a modest matron hides them."[49] The use of the word matron specifically identifies the women he addresses as married. His exhortation to hide locks indicates that covering the hair or having the hair bound up is the acceptable behavior for these married women. This position also loosely characterizes views regarding hair practices for married women reaching back several centuries.[50] While girls and young unmarried women might be allowed to wear their hair long and loose, married women and even older unmarried women would be expected to cover their hair and/or wear it up. Whether

loose or up, Hall expects women to have long hair. Conversely, Hall considers long-haired men to be effeminate: “It also notes effeminacy and wantonnesse, hence the effeminate light, lascivious locusts are said to have hair like women, *Rev.* 9. 8. and amongst our selves; Who more light and loose than Ruffians? 'Tis a dishonour to a man to be found in such a guise; gravity and modesty becomes him best, in the very judgement of one of the wiser sort of Heathens.”[51] Within these binaries of long-haired women and short-haired men and good women with hair up versus bad women with hair down, there is much deviation. Similar to the ways that the categories for women addressed in the previous section blur, these binaries for hair practices also break down when considering exceptions. Martial bodies occasionally transgress these practices, but they do so in a way that elides that transgression by a focus upon the situational nature of the transgression. Further, for martial women in particular, the indeterminacy of their age and their unmarried status enable them to more flexibly circumvent expected behaviors.

The moments of revelation that mark the bodies of martial women as female depend on both the color and length of these women’s hair. Generally, the hair had been in braids or bound up in some way, rather in keeping with Hall’s notion of good female hair treatment, but is loosened by the impact of a blow, the act of removing a helmet, or because she is engaged in a private action like bathing. When Venus comes upon Diana taking a bath after the hunt, “her golden lockes, that late in tresses bright / Embreaded were for hindring of her haste, / Now loose about her sholders hong vndight” (III.vi.18.6-8). While tress now refers to a lock of loose long hair, it most often indicated a braid or something like it in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Diana’s “embreaded”

hair had been up for a practical reason; it keeps her long hair out of her way while hunting. Now that she is bathing, her long hair hangs loose, and when she is discovered by Venus, she "was asham'd to be so loose surpriz'd" (III.vi.19.2). This looseness of hair easily suggests sexual availability or the risk of being perceived as a "loose" or promiscuous woman. The connection between loose long hair and sexual availability has a long history reaching as far back as Roman prostitutes who had to wear their hair loose and blond as a marker of their profession.[52] Throughout the late medieval and early modern period, young women of marriageable age would wear their hair lose to signal that availability.[53] Diana's previously bound hair signals her unavailability in addition to its practicality for a hunter.

Similarly, other martial women described with long, loose hair either are more often known for having their hair up or are depicted with loose hair that has fallen out of an up-do. Boiardo describes Marfisa without her helmet: "She wore her blond hair up on her head"[Rivolto al capo avea le chiome bionde] (I.xxvii.59.3). Britomart and Bradamante also wear their hair up, though the act of removing a helmet disturbs that style. After winning a joust, Britomart unlaces her helmet, "which doft, her golden lockes, that were vp bound / Still in a knot, vnto her heeles downe traced, / And like a silken veile in compasse round / About her backe and all her bodie wound" (IV.i.13.2-5). Britomart is armored, so her hair veils her armor and her body, focusing the eyes of the viewers, who "were with amazement smit" (IV.i.14.2), and the gaze of the reader on her long feminine hair, which is not noticeable when bound up and hidden under her helmet. Long hair as a veil connects Britomart to such women as Godiva, Mary Magdalene, and

Saint Agnes, all of whom are known for and depicted as having their naked bodies covered by their hair.[54] The invisibility of her body, like those of legendary and holy women, minimizes the associations with sexuality often attached to long, loose hair. Under this concealing veil of hair, Britomart's armored, conquering body suggests the modesty of the young, marriageable virgins upon whom much praise is placed by these authors. These women include Spenser's veiled Una in Book I and Tasso's Sophronia, a veiled young Christian in Jerusalem saved from being burned by Clorinda's intervention.[55] In these ways anxiety about martial women's exceptional behavior and hair display is mitigated by both calling attention to loose hair as exceptions to their normal hair practice—even though those exceptions become the most memorable images of these women—and the result of circumstances beyond the women's control.

In a revelation moment at Rocca di Tristano that Spenser later reworks into Britomart at Malbecco's castle, both Bradamante and Britomart remove their helmets after defeating several opponents, and their previously bound hair comes tumbling down. Britomart defeats Paridell before entering old Malbecco's castle. The aged Malbecco is jealous of his beautiful young wife, Hellenore, and reluctant to accept guests into his castle. He only allows Britomart, Satyrane, and Paridell to enter after they threaten "to flame the gates" (III.ix.18.2). After they enter, the knights begin to disarm, but Britomart's appearance comes as a surprise:

> And eke that straunger knight emongst the rest,
>
> Was for like need enforst to disaray:
>
> Tho whenas vailed was her lofty crest,

> Her golden locks, that were in tramells gay
>
> Vpbounden, did them selues adowne display,
>
> And raught vnto her heeles; like sunny beames,
>
> That in a cloud their light did long time stay,
>
> Their vapour vaded, shewe their golden gleames,
>
> And through the persant aire shoote forth their azure streames (III.ix.20.1-9).

In effect, Britomart trades one veil—her lofty crest—for another made of her very long hair. While veiled by the helmet, her locks were braided “in tramells gay.” A tramell, as Hamilton points out in his note to this stanza, is a braid, so Britomart’s hair was previously braided and up in a modest style.[56] The effect of her displayed hair is compared to the sun, whose rays warm and penetrate bodies—even impregnating them in the case of Amoret and Belphoebe’s mother. Vapors from Britomart’s hair shoot through the air similarly penetrating the bodies, particularly the eyes, of those looking at her. Since hair was understood as a product of vaporous humors, the permeability of the body accommodated this intermingling, and the enthralling power of beautiful hair depends upon this entrance into, or even seizure of, another’s body. While the others mostly “meruailed at her cheualree,” they also continue to ogle Britomart: “Yet not their hungry vew be satisfied, / But seeing still the more desir’d to see” (III.ix.24.5, 1-2). Literally feeding upon Britomart’s vaporous hair, the lookers threaten to take too much as they are consumed by an insatiable hunger. Britomart, however, remains unmoved, and while she leaves the next day, Paridell and Hellenore run off and act out the lust associated with enchantingly beautiful long, golden hair.

Spenser's treatment of hair as veil draws from classical, biblical, and contemporary sources,[57] but this particular event at Malbecco's castle reworks the Rocca di Tristano episode in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. The custom of this castle is to host only one man and one woman at a time. The man who defeats all other challengers in combat may enter and remain, and the woman judged most beautiful may partake of the offered hospitality. The fact that men prove their worth whereas women's worth is determined by others has been noticed by several critics.[58] What I want to focus on in this episode is both Bradamante's use of the logic of exceptionalism to prevent the removal of a woman deemed less beautiful than Bradamante and her insistence that her masculine-gendered behavior trumps her feminine appearance. After defeating three kings to win entry to the castle, Bradamante disarms, loosening her previously bound hair in the process: "The lady, beginning to disarm herself, she drew off the shield and then the helmet; when a golden bonnet in which she hid and contained her long hair came off with the helmet; waves (of hair) fell loosely down her shoulders, all at once revealing her for a maiden no less beautiful than fierce in arms" [La donna, cominciando a disarmarsi, / s'avea lo scudo e dipoi l'elmo tratto; / quando una cuffia d'oro, in che celarsi / soleano i capei lunghi e star di piatto, / uscì con l'elmo; onde caderon sparsi / giù per le spalle, e la scopriro a un tratto / e la feron conoscer per donzella, / non men che fiera in arme, in viso bella.] (xxxii.79.1-8). Her flowing waves of hair fall out of a bonnet or securing band with the removal of the helmet, but this moment of revelation does not efface her warrior status; instead, her beauty is comparable only in relation to her great prowess as a fighter. In the next stanza Ariosto also connects Bradamante's hair to sun showing through the clouds,

but Spenser's addition of the consumptive gaze and the penetrative powers of Britomart's vaporous hair find no analog in Ariosto's account. While it is her hair that marks her as female, it is most important as identifying her as Bradamante to the lord of castle. In this case, Bradamante's hair is linked to her individual identity rather than to a characteristic feature of femininity.

After recounting the history of this castle's custom, the group heads to dinner, at which point the host realizes that there are two women and calls for two old men and some maid servants to be judges. They all decide Bradamante is more beautiful and are prepared to force the other woman to leave. Bradamante intervenes with a legalistic speech that draws heavily on the logic of exceptionalism to justify both her apparently male behavior and female appearance as noncontradictory features. She insists:

> I did not come here as a woman, nor do I want my prospects considered as a woman's. But who will say, unless I fully undress myself, whether or not I have the same things (genitalia) as she? And what you do not know should not be said, especially when someone would suffer. There are others who have long hair like mine, but this does not make them women. Whether I acquired entrance to the house as a knight or as a woman is clear: why then do you want to give me the name of woman when each of my action's is a man's? Your law requires that women should be ousted by women, and not beaten by warriors. [non venni come donna qui, né voglio / che sian di donna ora i progessi miei. / Ma chi dirà, se tutta non mi spoglio, / s'io sono o s'io non son quell ch'è costei? / E quel che non sis a non si de' dire, / e tanto men, quando altri n'ha a patire. / Ben son degli altri

> ancor, c'hanno le chiome / lunghe, com'io, né donno son per questo. / Se come cavalier la stanza, o come / donna acquistata m'abbia, è manifesto: / perché dunque volete darmi nome / di donna, se di maschio è ogni mio gesto? / La legge vostra vuol che ne sian spinte / Donne da donne, e non da guerrier vinte.] (xxxii.102.3-103.8).

I have excerpted part of Bradamante's complicated defense,[59] and this part emphasizes that hair is an unstable marker of sex and gender. She points to long-haired men (and could consider short-haired women as well) as evidence for the unreliability of hair as an indicator. I will consider long-haired men next, but in this specific instance, Bradamante takes advantage of the disconnect between sex and gender to emphasize the masculinity of her behavior as sufficient to derail the judgment of others as to her beauty as a woman. She has entered as a warrior with the actions of a man, and these actions define her more than her presumed (and actual) female sex and appearance. Spenser's reworking of this episode removes this display of the logic of exceptionalism. Bradamante's contradictory appearance and actions are resolvable by the technicalities of the custom, her logical, almost syllogistic reasoning, and ultimately by her sword. Britomart has no similar verbal exhibition of her exceptional status, though her character also depends upon this same logic to be considered a good woman and knight at the same time. For both Bradamante and Britomart, and for the other martial women as well, hair color, style, and length are all ways of protecting their transgressive behavior from censure.

While the emphasis upon long hair for women fits with the cultural expectations about beauty and behavior, long-haired men generally challenge those expectations,

though with more success than short-haired women. Thomas Hall's diatribe on long hair invokes biblical authority to castigate long-haired men:

> The Apostles Argument would be invalid, if the word be restrained to such a nourishing of the haire as is never cut; then Ruffians, if they cut their hair but a fingers breadth, should bee free from this reproofe. Then some men would have longer haire than some women (and so that order which God hath set in Nature, would be confoun|ded) for though Nature hath allotted shorter haire (in the generality) to men than unto women; yet some men, by reason of their constitution, if they suffered their haire to grow to its utmost length, would exceed some womens.[60]

While hair practices for men vary over time and by location, male hair was typically short in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Scholars have shown how some exceptional long-haired men represented spirituality,[61] and hermits and holy men in these epic romances do often have long hair and beards.[62] Long hair for men was particularly popular with nobility in the earlier Middle Ages. The Merovingian kings of France were known as the long-haired kings.[63] Their long hair clearly distinguished them from short-haired commoners. Long hair was so important that in the sixth century when Queen Clotid was given the choice between the scissors or sword by her younger sons who had kidnapped her grandsons who were heirs to the throne, she chose the sword since cutting their hair would disinherit the boys.[64] After Charlemagne, however, shorter hair became more common, though swings in popularity of long hair continued. In twelfth-century England, for example, King Henry's long hair was cut by the bishop of Séez after a sermon

condemning the popularity of long hair.[65] The distaste of Western religious figures for long hair on men repeatedly emphasizes the connection between long hair and lust and effeminacy.[66] While the exceptional long-haired religious man continued to be a feature in the later Middle Ages, especially among mendicant orders, the common practice for male hair was to keep it short.

The most notable lapses in short male hair for exemplary martial men in the epic romances occur when Arthur's squire Timaeus goes temporarily mad after angering and being sent away by Belphoebe, whom he loves, in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and when Orlando goes completely and violently mad in *Orlando furioso*. Hair had a long connection to madness. The mad forefathers of Timaeus and Orlando include many figures from Arthurian romance—Lancelot and Yvain most notably—and the biblical referent of Nebuchadnezzar, all of whom became savage wild men with bushy hair. When Astolfo retrieves Orlando's wits, Ariosto explicitly connects Orlando to Nebuchadnezzar who was mad like a beast for seven years, growing long hair and nails and feeding on grass for his prideful rejection of God.[67] Though the causes are different—blasphemy versus slighted love—these male figures share a connection between savagery/madness and long hair. For both Timias and Orlando, their madness manifests itself physically in long, ragged hair and savage appearance. Timias has changed in both clothing and hair, but it is hair that receives the most description:

> And his faire lockes, that wont with ointment sweet
>
> To be embaulm'd, and sweat out dainty dew,
>
> He let to grow and grisly to concrew,

> Vncomb'd, vncurl'd, and carelessly vnshed;
>
> That in short time his face they ouergrew,
>
> And ouer all his shoulders did dispred,
>
> That who he whilome was, vneath was to be red (IV.vii.40.3-9).

This transformation in hair practice results in an illegible textual surface; Timias is not interpreted as he had been due to the changes in the length and messiness of his hair. Arthur finds him in this state and sees that Timias has covered the trees with inscriptions of Belphoebe's name, which builds on Orlando's madness as instigated by his interpretation of inscriptions of both the name of his beloved and a verse about her and her beloved, Medoro, which I discuss in more detail below. The connection between textuality and interpretation is important beyond the cause or symptom of madness; Timias's body is not legible to Arthur, who leaves him in this state. Similarly, Orlando's appearance during his murderous rampage includes unmanaged hair: "the hair matted, horrible, and a mass / the beard thick, frightening, and ugly" [la chioma rabuffata, orrida e mesta, / la barba folta, spaventosa e brutta] (xxix.60.3-4). As previously noted, anthropologists have debated the significance of long male hair and its connection to sexuality, but in these epic romances long-haired men are either holy outliers or warriors exhibiting a severe humoral imbalance. Re-entry into the story involves a grooming process that returns the appearance of hair to that expected.

While long-haired men are easily connected to transgressive or at least not advisable behaviors, short-haired women generally suffer much more severe castigation for deviating from hair practices considered acceptable for women. Again, there are holy

exceptions like when Saint Margaret and Saint Marina cut their hair to enter a monastery or when Saint Euphrosina has her hair cut by a Benedictine monk to escape marriage.[68] Outside of a specifically religious context, however, cut or shaved hair denotes shame, usually sexual shame.[69] Hall, in *The Loathfulness of Long Hair*, also identifies polled or shorn hair as shameful for women: "As long haire is a glory and ornament to a woman, because it was given her by God and Nature for a covering; and it is a shame for her to be polled or shorne."[70] The practice of forcibly cutting a woman's hair to shame her continued even into the twentieth century when French women accused of consorting with the Germans during World War II had their hair publicly shaved.[71] Similar threats to women's hair exist in medieval and early modern literature. In *Orlando furioso* and *Gerusalemme liberata* there are two exceptional cases of women cutting their own hair or having it cut but manage to escape shame. In the first Bradamante has her hair cut as a result of an injury,[72] and in the other case Erminia cuts her hair to bind her beloved's wounds.[73] Even given that these are special cases in which hair becomes a sacrifice for the healing of the body, they are also moments that call attention to the potential shame attached to this action. Bradamante's hair is cut at the end of Boirado's *Orlando innamorato*, and another woman, Fiordespina, immediately falls in love with Bradamante. I will not dwell on this episode, which has received considerable scholarly attention, but Fiordespina's sexual desire combined with the consummation of that desire by Richardetto, Bradamante's twin who dresses as her and pretends to have been changed into a man, enable the transference of sexual shame to them and away from Bradamante. Similarly, in the case of Muslim Erminia, the sacrifice of her hair for the Christian man

she loves serves as a symbolic wedding and conversion, mimicking the religious women who cut their hair to enter religious orders.

For martial women, then, hair is an important way of obscuring transgressive behaviors by redirecting focus to ideal feminine attributes. Their long hair plays a significant part in enabling them to escape censure for their gender performances. Hair also participates in the ongoing reconstitution of their characters as admirable in spite of specific incidents that suggest otherwise. In this way, they are much like Ariosto's villain character of Orrilo who can continually reattach severed body parts until Astolfo cuts a magic hair.[74] This literalization of the reconstitutive metaphor identifies hair as both source of power and vulnerable to attack.

Just as hair for martial bodies aids in justifying or excusing behavior of martial women and indicating when martial men have ventured into transgressive territory, beards also contribute to the persuasive power of the martial male body. Beards contribute to perceptions of power, strength, and masculinity, which explains why martial men either without a beard or with a thin beard must compensate with excessive deeds, similar to martial women in regard to hair practices. During the barbate sixteenth century, beards served as a manly ornament. In the 1533 English translation of Pierio Valeriano's defense of beards, he articulates the relationship between beardlessness and effeminacy and, conversely, the ornamentation of a beard and manliness:

> For truly shauyng of the chynne and all the face, beganne of a wycked and a delycate mynde: and they that often vse it, are iuged without doubte, to be of the feminine sorte. . . . The bearde is a garment for manly chekes gyuen of nature for

> comlynes & for helthe: & therfore the latines named it a garment, and those that were shauen, they counted them as naked and vncladde. And also ye shal fynde wrytten in manye auctours these wordes: Theyr chekes were cladde with yonge wolly heare. That a bearde is a token of manly nature, the thynge selfe dothe shewe more playne, than any man can declare. Diogines, whiche despised all shauen facis, dyd not without a cause make this aunswere to a barbour: that he ware his beard, to the intent he myghte euer haue in remembraunce, that he was a man. And yet to this daye, all the nations of the Easte parties, where so euer they se men with suche smothe faces, they calle them women in scorne.[75]

Associating virility with beards has a long history, likely due to the fact that beards begin growing during puberty, the transition to sexual potency. Puns about hairs and heirs in medieval and early modern sources further support this conclusion, and it is one that the psychoanalyst Berg develops fully in *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*.[76] Given the at-least latent and often overt linkage between beards and male sexual virility, it becomes easy to see why forcibly shaving or pulling a man's beard emasculates him.

The popularity of beards did not remain constant through the Middle Ages and early modern period. In England, the mustached Anglo-Saxons gave way to the mostly shaven Normans. Throughout the eleventh century the popularity of beards declined in western countries, though ongoing Church criticism of long beards and hair indicates that plenty of men continued to have both long hair and beards. During the twelfth century, Venice in 1102 banned long beards, and in 1105 Bishop Serlo's denunciation of long hair and beards resulted in Henry I of England being shorn and shaved on the spot after a

sermon. Beards were generally not fashionable after the beginning of the thirteenth century and continued that way until around 1515, though older men and officials might wear full or long beards as a sign of their status.[77] Explanations for the return of the beard vary, often suggesting that for Italians, beards were a way for Italian men to mask anxieties about "seeming too effeminate."[78] Consequently, the late fifteenth century *Orlando innamorato* falls before the return to popularity of the beard in Italy while *Orlando furioso*, *Gerusalemme liberata*, and *The Faerie Queene* were all written during the increasingly barbate sixteenth century. Nonetheless, certain characters are regularly described as bearded: old men, especially hermits and friars;[79] classical or iconographic characters;[80] and heroes at moments where a beard is imperiled or sparse. While the first two types of bearded men are not the focus of this chapter on the martial body, I reference them mainly to show the ubiquity of beards in these epic romances, a condition matched by actual beardedness in the sixteenth century.[81] The description of knights and heroes often provides no details about whether they are bearded, just as their hair color or length is often not specified. These details are not necessary unless exceptional. Golden-haired Medoro, Astolfo, and Ziliante depend upon their hair color for the benefits associated with its desirability to women like Angelica and its ability to procure mercy. Similarly, hair length matters to mark Orlando and Timias when driven mad as outside of the expected norms for martial men. A similar logic applies to times when beards are specifically mentioned. The beard becomes important either when it is imperiled or because the martial male has a thin beard.

In the *Faerie Queene*, the heroes of Books One and Six as well as the roving knight, Arthur, who appears in all six books, have a beard. We learn about these beards, though, only at moments in which they are imperiled. In book one when Redcrosse is fighting the dragon, his beard catches on fire from dragon flame:

> And from his wide deuoring ouen sent
>
> A flake of fire, that flashing in his beard,
>
> Him all amazd, and almost made afeard:
>
> The scorching flame sore swinged all his face,
>
> And through his armour all his body seard,
>
> That he could not endure so cruell cace,
>
> But thought his armes to leaue, and helmet to vnlace (I.xi.26.3-9).

As his facial hair becomes tinder for a fire that singes his face, burning away that marker of martial masculinity, his beard becomes both a vehicle for and symbol of his potential defeat by the dragon. Seemingly conquered, burned alive by fire inside his armor, Redcrosse attempts to divest himself of his helmet and arms even as the loss of his beard and these arms separates him from the realm of martial masculinity. Notably, it takes three days for Redcrosse to eventually kill the dragon, and this loss of his beard marks the first defeat from which Redcrosse is rescued when he throws himself into the sacred waters of "*The well of life*" (I.xi.29.9).

The specification of Arthur's hirsute face also comes at a moment in which his beard is at risk. While fighting a fearsome female monster, which he must defeat to return Belge's seized lands to her rightful ownership, he is nearly overcome by an attack:

> But then the feend her selfe more fiercely reard
>
> Vppon her wide great wings, and strongly flew
>
> With all her body at his head and beard,
>
> That had he not foreseen with heedfull vew,
>
> And thrown his shield atween, she had him done to rew (V.xi.30.5-9).

While Arthur's beard does not become an accomplice to the near defeat of its wearer, as in the case of Redcross, it is a particular target of the monster and nearly the site of his demise. Arthur manages to block the attack with his shield and takes advantage of her proximity to disembowel her. In both these examples, Redcross and Arthur's beards paradoxically mark them as the epitome of martial masculinity while also serving as a site for them to be unmanned in battle. Similar to the moments of hair revelation for the martial women discussed previously, beards both participate in labeling the martial body as possessing a particular sex (that may or may not agree with the gendered behavior) and suggesting the instability of a marking system that depends on hair as a legible textual surface. Hair length, color, and presence can change, but these are all areas constantly interpreted by both readers of the epic romances and people seeing each other in actuality. As such, these hairy encounters suture the reader to the textual surface of martial bodies.

This suturing helps explain why instances of insult to the beard—forcibly shaving, plucking, pulling, or threatening to do one of these things—are taken so seriously. They are threats to the characters but also to the readers and social contexts enmeshed in and productive of these textual encounters. This makes beard treatment

powerful as a means of punishment, especially for those exposed as wrongly labeling their bodies as martial, and a justification for revenge in cases in which the beard of a proper martial figure is mistreated. The *OED* entry for "beard" as a verb equates bearding someone as an insult: "to oppose openly and resolutely, with daring or with effrontery; to set at defiance, thwart, affront," and it uses a 1598 example from Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part One*: "No man so potent breaths vpon the ground, But I will beard him."[82] The strength of this insult lies in its assault on the perceived potency or masculine virility of the insulted. To beard another person opposes and defies that person. It is this sense that Spenser invokes when speaking about the treatment of Timias after he regains his sanity (and likely short hair and well-kept beard) and Belphoebe's favor: "Though many foes did him maligne therefore, / And with vnjust detraction him did beard" (VI.v.12.6-7). In various medieval European cultures, great penalties ranging from fines to corporal punishment were placed on those who damaged the beards of others.[83]

This background makes the action of Rodomonte in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* even more insulting. Rodomonte, a powerful Saracen knight who has captured the beautiful Isabel and desires her, is angered by the intervention of a hermit who tries to protect Isabel. In response "he grasped him angrily by the chin with his hand / and as much hair as he grabbed, he took" [la mano al mento con furor gli stese, / e tanto ne pelò, quanto ne prese] (xxix.5.7-8). He follows this grave insult by literally throwing the hermit away, but his total physical dominance is forcibly demonstrated by the fact that he can pull a fistful of hair from the hermit's beard without any kind of penalty. This act reifies Rodomonte's claim to martial masculinity, which he plans to express by compelling

Isabel's submission to his desire. This historical connection between beard treatment and insult resonates in the use of beard as a verb in both the *OED* definition and Spenser's use of it in regard to Timias as well as this example of Rodomonte's treatment of the hermit.

The strength of the insult also makes beard treatment a particularly potent mechanism of punishment and shaming, much like the forcible cutting of women's hair. The *Orlando furioso* episode focusing on Marganor shows the severity of beard treatment as a punishment. Marganor is angry at women because his two sons fell in love with women and died, one in a duel and the other by a woman. The first son fell in love with the beautiful wife of the Greek emperor during a visit. He tries to attack the emperor and his company after they leave to take the woman by force, but he is killed by the emperor.[84] The other son also falls in love with the wife of another man. He ambushes the man, Olinder, and kills him and his company. Olinder's wife, Drusilla, jumps off a cliff with the intention of killing herself, but she doesn't die. The son, Tanacre, has her taken back to his father's estate and plans to marry her upon her recovery. Drusilla wants revenge and plots to poison him at the wedding service. She accomplishes her plan, gives a short speech justifying her actions and saying she has avenged her husband and then dies, having poisoned herself as well as the son.[85] The father, Marganor, hates all women and forces women to be expelled from his lands and also institutes a custom in which women escorted by knights who enter his lands are killed and the knights stripped of their arms and imprisoned; unescorted women are expelled but only after a particular act: "Any woman found in the valley the law requires—some do fall in there—that they are

beaten across the shoulders with wicker (switches) and they are ejected from these lands: but first her clothes are shortened, to display flaws that Nature and Modesty hide" [Ogni donna che trovin ne la valle, / la legge vuol (ch'alcuna pur vi cade) / che percuotan con vimini alle spalle, / e la faccian sgombrar queste contrade: / ma scorciar prima i panni, e mostrar falle / quel che Natura asconde et Onestade] (xxxvii.83.1-6). This custom more literally acts out the symbolism of cutting a woman's hair as a punishment for sexual shame by baring the woman's genitalia, suggesting that all women are inherently sexually sinful and that dresses, like hair, merely disguise that reality. This is certainly a widely accepted contemporary belief, but Marganor's back story and the reactions of Marfisa, Bradamante, and Ruggiero question the validity of this position.

The three not only free the imprisoned knights, return the women to their families, and provide rich compensation to women who have been mistreated by Marganor's law, but they—specifically the "women warriors" [le guerriere] (xxxvii.115.1)—create a territory where the women rule: "Before the warrior women left, they made it so that the husbands would give to the wives the territory and all the administration; and any who boldly contested will be punished with severe penalty. In fact what elsewhere was for the husband was here held by the wife" [Prima ch'indi si partan le guerriere, / fan venir gli abitanti a giuramento, / che daranno i mariti alle mogliere / de la terra e del tutto il reggimento; / e castigato con pene severe / sarà chi contrastare abbia ardimento. / in somma quell ch'altrove è del marito, / che sia qui de la moglie è statuito.] (xxxvii.115.1-9). Critical reception of this incident varies, noting that this inverse social order parallels the island of killer women and pairing these two episodes as Ariosto's parody of

monstrous women. While various interpretations exist, I want to call attention to how this reversal of Marganor's law—simply a hypertrophic version of existing social codes policing women's behavior—in combination with his punishment target martial masculinity when displayed by an unfit character.

Marganor is stripped naked, beaten by women he had oppressed, and then "mere children could shame him, some plucking his beard, others his hair" [che gli puon far sin a'bambini scorno, / chi pelargli la barba e chi le chiome] (xxxvii.111.5-6). The enforcement of his punishment by women and children and the targeting of his hair and beard all amplify the force of his (de)bearding. This previously threatening, powerful, violent man is identified as unfit as a martial male, and that martiality is removed through this punishment that specifically targets his beard and the new social order created by martial women. Marfisa promises to come back in a year to check that the order is being enforced, so this is not a temporary situation. Rather, the affront of Marganor's behavior both identifies the risk of too overtly transgressing social expectations and the power of beard treatment as punishment.

Spenser has a similar moment in which an unfit martial male is punished through beard treatment. Bragadocchio, a braggart who has repeatedly pretended to be a great knight and fighter, is shamed via his beard at a tournament to celebrate the wedding of Florimell and Marinell. He is defeated and shamed as unfit to claim the privileges afforded the martial male:

> First he (Talus) his beard did shaue, and fowly shent:
>
> Then from him reft his shield, and it renuerst,

And blotted out his armes with falsehood blent,

And himselfe baffuld, and his armes vnherst,

And broke his sword in twaine, and all his armour sperst (V.iii.37.5-9).

The simultaneous removal of Bragadocchio's armor and external markers of external status and his beard enfolds the beard, arms, and armor so that their removal ejects him from martial masculinity. His bodily surface becomes legible as an unfit martial body.

The power of beard treatment to eject a man from the masculine martial sphere is seen in several episodes in medieval literature and Spenser's epic romance in particular. This is the appearance of the cloak of beards. In Thomas of England's twelfth-century *Roman de Tristan et Iseut*, the giant Orguillus cuts beards from the chins of knights and kings he defeats to make a long fur cloak. He hears about the fame of King Arthur and sends a message asking Arthur to cut his beard and send it so that Orguillus can use it to trim his cloak. The giant says that if Arthur will not do this, he would wager cloak for beard and fight him. Arthur says he would rather fight "than be seen handing over his beard / in fear, like a craven coward."[86] Arthur fights and defeats the giant, taking the giant's cloak and head. This same motif appears in Sir Thomas Malory's late fifteenth-century compilation of Arthurian stories, *Le Morte Darthur*. Roughly contemporary with Boiardo, Malory's first book includes this challenge to Arthur. King Royns has defeated eleven kings and taken their beards to make a mantle and sends a message to Arthur saying that his mantle lacks in only one spot, demanding that Arthur send his own beard or he would enter Arthur's land and burn and slay until he got Arthur's beard and head. Arthur considers this "the moste orgulus and lewdiste message that evir man had i-sente

unto a kyng. Also, thou mayste se my bearde ys full yonge yet to make off a purphile!"[87] Arthur eventually defeats Royns, retaining his beard, which, one might assume, fills in as he gets older. The sparseness of his beard emphasizes his current youth, as this episode takes place shortly after he becomes king.[88]

These analogs resonate in Spenser's reworking of this story in Book Six. This is the book of "COVRTESIE," so the fact that this episode occurs in this context is particularly interesting because it legitimizes certain beard practices as courteous. The inappropriateness of this custom for courteous contexts also calls into question how appropriate beards are in these contexts. The very first canto has our hero encounter a squire tied to a tree. From this squire he learns the custom of a nearby castle: "But they that Ladies lockes doe shaue away, / And that knights berd for toll, which they for passage pay" (VI.i.13.8-9). The hair is collected by the lady Briana to make a mantle "with beards of Knights and locks of Ladies lynd" (VI.i.15.5) for the man she loves, Crudor, who will not marry her until she presents him with this cloak. Briana's man, Maleffort, has tied up this squire while he finds the squire's lady. Maleffort drags the woman "by the yellow heare" (VI.i.17.6) until Calidore intervenes. Maleffort taunts Calidore and asks if Calidore thinks he can give his beard, "though it but little bee" (VI.i.19.8), in exchange for the woman's hair. Whether Calidore's beard is actually thin is not stated, but he defeats Maleffort and then eventually Crudor, ending the custom and compelling Crudor to marry Briana. This incident and the long life of beards as cloaks reinforce the connection between having a beard and martial virility in romance (even if that was not always the case with actual militaries[89]). It also supports the beard as part of

the textual content of the bodily surface that carries meaning assumed to mark the body as not only male but also, depending on the beard, martial.

The importance of beardedness for male martial bodies explains why heroes without them, or those who have thin beards, compensate. If the beard matters as a visible, distinguishing marker of the martial body, its lack communicates unfitness of that body. For women warriors, hair practices stand in and function as part of the mechanism by which martial women reconcile disjunctions between an interpreted female sex and masculine gendered behavior. Since facial hair grows after puberty, having it is a marker of sexual maturity. Since beards likely began growing later in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, perhaps the late teens or early twenties,[90] than they do now, physically mature warriors who lacked lush beards needed to reconcile the disconnect between their masculine gendered performances and their liminal sex. Will Fisher suggests that boys were considered to be a different gender than men, so beardless or downy cheeked men needed to challenge the textual content of their smooth faces.[91] In Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* one of the main heroes, Rinaldo, is identified as eighteen "and before its time the first soft down was coming in on his chin" [e intempstiva / Molle piuma del mento a pena usciva] (i.60.7-8). Later, the pagan king talks with Erminia about the Christian force and reports having seen the Christian leader, Godfrey, at a tournament in France: "And in noble jousts I saw him use the lance, and though he was in years young and did not yet have any down on his cheek, his youth gave his words, deeds, and looks with prediction that he would have highest praise" [E 'l vidi in nobil giostra oprar la lancia; / E, se ben gli anni giovenetti sui / Non gli vestian di piume ancor la guancia, / Pur dava a i detti, a

l'opre, a le sembianze, / Presagio omai d'altissime speranze] (iii.60.4-8). As in the description of Rinaldo, the smooth cheeks or hints of facial hair communicate immaturity and suggest a contradiction between masculine gendered martial behavior and the gender of the actor. In both cases other actions—extraordinary martial prowess and wise words and deeds—lend strength to the rightfulness of the martial performance.

Hair and beards as a textual surface can signify fitness for particular gendered behaviors, courtesy, shame, and a variety of other conditions. For the martial body, hair and beards are critically important for presenting a legible surface that justifies their behavior and status. Incidents like Bradamante's cut hair and beard shaving or plucking reveal the subversiveness of the martial body, especially when it is inhabited by the "wrong" people. The martial body generally succeeds as a figure for some unfit people because the surface can be rhetorically manipulated to persuade society that the figure fits within social norms. This use of the logic of exceptionalism can open up the way for more uses of the martial body by more people.

Skin

While hair and beards contribute significantly to the ways that martial bodies navigate transgressive behavior and carve out spaces that reconcile mutually contradictory social codes with their own actions and even existence, skin is an additional and connected site for this transaction.[92] Guy de Chauliac, fourteenth century physician and surgeon, author of *Chiurgia magna*, or as its Middle English translation titled it, *Anatomy*, explains what skin is: "the skin forsoth is the coueryng of the body, contexed of the thredes or nervez, & of arteries, made to defensyng & giffyng of feling."[93] The skin's

dual properties of defense and feeling define it functionally, but in terms of what the skin *is*, Guy, in *The Questyonary of Cyrugens*, specifies that the skin, cords, flesh, fat, and nails are also "verytably they be nat membres neuertheles in asmoche as they haue vtylyte in the body of man kynde, & haue regeneracyon as the membres, they be called membres, thoughe it be vnproprely."[94] Hence, skin is both a constituting feature of the material body, one of Galen's seven naturals, and not properly one of these features, much like the affections or passions are both one of the six non-naturals affecting bodily health and constitutive of the material body. Skin and affections share in common the compounding factor of the humors as well as porosity via feeling—both as touch or sensation and emotional experience.[95] Much as the passions contribute to the regeneration of the body while also posing a threat to the fixity of a sense of identity, the skin's balance between feeling and defense offers both opportunities to reconstitute the body and threatens to overwhelm both bodily integrity and identity.

The liminality of skin contributes to the difficulty that philosophers and medical writers have with locating the sense of touch. From Aristotle's *De anima* forward, writers debated about whether touch resided in the skin. As Aristotle asks, "Is the organ of touch farther inward or is it the flesh which directly [touches the object]?" and then continues to consider both possibilities without settling on a clear position.[96] The indeterminacy of touch is further complicated by the porosity of skin. Vapors extrude from it, touching other objects and bodies, even as they enter it, so the actual moment of touch is as difficult to identify as the placement of the faculty.[97] In spite of the ambiguity of touch, Aristotle concludes that "it is evident that no animal can exist without the sense of

touch."[98] Hence, while locating touch eludes classifiers, it—and the skin directly implicated by the existence of the sense—is central to both existence and sensation.[99] Skin and touch bridge the internal and external, making skin simultaneously surface and depth.[100] As noted in the introduction in regard to Anzieu's theory of the skin ego, skin is thought even as it has a writerly effect, one that both considers the skin as a legible surface registering impressions from both external effects and internal conditions and imbues the skin with the persuasive effect of a text.

Yet, by the very nature of its plasticity and porosity, skin calls into question its legibility and its stability as a textual surface. Anzieu holds that "in its form, texture, coloring and scars, it [skin] preserves the marks of those disruptions. And through it a great deal is in fact revealed to the outside world about that inner state which it is supposed to protect; to the eyes of others it is a reflection of our well- or ill-being and a mirror of the soul."[101] This approach to reading the skin echoes the practice of interpreting skin to monitor health routinely used by medieval and early modern medical practitioners.[102] Just as with reading a text, however, the interpretive process does not lead to a single conclusion and can even support mutually exclusive interpretations. For the martial body, the skin's (il)legibility—particularly in regard to color and hardness—both lay bare the logic of exceptionalism enabling identification with the martial body while also marking out the boundaries of this strategy. Specifically, Clorinda's whiteness in *Gerusalemme liberata* makes her legible as fully identified with the martial symbol of St. George, and in so doing, the reader becomes sutured to this identification by reading her skin. Even in this interpretation of a legible skin, however, identification with the

martial body changes the body's textual surface. The hard skin of characters like Orlando, on the other hand, challenges skin's legibility by resisting interpretation, and when that naked resistance exceeds social boundaries and exposes the logic of exceptionalism via Orlando's violent madness, this skinned text identifies the riskiness of a strategy of outright resistance to the penetrative effect of readerly interpretation.

The politics of race in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a complex topic, and contemporary views of race and skin color do not map neatly onto those from this earlier time period.[103] While I do not want to downplay the importance of skin color in these epic romances, particularly the Italian ones, it is also true that skin color and race are not presented as identical terms. While in Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato* Feraguto is described as dark, there is a black giant named Orione, and a king of Macrobia with coal black skin,[104] and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* states that Ethiopians have black skin,[105] there are also many women and men (mostly women) allied with or geographically connected to the Eastern Saracen territories who have white skin and blond hair (most notably Angelica and Medoro from the *Orlando* romances and Erminia and Armida in *Gerusalemme liberata*). Certainly associations between skin color and race existed, but I want to focus on a particular case in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* where skin color is a textual surface in which the body is shaped by both the interpretive process and the occupation of the figure of the martial body. The warrior woman Clorinda has white skin and blond hair but comes from a land of black-skinned people, including her parents. The explanation for her skin's whiteness imagines the skin as a writerly effect in that it takes on appearance through external impressions and also

becomes an interpretive surface that marks Clorinda as an exceptional character. Her skin becomes legible in its whiteness, and this writerly effect of the skin also sutures the reader to the figure of the martial body.

Clorinda is from Ethiopia. Her father is the famed Prester John, and "he kept the laws of Mary's son, and also the black populace kept it" [Il qual del figlio di Maria la legge / Osserva, e l'ooserva anco il popol nero] (xii.21.3-4). Her mother was black, as her former guardian tells her: "the queen wife that was brown, yes, but the brown color does not take away from her beauty" [la regia moglie, / Che bruna è si, ma il Bruno il bel non toglie] (xii.21.7-8). The exportation of Christianity is central to the myth of Prester John in texts reaching at least as far back as the thirteenth century and given voice in such works as Marco Polo's *Travels*, and while the association with dark skin color is not always constant, it is a common characteristic.[106] The fact that Clorinda's mother was beautiful in spite of her black skin betrays prejudices about both skin color and race that were present in the early modern period, even if they were not as fully developed as they are now. The blackness of Clorinda's parents and natal people is important for my reading of the skinning of the martial body because of the contrast between it and Clorinda's own white skin, which is a product of her mother looking at a tapestry depicting Saint George killing the dragon while a woman watches: "Here the queen would often kneel and confess her silent sins, and she cried and prayed. In time as she grew near her time, one came forth (and you were that one) a white daughter. She was troubled by the unusual color, Which was a new show in which she marveled" [Quivi sovente ella s'atterra, e spiega / Le sue tacite colpe, e piange e prega. / In gravida fra

tanto, ed espon fuori / (E tu fosti colei) candida figlia. / Si turba; e de gli insoliti colori, / Quasi d'un novo mostra, he meraviglia] (xii.23.7-8-24.1-4). The baby's white skin takes the form of the object upon which the mother looked. Aristotle writes about perceiving something as white or black: "that which is about to sense the white and the black should not be *actually* black or white, respectively, but potentially these."[107] This theory of perception is given flesh in Clorinda who is always already both white and black in her state of fetal potentiality.[108] The mother's reading of the tapestry triggers this potentiality into actual whiteness, but was it the white skin of the knight or the "sweet fair maid" that most impressed Clorinda's mother?

After swapping Clorinda for a black baby and telling Ismen to take Clorinda and save her from the jealous anger of her father, the mother utters her final words before dying of a broken heart: "You, celestial warrior, who freed the damsel from the serpent's wicked bites, if I ever lit at your alter a humble candle or ever offered you perfumed frankincense, pray for her and let her be a loyal maid who can gather fortune to you" [Tu, celeste Guerrier, che la donzella / togliesti del serpente a gli empi morsi, / S'accesi ne' tuo' altari umil facella, / S'auro o incenso odorato unqua ti porsi, / Tu per lei prega, si che fida ancella / Possa in ogni fortuna a te raccorsi.] (xii.28.1-6). While it stands to reason that St. George (never explicitly named) would be a more powerful potential protector than the maiden also depicted on the tapestry, the reminders of her previous acts of lighting candles or offering incense connected to her regular "confession of her silent sins" suggests that the mother focused most on reading the figure of St. George. This interpretive process imprints whiteness on Clorinda's body, but that legible surface is

important not only in identifying Clorinda with the occupants of the tapestry. It also makes her body legible as a martial body, one modeled after that of St. George himself.[109]

St. George intercedes several times to save young Clorinda, and as she grows she follows the training method of a warrior as well: “Even as a tender girl, with her right arm she held and bridled the swift horse and she trained with spear and sword, and in the gymnasium she hardened her body and vigorously raced to strengthen it: thereafter in the mountains or woods she followed the tracks of fierce lions and bears; she followed the wars” [Tenera ancor con pargoletta destra / Strinse e lentò d’un corridore il morso; / Trattò l’asta e la spade, ed in palestra / Indurò I membri, ed allenògli al corso: / Poscia o per via montana o per silvestra / L’orme segui di fier leone e d’orso; / Segui le guerre] (ii.40.1-7). Clorinda’s behavior more properly fits that of a young St. George than it does a girl child, but her skin color and behavior are legible as the surface of a martial body formed through the impression of repeated viewing of the tapestry.[110]

These ideas depend upon an understanding of skin as a writerly effect, as a legible surface that can be read as carrying the marks of a mother’s imagination, a humoral imbalance, or a disease. Medical practice advised that the skin be read carefully to determine what was happening inside the body.[111] Similarly, the skin of the martial body inscribes the conditions of being martial. Just as Clorinda’s mother sutures her unborn daughter to St. George through interpreting the tapestry, the readerly experience moderated by a textual encounter with these figures of martial bodies sutures the reader to these martial bodies, opening up a pathway by which traditionally excluded people can occupy the space of the martial body.

I do not mean to suggest that whiteness itself is an indicator of the martial body. Rather, I use this example to demonstrate that one means of accessing the martial body is via the interpretive process of reading, which sutures the interpreter to the martial body via the writerly and readerly effect of skin even when that skin is literally text on a page.[112] Clorinda's case also suggests the risk of assimilation during the occupation of the martial body or even the risk in general of a porous body. The skin is a vehicle for that porosity. As the sixteenth-century French surgeon Ambroise Paré explained, "it [skin] is penetrated with many pores, as breathing places, as we may see by the flowing out of sweate, that so the arteries in their *diastole* might draw the encompassing aire into the body, for the tempering and nourishing of the fixed inbred heate, and in the *Systole* expell the fuliginous excrement."[113] Another sixteenth-century French physician, Jean Fernel, in *Physiologia*, provided further explanation of the extent of the skin's porosity by way of "narrow vents" that "give passage to exhalation from the inside," but this movement is not limited to outside from inside.[114] He furthermore explained different movements of substances through the skin: "the so-called invisible pores and narrow passages must be present, in which air, or thinner spirit, or some material existed; it is exhaled, and gives room for the entry of liquid."[115] As the site of exchange, the skin becomes highly charged as a metaphor for bodily vulnerability. While porosity offers the opportunity for regeneration, as the previous chapter argued, it can also risk the integrity of the self. It is no surprise, then, that the metaphor of hard skin arises often in connection with ideal martial bodies.

Hardness is also an inherent quality of skin. A common view of the process of skin formation, going back to at least Aristotle and stated by Alessandro Benedetti is that skin is hardening of the glutinous inside.[116] This hardening moderates the amount of feeling in the skin so that it is not overwhelmed by excess sensation. It also aids in the defense of the body. According to Paré, "The vse of the skinne is to keepe safe and sound the continuitie of the whole body, and all the parts thereof, from the violent assault of all externall dangers, for which cause it is every where indewed with sense, in some parts more exact, in others more dull, according to the dignitie and necessitie of the parts which it ingirts, that they might all be admonished of their safetie and preservation."[117] Crooke's early seventeenth-century anatomy book dedicates a significant amount of space to skin and, like Paré, highlights the defensive properties of skin (here the external surface rather than the derma or true skin): "The Scarfe-skin or Cuticle being voide of sense it selfe, is ordained as a muniment to defend the skinne from the violence of outward iniuries, to attemper his exquisite sense, and so become the *medium* or meane of sensation."[118]

Given the natural hardening and defensive properties of skin, the connection between skin and impermeability is not surprising; it is really just a hypertrophy of the understood process of skin formation. Since Achilles with his impenetrable skin everywhere except his heel, characters with mostly impenetrable skin have appeared in all sorts of texts.[119] The interpretation of hardened skin usually emphasizes how it seals off the inside from the outside. Two recent theorists of skin, Michael Connor and Claudia Benthien, both independently connect hardened skin to a barricade. Connor says that

hardened skin "is anesthetized, and, in allowing no sensation through, severs that dual directionality characteristic of ordinary skin . . . the hardened, shining skin is no longer a medium of passage and hymeneal exchange, but of division, separation and cleavage."[120] Similarly, Benthien, building on the work of French psychoanalyst Didier Anzieu, considers hardened skin as "a kind of impermeable, concealing protective armor or mask. A person who blocks out the potentially hurtful sensory impressions of the others—looks, gestures, words—can no longer be penetrated; he experiences himself as armored."[121] While the obvious connection between hardened or armored skin and invulnerability to penetration is certainly important when considering characters like Achilles, I want to call attention to how hardened skin is almost always associated with the martial body, particularly the male martial body. Further, hardened skin fails to protect that body from penetration by humors, looks, words, and passions. While the martial body protected by hardened skin may seem to resist permeability, even the best martial figure falls short of the ideal of hyper masculinity. Warriors with hardened skin, then, and their inevitable experiences of failure—generally either madness or death as a result of the weak spot—paradoxically reveal the inability of any body to be perfectly martial even as the inevitable failure provides a means of access for those considered unfit to the martial sphere. If even the greatest fall, there is more space for "bad" knights like Astolfo, who regularly falls from his horse, or improbable knights like Britomart, Bradamante, Marfisa, and Clorinda.

There are several references to hard skin in the epic romances by Boiardo and Ariosto. Orlando and Ferrau (Feragu in Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*), a Spanish

champion of the Saracens, both have charmed skin that cannot be punctured except in one spot. When Boiardo describes them fighting, they break each other's armor and shields, though "their skin could not be cut because of enchantment, but it was bruised the color of coal" [Non pon tagliarle per la fatasone, / Ma di color l'han fatte di carbone] (I.iv.3.7-8). Ariosto explains that both are protected by a spell. Ferrau's weak spot is "the part where food first / as a baby in the womb, nourished him" [là dove l'alimento primo / piglia il bambin nel ventre ancor serrate] (xii.48.3-4) or his bellybutton, and for Orlando it is "the soles of his feet" [sotto le piante] (xii.49.3). Other than these specified parts, "the rest of them was harder than diamond" [Duro era il resto lor più che diamante] (xii.49.5). However, both Ferrau and Orlando fail at keeping their bodies sealed off and whole. Both fall in love with Angelica upon seeing her. This means that refined humors from Angelica penetrated their bodies, taking residence in their imagination, which as Arisotle explained, depends upon sensation to operate.[122] Their adamantine skin fails to prevent sensation, so even if the association with hardened or armored skin is impenetrability, they both show a limit point of that impenetrability.

The hardness of Orlando's skin in particular fails at enabling him to maintain bodily or mental integrity. Throughout both *Orlando innamorato* and *Orlando furioso* Orlando has been in love and obsessed with possessing Angelica. She falls in love with the beautiful, young Medoro, whom she has helped nurse back to health from an injury. To celebrate consummating their love and then getting married, they have written their names all over the trees in the woods and the walls of the bedroom where they had been staying for Medoro's convalescence. Medoro had also written a poem in a cave where

“the two happy lovers” [i duo felici amanti] (xxiii.106.4) had often come to “lie together embracing” [stare abbracciati] (xxiii.106.4). Orlando sees their names all over the trees and cave written with carbon, chalk, and carved by a pointed knife, and there is also a poem written by Medoro:

> Happy plants, verdant grass, limpid waters, dark, shadowy cave, pleasant and cool, where the beautiful Angelica, born of Galafron, loved in vain by many, often lay naked in my arms; for the luxury you have given me here I, poor Medoro, cannot repay you other than by praising you, and by beseeching every man in love, knight and damsel, and every person, countryman or wayfarer, who is pulled here by will or fortune; to the grass, the shadows, the cave, the stream, the plants say: may sun and moon be kind to you, and the chorus of the nymphs, may they see that shepherds never lead their flocks to you [Liete piante, verdi erbe, limpide acque, / spelunca opaca e di fredde ombre grata, / dove la bella Angelica che nacque / di Galfron, da molti invano amata, /spesso ne le mie braccia nuda giacque; / de la commodità che qui m’è data, / io povero Medor ricompensarvi / d’altro non posso, che d’ognior lodarvi: / e di pregare ogni signore amante, / e cavallieri e damigelle, e ognuna / persona, o paesana o viandante, / che qui sua volontà meni o Fortuna; / ch’all’erbe, all’ombre, all’antro, al rio, alle piante / dica: benigno abbiate e sole e luna, / e de le ninfe il coro, che proveggia / che non conduca a voi pastor mai greggia.] (xxiii.108.1-109.8).

This record of Angelica and Medoro’s union connects the inscribed text to the natural setting of the cave and surrounding field. Medoro suggests that something about their

encounter is left over in the natural setting, asking that nature and humans alike preserve the grasses from dying due to scorching heat or being eaten by roving flocks. This connection between the natural world, the entwined bodies of Angelica and Medoro, and the reader (both Orlando and the actual reader) is facilitated by the textual surface on which Medoro's verse is inscribed.[123] The textual surface sutures Orlando to both the setting and the past act, as it does the reader to the text and even to the specific martial body as explored in regard to Clorinda's white skin.

Orlando re-reads the inscription "three times and four and six," [tre volte e quattro e sei] (xxiii.111.1) and each re-reading causes a strong bodily affective response:

> And each time, in the middle of his afflicted breast, he felt his heart squeezed by a cold hand. Finally he remained with his eyes and mind fixed on the stone, like a stone himself. He was ready to go out of his mind, yes all lost in the throes of grief. Believe in one who has experienced it, that this is the sorrow that passes all the others. His chin had fallen onto his chest, his brow lacking boldness and low, so possessed by sorrow that he neither had voice for complaints or moisture for tears [et ogni volta in mezzo il petto afflitto / strigersi il cor sentia con fredda mano. / Rimase al fin con gli occhi e con la mente / fissi nel sasso, al sasso indifferente. / Fu allora per uscir del sentiment, / sì tutto in preda del dolor si lassa. / Credete a chi n'ha fatto esperimento, / che questo è 'l duol che tutti gli altri passa. / Caduto gli era sopra il petto il mento, / la fronte priva di baldanza e bassa; / né poté aver (che 'l duol l'occupò tanto) / alle querele voce, o umore al pianto.] (xiii.111.5-112.8).

Just as Angelica has previously penetrated his body, fixing her image in his imagination, Medoro's text causes an affective response that depends upon the mobility of the passions as facilitated by a textual surface. An imagined foreign hand pierces his chest and squeezes his heart, and he identifies to the point of becoming like the stony surface of the text, much as Clorinda's skin and character result from an identification with St. George. His charmed skin may block the cut of a sword, but it has no power against the affective content of a text; in fact, it directly impacts his "umore," which is bodily fluid or moisture but also humor and temperament. After spending a night in the bedroom where Angelica and Medoro had stayed and written their names all over the walls, Orlando returns to re-read Medoro's verse. This has a dramatic effect on Orlando: "he was drained so that in him there was no drop that was not hatred, rage, wrath, and fury" [l'accese sì, ch'in lui non restò drama / che non fosse odio, rabbia, ira e furore] (xxiii.129.6-7). He slashes at the inscribed rock face, the trees, the grass and water, and the very earth itself. In this destruction of the natural space sutured to Angelica and Medoro's sexual acts and his own via Medoro's poem, perhaps he hopes to extrude the words and passions that have penetrated his hardened skin and caused a severe emotional—and by extension—humoral imbalance. He falls on the grass and lies still for three days until, "on the fourth day, moved to great anger, he stripped off his chain mail and plate armor" [Il quarto dì, da gran furor commosso, / e maglie e piastre si stracciò di dosso] (xxiii.132.7-8). The stripping away of his armor and clothes suggests the flaying of Marsyas in that the identifying "skin envelope" has been removed.[124] Yet, like Marsyas, Orlando does not cease to be Orlando without his armorial identity, just as Marsyas is both his flayed body

and his skin.[125] Flaying and Orlando's period of naked madness are both periods of regeneration.

Whereas Marsyas reaches great artistic and literary heights through the ongoing reworking of his story, far outreaching what a humble satyr might expect,[126] Orlando's period of naked madness is an experience of reduced sensation focusing his entire experience on violence and the emotions of hate, fury, and wrath. He rips up trees, kills people and horses, and devastates anything he encounters. "In shine, rain, cold, and heat, naked he goes on plane and hill" [al sereno, alla pioggia, al freddo, al caldo, / nudo va discorrendo il piano e 'l colle] (xxvii.8.3-4), and as a result of his nakedness, his skin darkens and his hair and face change: "His eyes were almost hidden in his head, his face thin, and like a dried bone, the hair matted, horrible, and a mass the beard thick, frightening, and ugly" [Quasi ascosi avea gli occhi ne la testa, / la faccia macra, e come un osso asciutta, / la chioma rabuffata, orrida e mesta, / la barba folta, spaventosa e brutta] (xxix.60.1-4). Margaret Miles has connected male nakedness to holiness,[127] but here it marks Orlando as outside all social codes for behavior. Even as his hardened skin is most on display in this state of insanity, that same hardened skin marks him as vulnerable to the effects of words and passions that have precipitated his current state.[128]

The pursuit of this idealized invulnerability appears also in the story of Rodomonte and Isabel. Rodomonte, a great Saracen warrior, wears dragon hide armor that is also impenetrable, but when he falls in love with Isabel and she promises to brew a potion to make his skin invulnerable in exchange for not raping her, he agrees, though plans on breaking his promise after he has the potion. Isabel does not actually know how

to brew this potion, but she plans on using the promise of this potion to get Rodomonte to kill her, thus preserving her chastity intact and following her recently deceased beloved into death. She makes a potion and then tells Rodomonte that she will bathe in it and he should try to cut off her head to prove to him that she is not deceiving him: "The beastly man believed her and with his hand and cruel iron severed that beautiful head, formerly abode of love, from the chest and back "[Quel uom bestial le prestò fede, e scores / sì con la mano e sì col ferro crudo, / che del bel capo, già d'Amore albergo, / fe' tronco rimanere il petto e il tergo] (xxix.25.5-8). Rodomonte is later unhorsed by Bradamante and then the entire epic romance closes with Ruggiero killing Rodomonte at the celebration of his wedding to Bradamante. Orlando's madness and Rodomonte's series of doomed encounters call into question the fantasy of the invulnerable martial body. Rather, both of these super warriors indicate that no one can fully and perfectly be a martial body. While this would seem to foreclose access to the martial sphere, it actually opens up access for others because it admits for greater or lesser experiences of identification with martiality.

Orlando's return to his senses demonstrates the ability to re-identify with the martial body after a period of disconnection. Fittingly, Orlando's sanity returns as a result of the efforts of the unlikely knight Astolfo (who spends most of the *Orlando* romances falling off a horse, being laughed at, as a tree, or bumbling from one accident to the next). Astolfo retrieves Orlando's lost wits from the moon, and then he and a group of Orlando's friends jump on Orlando and tie him up. Astolfo has Orlando cleansed: "Astolfo had him washed seven times, and seven times immersed under water; so that his

face and brutish limbs were washed of ugly layers (of dirt) and mold" [Lo fa lavar Astolfo sette volte, / E sette volte sotto acqua l'attuffa; / Sì che dal viso e da le membra stolte / Leva la brutta rugine e la muffa] (xxxix.56.1-4). This ritualistic cleansing invokes Old Testament protocols for the purification of the body after being made unclean. It is a rebirth, a regeneration of the body. Orlando slowly recovers his senses and then is untied and clothed. The process of being clothed reverses the flaying-like stripping of his armor and clothing at the beginning of his madness. He puts his skin back on, reversing the Hercules story of clothing leading to self-flaying, madness, and death. In Orlando's case, occupying a martial body recognizable within the limits of social codes of behavior is his way out of madness and eventual death. The metaphorical process of flaying has enabled his regeneration, the modification of his passions—he no longer desires Angelica—and his reentry into Charlemagne's court and society.

Over the course of this chapter, I have argued that the surface of the martial body—skin and hair—is more than something external to or separate from the self. Instead, these two related features contribute to the formation of the "skin ego" as a concept of mental wholeness that enables martial men and women to trace out the contours of (un)acceptable behavior and find ways of reconciling actions with identity. These negotiations inscribe the surface of the martial body with strong persuasive effect. Hair practices and skin legibility can sanction warrior women even as they also mark out the shifting boundaries between acceptable and transgressive behavior. The logic of exceptionalism is a key part of the way that these martial figures balance potentially transgressive actions with fitting into approved categories. That logic exposes both the

limits on access to the martial body and the limitations on martial bodies that make that logic apparent. Just as not all blond women can be warriors but blondness as a special attribute can be a means of access to the martial sphere, hyper masculine and violently destructive heroes like Orlando must be reconstituted because of the threat they pose to social order. By carefully negotiating the textual surface of hair and skin, this surface both justifies occupation of the martial body and sutures the reader to it through the interpretive effect of reading.

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[1] Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, has an extensive discussion of the myth of Marsyas (46-54) as part of his articulation of the concept of the "skin ego," which he defines as "a mental image of which the Ego of the child makes use during the early phases of its development to represent itself as an Ego containing psychical contents, on the basis of its experience of the surface of the body" (40). The skin ego has three primary functions (later expanded to nine): "the sac which contains and retains inside it the goodness and fullness accumulating there through feeding, care, the bathing in words. Its second function is as the interface which marks the boundary with the outside and keeps that outside out; it is the barrier which protects against penetration by the aggression and greed emanating from others, whether people or objects. Finally, the third function—which the skin shares with the mouth and which it performs at least as often—is as a site and a primary means of communicating with others, of establishing signifying relations; it is, moreover, an 'inscribing surface' for the marks left by those others" (40). Anzieu's formulation of the skin ego has been hugely influential on my interpretation of skin and hair in this chapter. While the English translation became available in the late 1980s, it is really only over the last decade that his theory has gained traction in cultural studies. This largely overlaps with the turn to affect and the body over roughly the same period of time.

[2] Benthien, *Skin*, has a chapter on flaying (63-94) and focuses on the story of Marsyas and artistic representations of the myth for a significant part of the chapter (72-81). She argues that flaying deprives victims of identity (72) and that the trend in artistic representations is to show his skin as hairless and a "separate, second figure, an alien alter ego" (79). However, the images she includes actually do show the skin with hair and retaining distinctive facial features that enable identification, which supports my assertion that the skin and body maintain an inseparable link in these flaying stories and images.

[3] Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 46.

[4] Several art historians have written about Michelangelo's self-portrait in St. Bartholomew's skin. See Poseq, "Michelangelo's Self-Portrait," 1-13, and especially Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling Marsyas," 426-448, who connects Michelangelo's St. Bartholomew to Marsyas and argues that flaying, like art, becomes a generative process.

[5] Kay, "Original Skin," examines the relationship between the flaying of St. Bartholomew and parchment and books (38-40) as part of a larger argument, which is significantly influenced by Anzieu, about how flaying transforms the animal into parchment, and the human reader identifies with that flayed skin so that it becomes another envelope for the human (36-7). The suturing of reader to page and content is developed in both this article and a later one, "Legible Skins." In the second article she asks what it means for a human reader to be thrown into or face to face with an animal skin (16). She argues that texts written on animal skins made into parchment can have the effect that the surface becomes a fantasy double of the reader's own skin, as an envelope or opposing face. This means reading is charged with affect and undermines the demarcation between human beings and other animals (13). Kay's ideas about the suturing of reader to text via a focus on either the literal skin of which manuscripts were made or metaphorical skin shape my own approach to interpreting the skin of the martial body.

[6] Ahmed and Stacey, "Introduction," 15. They elaborate on what they mean by the writerly effect of skin: "This is not to say that skin can be reduced to writing, for the skin matters as matter: it is a substantial, tactile covering that beards the weight of the body. But the substance of the skin is itself dependent on regimes of writing that mark the skin in different ways of that produce the skin as marked. The skin is a writerly effect. We could also suggest that writing is an effect of skin: the touch of the technologies that produce the words; the skin that is shed in the endless processes of composition and decomposition. Here, more provocatively, we could consider the materiality of the signifier as produced by skin, by the weight of the bodies that are formed as they are marked, cut or written into the world. Writing can be thought of as skin, in the sense that what we write causes ripples and flows that 'skin us' into being: we write, we skin" (15).

[7] Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling Marsyas," 441.

[8] Benthien, *Skin*, 72.

[9] Benthien, *Skin*, 17. See also Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 40.

[10] Paré, *The Works*, says that the Cuticle (the outer surface) is the "excrement of the true skinne, wee say it hath its matter from the excrementitious superfluitie of the nerves, veines, arteries, and substance of the true skinne (88), so the basic substance for skin is the same for the other naturals. Crooke explains that hair is made of vapors, which is highly refined humors (67). Mercurialis, in his study of skin and hair diseases, says that

"hair is maintained by a continuous influx of the humors" (15). The idea of hair as an extension of the skin continues in modernity. Cooper, *Hair*, notes, "Indeed, in some ways it [hair] may be considered an extension of skin; it is firmly linked to our blood supply and it reflects, as skin does, the general state of health of our body" (26-7). Giacometti, "Facts, Legends and Myths," in a short history of the scalp notes that from Galen into the early modern period, people believed the hair would be affected by external vapors (630). Giacometti is not writing about the porosity of the body, but the porosity of the hair and skin to external vapors supports this point.

[11] See Ahmed and Stacey, "Introduction," 15. See also Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 40, but really the communicative function of skin is developed throughout the book. Biddle, "Inscribing Identity," states that skin is involved in the production of the distinction we call human (178), so skin is communicative at the most basic level of announcing humanity. A recent collection of essays, *Skin, Culture, Psychoanalysis*, draws on Anzieu's work "to explore how skin is made meaningful through the enfolding of culture, psychical life and embodiment" (2). See also Connor, *The Book of Skin*, who inquires into skin as a substance, vehicle, and metaphor (9). Another recent collection of essays, *Reading Skin*, explores skin's "symbolic activity" in medieval culture (2). For studies on the communicative function of hair, see Synnott, "Shame and Glory," who in a study of hair symbolism in the US and UK in the 1980s concludes that "hair is perhaps our most powerful symbol of individual and group identity--powerful first because it is physical and therefore extremely personal, and second because, although personal, it is also public rather than private" (381). See also Weitz, *Rapunzel's Daughters,* who points out that hair is one of the primary ways of telling others who we are and by which others evaluate us (xii-xiii). For a debate about what hair signifies, see psychoanalyst Charles Berg's book, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*, and responses from Leach, Hallpike, and Hershman outlined in note 22.

[12] Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 9.

[13] Smoller, "Skin Pathology," explores the *Secrets of Hippocrates*, a popular text in the Middle Ages and Renaissance attributed to Hippocrates and full of descriptions of skin conditions as well as prognoses (551). This book represents a medical tradition that read both skin and hair as part of the depth of the body. The sixteenth-century book *On Diseases of the Skin*, by Hieronymus Mercurialis also includes descriptions of hair and skin conditions that were considered part of a larger state of ill health rather than a discreet condition or disease.

[14] Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, 61.

[15] The practice of hair covering has a very long history, but arguments for covering hair in the Middle Ages and Renaissance usually pointed to Paul's demand that women should cover their heads to acknowledge their inferior position to men and God. Paul's position comes from biblical practices that considered Jewish women with

uncovered hair as shameless, according to Derrett, "Religious Hair," (101). Several scholars have written about hair covering, but see Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*, who examines Paul's teaching in relation to head covering as a way for women to show good conduct (54-555). For both descriptions and illustrations of styles of hair coverings in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see de Courtais, *Women's Headdresses*, for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (26-58), and see also Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, for the Middle Ages through the sixteenth century (90-197). These sources all note the prevalence of head covering for married women in particular.

[16] Trasko, *Daring Do's*, reports that the first historical reference to blond hair being more desirable than darker shades comes from the ancient Greeks, who would lighten hair through exposure to sun or by rinsing hair in a potassium solution and rubbing it with a pomade of yellow flower petals and pollen (21). This preference for blond hair continued into early modern Italy, where women used similar strategies to lighten their hair (30-33). Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, also records the preference for blondness in Italy and notes that mixtures of alum, black sulphur, and honey were used for bleaching. Women would wear a hat without a top, wet their hair in this (and other mixtures) and sit on their roofs to let the sun dry their hair, repeating the process to lighten the color (172-174). See also Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*, on the desirability of blond hair throughout Europe (41-43). In a study of medieval French romances, Rolland-Perrin, *Blonde comme l'or*, found that in more than 80% of the references to hair color, the color referenced was a variant of blond (21).

[17] Qtd. in Millken, *Ambiguous Locks,* 41.

[18] Rolland-Perin, *Blonde come l'or*, 41.

[19] Numerous writers have elaborated on the link between blond hair and sexuality, but for a representative text, see Weitz, *Rapunzel's Daughters*, who examines hair practices by women in the twentieth century. See 19-22 on the increase in blond hair once safe dye became available in the twentieth century and the huge increase in dying starting in the 1950s, an increase that changed the percentage of blond US women from 7% in the 1950s to 40% in the 1970s. See also Synnott, "Shame and Glory," who includes several statistics about the preference for blond hair among men and women as well as the association between blondness and sexuality (386-89).

[20] Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*, 41. See the entire book for a sustained discussion of this specific claim.

[21] Berg, *The Unconscious Signifiance*, 10. Writing later than Berg and not citing him, Cooper, *Hair*, also connects hair to sexuality for both men (43) and women, though she says that "the link between hair and sexuality and fertility is even more direct [in women] than in men" (66).

[22] Responding directly to Berg's book, Leach, "Magical Hair," accepts that there is evidence to support Berg's claim that hair practices are about sex practices, but he says that hair practices are also about public and private communication and that the public and private messages will not necessarily be the same and might also not be explicitly about sexuality (151, 160). Hershman, "Hair, Sex, and Dirt," basically defends Leach and argues that hair practices are symbols that "gain their emotive power through being subconsciously associated with the anal-genital organs and processes, but that they are then used to spell out cultural messages, where the message is something quite separate and apart from the symbols which are transmitting it" (274). Hallpike, "Social Hair," follows Leach and responds to him, though conflates many of Berg's positions with Leach. For Hallpike, Leach/Berg's position on hair is: head = phallus; hair = semen; hair cutting = castration; long hair = unrestrained sexuality; short hair = restricted sexuality; close shaven hair = celibacy (257). Hallpike's hypothesis is "that long hair is associated with being outside society and that the cutting of hair symbolizes re-entering society, or living under a particular disciplinary regime within society" (260). His focus on hair length in relation to social order is interesting, and one that my analysis of mad Orlando supports, but the false binary constructed regarding hair as either sexual or social misses the ways that hair practices and interpretation are both, neither, and other at the same time. This point is made by Synnott, "Shame and Glory,": "With respect to the sociology of the body first, the sociology of hair calls attention to the close relation between the physical body and the social body in the two aspects of gender and ideology. Gender and ideology are 'made flesh' in the hair as people conform to, or deviate from, the norms, and even deviate from deviant norms; they thereby symbolize their identities with respect to a wide range of phenomena: religious, political, sexual, social, occupational and other" (405). Eilberg-Schwartz, "Introduction," reflects on the debate involving Hallpike and concludes that hair signifies "a relationship to social control" in which length and style may vary in response to that control, preventing stable categories for interpreting hair length (6).

[23] Rogers, "The Decorum of Women's Beauty," argues that the prevalence of white and gold to describe women echoes movements in art and sculpture (48). For a consideration of the link between white and yellow and skin that deals with the contradictory responses to yellow, see Connor, *The Book of Skin*, 147-177.

[24] On the commodification of women's hair, see Weitz, *Rapunzel's Daughters*, 5-7.

[25] She is not explicitly identified as blond but is repeatedly called fair, and since she is Belphoebe's twin, whom the text states is blond, Amoret likely shares her sister's hair color.

[26] I.i.42.2.

[27] I.33.8.

[28] VI.92.2.

[29] For more on hunting and masculinity, see Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*.

[30] For illustrations of these decorative practices, see Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, and de Courtais, *Women's Headdresses*.

[31] See the previous chapter for more on the greater fixity of gender as a category during this time period. See also Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," who argues that boys were a different gender from men (156).

[32] Waldman, *Orlando furioso*, 315.

[33] Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, claims that Marfisa "refuses all identification with womanhood" (92).

[34] Waldman, *Orlando furioso*, 316.

[35] See Hamilton's footnote to stanza 20.

[36] Schoenberger, "Why is Gold," 7.

[37] Many anatomical theories supported the emission or extramission theory of vision in which the eyes emitted rays of refined pneumatic spirits that were composed of vaporous bodily humors. This theory does not originate with but was supported by Galen, which contributed to its longevity and widespread acceptance. Consequently, looking at someone meant that their vaporous humors would touch the thing being looked at, person or object. See Lindberg, "Alhazen's Theory of Vision," 321, 327.

[38] These are expected physical symptoms of love sickness.

[39] Wounds and sexuality have received considerable attention. See Iyengar, "'Handling Soft the Hurts,'" for a reading of wounds as representative of genitals and healing of wounded men by women as a sexual encounter (39-61).

[40] See notes 21 and 22.

[41] When Archimago encounters Guyon in Book II and tells him about Duessa/Fidessa's stripping by Arthur and Redcross, he says she has "golden lockes" (II.i.11.5).

[42] Many women playing in fountains and pools reside in Acrasia's land. One is described in II.xii.67 with her long, thick, golden hair, "which formerly were bownd / Vp in one knott," (2-3) covering her body, suggesting women like Godiva and Saint Agnes even as she does Eve.

[43] Alcina has "long blond hair in a knot / gold is not more bright and shining" [bionda chioma lunga et annodata: / oro non è che più risplenda e lustri] (vii.11.3-4).

[44] Belphoebe and Marfisa remain unmarried and unattached to men. Britomart, Bradamante, and Gildippe (a minor character in *Gerusalemme liberata* who learns to fight to go on crusade with her husband and then both die) all marry. Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, argues that Marfisa refusses all identification with womanhood (92). See Bateman, "Amazonian Knots," for a reading of Marfisa that connects her to Amazons and the epic tradition and sees Marfisa as never being subsumed into a female role (8-12).

[45] As described in *Orlando furioso*, Medoro has "hair of golden curls" [chioma crespa d'oro] (XVIII.166.7).

[46] "He grabbed that golden hair in his hand / and shook him violently / but when his eyes set upon that beautiful face / he was filled with pity and did not kill him" [Stese la mano in quella chioma d'oro, / e strascinollo a sé con violenza: / ma come gli occhi a quell be volto mise, / gli ne venne pietade, e non l'uccise] (xix.10.5-8).

[47] In *Orlando innamorato* Fata Morgana sings while dancing and says that those who catch her "golden forelock" will get bliss (II.ix.58).

[48] See note 16.

[49] Hall, *The Loathsomeness*, 57.

[50] See note 15.

[51] Hall, *The Loathsomeness*, 46.

[52] Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 73.

[53] Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*, 55. This point is made by many other historians as well.

[54] See French, "The Legend of Lady Godiva," for Godiva's long hair as a protection against the availability of her naked body (15), and see Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*, for references to all of these women.

[55] Una has more covering than would be required for an unmarried young woman, likely to show her extreme modesty: "the same did hide / Vnder a vele, that wimpled was full low, / And ouer all a blacke stole shee did throw" (I.i.4.3-5). Sophronia "hides her worth within the narrow cage / of a small house" (ii.14.5-6) and is "straitly veiled" (ii.18.3). Before she is to be burned at the stake, "they tear away her veil and her modest cloak" (ii.26.3) (translations from Esolen).

[56] See Hamilton's note to III.ix.20.

[57] Venus is regularly depicted as being veiled by her hair. See Boticelli's (1486) *Birth of Venus* for a popular example of her veiling her genitalia with her hair. Religious examples include Mary Magdalene and Saint Agnes among others. See Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*. For contemporary examples, Spenser had actual hair practices as well as Tasso's descriptions of his partly or fully veiled ladies like Sophronia, Erminia, and even Armida.

[58] There is substantial scholarship on the Rocca di Tristano episode. See Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, who focuses on Bradamante's forensic skill as a display of her leadership potential (96-102), which is important for Shemek's reading of Bradamante as a figure of supplementarity who adds femininity to a masculine martial identity (92). Much of the scholarship is concerned with determining what category of womanhood Bradamante fits into and whether her actions fit her masculine words. See McLucas, "Amazon, Sorceress, and Queen," for an emphasis on manliness (39); Bellamy, *Translations of Power*, for Bradamante as declaring herself male through a speech act (118); and Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, who finds Bradamante's claim to be a man a kind of penis envy (210). For scholars who have focused on the rhetorical aspects of Bradamante's speech, see Ross, "Ariosto's Fable of Power," who looks at the intersection of justice, custom, and social order (157).

[59] See chapter 4 toward the end of the final section for a reading of the rest of Bradamante's response.

[60] Hall, *The Loathsomeness*, 34.

[61] See Hershman, "Hair, Sex and Dirt," generally, but artistic representations of apostles and holy men support this association, even if actual religious men in the Middle Ages and Renaissance would often have short hair and be the fiercest opponents to long-haired men.

[62] For some long-haired/bearded holy men/hermits, see *Faerie Queene* I.x.48, *Orlando furioso* XV.42, and *Gerusalemme liberata* I.34.

[63] Coates, "Scissors or Sword," 8.

[64] Ibid., 7-8.

[65] See Coates, "Scissors or Sword," for Charlemagne's association with short(er) hair (8). See also Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings," for the anecdote about King Henry but the article as a whole for a summary of medieval hair practices (50-51).

[66] Besides the quotations from Hall in *The Loathsomeness of Long Hair*, see also Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings," for multiple examples of religious figures stating that long hair made men effeminate.

[67] For the connection between Nebuchadnezzar, who was punished by God for seven years, and Orlando, see xxxix.66. Ariosto does not record Nebuchadnezzar's hairiness or long nails, but see Daniel 4:33: "his hair grew like the feathers of an eagle and his nails like the claws of a bird." Artistic representations of him in this state also show him with long hair and naked, basically the same conditions Orlando experiences during his madness.

[68] For these examples among others, see Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*, , 37.

[69] Rolland-Perrin, *Blonde comme l'or*, writes that short hair is a sign of humiliation or violence done to the female body except willingly in religious cases (188). See also Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks*, who points out that adulterous women would often be penalized by having their heads shaved or hair cut short (154). In another context, Levine, "The Gendered Grammar," interprets Ovid's story of Daphne and Apollo. She points out that while the god's hair will never be cut, the transformed Daphne will have her leaves cut again and again as a sign of masculine victory (83). The cutting of her hair stands in for the rape of her body that Apollo desired in his pursuit of her.

[70] Hall, *The Loathsomeness*, 26.

[71] For an analysis of this, see Moore, "History, Memory, and Trauma."

[72] See *Orlando innamorato* III.viii.54-62.

[73]See *Gerusalemme liberata* XIX.112.

[74] For this incident see *Orlando furioso* XV.75-87.

[75] Valeriano, *A Treatise*, 4, 7.

[76] Contemporary understanding of beard hair considered it directly linked to the same kind of humors productive of seminal material. The pun on hair and heir depends

on the beard as marker of procreative potential. For more on this, see Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," 175-76. Referencing Fisher's work, Biow, "Manly Matters," also references a common saying: "No facial hairs, as the familiar quip had it, then no heirs" (333). He elaborates on the association between manliness and beardedness and the use of beards as a marker to distinguish men from boys and women. Valeriano's treatise quotes a classical authority, Artemidorus, who says that "fathers are worthy to be honored, whan their chyldren be sene with manly beardes" (8). The fact that a father's honor depends upon his (male) children's possession of manly beards reinforces the ligature of beards and sexual potency. In this case, the father not only demonstrates his virility in the presence of sons, but his sons' beards visually mark their own virility, giving further testament to the power of the father's testicles.

[77] This very brief historical summary of beards in what is now England, France, and Italy comes mostly from Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, (98-136). See also Reynolds, *Beards*, 71-94, and Zucker, "Raphael and the Beard," 524-25.

[78] Biow, "The Beard in Sixteenth-Century Italy," 181. Biow focuses on a crisis of masculinity in Italy in the sixteenth century that relates to the conquest of many Italian city-states by the French and declining Italian international influence. For a book-length discussion of masculinity and anxiety in early modern England, see Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity*: "The central proposition of this book is that the phrase 'anxious masculinity' is redundant. Masculine subjectivity constructed and sustained by a patriarchal culture--infused with patriarchal assumptions about power, privilege, sexual desire, the body--inevitably engenders varying degrees of anxiety in its male members" (1). While Breitenberg does not consider hair practices and beards specifically, his analysis about masculinity in the sixteenth century does impact my own interpretation of beardedness in the romances and dovetails nicely with Biow's work on beards in Italy. An alternate explanation for the return of the beard comes from Horowitz, "The New World," who argues that before 1492 and discovery of New World, really only Muslims and Jews were bearded so Europeans stopped wearing beards during the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries to distinguish themselves from Jews and Muslims. After 1492, however, the symbol of radical otherhood became the American Indian, whose absence of facial hair shifted the association of beardedness so that it became closely associated with whiteness and European culture (1181). Biow, "The Beard in Sixteenth-Century Italy," suggests that it is difficult to imagine the Jew and Turk so quickly disappearing as figures of radical otherhood in the European Renaissance, and he points out that Italy had little contact with the New World, so the increasing popularity of beards there cannot be explained by Horowitz's hypothesis (176-77).

[79] For *The Faerie Queene*, see I.i.29 for the first encounter with Archimago who is an aged sire with a gray beard; I.viii.30 where the Keeper of Keys at Lucifera's castle is old and has a white beard; III.x.47 where old Malbecco has a beard; IV.xi.25 where the river Thame has a gray beard; VI.ix.13 where Pastorella's father has silver locks and

beard. For *Orlando furioso*, see xv.42 where a hermit has a white beard. For *Orlando innamorato* see I.vi.16 for a gray-haired and bearded friar.

[80]Classical and biblical characters appear with beards in *The Faerie Queene* at II.iv.15 where Furor has a tawny beard, II.vii.3 where Mammon has a soot-stained beard, III.viii.35 where Proteus has a rough beard, and IV.v.34 where Care has a rugged beard; in *Orlando furioso* at xxxiv.54 where John the Evangelist has a full white beard that mantles his chest.

[81] Reynolds, *Beards*, does point out, however, that Charlemagne and his heroes—the ostensible characters in Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*—were regularly celebrated as bearded in the *Chanson de Roland* even if they may not have actually been bearded and even during periods of history when beards were not popular; the beards were so prominently displayed at some points in the *Chanson de Roland* that knights would wear them outside the cuirass, which would certainly be a significant disadvantage in situations of actual combat (72-73, 79).

[82] *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Beard," third entry.

[83] According to Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, fines would often be specified for plucking hairs from the beard, with the fine determined by the number of hairs. The insult was even stronger in tone because throughout parts of the Middle Ages, only the ruling classes were permitted to wear beards (96). The earlier recounted incident of Queen Clotid with the choice between the scissors and sword resulted in significant conflict. Reynolds, *Beards*, references medieval Frankish and Teutonic law that specified fines for shaving a man against his will, six gold coins in one case (58).

[84] His defeat occurs at xxxvii.50.

[85] See xxxvii.51-75.

[86] The quoted lines are 766-67, but see ll. 720-81 for the entire episode.

[87] Malory, *Le Morte*, 39.4-6.

[88] This episode has received relatively little attention in scholarship, though Reynolds, *Beards*, recounts it and points out that even though Malory, like his near contemporary Boiardo, is writing in a beardless age, the presence of the beard in romance continues (167).

[89] Reynolds, *Beards*, states that close-shaven military men date back to Alexander (46). However, in the sixteenth century, several styles of beards were often worn by martial men, including the stiletto and the spade (232). Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, also notes the popularity of the spade beard for soldiers (164). Though presence or absence of

facial hair among military men changes over time, excess facial hair tended to be avoided by soldiers because of its inconvenience and vulnerability. Modern militaries often have policies limiting the amount of facial hair that can be had with main exceptions among western militaries for special forces and troops in countries with a significant amount of Muslim men, among whom beards are not only common but also connected to religious practices.

[90] Moller, "The Accelerated Development of Youth," argues that in the early modern period facial hair "consistently matured several years later in the life course than it does in the twentieth century" (754-55), pointing out (among other pieces of evidence) that Rembrandt and Louis XII did not begin to grow beards until they were 23 and 26 respectively.

[91] Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," argues "that in the Renaissance facial hair often conferred masculinity: the beard made the man" (156). His article says that boys were a different gender, and that becoming a man was a result of a number of factors including bodily appearance and comportment.

[92] Sullivan, *Living Across and Through Skins*, draws on the philosophical work of John Dewey to develop the idea of "bodies in transaction" (12). While she is not considering the medieval or early modern period, this concept meshes well with my arguments about the porosity of the martial body being central to the power of that figure. She defines the idea: "the term 'transaction' indicates dynamic entities that are continually undergoing reconstitution through their interconstitutive relations with others. Again, in the instance of organisms and their environments, one can see what Dewey means by transaction: 'Organisms do not live without air and water, nor without food ingestion and radiation. They live, that is, as much in processes across and "through" skins as in processes "within" skins.' The epidermis is not some sort of rigid border that guards the organism 'inside' the skin from foreign elements 'outside' it. Organisms, such as humans, are not 'located' within the epidermis in an isolated, self-contained way; they are instead constituted as much by things 'outside' the skin as 'within' it, as well as by the skin, or site of transaction, itself" (13). Sullivan's work contributes to my own, but her points about "interconstitutive relations" are even more fully realized in the Galenic context of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that are the focus of my study.

[93] Guy, *Questyonary*, 66. I have converted thorns to "th" and tailed z resembling a yogh to z.

[94] Ibid., 9.

[95] Hennepe, "The Fisherman's Net," in a consideration of early modern medical texts concludes that skin is "the ultimate layer of communication between the body and the world" (551). That communicative effect is largely a result of the skin's pores, which

"closely defined the interplay and exchanges of sweat and other substances between the body and the outer world. Capable of expelling sweat and other matter from the body, the pores could at the same time import air and other substances into the body. As such, the pores of the skin symbolize one important yet paradoxical role of the skin for the physiology of the healthy body: it is at once a large structure for safeguarding the integrity of the body while simultaneously being a layer of exchange and interaction between body and environment" (524).

[96] Aristotle, *De anima*, 423a, pg. 38.

[97] Healy, "Anxious and Fatal Contacts," explores touch as a hazardous sense in that diseases like plague and syphilis were understood to affect the body via touch (21-24). She concludes that the permeability of the body fuels fear and targeting of women as vectors of disease (34-38). While I find her reading useful, I want to focus on how that permeability, while anxiety inducing, was also empowering in terms of its transformational capacity. Harvey, "The Touching Organ," also focuses on anxieties around tactility and argues that early modern anatomy subdues and harnesses tactility and displaces its distracting sensuality (83). Benthien, *Skin*, also sees anatomy, particularly Vesalian anatomy, as wanting to master the surface to get to the depth and, thereby, mitigate both skin and touch (7). However, both Harvey and Benthien overlook the ways in which skin and touch are given significant treatment in anatomical and medical texts of the period, and their approaches reify the surface/depth binary that these very texts themselves resist. Consequently, while their analysis quite helpfully reorients the analysis of skin, it can also perpetuate the rigidity that my interpretation rejects.

[98] Aristotle, *De anima*, 434b, pg. 60.

[99] For more on both touch as a sense and the difficulty of locating it in the body, see Farina, "Wondrous Skins," 18. See also, for a more in-depth discussion of Aristotle on touch, Heller-Roazen, *The Inner Touch*, 21-30. For an overview of early modern thought about touch as a sense, see Harvey, "Introduction," 1-21.

[100] For a brief summary of modern theoretical work on surface and depth as categories to be complicated, see Ahmed and Stacey, "Introduction," 4.

[101] Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 17.

[102] Smoller, "Skin Pathology," 551.

[103] Climactic explanations of color appear in almost all main encyclopedias of the Middle Ages. This explanation suggests that exposure to sun in a hot and dry environment causes darker skin color. See Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," for this explanation, which many scholars note (11), and the article more broadly for a discussion of skin color and race for medievalists.

[104] I.ii.10.2; I.iv.48.7; I.iv.34.5.

[105] xii.21.4.

[106] For one example of this, see Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes," 11.

[107] Aristotle, *De anima*, 424a, pg. 40.

[108] In this way, Clorinda is both black and white and yet also not really either. In this way, her condition is similar to that of the "skinwalker" described by Scales-Trent, *Notes of a White Black Woman*, as someone both black and white at the same time who must transgress boundaries in order to exist (7-32).

[109] Walker, "The Form of the Formless," analyzes the medieval romance *The King of Tars* in which a black Saracen's black skin changes to white as he converts to Christianity. She points out that "the change in color of the Saracen's own skin substitutes, or makes legible, the text of Christian faith" (131). Though the circumstance is different from Clorinda's whitening, both examples depend on making legible a particular ideal. In the case of Clorinda there certainly is the subtext of Christian faith since her parents were Christian. Ismen tells her this right before she dies, and she asks to be baptized before dying, but there is also the legibility of the martial body with which she is identified by her mother. In this way, her white skin substitutes for St. George's martiality.

[110] Throughout the medieval and early modern period and lasting quite a bit later, people believed that particularly strong impressions on a pregnant mother would result in marked skin on the fetus. Cravings for particular foods could result in birthmarks the shape of the food, encounters with particular animals could result in deformed children sharing characteristics with those animals, and women who looked at images or read certain kinds of books could shape their unborn children to resemble those things. See Connor, *The Book of Skin*, (101-18), though many scholars have written about the powerful effect of perception and imagination on a fetus. See also Benthien, *Skin*, 136-43.

[111] Smoller, "Skin Pathology," 551.

[112] See note 5 on Kay's work.

[113] Paré, *The Workes*, 89.

[114] Fernel, *The Physiologia*, 149.

[115] Ibid., 209.

[116] Connor, *The Book of Skin*, 11-12.

[117] Paré, *The Workes*, 89.

[118] Crooke, *Microcosmographia*, 61.

[119] For more on hardened skin, see Benthien, *Skin*, 134-36, and Connor, *The Book of Skin*, 53-58.

[120] Connor, *The Book of Skin*, 54-55.

[121] Benthien, *Skin*, 22. See also Small, "The Medieval Werewolf," who—like several other critics—connects skin to a shield (91).

[122] Aristotle, *De anima*, writes: "Imagination, too, differs from sensation and from *thought*; but without sensation there can be no imagination, and without imagination there can be not belief" (427b, pg. 47).

[123] See Iyengar, "'Handling Soft the Hurts,'" who connects Medoro's inscriptions on the trees to Orlando's madness, and she also argues that Angelica's healing of Medoro and their relationship is a kind of mutual penetration (39-61). For a broader discussion of writing on trees that includes this incident among others, see Knight, *Reading Green*, 81-110.

[124] See note 1.

[125] Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 50.

[126] See Jacobs, "(Dis)assembling Marsyas," 441.

[127] Miles, *Carnal Knowing*, xii and 142-3.

[128] McLucas, "Faccio o nol faccio?," argues that Orlando is a symbol of hypermasculinity (38), but his nakedness is connected to the kind of nakedness that represents passivity, as in the cases of Olimpia and Angelica chained to the rocks (40). Wells, "'Solvite me,'" also asserts that Orlando's nakedness and madness effeminize him (18).

Chapter Three

Armored

Figure 13. Armor made for the Dauphin Henry II, c. 1540 Milan, Francesco Negroli and Brothers. Musèe de l'Armèe, Paris, Inv G 118.

In *Specters of Marx* Jacques Derrida meditates on the ghost of Hamlet's armored father and specifically the relationship between that armor and the spectral body inside it:

> This protection is rigorously *problematic* (*problema* is also a shield) for it prevents perception from deciding on the identity that it wraps so solidly in its

> carapace. The armor may be but the body of a real artifact, a kind of technical prosthesis, a body foreign to the spectral body that it dresses, dissimulates, and protects, masking even its identity. The armor lets one see nothing of the spectral body, but at the level of the head and *beneath the visor*, it permits the so-called father to see and to speak. Some slits are cut into it and adjusted so as to permit him to see without being seen, but to speak in order to be heard. The *helmet*, like the visor, did not merely offer protection: it topped off the coat of arms and indicated the chief's authority, like the blazon of his nobility."[1]

He immediately identifies the problematic nature of armor's rapport with identity; it interferes with the viewer's perception of the wearer, but it also, paradoxically, announces identity as well. Even without access to markers of identity encoded on the surface of armor, anyone wearing fine Italian armor like that of the future Henry II of France must be extremely wealthy, high status, and likely royal given the quality of the armor. Presumably this wearer knows how to fight and is likely male. Consequently, even as the armor shields the wearer, it also reveals him or her. In Derrida's second sentence, he unpacks the further complications of armor's connection to identity; in its prosthetic function, the armor may dissimulate that a body exists, or it may suggest identity markers that do not match that of the body beneath. From a distance Henry II's armor suggests general features of the identity of its wearer, but upon closer inspection, it carries further clues wherein the decoration—fine damascening—announces identity.

Figure 14. Close-up of Right Couter, Lower Breastplate, and Upper Fauld in Figure 13.

This close-perspective image of Henry II's armor reveals two distinctive symbols linked to Henry II. The first is the monogram HC or HD intersecting inside the square on the upper right wing of the couter or elbow cop. This symbol stands for Henry and also most likely Henry II's mistress, Diane de Poitiers, though if it is a C, it could refer to his wife, Catherine de' Medici. The addition of the bow and quiver full of arrows—symbols for the huntress Diana—visible here on the breastplate and present over the surface of the armor furthers the association with Henry and Diana, as do the black and silver colors, which were Diane de Poitiers' colors that Henry adopted. The second symbol most clearly visible on the couter is the three intersecting C's that suggest the crescent moon, again linking to Diana, and one of Henry II's personal symbols.[2] In this case, the intricacy of the semiotic code produced by the armor's ornamented surface is legible, for the viewer familiar with the code, as signaling the wearer's identity as Henry II. For any

other wearer, however, that code does not match, and as armor would often be handed down to children or court favorites, it is likely that this armor's code has dissimulated about the body beneath. Further, for the modern viewer, the substantial materiality of the armor jars with the absent or at best spectral body of its original wearer, the long-dead Henry II.

Derrida last turns his attention to the helmet. From within the helmet, if the visor is down and helmet type correct, the wearer can see and speak, but the viewer cannot see—and cannot be confident of being heard either. Rather than rely on visual and aural means of communication, only the armor signifies, and the legibility of what it signifies is highly ambiguous. The helmet, Derrida claims, indicates authority and blazons nobility even as it blocks access to direct communication with the wearer. Henry II's helmet certainly announces his nobility; the laurel crown often appears on helmets of kings, emperors, and heirs to the throne.[3] It also continues to broadcast his personal identity, carrying over the decorative symbols previously discussed; yet, as Figure 13 shows, the helmet prevents the viewer from seeing the wearer's face, from being sure that there is even a body present.

Figure 15. Close-Up of Right Side and Back of Helmet from Figure 13.

While an armor cannot stand alone, unsupported by either a body or prop, it is quite easy to see only the armor and imagine that a body is either not present or less present than the steel armor itself. Of course, armor has a close relationship with the body. As Maria Hayward has shown, we know most about Henry VIII of England's increasing body size over the course of his adult life from his armors dating 1514-1540s.[4] To make the best-fitting armor, armorers would measure clients and fit pieces to them throughout the process, but if that was not possible, the buyer would send a doublet and hose that the armorer would use to measure the proper size.[5] While there was a good deal of give in the cuirass—the combination of backplate and breastplate—arm and leg defenses needed to be relatively close to the lengths of the wearer's limbs.[6] As in the case of Henry VIII, though, adjusting the cuirass could do only so much, and new harnesses

had to be made to accommodate his growing girth. Given this intimate relationship between body and armor, the materiality of both implicate each other. As Susan Crane points out in her study of the connection between clothing, the body, and performing subjectivity, “This cultural body is necessarily clothed, but the specific mechanisms and meanings of clothing have received little attention. In the performances I examine, restricting the material register to the body is insufficient: the body is costumed, and clothing, not skin, is the frontier of the self.”[7] While Crane does not consider armor, there was not a clear line between clothing and armor, and for the figure of the martial body, armor is most often the frontier that bridged self and environment, as this chapter will show.

I begin with this close reading of Derrida’s passage in relation to Henry II’s armor for several reasons. First, together they introduce the key terms and ideas that will guide this chapter. Armor is obviously one of those terms, but the relationship between identity and armor will also be central. Further, Derrida’s suggestion of armor as a technical prosthesis anticipates my own theoretical approach to armor as prosthesis for both male and female armored characters in the late fifteenth-sixteenth-century epic romances of Matteo Maria Boiardo, Ludovico Ariosto, Torquato Tasso, and Edmund Spenser. While Derrida does not specifically mention decoration or ornament, the ability of the helmet to signal authority and nobility depends upon it, as the example of Henry II’s armor shows. Indeed, when Artegall is stripped of his armor after his defeat by the Amazon queen, Radigund, in Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, he is “disarmed quight, / of all the ornaments of knightly name” (V.20.3-4). This moment represents a fundamental loss of both protection

for the body and "knightly name" or identity.[8] Set in the middle of the phrase, "ornaments" connects the lost armor and knightly name, suggesting that ornament is both the actual armor, shield, and sword that Radigund takes and Artegall's identity formation in the social space of fairyland.

Here and generally in early modern society—even in our own today—armor is coded male; it is Artegall's armor and name that he loses.[9] The technical prosthesis of his armor can no longer protect his body, nor can the ornament of the armor mark his identity. Before this incident he is easily recognizable; Britomart can ask the Redcrosse knight for "some markes, by which he may appeare, / . . . / What shape, what shield, what armes, what steed, what stedd / And what so else his person most may vaunt?" (III.ii.16.3, 6-7). She gets a full description, which we are given a few stanzas later:

> His crest was couered with a couchant Hownd,
>
> And all his armour seemd of antique mould,
>
> But wondrous massy and assured sownd,
>
> And round about yfretted all with gold,
>
> In which there written was with cyphres old,
>
> *Achilles armes, which Arthogall did win*.
>
> And on his shield enueloped seuenfold
>
> He bore a crowned little Ermilin,
>
> That deckt the azure field with her fayre pouldred skin (III.ii.25.1-9).

I will return to this description of Artegall's armor in more detail later in the chapter, but I include the stanza in full here to show that we and Britomart have access to a detailed

description that enables the armor to signify the wearer's identity in much the same way as Henry II's.

I am not alone in combining the study of armor with literary interpretation. However, previous work has either tended to give careful account of armor in relation to the accuracy of a particular writer, like Chaucer, or genre, like French and English romances; or, it has focused on the interpretive and references the fact that characters wear armor without going into detail about the material referent of that figural armor in the early modern period.[10] A notable exception is Susan Harlan's recent book, *Memories of War in Early Modern England: Armor and Militant Nostalgia in Marlowe, Sidney, and Shakespeare,* in which she looks at uses of armor in performance to consider how English writers imbued armor with meaning and used it to negotiate relationships between present and absent violence, self and other, and past and present.[11] My approach to the material armor and epic romances from England and Italy shares some common features with Harlan, but I push past to further develop the link between armor's prosthetic function and the body. In this way, the most visible marker of the martial body can confer martiality to the seemingly un-fit.

While armor is most often considered to represent the peak of martial masculinity and communicates identity at both the group and, sometimes, individual level, all of this depends upon the legibility of armor as a tool in the service of a particular patriarchal and hierarchical structure: only men wear armor, and only noble or very high status men wear the best armor. I argue that wearing armor, however, can radically destabilize these structures, and it does so paradoxically because of the common presumption that it is a

reliable semiotic code for reading martial masculinity and status. When the specter does not match the carapace, when the wearer remakes the armor to challenge its coding as masculine, and when the armor signifies in polyvalent ways, armor complicates the givenness of things. It exerts agency to invest its wearers with a martial body, even if those wearers do not match either social expectations or the signifiers on the armor's surface. As such, when armor is described in these epic romances, and given armor's widespread prevalence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it performs a communicative, and by extension, persuasive function. It is rhetorical, and it destabilizes ideals of masculinity and femininity even as it challenges set expectations for behavior based on gender in the early modern period.

I

This section will provide a brief historical overview of the use and development of armor for the purpose of analyzing the accuracy of references to and descriptions of armor in the epic romances. This will be necessary to encounter armor in the romances with an eye toward its material gravity for its first readers. In *The Spenser Encyclopedia* entry on "armor," Michael Leslie notes that the associations of armor for Spenser's readers would include the physical along with the chivalric, symbolic, and spiritual. Consequently, Leslie states, Spenser's "sparing references have a disproportionate resonance."[12] Leslie's point holds for the polyvalent resonances of armor in the Italian romances as well, but given readers' familiarity with contemporary armor, how well the descriptions match historical fact would affect the ways that armor signifies. This remains true for modern readers, though in the opposite direction; whereas the average

reader in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would likely have a working knowledge of armor, the average modern reader does not, so the link between textual description and material fact matters less today. I argue that not only does textual description implicate the materiality of armor, but also the accuracy of these textual descriptions serves armor's polyvalent significations. Additionally, modern conceptions of armor as exclusively aligned with masculinity and men do not match real practices of women's association with armor; this matters for considering armored women who receive considerable description in the romances.

In 1757 Marshal de Saxe lamented the decline in the use of armor, pointing to its utility even if not bulletproof: "I am at a loss to know why armor has been laid aside, for nothing is either so useful or ornamental . . . . it was the fashion in Henry IV's reign and since, and powder was introduced long before that time . . . its disuse was occasioned by nothing more than the inconvenience of it."[13] While the use of armor continued into the nineteenth century, it declined during the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.[14] A number of factors contributed to that decline, though older generations of military historians and even writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most often cite the use of firearms as the sole or most significant reason.[15] More recent scholarship points to the confluence of other factors such as the shift in military tactics to privilege the infantry, the increased use of pikes and other staff weapons, and the professionalization of the soldier.[16] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gunpowder had a much more limited impact on armor than has been assumed.[17] Additionally, the unwillingness to wear armor came in part from its increasing weight as

well as a lack of lifelong training to acclimate the wearer. Knights started training in armor as boys and were conditioned to fighting and moving in it. Edward I and Henry V of England were known for leaping into the saddle without the use of stirrups while fully armored.[18] In contrast, during Elizabeth I's reign, soldiers had to be paid about a penny per mile for wearing armor to muster and to exercise in it.[19] Being unaccustomed to wearing armor habitually significantly contributed to its abandonment. While certainly not light, the weight of armor before the seventeenth century would be similar to or even less than the weight of an infantryman's kit from World War I, about sixty pounds.[20] Since increasing the thickness of plate by one mm more than doubles the required energy of a projectile to pierce the plate, armorers slowly thickened the plates, increasing the weight until, during the seventeenth century, weight limited mobility too much.[21] However, armor need not be bullet proof to be useful in the battles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when other weapons often caused more deaths than guns. Nonetheless, all of these factors contributed to the decline of armor in battle. Yet the same period also saw the proliferation of armor used in tournaments, pageants, and for display.

The appearance and composition of armor evolved over the Middle Ages and early modern period. Until the fourteenth century, armor solely comprised mail and helmet. At first only a mail shirt (hauberk or habergeon) was worn, but during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, mail sleeves with mittens and mail leggings and foot protection evolved. After 1330 the reliance on mail for armor only was quite rare, and reinforcing pieces of cuir bouille (hardened leather) and iron or steel were added. By

1420, plate was common. Since 95% of armor still existing dates after the Battle of Agincourt in 1415,[22] what we know of earlier periods comes mainly from bronzes of entombed knights, grave statues, and illustrations. By Agincourt mail was generally used to reinforce weak spots like the armpits and elbows or as a base or skirt that would cover the groin and thighs. Wearing full habergeons during the fifteenth century was very rare because a full suit of (almost always) steel plate armor was perfected in Northern Italy by the early fifteenth century. Articulated plate armor replaced the coat of plates worn over or under the mail hauberk as well as the leather reinforces. Armor before the fifteenth century would be covered by rich fabric, paint, or jewels, and surcoats or jupons, also called coat armor, during the fourteenth century would often be decorated with the wearer's heraldry. After about 1420, however, these were dispensed with, and while armor might be painted to prevent rust, heat treatment to blue or russet the steel became used more and jeweled armor was quite rare. Cloaks or tabards with coat of arms might still be worn, especially in connection with tournaments or pageants. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, armor for battle and armor for jousts and tournaments increasingly diversified. Helmets also evolved over this same period. Great helms were common through the fourteenth century and, though rare in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they would commonly boast crests of animals, personal symbols, or objects in the fourteenth. By the fifteenth century crests usually only appeared at tournaments. The use of the shield also evolved, and shields were rarely used in mounted combat after about 1400 and present only in tournaments and accompanying parade armor after that.[23]

The armor used in combat and tournament often came from the two main fabricators during the early modern period, which were located in Northern Italy, chiefly Milan, and Southern Germany. Especially during the fifteenth century, Italian products exceeded those of its rivals in quality. Italian armor developed solutions to address weaknesses at the shoulders, neck, and arms.[24] Metallurgist Alan Williams tested various fifteenth-seventeenth-century pieces of armor from Italy, Germany, France, England, and some other European countries. He found that during the fifteenth century Italian armor was almost always steel and often had been either fully or partially quenched. By cooling the hot steel in cold water (full quench) or some other liquid usually after a brief delay to let the temperature of the metal decrease (partial quench), the steel becomes harder. It also becomes more brittle, so great skill on the part of the armorer is required.[25] The Missaglia family dominated the armor production scene and boasted clients including the Visconti and Sforza dukes of Milan, the Gonzaga of Mantua, the Este of Ferrara (the family whom Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso worked for), the Medici of Florence, the kings of France and England, and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian I, among others.[26] This armor often had little decoration, though during the last decades of the century, fluting or embossed edges might be added, which was especially popular in Germany.[27] During the sixteenth century the quality of Italian steel declined, as they stopped heat treating the steel. The new process of fire gilding, applying a mercury and gold mixture to the surface and then heating to vaporize the mercury and adhere the gold, conflicted with heat treating. Other decorations included etching, engraving, damascening, and embossing. I will deal with these decorative processes in more detail later, but the

Negroli family from Milan took the place of the Missaglia (literally as they bought their house and shop) and were recognized as consummate producers of embossed armor in the sixteenth century.[28]

English armor certainly existed, but before the sixteenth century, it is difficult to tell what exactly is English produced and what was imported from Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Much existing armor in England is Italian or Italianate,[29] but as Thom Richardson, former Head of Collections at the Royal Armories, notes, English armor was being produced in England from at least 1347 when the Company of Helmers was established. It became the Armorers' Company in 1453 and continues to exist today as The Worshipful Company of Armories and Brasiers, though it focuses on charitable work, awards for the armed services, and a museum-like space with historical armor. In 1511 Henry VIII brought over armorers from Milan and later Germany to start his own armor workshop at Greenwich. They produced many armors for Henry VIII, and during Elizabeth I's reign, her court favorites paid handsomely for Greenwich armor.[30] The Italian and German influences blended in Greenwich armor so that they were beautifully etched and decorated but almost never embossed like many Italian pieces. They eventually had higher-quality steel than the Italian, a trait the best German armors shared. By quenching and then tempering the steel, the later Greenwich armorers, and the best German armorers, found out how to produce stronger steel without sacrificing fire gilding.[31]

Putting armor on presented challenges, usually requiring another person to help, and what was worn changed over time. Before full plate armor, an aketon, or a padded,

long-sleeved jacket, was worn under mail hauberk, sleeves, and collar. A coat of plates—pieces of plate sewn in between layers of fabric—might be worn underneath the mail but usually went on top of it, and a gambeson—another padded garment—would usually be worn on top. Plates to protect the arms and legs were slowly added until the adoption of the complete suit of plate armor.[32] For plate armor, an arming doublet with arming points—thick laces to go through holes in the armor and secure it to the body—was worn with padded hose and leather shoes.[33] A surviving fifteenth-century manuscript reproduced in full by former Curator of the Tower Armories Charles ffoulkes describes the arming process.[34] This diagram from ffoulkes helps connect names of the pieces of armor to the part and can be useful when considering his account of how to arm a person.

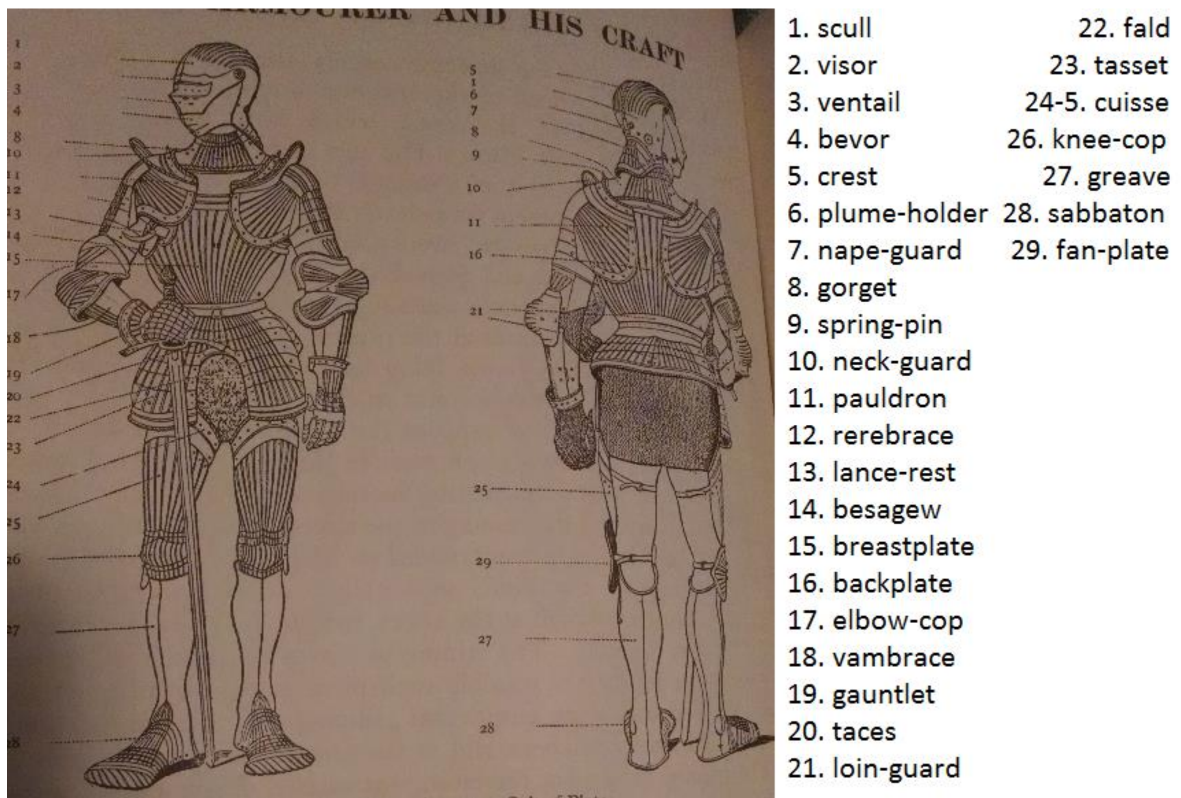

Figure 16. Sixteenth-Century Armor with Glossary. From ffoulkes, *The Armourer and His Craft from the XIth to the XVIth Century*. Pg. 110.

The manuscript also includes an illustration showing the arming of a man about to fight on foot and depicting him with his lower limbs fitted with sabatons, greaves, and cuisses while a mail breech is adjusted. On a nearby table can be seen the tonlet with cuirass attached, a rerebrace for the right arm, a rerebrace with attached besagew for the left, gauntlets for the right and left hands, and a bascinet with visor and neck lames.[35] Arming starts with the feet, so the sabatons—articulated lames that cover the top of the foot—go on first. Greaves to protect the lower leg come next followed by cuisses to protect the thigh and knee cops, which are usually attached to the cuisses. A mail skirt might cover the groins and top of the thighs, but later this area would be protected by tassets—plates that connect to the fauld, which is like a short skirt attached to the bottom of the cuirass—and eventually codpiece. In addition to the arming points, buckles on the inside of the calf would usually secure the greaves and straps with buckles would wrap around the thigh and secure in the inner leg. In this manuscript a tonlet is attached to the cuirass. A tonlet is a large metal skirt that protects the lower body and is designed to be worn for fighting on foot over the tilt. Many come with pieces that remove to enable the wearer to mount and ride a horse. The cuirass—combination of breastplate and backplate—would connect by buckles at the shoulders or be hinged on one side and then buckle or fasten on the other side. Arm defenses would be added next. The rerebrace is the upper arm defense, but the term is often applied to the entire arm defense. It would usually be connected to the vambrace—lower arm defense—and couter or elbow cop. These would buckle over the arm. Pauldrons or shoulder defenses would overlap the top of the cuirass and rerebrace. The left arm defense would often be stronger with attached shields—called

targes—or reinforcing plates to help protect the left side, which is where most attacks were directed. A besagew is a round plate that would hang over the exposed armpit. Gauntlets fit over the arm defenses. The left is often reinforced or made in a piece over the hand for tournament armor. The helmet is here a bascinet with an attached visor to cover the face and neck lames—small plates attached to the back of the helmet to protect the back of the neck. Later armor would usually also include a gorget to protect the throat and a bevor to protect the chin and lower face.

Before moving from this overview of the development of armor to a consideration of accuracy in the romances, I want to turn to women's connection to armor and war. In a chapter about armor and Cordelia in *King Lear*, Sarah Werner explains how our own assumptions about women and armor obstruct evidence that armor was a part of women's lives:

> One of the primary reasons that we fail to recognize the presence of female characters on stage dressed in armor is our own assumptions about early modern gender. . . . We do not see Cordelia in armor because such a role falls outside how we imagine early modern women. In order to see Cordelia—and Margaret, and the other armed female characters now hidden in early modern playtexts—we need to look for anomalies and to rethink our sense of what is appropriate.[36]

While Werner focuses on drama, her point is especially useful in regard to assumptions that women had no place in war or connection with armor, assumptions evident in many books by military historians.[37] While records of women wearing armor are scarce, provenance proving pieces of armor belonged to men is also rare. The assumption that it

was made by and for men participates in coding armor as masculine even when historical evidence disputes this assumption, and if that historical evidence is combined with examples of armored women in literature, it levies a strong challenge to the coding of armor as inherently masculine. Women were involved in buying, producing, and occasionally wearing armor and its associated textiles. In many other cases women—both in and out of armor—are depicted on armor.

In the fifteenth century in Milan, Bona Sforza bought armor from the Missaglia shop for the duke's men-at-arms.[38] Sophie Brandenburg, the wife of Elector Christian of Saxony, commissioned twelve blued and gilded tournament armors for her husband as a Christmas present.[39] For production of armor or its textile accoutrements, ffoulkes includes records for a payment to Edith, the widow of the millman. The millman produced the sheets of steel used by the armorer drawing on water-powered hammers, and in this case, it appears that the widow carried on her husband's work in some capacity. Another record for payment, this one from Paris, is to a woman named Ada for making gambesons.[40] In Germany an armorer's widow continued his work based on records.[41] Evidence of women wearing armor is harder to find, but again, even absent records, armor without a known provenance is always presumed to have been worn by men. An obvious example is Joan of Arc, whose armor was most likely in the Gothic style, meaning well-rounded breastplate, large pauldrons, and enlarged elbow guards.[42] Her armor was likely made by a Milanese armorer,[43] though it was made in Tours in 1429, and it cost 100 pounds, estimated to be about $12,000 in modern currency.[44] During her trials she defends her arming and refuses to promise she will not arm again

out of loyalty to France.[45] Though the most famous, Joan is not alone. The fifteenth-century Caterina Sforza, countess of Imola and Forlì, had a cuirass made for her designed to be worn under a dress, which is in Bologna. She fought in defense of her fortress Ravaldino and is included in the late fifteenth-century book on good women by Fra Filippo da Bergamo.[46] Her grandmother Bianca Maria is not included, but from other sources we know she fought with her husband and was described by contemporaries: "the valorous woman riding in between them armed" [la valorosa donna a cavallo in fra li armati].[47] Other women warriors include Bona Lombarda who dressed as a soldier and later also fought with her husband, the condottiere Pier Brunoro Sanvitale.[48] From the fourteenth century Maria di Pozzuoli is written about by Petrarch who marveled at her strength when she lifted a heavy stone and iron bar; she was known for fighting in wars, staying in camps with men-at-arms, and remaining armed when sleeping.[49] Barton Hacker, a military historian and curator of Armed Forces History at the Smithsonian, argues that from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries "armies could not have functioned as well, perhaps could not have functioned at all, without the service of women."[50] Women accompanied armies and stayed in the camps. They provided a number of services, such as laundry, medical treatment, sewing, cooking, and despite the notorious claim that women with armies were prostitutes, many of the women accompanied their husbands or came as servants. While these women generally did not fight in battles, it is likely that women fought or helped with the fighting in desperate situations.[51] They would have helped care for weapons and armor in these capacities. Other examples exist,

but this short compilation troubles the assumption that armor is made by and for men only.

Lastly, armor often features women in its decoration, and many illustrations of women in armor also exist. Henry VIII's silvered and engraved tonlet armor features Katherine of Aragon's initial and pomegranates and arrows, symbols attached to Aragon and Katherine. Saint Barbara, patron saint of armorers, also appears on this armor and is often depicted on armor, as is Mary.[52] Non-religious decoration also includes women, often classical goddesses or figures like Victory. On this three-quarter French armor from 1570 the breastplate features Mars flanked by two women while the backplate presents Victory in classical armor.

Figure 17. Breastplate and Backplate of Armor of Mars and Victory, ca. 1565-70. Musèe de l'Armèe, Paris, G 51.

In addition to women's prominence in decorative schemes on armor, as Ida Sinković states, "paintings and prints of the Renaissance and baroque also challenge gender stereotypes, the longstanding tendency to associate arms and armor exclusively with the masculine realm."[53] For example, Sandro Boticelli's paintings of the virtues from around 1470 depict Fortitude as a girl in blued armor. Peter Paul Rubens' painting of Joan of Arc from around 1615 shows her in full armor except helmet and gauntlets, which are on the floor near where she kneels in prayer. Many paintings inspired by the epic romances have the female armored characters as their subject. Domenico Tintoretto's late sixteenth century *Tancred Baptizing Clorinda* shows Clorinda in black armor at the moment of death. These examples, like those of women's connections to armor previously stated, all work to undermine the gendering of armor as exclusively masculine. As the rest of this chapter will show, the armored characters in the epic romances similarly challenge the identification of armor as an uncomplicated marker of masculinity.

Given the importance of armor, the descriptions of its appearance matter. Though often mentioned, complete descriptions are less common; consequently, when the armor is explicated, the ekphrastic effect of these passages has a pronounced rhetorical effect—called *enargeia* or vivedness by classical rhetoricians—that brings images to the mind, and accuracy enhances that effect. In a study of English medieval romances, Robert Ackerman finds that common-places or stock phrases abound, but references to mail and sometimes reinforcing pieces most fits armor from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[54] Similarly, Giovanni Squarotti notes that in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata,* frequent references to armor shining in the sun is a trope from classical epic.[55] All of the

epic romances use these tropes and stock phrases, but they also all have conspicuous passages describing armor.

Boiardo provides extensive descriptions of crests and shields. The focus on these two items does not match his late fifteenth-century setting in terms of battlefield use, as crests disappeared after the fourteenth century and shields were rarely present in mounted combat after about 1450. Both of these items, however, continued in use at tournaments and pageants. Astolfo, for example, has this kind of armor: "the shield is encompassed by large pearls [di grosse perle il scudo è circondato] (I.i.61.3). At Charlemagne's tournament, the crests and shields receive attention; Serpentino's shield has "on the azure shield a great gold star" [nel scudo azuro una gran stella d'oro]; "And similarly that same work was on his expensive crest and surcoat" [E similmente il suo ricco cimiero, / E sopravesta fatta a quel lavoro] (I.ii.35.2-4). For Ogieri the Dane, "The coat of arms the warrior had adapted was a silver chevron on azure field; the skilled knight above the helmet showed a basilisk for a crest" [Era la insegna del guerrero adatto / Il scudo azzurro e un gran scaglion d'argento; / Un basalisco porta per cimero / Di sopra a l'elmo lo ardito guerrero] (I.ii.43.5-8). Other crests include a dragon (I.ii.49.2) and a dragon with a lady's head (I.ii.57.2). These types of crests and shields would be present at tournaments, and even when Boiardo shifts from narrating the events of a tournament to battles, the same emphasis on crests and shields continues. When Angelica brings Orlando to help her defend her besieged city, Orlando fights Ranaldo, who has joined the attackers. Orlando is "fully covered in armor plate" [di piastra fu tutto coperto] and "The beautiful Angelica presented to him a tall crest and a shield of inlaid gold; the crest was a sapling and the

shield had that same ensign inlaid" [Angelica la bella gli ebbe offerto / Un cimiero alto e un scudo d'ôr destinto. / Era il cimiero uno arboscello inserto, / E il scudo a tale insegna ancor dipinto] (I.xxvii.56.1, 4-6). Boiardo continuously situates his armored characters in a tournament setting, whether they are fighting wars, wandering on quests, or participating in tournaments.

The tournament-like setting draws on conventions in late fifteenth-century tournaments and pageants, making the armor and descriptions familiar, but the historical distance of Charlemagne's time does intrude in repeated references to "mail hauberk" [lo usbergo] (I.ii.61.3). During the late eighth and early ninth centuries armor consisted only of mail, but by the time Boiardo is writing, armor is composed of fully articulated plates with mail less common. Partial armors continued to blend mail and plate, as in this late fifteenth-century composite armor from Milan. This kind of armor would be much less expensive than a full-body armor, but the status of Boiardo's characters and the descriptions of their gilded or jeweled armor suggest they would have the finest available.

Figure 18. Composite Milanese Armor, late fifteenth century. Royal Armories, Leeds, Inv. II.168, III.1354.

Often plates and mail will be described together: “And he wore all his armament of plates and mail, and a sword belted to his side” [Ed avea indosso tutto il guarnimento / Di piastre e maglia, e cento al fianco il brando] (I.xxii.49.4-5); “all covered in metal plates and mail” [tutta coperta di piastre e lamiere] (II.vi.55.3); and when Mandricardo is dressed in new armor by a fairy, she first dresses him in hose, spurs, and mail (maglia) and then places “lo usbergo brunito” over that (III.i.36-7). While the word for mail hauberk—usbergo—is used, there are two reasons it must be plate: first, it goes over mail

and two mail shirts would not be worn together; and second, it is burnished, which can only be done to a metal plate. These examples, particularly that of Mandricardo's arming, attest to a mix of mail and plate characteristic of composite armor from the fourteenth century. This matches Ackerman's estimation of the dating of armor in medieval English romances, but Boiardo is writing in the late fifteenth century and in other places he describes specific pieces of armor like greaves, cuisses, arm defenses, and pauldrons, all of which are consistent with late fifteenth-century armor. In some cases the hauberk is specified as "thick-plate hauberk" [di grosse piastre il [u]sbergo] (I.xiv.64.2) or "mail and plates" [usbergo e piastre] (II.xxi.5.2). While hauberk and habergeon mean mail shirt, in some instances Boiardo uses it to mean plate armor. I suggest that the presence of mail situates the story in a mythic past even as contemporary types of armor appear throughout the romance; the mail also links the epic romance to medieval romances, which are replete with references to mail.

As in *Orlando innamorato* characters in *Orlando furioso* have shields, surcoats, and crests, but these in general receive less description. These continued to be used in tournaments and pageants but not on the battlefield. Ariosto similarly will link plate armor and mail. At the beginning of *Orlando furioso* Ferrau and Rinaldo fight, and their battle is described as so fierce that "no armor plates or fine mail could resist their blows that could split an anvil" [non che le piastre e la minuta maglia, / ma ai colpi lor non reggerian gl'incudi] (i.17.3-4). Piastra and maglia often occur together to denote the habiliment of a warrior in both Boiardo and Ariosto's texts. At the same time, characters wear pieces of plate armor characteristic of the first half of the sixteenth century.

Mandricardo and Zerbino fight over Orlando's discarded armor, and we are provided details of Zerbino's armor: "Thick was his mail, and likewise his plate armor, and the the tassets were perfect: but just the same they could not withstand the cruel sword that sliced through what it met, from the cuirass to saddle bow to cuisses" [Grosso l'usbergo, e grossa parimente / era la piastra, e 'l panziron perfetto: / pur non gli steron contra, et ugualmente / alla spada crudel dieron ricetto. / Quella calò tagliando ciò che prese, / la corazza e l'arcion fin su l'arnese] (xxiv.64.3-8). These pieces, especially tassets and cuisses, are characteristic of full plate armor as in these examples of armor for foot combat made in Milan around 1610.

Figure 19. Armor for Foot Combat Made in Milan, 1610. Musèe de l'Armèe, Paris.

Tasso provides less information about armor in *Gerusalemme liberata*, but he, too, will mention crests, shields, and details of heraldry. One shield stands out "on which a naked boy came from the mouth of a snake" [in cui da l'angue esce il fanciullo ignudo] (i.55.8). Clorinda's helmet has a tigress (ii.38.5). At one point during the siege, Godfrey, the leader of the crusaders, does not wear his breastplate and greaves to dress like a foot soldier: "Up rises the great Godfrey and he does not wear his cuirass or greaves; nor wore he anything else and like a foot soldier he is armed quickly and lightly" [Sorge il forte Goffredo, e già non piglia / La gran corazza usata o le schiniere; / Ne veste un'altra, ed un pedon somiglia / In arme speditissime e leggiere; / Ed indossa avea già l'agevol pondo] (xi.20.3-6). Raymond, an older knight and advisor, asks him, "Where, he said, is the weighty and hard hauberk; where, Sir, are the other steel pieces of armor?" [Ov'è (gli disse), il grave usbergo e sodo; / Ov'è, Signor, l'altro ferrato arnese?] (xi.21.3-4). Clorinda shoots Godfrey in the knee and he retires from the battle to get treated and then returns "closed in armor" [chiuso ne l'arme] (xi.78.2) or in full plate armor. There are still references to mail and plate as in the other epic romances. Though historically later than Charlemagne's reign, Tasso's retelling of the First Crusade at the end of the eleventh century still places it during the period when armor would be only mail except for the helmet. The mix of plate with mail preserves some element of the past and is a trope from earlier romances. At the same time, descriptions of pieces of contemporary armor link the narrative to Tasso's present. The armor in Figure 20 for mounted combat made for Alfonso II d'Este around 1560 is a representative example of the kind of closed armor (if

greaves were added) that Godfrey might have been imagined wearing. Tasso worked for Alfonso, and this type of armor would not have been an unfamiliar site.

Figure 20. Armor for Mounted Combat for Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, c. 1560. Vienna, WS, Inv. A 765.

Spenser inherits both the English and Italian romance tradition, and *The Faerie Queene*'s warriors carry shields, wear mail and plate, and occasionally have crests. Artegall's crest is a hound according to the description of armor provided in the introduction. Scudamore wears a "haberieon" (III.xi.7.5) or habergeon, and Radigund also has a "mayled habergeon" (V.v.2.9). Other characters have a hauberk, which is by definition a mail shirt, but these hauberks are worn with pieces of plate armor like a bevor and gorget, suggesting that a plate hauberk, or cuirass, is meant. Knights are also described as fully armored. Guyon is "A goodly knight, all armd in harnesse meete, /

That from his head no place appeared to his feete" (II.i.5.8-9). As with the Italian romances, the sparing references to mail situate Fairy Land in a past while the use of contemporary armor links the narrative to the present. The continued association with tournament and pageant armor is especially relevant in *The Faerie Queene* because Scudamore's character is a compliment to Sir John Scudamore who participated in tournaments like Queen Elizabeth's annual Accession Day Tilts.[56] At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, there is an armor known to have been made for Sir John Scudamore in 1595-6 and another armor from around 1587 believed to have been his as well.

Figure 21. Armor for Sir John Scudamore, 1595-6, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inv. 11.128.2.

Figure 22. Field Armor Probably for Sir John Scudamore, ca. 1587. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. 11.128.1.

These armors may very well have influenced both Spenser's descriptions of the character's armor and the imaginations of his readers familiar with Sir Scudamore's

actual armor. The popularity of the Accession Day Tilts reached a peak in terms of pageantry in the 1580s. Frances Yates has demonstrated links between performances at the tilts and story elements in Spenser's text,[57] but even if the tilts did not directly influence the descriptions of armor in *The Faerie Queene*, they would have been available cultural references for the people who had watched, read about, or participated in them. I do not find it coincidental that the only woodcut published in the 1590 and 1596 versions of *The Faerie Queene* is the Redcrosse knight in sixteenth-century armor, though the decline in popularity of the tonlet after about 1540 means the armor is not contemporary with its 1590 publication date.

Figure 23. Woodcut from 1590 *Faerie Queene*. Newberry Library.

My insistence upon the materiality and accuracy of armor builds on early modern linkages between material objects and mental images constructed by the faculty of the

imagination and armor’s overwrought materiality. For sixteenth-century readers familiar with the appearance of armor—everything from the battered breastplates used repeatedly by common soldiers to the intricately decorated parade armor worn for festivals and tournaments—these descriptions would resonate texturally, not just textually. Armor is intricately textured: the metal folds, ridges, and edges; the different consistency of steel plate, chain mail, and leather straps and layers; the roughness of embedded jewels, gold filigree, and embossed crests. The early modern understanding of the production of mental images depended upon the work of the imagination in connection with the sense perceptions gathered by the body and processed in the brain. To create a mental image of “a goodly Armour” (III.iii.58.7) like Britomart’s, early modern readers would draw upon memories of sensory experiences with actual armor. In this way the textual description of armor becomes textured by the reader's previous encounters with material objects. For the contemporary readers of the epic romances, the material familiarity of armor inserted itself into the descriptions of armored characters. Consequently, an account of the martial body’s chief physical marker is incomplete without considering the ways material armor appears in the texts.

II

Familiarity with armor’s materiality can seem at odds with the fact that the epic romances are texts, collections of words, but my bridging of the material and rhetorical depends upon the early modern valences of the terms “prosthesis” and “ornament.” I use these two terms as a theoretical apparatus both for my reading of armor in the romances and as a way of making sense of the early modern period’s blurry divide between

language and materiality. The following section will turn to ornament. Through its transformative agency in helping to make warriors and its connection to the bodies of its wearers, armor functions as a prosthesis, a supplement both rhetorically and materially. Prosthesis enters the English language in the early 1550s, meaning the addition of a letter or syllable to the beginning of a word, and one of the first appearances of the word prosthesis was in Thomas Wilson's 1553 *The Arte of Rhetorique*. The later medical sense of an artificial substitute for a missing part of the human body shares with the rhetorical meaning the role of addition. Whether a linguistic particle or an artificial addition to the body, the logic of prosthesis bridges the rhetorical and the material. Since language is first and foremost a bodily experience, I contend that giving space to the specter of the material enriches our encounter with armored characters. Whether spoken or written, the production of words depends upon the movement of the body, and as David Wills hypothesizes, "language's first reference is made to a body, a non-originary and divided body."[58] By presupposing a body, language functions prosthetically, providing an apparatus for covering over an existing lack in communicative possibilities. Even the interpretive act is embodied because language bridges the speaker/writer and listener/reader, and by serving as a prosthesis, it facilitates a linkage between the originary referent of language and that which is signified and interpreted by the receiver.

In both the rhetorical and material sense, the idea of prosthesis fits armor's function. It protects the body of the wearer, but it also flags the wearer as in need of the supplement of a "metallic skin."[59] The codpiece illustrates this relationship, and it is also a piece of armor that contributes to the coding of armor as male. Armor's relationship

with the body personalizes it, however. Early modern humoral theory held that the body excreted refined humors; these became the outer layer of the skin, hair, sweat, or even more rarefied vapors that could penetrate both bodies and objects. Organic objects were similarly composed of humors, but inorganic objects could absorb these humoral products. Armor, then, remakes the body of the wearer—especially if that armor has been worn by others—and is remade by that body. In the case of armor another person previously wore, it creates a transformative lineage between the wearers.[60] It becomes linked to the person and gendered by that body. Rather than reifying a binary system of sex or gender, armor participates in complicating the givenness of things. It bridges the subject/object divide by exerting agency to participate in the making of knights.[61] As a result, rather than rendering martial women a third gender[62] or as some mix of feminine and masculine[63] or judging martial men who fail or transgress as unworthy of armor as a marker of ideal masculinity, armor as a prosthesis identifies the impossibility of ideal masculinity and femininity. I argue that armor as a prosthesis reveals the mutability of gender and the inadequacy of a binary model even as it also identifies the impossibilities of ideal martial masculinity.

While I have been complicating the coding of armor as exclusively masculine, it is also true that armor announces a man's status and that the martial sphere is most often associated with hypermasculinity.[64] Armor as prosthesis can provide access to that space and afford the wearer a visible marker of his similarity to others in this space;[65] it can construct a lineage of martial masculinity that enhances, even constructs, martial prowess for the wearer.[66] This ability to be a prosthesis, however, also reveals the underlying need

for a supplement because all wearers of armor—fictional or historical—fall short of idealized martial masculinity.[67] The cases of Redcrosse and Tristram in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and Ruggiero in Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato* demonstrate the ways in which armor opens up access to status by affording the wearer a physical marker of prestige. Viewers of this marker perceive the wearer as equipped with martial prowess, even if that is not the case. Braggadochio ironically reveals the problem behind this assumption when he proclaims, "Neuer should thy iudgement be so frayle, / To measure manhood by the sword or mayle" (II.iii.16.4-5). This is ironic because Braggadochio is actually a coward who will eventually be stripped of his arms and armor, but in this moment Archimago, "seeing one that shone in armour fayre," (II.iii.11.3) assumes that Braggadochio is a "mightie warriour" (II.iii.12.2) because of his armor. Braggadochio is certainly right; we should not think he is a knight because he looks like one, but the humor in his observation derives from the fact that he is still perceived to be a knight. He, therefore, represents a group of armor wearers who gain the undeserved benefits of this presumption.

Yet, not only cheaters like Braggadochio benefit from this prosthetic function of armor. In the "Letter to Raleigh," Spenser describes "a tall clownishe young man" (l. 53) who begs the adventure of defeating a dragon when a woman who has "the Armes of a knight" (l. 58) comes to seek help. The woman, Una, resists with much "gainsaying" (ll. 62-3) until she relies upon the armor as a test. When the armor is put on him, "he seemed the goodliest man in al that company, and was well liked of the Lady" (l. 66). The armor not only transforms him in appearance, it also transforms him in desirability and in

status.[68] The first part of the next line indicates the role of armor in acquiring knightly status: "And eftesoones taking on him knighthood . . ." (ll. 66-7). The visible marker of status confers similarity with other knights, but the question of "seemed" remains. Is he really a knight? In the first stanza of the first canto of Redcrosse's book, we encounter him and the issue of seeming again.

> A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
> Ycladd in mightie armes and siluer shielde,
> Wherein old dints of deepe woundes did remaine,
> The cruell markes of many a bloody fielde;
> Yet armes till that time did he neuer wield:
> His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,
> As much disdaining to the curbe to yield:
> Full iolly knight he seemd, and faire did sitt,
> As one for knightly giusts and fierce encounters fitt (I.i.1.1-9).

The armor has marks that indicate experience—and suggest victory—in multiple battles, but not only is this knight not the one who fought in those battles, he has never wielded arms. The clownish young man from the country has entered an entirely new class as a benefit of armor, and while he seems as though he is fit for jousts and combat, that fitness is presumed not apparent.

A similar transformation in status assists Tristram and Ruggiero. Both Tristram and Ruggiero are of noble birth, but they have been separated from that status by being raised in different lands, Tristram in Fairyland and Ruggiero in Africa, and for both of

them, acquiring armor restores their lost prestige. Calidore, the knight of courtesy, sees Tristram kill a discourteous knight and talks with the young man to learn more. Tristram tells him his background and then turns to training in arms: "Onely the vse of armes, which most I ioy, / And fitteth most for noble swayne to know, / I haue not tasted yet, yet past a boy, / And being now high time these strong ioynts to imploy" (VI.ii.32.6-9). Like Redcrosse, Tristram is untrained in the use of arms, but Tristram insists he joys in them in spite of inexperience and implies that they are fit for him, just as Redcrosse seems fit for tournaments and combat once armored. The gap between fitness and seeming in both cases is quite small. Inexperience is minimized in favor of the benefit conferred from wearing the physical marker of martial masculinity. In the next stanza, Tristram asks Calidore to make him a squire so he can wear the armor he has won by killing the other knight: "That from henceforth in batteilous array / I may beare armes, and learne to vse them right; / The rather since that fortune hath this day / Giuen to me the spoile of this dead knight, / These goodly gilden armes, which I haue won in fight" (VI.ii.33.5-9). Though put in the form of a request to Calidore, Tristram claims the armor and the status it implies as a right. He craves the taste of knightly status and desires the armor as a marker of that status: "Long fed his greedie eyes with the faire sight / Of the bright mettall, shyning like Sunne rayes; / Handling and turning them a thousand wayes" (VI.ii.39.3-5). The thorough visual and tactile inspection of the armor matches the way in which armor is a visible marker viewers perceive and interpret.

Boiardo's Ruggiero likewise lays claim to armor as a means to display knightly status and, by extension, martial masculinity. Agramante hosts a tournament to lure

Ruggiero from Atalante's protective garden so that Ruggiero will fight with the Saracens and defeat the French, according to a prophecy. He encounters Brunello, a very short thief, and demands his horse and armor: "Give me the destrier and the armor, Ruggiero said, and don't worry because I promise with certainly that I will learn how to play this game with them" [Damme pur il destriero e l'armatura, / Dicea Ruggiero, ed altro non curare, / Però che io ti prometto alla sicura / Che io saprò come loro il gioco fare] (II.xvi.52.1-4). Setting aside the fact that short Brunello's armor could not possibly fit the tall young man, this exchange again diminishes inexperience in favor of what comes with possessing armor. Ruggiero does learn to play the game, though, because he excels at the tournament. In a series of events involving killing a man, being wounded, Brunello taking his armor back to usurp the prize from Ruggiero, Agramante nearly executing Brunello for the death of the man killed by Ruggiero, and Ruggiero's rescue of Brunello, Ruggiero meets Agramante and makes the same request as Tristram: "I beg you, lord, make me a knight. And the arms and destrier let me be given, which he promised me at another time, and also that I have merited for I put myself in risk on the field for him" [Famme, segnor, ti prego, cavalliero. / E l'arme e il suo destrier me sian donate, / Ché altra volta da lui me fu promesso, / Ed anco l'ho dapoi ben meritate, / Ché per camparlo a riesco mi son messo] (II.xxi.51.8-52.1-4). Just as with Tristram, the request includes a claim for the legitimacy of his position grounded upon the possession of armor. Agramante, like Calidore, agrees: "Taking Brunello's arms and destrier, he dubbed him knight with much ceremony" [Prendendo da Brunel l'arme e 'l destriero, / Con molta festa il fece cavalliero] (II.xxi.52.7-8). The armor and official change in status coincide, indeed

overlap. For Redcrosse, Tristram, and Ruggiero, wearing armor affords entrance into a reserved group, and the armor supplements their inexperience, prosthetically compensating for their lack.

In addition to the transformative effect of armor as prosthesis, it also constructs lineages that enhance and even construct martial prowess. Susan Crane considers the crest and coat of arms as strategies that "couple lineal with earned identity . . . Totemism imagines an ancient ancestry . . . totemism pulls chivalric identity back into family history."[69] Through the crest or symbol, a link with an ancestor is stated, and by metonymic association, the current wearer becomes in some ways the ancestor and assumes some of the forebear's prestige.[70] This transfer intensifies when facilitated by armor because of the belief that objects absorb rarefied humors; and in several cases, warriors boast pieces or complete suits of armor from famous figures. In *The Faerie Queene* Artegall's armor visually inscribes the identity of its previous famous wearer: "*Achilles armes, which Arthogall did win*" (III.ii.25.6). Not only does this transfer Achilles' prowess to Artegall, it signals that Artegall exceeds Achilles, who may have killed Artegall's ancestor Hector but could not defeat Artegall.

Hector's armor features prominently in *Orlando innamorato* when Mandricardo, the king of Tartary, acquires the armor of Hector as a result of a quest. The shield emphasizes Hector's symbol of the white eagle, and Mandricardo finds the shield on a column in a courtyard where a warning is inscribed: "If you are not another Hector, do not touch me. He owned me. Earth has not his peer" [Se un altro Ettòr non sei, non mi toccare: / Chi me portò, non ebbe al mondo pare] (III.ii.8.7-8). Mandricardo succeeds in

taking the shield and then defeats a giant and finds Hector's armor. I will address the description of the armor in the following section, but Mandricardo, like Tristram, "admired the armaments" [a mirare / L'arme] (III.ii.30.1-2). Maidens of the fairy remove Mandricardo's existing armor and rearm him in Hector's, and the fairy tells him "Never abandon the white eagle painted on the shield to another's request" [L'aquila Bianca a quell scudo dipinta, / Nella alta enchiesta mai non la abandona] (III.ii.36.6-7). Hector's sword—Durindana—is in the possession of Orlando, so Mandricardo goes to claim the sword. In *Orlando furioso* he does take the sword after it is abandoned by an insane Orlando, but he is killed by Ruggiero in a battle over rightfulness to display Hector's symbol of the white eagle. Ruggiero claims the symbol by right of ancestry, and Mandricardo by right of possession of the armor (xxvi.99). Ruggiero wears the helmet after taking the armor from Mandricardo (xxxviii.78). In this complicated transfer of armor, its chief value lies in its connection to the classical hero Hector. Wearing Hector's armor supplements the wearer's own identity, enhancing his martial masculinity. Wearing Hector's ideal armor injects the warriors with some of Hector's idealized masculinity, and this dynasty is not just that of a metaphorical warrior son receiving the visible marker of his warrior father's profession; it is a dynasty made familial through the interpenetration of humoral residues through the medium of the steel armor. Armor most serves as prosthesis in this interpenetration, enabling the linkage of present imperfect, lacking warriors in the present with idealized martial masculinity of the past.

Though lacking the connection to a classical hero, the public display of lineage is especially clear in *Gerusalemme liberata* when the hero Rinaldo comes upon an armor

meant for him. The shield is sculpted and embossed with Rinaldo's lineage, which is absorbed into that of the Este family. For sixteen stanzas the old man, keeper of the armor, and Rinaldo construct an ekphrastic experience: "'as I describe the figures sculpted there.' He said, and the knight fixed his look there" ['quell ch' io colà dipingo.' / Così diceva; e 'l cavalier affisee / Lo sguardo là, mentre colui sì disse] (xvii.65.6-8). Rinaldo's visual fixation on the shield—like Tristram's on the armor—not only indicates to the reader that this ekphrastic passage will call to mind images of the described object, but also Rinaldo models the prosthetic encounter between text and reader. He looks at a shield and listens to the old man, as the reader looks at the text and hears the words. With attention properly directed, the old man begins his description. It calls attention to men and some women included in the Este's lineage, reaching back to Rome. Elaborately embossed and gilt parade shields of the mid-to-late sixteenth century include many sculpted figures like this Medusa shield from 1550-55 made in Milan.

Figure 24. Medusa Shield, Milan, ca. 1550-55. Hofjagd- und Rustkammer des Kuntsthistorischen Museums, Vienna, Inv. A 693a.

Figure 25. Close-Up of the Left Rim from Figure 24.

The close-up of the lower left rim shows the collection of figures in the two outermost circular bands. The nested bands around a central figure is a likely reference for Rinaldo's shield, which Tasso describes: "With subtle mastery on a narrow field, the learned smith engraved infinite forms of the glorious and great Actian progency in an order that there you see is unbroken had graven endless shapes in a narrow field, showing the glorious Actian progeny in an unbroken order on the shield" [Con sottil magistero in campo augusto / Forme infinite espresse il fabro dotto. / Del sangue d'Azio glorioso, augusto, / L'ordin vi si vedea, nulla interrotto] (xvii.66.1-4). Spiraling outward, the oldest ancestor, likely Caius the first described (xvii.67.1), would replace the single Medusa

head at the center of this shield. While Rinaldo's armor does not link him to previous wearers, it announces that lineage on its embossed surface.

Losing possession of lineal armor comes with distinct, often deadly consequences. Rodomonte's situation demonstrates this well. In both *Orlando innamorato* and *Orlando furioso* he wears "the arms of his ancestor Nimrod [l'arme del suo progenitor Nembrotte] (OF xxvii.69.8) that "Nimrod, the fierce giant, had it forged" [Nembroto il fece fare, il fier gigante] (OI II.xv.5.8). The ancestral connection between Nimrod and Rodomonte demonstrates the transfer of prowess facilitated by armor: "He was armed in a strong, hard hauberk that was made from the scaly hide of a dragon. This had once clad the breast and back of he who built the tower of Babel, thinking to chase God from his golden sky and take the government of the stars. To this end, the helmet and shield were made to perfection, and also the sword. Rodomont was no less indomitable, proud, and furious than Nimrod" [Armato era d'un forte e duro usbergo, / che fu di drago una scagliosa pelle. / Di questo già si cinse il petto e 'l tergo / quello avol suo ch'edificò Babelle, / e si pensò cacciar de l'aureo albergo, / e torre a Dio il governo de le stelle: / l'elmo e lo scudo fece far perfetto, / e il brando insieme; e solo a questo effetto. / Rodomonte non già men di Nembrotte / Indomito, superbo e furibondo (OF xiv.118.1-119.1). Like the biblical character Nimrod, Rodomonte's pride and ferocity are his distinguishing characteristics, but the phrasing of the comparison between Rodomont and Nimrod implies that Rodomont exceeds even Nimrod. Through the supplement of Nimrod's armor, Rodomont overgoes him.

Yet, this prosthetic relationship ultimately breaks down. Orgoglio defeats Redcrosse when he takes his armor off, Artegall loses his armor and knightly name to Radigund, Orlando goes insane, and Rodomont dies when he fights Ruggiero without his dragon armor. Even the paragon of masculinity, Hector, faced defeat by Achilles and was ignominiously dragged behind Achilles' chariot. The failure of the prosthetic encounter models that of many contemporary readers who used armor as part of the construction of their identity. As Carolyn Springer shows in her book *Armor and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance*, many instances of using armor to assert particular claims to masculine expression failed due to dynastic pressures, physical limitations, or consequences of transgressing socio-political codes of decorum. The foregoing examples showcase the fraught nature of armor as prosthesis; it both enables access and renders vulnerable because the very assumptions that make it powerful—armor signifies masculinity, power, status, and prestige—are also undermined when armor wearers fail to measure up to the impossible demands of ideal martial masculinity.

The importance of armor as marker of identity and masculinity also means considerable risk and danger accompany misinterpretation of armor that arises because the armor signifies an identity that does not match that of the wearer.[71] In *Orlando furioso* the wizard Atlante, or Atlas, repeatedly depends upon misinterpretation of armor and martial display to try to protect Ruggiero from ultimately dying. In one instance, he rides a hippogriff and captures knights and ladies to keep Ruggiero company in a protected castle. Bradamante comes to rescue her beloved Ruggiero and at first interprets Atlante as a fierce warrior because of his armor, weapons, and winged steed, but when

she gets a magic ring that cuts through illusion, she realizes that even though “he seems like a warlike man” [che sembra uomo feroce] (iv.16.4)], he actually relies on misreading of his display to avoid combat. Aided by the ring that cuts through his rhetorical and decorative performance, she easily defeats him and frees Ruggiero. Another instance of misrecognition with higher stakes occurs when the knight Grifone has his armor stolen. Grifone loves a disloyal woman, Orrigille, who finds a new lover, Martano, while Grifone is away. Grifone eventually finds them, and they tell Grifone that Martano is her brother. Martano “is armed with splendid array” [con molto pompa armato] (xvi.7.2), so Grifone assumes he is an honorable knight because of his interpretation of Martano’s armored appearance. They travel to a tournament where Martano shames himself by avoiding combat and then running away, and Grifone distinguishes himself as the best knight there. Martano and Orrigille steal Grifone’s armor and horse and claim Grifone’s reward at the tournament. Grifone makes the mistake of wearing Martano’s armor, since he is naked after the theft, and he is misrecognized as the shamed Martano. The armor is stripped from him, he is pulled around on a cart, and “the iron armor that made him bear another’s curse, and yelled his shame like a public crier before the eyes of all, was attached to the wheels of the cart” [Le ruote inanzi a un tribunal fermate / gli fero udir de l’altrui maleficio / la sua ignominia, che ‘n sugli occhi detta / gli fu, gridando un publico trombetta] (xvii.133.5-8). Grifone’s true image depends upon the legibility of his armor as linked to his identity, but the armor of the coward falsifies it to the point of invalidating Grifone’s actual skill as a knight. When Martano takes Grifone’s armor, the text indicates that he takes the armor and goes to the king in the “pel cavalliero”

(xvii.110.3) or in the knight's skin or place. The literalization of Martano's assumption of Grifone's identity further clarifies the stakes of misreading armor. Not only does Grifone receive maltreatment because he is interpreted as the coward Martano, but he also loses a critical piece of his identity, a piece as integral as his own skin.[72]

While the link between armor and identity makes the theft of identity particularly damaging, it also enables armor to undermine both ideal martial masculinity and the fixed binary of gender through its use by female warriors. The logic of transformation and lineage work similarly, but because the wearer is female, the challenge posed more powerfully reveals the malleability of gender.[73] Before the epic romances, some examples of women in armor do exist in medieval romances, but they are rare. [74] Through the complicated interconnection between materiality and ornament, armor accretes the agency to participate in the making of Spenser's "mayd Martiall" (III.iii.53.9). Before putting on armor, Britomart is not a "mayd Martiall"; the pun on maid as young woman and the verb "made" is apt here because the armor exerts agency to invest Britomart with martiality, transforming her from the maid she was to a "mayd Martiall." To make is a verb often attached to the process of being knighted, but critically for Britomart, the armor—not a lord or king—makes her martial.[75] The armor functions as a prosthesis for her, covering her lack of knightly training and physical ability so that she can enter the masculine martial space of Faeryland. Numerous scholars have pointed out that Britomart's armor comes from another woman, the Saxon queen Angela, and serves a dynastic function.[76] While this is certainly the case, scholars have not considered the agency of the armor itself. Angela's armor infuses Britomart with Angela's own essence.

Wearing Angela's armor injects Britomart with a little bit of Angela herself, and this dynasty is not just that of a metaphorical warrior daughter receiving the visible marker of her warrior mother's profession; it is a dynasty made familial through the interpenetration of humoral residues via the medium of the steel armor.[77] Armor most serves as prosthesis in this interpenetration, enabling Britomart's linkage to another martial woman and her own displays of martial might.

In spite of this distinctly feminine linkage produced by Britomart's armor, critics often read her donning armor as attempting to become male like Artegall. Rather, her armor reifies her female sex. The fact that Britomart's armor was previously a woman's and Artegall's previously a man's does the opposite of eliding their sexual difference. Instead, the armor enhances their relative sexual status even as it further complicates Britomart's gendered behavior. If, as Will Fisher says, martial feats "quite literally confer masculinity"[78] in the early modern period, then Britomart's masculine gender behavior is undermined—not reinforced—by her female armor that asserts her female sex. This is a potentially controversial claim, particularly given that Britomart is often perceived as male, but the armor reasserts her female status through the association with Angela, and, I would suggest, it is this association that most challenges a binary system of gender. Britomart simultaneously sports markers associated with opposite sexes: armor that is generally coded male and long golden hair coded female. In Britomart's case there is not a contradiction because her armor preserves her female sex even in the midst of her masculine martial behavior. In this way, her armor serves as a bodily prosthesis, reifying her female sex and complicating assumptions about gender-conforming behavior.

If this is the case, though, why does Dolon confuse Britomart for Artegall in Book V? “For sure he weend, that this his present guest / Was *Artegall*, by many tokens plaine; / But chiefly by that yron page he ghest” (V.vi.34.1-3). As these lines indicate, the main reason for the confusion is the presence of Talus, Artegall’s companion, but what about the other “tokens plaine”? Artegall's armor, like Britomart's, is “round about yfretted all with gold” (III.ii.25.4). This similarity in appearance is perhaps one such token, though the same stanza also says that Artegall’s crest is “a couchant Hownd” and that the golden fretting carries the writing “*Achilles armes, which Arthogall did win*” (III.ii.25.1, 6). Whether Dolon simply is not as familiar with the distinctive features of Artegall’s armor or Artegall and Britomart’s armor just does look similar, this instance of confusion does not inherently undermine the feminine gendering of Britomart’s armor. In fact, this instance of confusion adds to the prosthetic function of armor. A prosthesis is both unique to the body that incorporates it and apparently generic. Specific modifications fit a prosthesis to the body and make it unique even as its general appearance may suggest that it is identical to other prosthetics. Similarly, Britomart’s armor might be confused with another’s by an observer. The things that make Britomart’s prosthetic armor uniquely hers matter at the level of the interface of steel with flesh. Even as the steel shapes her body, pushing the soft parts to mold to the constraining shell, the body wears away at the steel itself. Sweat oxidizes the metal, corroding it and inexorably changing the chemical composition of the metal over time so that the longer someone wears the armor, the more the armor is remade. It is in this interface that the prosthesis and body merge.

While I have focused on Britomart and her armor, the armored women in the

Italian epic romances—Bradamante, Marfisa, and Clorinda—have also received scholarly attention that notes they wear armor but misses how the prosthetic relationship between armor and wearer produces a martial body that resists a binary system of gender.[79] As in the case of Britomart, the actual armor receives little attention or is the subject of assumptions. John McLucas states that Marfisa and Bradamante's armor is not tailored to their female bodies because they are always assumed to be men until they reveal themselves, which is true also for Spenser and Tasso's warrior women. Pointing to contemporary illustrations and paintings, he observes that they depict the characters in Minerva-like breastplates with obvious breast cups and in skirts.[80] While he is correct about the artistic representations, the text is quite explicit in that the armor does not differ from that of male characters, and that does not mean that the armor has not been fitted to the female body. Breast cups are an unnecessary, and actually structurally dangerous in combat, inclusion on women's armor. The breastplate has plenty of room for a woman's breasts, particularly as there would be several inches of padding underneath the armor. A woman's armor is made her own by virtue of her wearing it, not on the basis of an expected addition that makes her breasts—and by extension her sex—visible. Consequently, the prosthetic and individual relationship between female armored characters and their armor works to undermine the coding of armor as male, even as that prosthetic relationship destabilizes ideal masculinity.

III.

Orlando and the Saracen hero Ferrau in Boiardo and Ariosto's texts have impenetrable skin like Achilles. They, like Achilles, do have a vulnerable point—the soles of Orlando's feet and Ferrau's belly button—but for the most part, they are

impenetrable. In spite of this relative invulnerability, both Orlando and Ferrau have the custom of going about almost continuously armed: “and the one and the other went about his business armed more for decoration than for need” [e l’uno e l’altro andò, più per ornato / che per bisogno, alle sue imprese armato] (OF xii.49.7-8). The word *ornato* provides the key reason for the armor, and it is not need or practicality but armor’s status as ornament or decoration. Ornament etymologically derives from the Latin words *ornamentum* and *ornatus*. Wayne Rebhorn and Frank Whigham in a note to George Puttenham’s 1589 *The Art of English Poesy* expand on this linkage in their note to the third book of Puttenham’s rhetorical treatise, which is titled “Of Ornament:” “The Latin word *ornamentum* meant the equipment of a soldier, his arms. It later acquired the meaning of the accouterments of a profession, such as the clothing of an actor, and, even later, that of mere decoration.”[81] The related term *ornatus* also means the rhetorical figures and tropes that ornament oratory or writing.[82] Therefore, directly related to ornament is the decorous, particularly adhering to decorum in all things from decorative appearance to behavior.[83] The dismissal of ornamented armor by many historians because of the compromise in utility is largely rooted in a resistance to it as indecorous because of its decorative extravagance.[84] Yet, even in ornament considered indecorous that very decoration is key to identity promotion through recognition; the more extravagant the decoration, the more likely the wearer will be recognized, an axiom well known in fashion.[85] Disrupting rhetorical, behavioral, or sartorial stylistic conventions could challenge the entire socio-political system.[86] As important as any utilitarian function of

armor, then, is the work that it does to ornament and situate the wearer in relation to a socio-political system.[87]

In her study of Italian armor in the Renaissance, Springer does make the claim that decorative effects on armor by master armorers like the Negrolis "greatly enhanced their value as instruments of rhetoric."[88] Building on Springer, I consider how ornamentation on armor works as a semiotic code to make legible an idealized martial masculinity that inevitably collapses on itself. Ornament's linkage of the present wearer of armor to the classical past participates in both defining ideal masculinity and revealing its constructedness. I argue that ornament is the key to displaying martial decorum because it encodes that very system, but even as the ornamented surface makes martial masculinity legible, the possibility of misinterpretation and the re-coding of armor as feminine in specific cases undermine the stability of ornamented armor as a semiotic code for reading martial masculinity.

A common decorative effect in the romances and at the time requires the application of precious metals, and these decorative effects communicated through their visibility. Gold and silver could be applied to the steel surface in several ways, but the most common are fire gilding and damascening. Damascening is far more time intensive than fire gilding and requires scratching into the surface and beating the gold or silver into those scratched lines. When done well, the gold or silver raises above the surface of the plate. The romances commonly feature golden armor, and sometimes they are specific enough to identify how the gold is applied. Both Britomart and Artegall wear armor fretted with gold. We are not given a lengthy description of Britomart's "goodly

Armour," but we are told that it is "fretted round with gold," and "goodly well beseene" (III.iii.58.7, 9). The Italian-made armor for French King Henry II that I examined in the introduction is a good example of high-quality damascening or fretting, though it uses silver rather than gold.[89] The process of fretting can compromise the metal. Besides meaning the process by which the gold ornament is applied, "to fret" also means to cause corrosion or gnaw into something like acids that fret at the strongest metals. Derived from the Old English *fretan*, which means to eat up or consume, the golden frets paradoxically beautify even as they compromise the integrity of the metal. Fretting enmeshes the two metals, making the surface ornament a necessary part of the steel depth; if the process of fretting can compromise the steel, then application of the gold covers over the steel's exposed lack. The decorative surface of armor functions as its prosthesis, both in the sense of decoration covering over lacking metal integrity and in the sense of the ornament providing the linguistic resonances that give armor its flexible material status. Damascened armor could certainly still be used in combat, but the display of wealth through the application of gold and silver also individualizes the wearer.[90] Whether the gold is applied by damascening or fretting or the armor is simply described as "solid gold" [tutta d'oro] (I.i.61.4) like Astolfo's armor in *Orlando innamorato*, the visibility of the gold persuades the viewer that the wearer possesses martial masculinity.

I have selected these three examples purposefully, however, because there are conflicts between what the armor signifies and the status of the wearer. Radigund strips Artegall of his armor and knightly name, and even after he is dressed in armor again, it is from "armors bright, / Which had been reft from many a noble Knight; / Whom that

proud Amazon subdewed had" (V.vii.41.4-6). The facts of his previous defeat and that of the previous owner of his new armor remain with Artegall. In Britomart's case, her female sex conflicts with a reading of her armor as announcing martial masculinity. Guyon and many others presume her to be a man when they first see her; the text uses male pronouns at times so that the reader shares the viewers' assumptions about Britomart: "They spide a knight, that towards pricked fayre, / And him beside an aged Squire there rode" (III.i.4.2-3). While Astolfo does commit some great feats and is instrumental in retrieving Orlando's lost wits in *Orlando furioso*, he is often depicted as a bumbling knight. The first introduction of him in *Orlando innamorato* notes his handsomeness and rich clothes and armor, but it also casts doubts on his skill: "I do not see his strength clearly, for often he fell off his steed. He likes to say that he did due to misfortune, and he returned to fall fearlessly again" [La forza sua non vedo assai palese, / Ché molto fiate cadde del ferrante. / Lui suolea dir che gli era per sciagura, / E tornava a cader senza paura] (I.i.60.5-8). An interaction with the Saracen King Sacripante demonstrates the conflict between what Astolfo's armor signifies and his actions: "Astolfo came before him on Baiardo, and Sacripante admired him; and well esteemed him as the flower of knighthood because he saw he was armed as a gentleman" [Venne Astolfo da lui sopra Baiardo, / E fu da Sacripante assai mirato; / E ben lo stimò fior de ogni gagliardo, / Tanto lo vede gentilmente armato] (I.ix.43.1-4). After this initial impression, Sacripante's exchanges with Astolfo, who brags and boasts, begin to annoy him and he calls Astolfo "a fool" [un paccio] (I.ix.46.8) and sends him away. While

gilded and damascened armor can be a marker of ideal martial masculinity, that signification is not reliable.

Jeweled armor similarly is legible as a marker of high status and martial skill, but what it signifies does not always match the body underneath.[91] There are only two instances of jeweled armor in *Orlando furioso*, though jewels on surcoats are also mentioned, and they represent the two extremes of ornament's legibility as a marker of martial masculinity.[92] The first instance is the witch Erifilla's armor. In the first description of Erifilla's armor, the word *ornato* again plays an important role: "and the gold armor was ornamented with emeralds and sapphires" [e di smeraldo ornata e di zafiro / su l'arme d'or] (vi.81.5-6). The next canto continues the encounter and provides a longer description of the armor: "She was armed with armor of the finest metal that had gems of various colors, red rubies, yellow topaz, green emeralds, and with golden-colored amethysts" [Quell'era armata del più fin metallo, / ch'avean di più colore gemme distinto: / rubin vermiglio, crisolito giallo, / verde smeraldo con flavo iacinto] (vii.3.1-4). Erifilla's behavior, however, is not decorous, and Ruggiero quickly defeats her even though he is identified as weak at this point due to his moral failure in regard to Alcina. The next instance of explicitly jewel-encrusted armor belonged to the Trojan hero Hector: "rich in jewels and well adorned or embellished with gold" [ricche di gioie e ben fregiate d'oro] (xxxviii.78.8). Ariosto gets this description from Boiardo's account of Mandricardo achieving Hector's armor: "The plates were luminous and burnished so bright, that it smarted the eye to see them, engraved with gold and precious stones, with rubies and emeralds and large pearls" [Forbite eran le piastre e luminose, / Che apena

soffre l'occhio di vederle, / Frissate ad oro e pietre preziose, / Con rubini e smiraldi e grosse perle] (III.ii.28.1-4). The excessiveness of the ornament represents a visual threat—"it smarted the eye to see them"—but this enriches the ekphrastic element of the passage so that rhetorically it calls to mind an image of armor specifically linked to the classical hero Hector. Hector's armor is regularly identified as the quintessential marker of martial masculinity. His ironically absent body is the expression of ideal masculinity, a haunting spectral version of the martial body. Boiardo directly invokes this absence when describing the armor resting on a platform: "There on top it seemed an armored knight that reposed there without suspicion. I say it seemed, but it was not; everyone take note: This was an armor that inside was empty" [Parea là sopra un cavalliero armato, / Che se posasse senza altro sospetto: / Parea, dico, e non vi era; ogniom ben note: / Sol vi eran l'arme, e dentra eran poi vote] (III.ii.26.5-8). The command to observe or take note calls a viewer to see what seems to be a body long dead in armor. These instances of specifically jeweled armor identify the inherent risk of ornament as a semantic code for reading martial masculinity. Erifillia's behavior is hardly decorous, as would be expected by a reading of her armor, and it would also be read as covering a male body, which is also incorrect. On the other hand, the absent Hector and his armor mark the epitome of martial decorum even though we are missing an actual warrior's body. This reveals the fraught interpretive space of ornamented armor as a semiotic code for masculinity.

While the descriptions of Hector's and Achilles's armor provided in *Orlando innamorato*, *Orlando furioso*, and *The Faerie Queene* betray their contemporary roots in terms of the presence of plates for the entire body, they also imagine the armor to be

classical in design and origin. *Alla romana* or *all'antica* armor in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries similarly combined an imagined classical appearance with contemporary methods and materials. Though statues like that of St. George by Donatello in the early fifteenth century and illustrations speak to the popularity of this style before the sixteenth century, it was previously made out of cloth or leather, but starting in sixteenth-century Italy, armorers made *all'antica* armor out of steel. The most famous and skilled producer of this kind of armor was the Negroli family of Milan, specifically Filippo Negroli because of his skill in embossing steel plate.[93] Inspired by ancient Greek and Roman armor, it focuses on the anatomical body, usually male, constructing for the wearer ideal physical form. Snodin and Howard in their study of ornament in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art point out that this period idealized the naked body as the standard of perfection,[94] and the reproduction of the human form in steel similarly idealizes the body.[95] This burgonet by Filippo Negroli demonstrates the extent of detail in constructing this ideal body.[96]

Figure 26. Burgonet of Charles V Made by Filippo Negroli. Real Armeria, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, Inv. D 1.

The muscles of the torso usually feature prominently, literalizing the idea of a metallic skin, but in so doing, the wearer's actual body is supplemented and in some ways replaced by the armor whose constructed anatomical perfection both covers over and calls attention to the body's lack of physical perfection.[97]

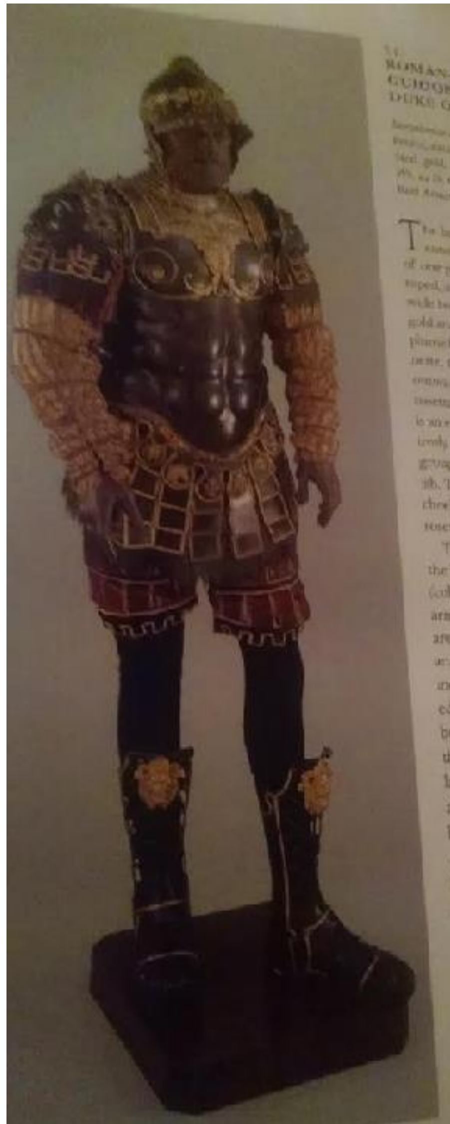

Figure 27. *Alla Romana* Armor of Guidobaldo II Della Rovere, 1546, by Bartolomeo Campi. Real Armeria, Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, Inv. A 188.

Through this prosthetic supplementation, *all'antica* armor transforms the early modern nobles who wore it into classical heroes, much like wearing Achilles or Hector's armor transforms the heroes of the epic romances into superheroes through connection with the classical past.[98] For the Duke of Urbino for whom Campi made this *alla romana* armor, it

built on his reputation and skill as a *condottiere* while enhancing his status by aligning him with classical generals. The armor was probably made for a special occasion related to Guidobaldo's appointment as governor of the Venetian armies in 1546.[99] In the case of Campi's armor and the pieces made by the Negroli family for Emperor Charles V, the armor fits into a pageant or display setting in which the armor plays a persuasive role.[100] By linking the wearer to the martial feats of classical heroes and generals, *all'antica* armor supplements the physical body. The same logic of supplementation—and even supplantation—works in the romances for wearers of Achilles and Hector's armor. Fundamentally, the ornamented surface of the armor enables it to function, and even as the *all'antica* armor constructs a complete, ideal body, another related decorative element of armor foregrounds the fragmentation of the body that is inextricably linked with armor as a prosthesis.

In the trophy motif, armor enacts its own fragmentation and foregrounds its inability to be a strict semiotic code for ideal martial masculinity. This *all'antica*-style decoration is decorative bands filled with pieces of classical armor, animals, symbols, and sometimes other objects and, like *alla romana* armor, details a link to the classical past.[101] It was popular in both Italy and England throughout the sixteenth century. This late sixteenth-century breastplate has similar decorative bands that resemble where bands were on doublets.

Figure 28. Peascod Breastplate from Milan c. 1575-1600. Higgins Collection of Arms and Armor Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Inv. HAM 1136.a.

And this is a higher-end version of the same style made in England but in the Italian style likely for Henry Herbert, Second Earl of Pembroke, brother-in-law to Sir Philip Sidney.

Figure 29. Three-Quarter Field Armor, Henry Herbert Second Earl of Pembroke (1560-70). Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Inv. 2014.12.

Figure 30. Close-Up of Right Pauldron from Figure 29.

The cuirass suggesting anatomical features like abdominal muscles recurs frequently. The pieces of arms and armor represent trophies won, usually by defeating another knight and seizing his armor. By fragmenting the male armored body in these decorations, the ornamental effect threatens to compromise the fantasy of enclosed masculinity.[102]

This decorative manifestation of the trophy matches the proliferation of pieces of armor as trophies in the epic romances and chivalric literature in general. The seizure and public display of a defeated knight's arms and armor links the acquisition of the trophy to combat and, by extension, the wounding and even dismemberment of the body.[103] Through the absence of the defeated body, the trophy armor stands in for that body, which acquires a spectral presence through the ongoing association of the defeated fighter's identity with the armor. In the many references to trophies in the epic romances,

they almost always share a focus on the connection between trophy and bodily harm and emphasize the role spectacle plays. When Orlando goes insane, he scatters his armor all over the woods. The pieces of his armor become trophies for collection and ownership. His friends Zerbino and Isabella find them and gather them together, hanging them together in a tree "like a fine trophy" [come un bel trofeo] (xxiv.57.2). Mandricardo, a Saracen knight who has fought with Orlando before over a claim to Orlando's sword Durindana, shows up to take the sword. Zerbino fights him to prevent the fragmentation of this trophy, but Mandricardo defeats him and Zerbino dies of his wounds. When Redcrosse in *The Faerie Queene* fights Sansfoy, he kills Sansfoy: "So hugely stroke, that it the steele did riue, / And cleft his head. He tumbling downe aliue, / With bloudy mouth his mother earth did kis" (I.ii.19.4-6). The next stanza states that Redcrosse takes "The *Sarazins* shield, signe of the conqueroure" (I.ii.20.7). The sign of the conqueror depends upon the bloody body and split skull of the vanquished. Without the mangled body, it loses all value as a signifier of conquest, but at the same time, the use of trophy to mark victory also carries with it the risk of defeat. This reversal applies to Redcrosse when he takes off his armor and is defeated and imprisoned by Orgoglio. A dwarf comes to collect his armor, which is called "the ruefull moniments of heauinesse" (I.vii.19.8). A monument of heaviness marks the armor's transformation into a trophy that announces grief or shame.

Over the course of this chapter, I have explored the relationship between armored characters and material armor of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In both the fictional and actual world, armor serves as a bodily prosthesis that supplements the wearer's own

body. The prosthetic relationship between armor and body undermines the coding of armor as masculine and the marker of ideal martial masculinity even as it functions to complicate a binary system of gender and sex. The surface of armor through its ornamentation announces identity, but the risk of identity confusion, disguise, and purposeful theft undermine the viability of ornament as a semiotic code. While armor constructs a martial body, it also highlights the vulnerability that necessitates its presence, which reveals the impossibility of ideal martial masculinity and the ever-present risk of fragmentation confronting martial bodies that rely upon and seek out combat. In spite of that risk, though, armor can radically destabilize systems of status and gender, and it does so paradoxically because of the presumption that it is a reliable semiotic code for reading martial masculinity and status.

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[1] Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 7.

[2] Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, 174.

[3] Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's helmet made by Filippo Negroli has a laurel leaf crown. See Figure 26.

[4] M. Hayward, "Dress and Fashion," 95.

[5] Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Armor*, 31.

[6] In a conversation with Dr. Jeffrey Forgeng, curator of the Higgins Collection at the Worcester Art Museum, he demonstrated this to me using sixteenth-century breastplates and arm defenses. Dean, *Handbook of Arms*, points out that there is a margin of error of several inches when estimating height from armor (239).

[7] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 6.

[8] Celovsky, “Early Modern Masculinities,” argues that Radigund’s removal of Artegall's arms and armor acts out the necessary process for moving from errant knight youth to married householder, which is a change in identity (239).

[9] Anderson, “Britomart’s Armor,” notes that armor is coded male in Spenser's culture so that Britomart's armor remakes her, (76) though she also says that Britomart’s armor is multivalent and responsive to specific context (90). See also Warner, “Arming Cordelia,” 247. McLucas, “Amazon, Sorceress, and Queen,” equates armor with strength and invulnerability and the sword with military manhood (40). The coding of armor as male is present today as well, as Adams, *Male Armor*, indicates both by his title and in his study of changing masculinity and the soldier in contemporary literature and media.

[10] For these approaches to literature and armor, see Nickel, “About Arms and Armor,” in which he states that the arming of Erec in c. 1170 *Erec and Enide* and Gawain in c. 1370 *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* are accurate accounts of contemporary armor and have the correct sequence of how armor elements were put on (19). Day, “Scarlet Surcoat and Gilded Armor,” traces the origin of Sir Gawain’s crimson surcoat and golden armor in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in earlier stories and locates it in an earlier Latin story that may have influenced the writer of *Sir Gawain* (53). Herben, “Arms and Armor in Chaucer,” finds Chaucer’s references to arms and armor to be largely historically accurate (487). Anderson, “Britomart’s Armor,” considers Britomart’s armor as participating in and figuring “the development of her integrity and its loss” (75). Lacy, “On Armor and Identity,” considers the role armor plays in identity in medieval French romances (365). Stock, “‘Arms and the (Wo)man’ in Medieval Romance,” focuses on *Roman de Silence* and *Roman d’Eneas* to show that jeweled armor had apotropaic power and is generally limited to men (61). Ackerman, “Armor and Weapons in the Middle English Romances,” surveys romances to determine whether descriptions of arms and armor are accurate (104) and concludes that knights generally wear armor from early fourteenth century (117).

[11] Harlan, *Memories of War*, throughout but especially the chapters on trophies.

[12] Leslie, “Armor,” 60.

[13] Qtd. in Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 949.

[14] Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Armor*, states that armor was used in war until the second quarter of the seventeenth century (67). Nickel, Pyhrr, and Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, lengthen that time through the age of gunpowder and into modernity (20).

[15] Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, links gunpowder to the end of armor by citing two late sixteenth-century writers (one Italian and one English) who said armor was useless because of firearms and pikes (218-22). Wilkinson, *Arms and Armor*,

claims gunpowder was demise of armor (77). Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight*, assert that gunpowder toppled the image of the knight because armor to be proof against shot was too heavy (138).

[16] Forgeng and Bauer, "Arms, Armor, and the Artist," note that the rise of the infantry and change in their use was as much if not more important a factor in the decline of armor as gunpowder (39). Change in military organization also saw the rise and spread of the professional soldier (44).

[17] Jones, *The Art of War,* 154.

[18] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 17.

[19] Ibid., 903.

[20] ffoulkes, *The Armorer and His Craft*, 119, and Blair, *European Armor*, 191.

[21] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace,* 929.

[22] Nickel, Pyhrr, and Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, 20.

[23] This paragraph presents a synthesis of information from the following sources: Dean, *Handbook of Arms and Armor*, 50, 66-75, 113-21; Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Armor*, 53-60; Blair, *European armor,* 28-54, 140, 172-6, 182; Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 42-3, 53-5; Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight*, 71-121; and Richardson, "Armor in England, 1325-99," 304, 319.

[24] Boccia, "Ancient Italian Pieces," 34.

[25] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace,* 17-25.

[26] Ibid., 58, and Aroldi, *Armi e Armature Italiane*, 60.

[27] Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Armor,* 59-60.

[28] Boccia and Coelho, *L'arte Dell'Armatura in Italia*, state that *all'antica* embossed armor was exclusively an Italian invention (242). Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight*, say it, or at least embossing, originated in Germany (143), but the existing evidence seems to support an Italian origin of the embossed *all'antica* armor.

[29] Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight,* 110.

[30] Richardson, "The Royal Armor," 148-52.

[31] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace,* 737.

[32] Wilkinson, *Arms and Armor,* 64.

[33] Ibid., 68.

[34] ffoulkes, *The Armorer and His Craft,* 173-6.

[35] Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe,* 207.

[36] Werner, "Arming Cordelia," 247.

[37] For one example, see Dougherty, *The Medieval Warrior,* who, in a parenthetical aside when discussing the making of knights, writes, "women were excluded as they never went to war" (69). While correct that women were not specifically trained as knights, though women did belong to chivalric orders like the Order of the Garter, he is very wrong about women never going to war. See Barton Hacker's article "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe" for more about this presumption and its inaccuracy.

[38] Aroldi, *Armi e Armature Italiane*, 61.

[39] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 445.

[40] ffoulkes, *The Armorer and His Craft*, 31, 86.

[41] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace* 904.

[42] Dean, *Handbook of Arms and Armor*, 77.

[43] Karcheski, *Arms and Armor in the Art Institute of Chicago*, 62.

[44] Sinkević, "The Culture of Arms," 17.

[45] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 83.

[46] Caterina's story is quite colorful and includes three marriages, two of which she selected herself, many children, and notoriety across Europe. See Lev, *The Tigress of Forli*, for a biography. For Fra Filippo's inclusion of Caterina, see Tomalin, *The Fortunes of the Warrior Heroine*, 60. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance*, links

Boiardo and Ariosto's warrior women, whom he considers ideal, to Caterina Sforza (251-2).

[47] Tomalin, *The Fortunes of the Warrior Heroine*, 63.

[48] Ibid., 61-2.

[49] Ibid., 64.

[50] Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions," 644.

[51] Ibid. During the Thirty Years War gunners were hired and brought their grooms for horse teams, wives, and servants with them (646). A large number of camp followers was common; for example, Matteo Villani counted the Great Company of Fra Moriale, a mercenary army from 1353-4, and at one point, there were 10,000 fighting men and 20,000 camp followers, many of them women (647). The French who invaded in 1494 had thousands of noncombatants, and when 10,000 retreated north in 1495, an equal number of camp followers went with them (647). When talking about feeding armies, the records counted mouths, which included soldiers and camp followers; a typical calculation of 1573 posited 5,000 mouths for 3,000 fighting men (647). Many graphic works from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries show women present in depictions of army life (647). Wives would supplement a husband's wages by cleaning barracks, taking in laundry and ironing, and supplying food (650). Prostitutes were a normal feature of Italian armies in the Renaissance and of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish armies (651). Leicester's code for the English army in the Netherlands in 1585 banned women from field and garrison except lawful wives or women to tend the sick and serve as launderers, which was also part of Gustavus Adolphus's code for the Swedish army in Germany during the early seventeenth century (652). Hacker argues that women must have fought or at least helped in the fighting in warfare before the mid-seventeenth century and still helped later, often by carrying gunpowder (658). There are existing records of women who disguised themselves as men to serve in the ranks throughout the last half of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even nineteenth centuries (659).

[52] Machado, "Imagining Chivalry," says it is odd to have St. Barbara on armor (37), but it is actually a common image. See Springer, *Armor and Masculinity*, 46.

[53] Sinković, "The Culture of Arms," 33.

[54] Ackerman, "Armor and Weapons in the Middle English Romances," 105, 117.

[55] Squarotti, “Le Armi e I Cataloghi,” states "Quello delle armi che luccicano sotto il sole è topos a cui nessuno dei cataloghi di eserciti dell'epica classica si sottrae" (89).

[56] Galyon, “Scudamore family,” 634.

[57] Yates, “Elizabethan Chivalry,” states that Accession Day tilts reached the high point of development in terms of performance and pageantry in the 1580s (9). In 1575 at Sir Henry Lee's home, he hosted Elizabeth and court for Woodstock and had performed mock fights and a romance written that was performed. There was also a Fairy Queen who spoke and was likely an influence on Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (12). Sidney was also probably there and his sister, a girl of 12, was definitely there (13). At one Accession Day, it featured a play of a hermit who comes to beg for country people to participate with their leader, a clownish knight, (15-16) which again suggests influences on Spenser. Also, Grancsay, *Historical Armor*, notes that armor belonging to Sidney’s brother in law, Henry Herbert was stored at Wilton House where Spenser spent time (5).

[58] Wills, *Prosthesis*, 137.

[59] Sinkević, “The Culture of Arms,” 25. The full quotation is as follows: “Outfitted in metal, the wearers had additional strength and protection. They acquired a new identity defined by a metallic skin that appeared to overcome the vulnerability of flesh and that projected an aura of strength and power.”

[60] Harlan, *Memories of War*, says that armor is a nostalgic object that compels looking backward (see introduction). While I agree that armor can facilitate a connection to the past, I argue that that is the work of lineage and is transformative and forward focused as much as it is nostalgic. Crane, *The Performance of Self,* argues that the crest on a helmet, particularly when it is an animal or symbol connected to a family or past event works as a supplement that makes the bearer what he is through performance and ancestry (123). I build on her argument because the crest is only part of what enables the construction of identity; unique armor has a considerable part to play.

[61] Springer, *Armor and Masculinity*, describes early modern armor as “overdetermined objects traversed by multiple formal and figurative codes” (3). This overdetermined quality armor enables armor to “constitute identity, but it is never a secure possession” (4). Anderson, “Britomart’s Armor,” does note that Britomart’s armor remakes her, as the investing of armor does any knight when he or she receives it, usually as part of a knighting ceremony (76). Stump, "Fashioning Gender,” also observes that it takes only a little bit of practice and “the armaments of the warlike Angela” to become "an altogether convincing and formidable knight” (115).

[62] Self, “The Valkyrie’s Gender,” argues that valkyries and shield-maidens are a third gender, a hybrid of masculine and feminine attributes. They are clad in masculine arms and armor and have masculine power when they fight in battle, but linguistic markers, literary devices, and other activities mark them as feminine. Shield-maidens who choose a male spouse subsequently transition gender to feminine and lose many of the powerful abilities of a warrior woman, along with armor and weapons (143).

[63] The majority of scholarship on armored women dwells on determining whether they are a mix of genders or become masculine or remain feminine. See, for example, Silberman, *Transforming Desire*, 13-34; Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women*, throughout but especially 5-28; Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance Woman*, 123-56 and 251-280; Berry, *Of Chastity and Power*, 153-65; Tomalin, *The Fortunes of the Warrior Heroine*, 13-18; Bellamy, *Translations of Power*, 112-118 and 195-210; Robinson, *Monstrous Regiment*, again throughout but especially 166-190, 233-250, and 314-354; Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, 77-120; Schwarz, *Tough Love*, 137-174; McLucas, “Amazon, Sorceress, and Queen,” 33-55.

[64] Thomas, Gamber, and Schedelmann, *Arms and armor of the Western World*, state that weapons and armor are a symbol of manhood (8), but the entire introduction reflects the view of arms and armor as the space of hypermasculinity. Patterson, *Fashion and armor*, says that armor was most about Renaissance men’s status in the sixteenth century (8).

[65] Schwarz, *Tough Love*, argues that masculine chivalric ideal is consolidation of sameness with armor as the visible marker of that similarity, which is disrupted by a woman in armor (139).

[66] Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues*, points out that armor makes men of rank conspicuous and gives prestige before badges of rank exist (xxiii).

[67] Springer, *Armor and Masculinity*, explores how armor participated in self-fashioning for Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Emperor Charles V, and Cosimo de’Medici, and in the chapters on these men she outlines both successes and failures regarding the use of armor for identity promotion (73-159).

[68] Berry, “Borrowed Armor/Free Grace,” observes that when Redcrosse puts on the armor, replacing a clownish exterior with more venerable trappings of a loftier role, he is transformed (143), and this armor exerts a transformative agency to make Redcrosse’s identity match that announced by this armor: “Redcrosse has protection of armor he did not earn, but possessing it empowers him to achieve the glory which validates its possession” (144).

[69] Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 108.

[70] Ibid., 113.

[71] Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, note that military ornament was for identification (101), which is why theft or confusion about identity is such a threat.

[72] Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight*, include an anecdote from Agincourt in which wearing another person's armor and not being recognized led to the death of the wearer; the Duke of Brabant was killed when he wore his chamberlain's armor and was not recognized (123).

[73] See note 63 for critics who maintain the idea of a binary system of gender by analyzing how masculine or feminine the armored female characters are, which relies upon socially constructed notions of what masculinity and femininity mean. See also Lehnhof, "Incest and Empire," who focuses on sex: "Her male attire covers up her uncomfortable anatomical otherness and her compelling performance of masculinity puts in play a show of sameness, each deferring the problem of sexual difference" (236).

[74] Allaire, "The Warrior Woman," surveys armed women of late medieval Italian prose narratives. Italian medieval prose has several women warriors (Galiziella, Braidamonte, Dame Roenza, and Reina Laura) and several women who wear armor to disguise their identities or flee but don't know how to fight and don't fight (Ghaldina, Antenisca, and Rosana) (34). The warrior Galiziella/Galaciella (Ruggiero and Marfisa's mother in *Orlando furioso*) appears in at least six texts from the trecento (35). She says that there are no French models for the Italian warrior women (40). See also Tomalin, *The Fortunes of the Warrior Heroine*, who catalogues warrior women from about 1400-1650 in Italian literature. Crane, *The Performance of Self,* locates some warrior women from the French tradition, though notes they most often just disguise themselves rather than act as warriors. Silence and Yde are examples of women who fight and wear armor (100-102).

[75] Burns, "Why Textiles Make a Difference," draws on theories about habitus from Pierre Bourdieu and Maurice Merleau-Ponty to argue that clothes have a transformative effect on the body (3-4). Armor even more powerfully transforms the body because of its specific associations with status, power, and combat. Stump, "Fashioning Gender," says that Britomart needs only armor and a little practice to become "an altogether convincing and formidable knight" (115). Consequently, armor plays a critical role in the making of Britomart into a maid martial. Anderson, "Britomart's Armor," does note that Britomart's armor remakes her, as the investing of armor does any knight when he or she receives it, usually as part of a knighting ceremony (76).

[76] Anderson, "Britomart's Armor," 77.

[77] Cohen et al, “The Armor of an Alienating Identity,” argue, in regard to Silence and Ide, that material signifiers are constitutive (18). While they do not focus on exactly how the armor constitutes the characters, I build on this idea.

[78] Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard," 179.

[79] See note 63.

[80] McLucas, “Amazon, Sorceress, and Queen,” 37.

[81] Rebhorn and Whigham, *The Art of English Poesy*, 221n.1.

[82] Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 284.

[83] Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, define ornament as something both functional and contextual that relates things to each other, and nineteenth-century books offered to provide a Grammar of Ornament (11). Many theorists of ornament, like Ruskin in the nineteenth century, argue that there is a moral dimension to ornament; he thought gothic ornament of the Middle Ages had moral fiber but Renaissance ornament was wearisome and appealing to intellect only (12). Arms and armor were also categories in collections of ornament prints (44).

[84] Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Armor*, considers fifteenth-century armor for warfare as superior and more beautiful because it was usually plain and undecorated though finer ones usually were embellished with sprays of embossed ridges and fluting (59-60). Consequently, the sixteenth century is the period of armor’s decline, largely because of ornament (68). Boccia and Cohelo, *L’Arte Dell’Armatura*, state that fifteenth-century. Armor is a triumph of design because of its utility and minimal to non-existent decoration (19). Dean, *Handbook of Arms and Armor*, agrees that fifteenth-century armor is best because it has little or no decoration, and he says that sixteenth-century armor has value only for the goldsmith and the not armorer because of decoration (76). Edge and Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight*, considers beauty of sixteenth-century armor to be at the expense of utility (139). By far the most sustained—and oldest—rejection of decoration and ornament on armor comes from ffoulkes, *The Armorer and His Craft*, who begins by laying out the rules for the craft of armor, which when observed resulted in the best specimens of armor and when neglected produced inferior work. 1. Suitability for purpose. 2. Convenience in use. 3. Recognition of material. 4. Soundness of constructional methods. 5. Subservience of decoration to the preceding rules (3). On rule 5, he says that the best suits are practically undecorated (10). He considers English Greenwich products as superior to many continental ones because decoration never impairs utility and they do not have suggestions of goldsmith's work (18). According to ffolkes embossed armor is particularly bad because it destroys utility: “ornamentation is merely fantastic and meaningless, and consists for the most part of arabesques, masks,

and amorini based upon classical models of the worst period and style" (75). All of these rejections of ornamented armor are grounded in a position that not only prioritizes utility in combat but considers it to be the only function of armor. As this section argues, however, ornament is an integral part of how armor functions in the epic romances and in the socio-cultural context of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[85] The link between armor and fashion has been explored by several scholars. Patterson, *Fashion and armor*, develops the link in his book on the subject. His central argument is that armor and arms are clothing and adornments and that changes in armor design in the sixteenth century are driven by fashion changes (26). Grancsay, "The Mutual Influence of Fashion and Armor," has a similar thesis in that he argues the form and decoration of armor was influenced by contemporary dress so that the shape of various pieces of armor changed to reflect current trends for pant size, peascod, and other fashion trends (194). Armor and trunk hose are sometimes decorated the same way so that it is evident that clothing and armor were connected and designed to be worn together (204). Scalini, "The Weapons of Lorenzo de'Medici," points out that Lorenzo commonly wore pieces of armor as part of his clothing ensemble, which is a well-documented fifteenth-century practice (19). Heller, "Limiting Yardage and Changes," notes that armor is treated as dress within the sumptuary tradition (121-36). On armor's extravagant ornament as a strategy, see Bailey, *Flaunting*, who argues that young men wore sumptuous clothes as a strategy of resistance: "My consideration of those who used sumptuous apparel to make a spectacle of themselves rests on the central claim that certain young men subordinated by virtue of status, age, and professional prospects did not assume the elite signs of privilege but rather appropriated them for their own ends" (4). Appropriating ornamented armor uses a similar strategy. Even for those whose status afforded them the privilege of wearing richly ornamented armor, wearing it still constructs an identity that depends upon illusion. Machado, "Imagining Chivalry," argues that Renaissance nobles incorporated decorated armors as props to chivalric make believe that endowed them with chivalric qualities as personal and social imaginings (4). Consequently, armor worn as costume rather than for protection in battle is symbolic of chivalric values of the medieval period (25), remaking the Renaissance noble into a medieval warrior.

[86] Plett, "The Place and Function of Style," 66.

[87] Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, explains that sixteenth-century Italian armor was almost never heat treated because of the importance of fire gilding. Heat treating was seen as trading off with decoration, which was an equal priority with protection (203-204). This shift in priorities supports my argument that armor's ability to signify through its ornamented surface matters because it situates the wearer in a socio-cultural context. Thomas, Gamber, and Schedelmann, *Arms and Armor of the Western World*, assert that rank and social class are stated, performed, and announced to others through display of and access to arms and armor (12). See also Springer, *Armor and*

Masculinity, for her chapters on early modern nobles using armor to construct identity and negotiate political conflicts (73-159).

[88] Springer, *Armor and Masculinity*, 6.

[89] Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths*, notes that decoration of armor by goldsmiths was more common in Italy, particularly damascening (321).

[90] Burkhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance*, provides an example of gilded armor worn in battle. Simonetto Baglione was well known for his skill in war, but he also wore gilded armor with a falcon. He died of twenty wounds (36).

[91] Stock, "'Arms and the (Wo)man,'" states that jewels of *vertu* on armor would signify talismanic strengths and properties according to medieval lapidary treatises (61).

[92] Blair, *European Armor,* notes that jeweled armor was rare after the early fifteenth century (172). This is likely part of the reason why jeweled armor is much more common in Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*.

[93] Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince*, 20. Boccia and Cohelo, *L'Arte Dell'Armatura*, claim that embossed *all'antica* armor was exclusively an Italian invention style (242). Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, devote the book to an exploration of Negroli *all'antica* armor. They agree with Boccia and Cohelo that Negroli was the first to do *all'antica* armor from single plates (2). They also explain that the parade *all'antica* armor tradition goes back at least half a century but was also in the Middle Ages when the armor would be made of textiles or leather (95).

[94] Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, 93.

[95] ffoulkes, *The Armorer and His Craft*, 10.

[96] For more on this burgonet, see Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, 125-27.

[97] Springer, *Armor and Masculinity*, in her chapter on the classical body and *all'antica* or *alla romana* armor makes many of the same points: "This armor, with its careful delineation of a stylized anatomy, represents the perfection and completion of the elite male subject. It monumentalizes the body and enacts a prosthetic fantasy that is essentially sculptural. armor *alla romana* enables the wearer to disguise the imperfections of his own body and at the same time to project an idealized persona that corresponds to his culture's highest model of proportion and physical beauty . . . the armor is a cultural catachresis of the image of the 'body enclosed'" (30). While I am largely in agreement with Springer's reading, her focus on how *all'antica* armor reinscribes the boundaries of

the elite male body, and my argument is that ornament on armor, *all'antica* or otherwise, calls attention to the impossibility of an ideal martial masculinity.

[98] Patterson, *Fashion and Armor*, says *alla romana* armor transformed Renaissance nobles into classical heroes (22). Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, also states that Negroli armor was popular because it allowed the wearer to become, among other things, a classical figure (210). Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues*, notes that *alla romana* armor is an ideal medium to connect to the classical past (xxiii).

[99] Springer, *Armor and Masculinity*, 87. Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, 283.

[100] Many scholars note that the purpose of *alla romana* armor was for display in pageants or parades, but for one example, see Hayward, "The Revival of Roman Armor," 145.

[101] Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, grotesque style links to the classical past (39). Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, explain that the trophy motif comes from classical sources such as pillars and Trophies of Marius (11).

[102] Cohen et al., "The armor of an Alienating Identity," state, "Heroic masculinity is a cultural alignment of behaviors formulated to be adopted and promulgated--a powerful vision of masculinity that, in order to be offered as a mode of living, must also acknowledge its artificiality, its constructedness, its adoptability. Heroism organizes the masculine 'body in pieces' into a cultural coherence represented as invulnerable (because it must not fail) and always in danger of decapitation, dismemberment, and fragmentation (because no identity, predicated on a misrecognition, can hope to hold--even if that originary mistaking is a socially necessary one)" (2).

[103] Harlan, *Memories of War*, argues that spoils represent a struggle between male bodies and that writers produce textual trophies of wounded bodies. She also says trophies displayed suggest the presence of a spectral body and become *memento mori* (chapters 2 and 3).

Chapter Four

Embattled

Geoffrey of Vinsauf, who penned one of the most important medieval rhetorical treatises shortly after 1200, uses examples abundantly to illustrate the various figures he aims to teach his readers. To show how "a metaphorical word glows with a different radiance when it is employed in a figurative and literal sense," he provides this example: "*That ancient practical wisdom of Rome armed tongues with laws and bodies with iron, that it might prepare tongues and bodies alike for warfare*."[1] In this example, tongues and bodies operate separately, equally endowed with the ability to serve as a warrior even if the armor of the body is material iron and that of the tongue is immaterial law. Geoffrey's figuration of the tongue as a fighter or a weapon does not originate with him. It has classical and biblical antecedents as well as medieval, early modern, and modern valences.[2] Like other weapons, the tongue or speech—both signified by the same word *lingua* in Italian and tongue can mean both in English as well—can be used for various purposes. This makes weaponized words difficult to control, just as weaponized bodies can switch sides or leave a conflict altogether. This was especially a concern in war-torn Europe of 1500-1700, during which some estimates state that 95% of the time was spent in war somewhere.[3] In the context of the volatile late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, worry about the implications of words and weapons animates or at least troubles many discourses, including fencing and dueling treatises, conduct manuals, and even epic romances that stage debates involving words and other weapons.

The *Middle English Dictionary* includes the following for the definition of "debate": "a formal dispute, a debating contest; a legal controversy, a suit, an action; a dispute submitted to legal arbitration; fighting, brawling, warfare; also, a fight, a combat, a war."[4] The earliest entry for "combat" as a noun in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 1567, 1589 for the verb form, and while the entries mostly refer to physical combat in some capacity, it also provides examples of metaphorical combats of wits.[5] Our expressions continue to bear witness to the interconnections between physical and verbal combat and debate. Debate opponents are fought, hits are scored, and in the case of a particularly decisive performance the victor is spoken of as having "killed it." In modern contexts, however, we do not usually take seriously the possibility for a spoken word to have a physical impact on the body,[6] but in the context of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, the materialist connection between language and body was not only commonplace: it was supported by medical and legal theory.[7] Speaking, especially conversation or debate, involves an exchange of rarefied humors between bodies via the non-natural medium of air, and those words have physical effects on the body and interlinked spirit;[8] as such, words could be deadly serious.

In an effort to control speech and conflict, courtesy books advised their gentle readers to speak well and, in the case of gentlemen, be as skilled in speech as they are with weapons. In Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* we are presented with three characters who possess considerable skill in both arenas. The virtue of the last full book of *The Faerie Queene* is courtesy, and it is naturally embodied by Calidore, a beloved knight "In whom it seemes, that gentlenesse of spright / And

manners mylde were planted naturall; / To which he adding comely guize withall, / And gracious speach, did steale mens hearts away. / Nathlesse thereto he was full stout and tall, / And well approu'd in batteilous affray" (VI.i.2.3-8). This description of Calidore neatly overlays that provided by Castiglione of the ideal courtier.[9] Similarly, at the end of *Orlando furioso* we meet Prince Leone of Greece, who has fallen in love with and is betrothed to Bradamante by her parents and also happens to have saved Ruggiero from prison as a result of admiring Ruggiero's skill in battle. Ruggiero promises Leone to help him in any endeavor, and since Bradamante upon the decree of Charlemagne will marry no one who cannot best her in combat, Leone asks him to help win Bradamante's hand. Ruggiero agrees out of honor and does not tell Leone of the relationship he and Bradamante have. Leone is repeatedly described as "one who knew how to speak very well" [il qual sapea molto ben dire] (xlvi.61.1), and once he finds out about the two lovers, he releases Ruggiero of his obligation and "kept refuting anything Ruggiero could argue" [sempre le ragion redarguendo, / ch'in contrario Ruggier gli potea dire] (xlvi.45.3-4) to persuade Ruggiero to go to Bradamante. Further, while he is trained in arms, he comes "unarmed" [senz'arme] (xlvi.53.2) before Charlemagne. In addition to these two men, Bradamante displays both considerable martial and rhetorical skill. While a few modern scholars would support this claim, several others would resist due to the fact that Bradamante ends the story married.[10] These scholars are invested in analyzing Ariosto's place in the *querelle des femmes*, and while this is an important conversation, I want to turn from the debate itself to the strategy behind it. In an article on the genre of the *querelle* and masculinity, Androniki Dialeti argues that the pro-woman stance is not as

much about women as it is a strategy for the participating male writers to redefine masculinity through the use of a defense of women "as a tool of social and cultural inclusion and exclusion to construct homosocial bonds and affirm power relations."[11] These efforts to (re)define masculinity make use of both words and weapons, which are tools seized by those—male and female alike—seeking social mobility.

Developments in warfare spurred some of the broadest-reaching social and cultural changes affecting and affected by these efforts to challenge existing power structures. In the 1950s military historian Michael Roberts coined the phrase "military revolution" to refer to a series of changes—increase in the size of armies, technologically spurred changes in tactics, the shift away from the noble knight to an infantry-centric military—that resulted in the increase of state authority, the decrease in the individuality of the soldier with the resulting increased use of soldiers from humble backgrounds, and the near removal of noble elite men from military importance.[12] His theory has been debated, modified, and extended, but it largely remains intact.[13] The late medieval and early modern period witnessed the exponential growth of the field of debate beyond the knight's tilt yard or even medieval battlefields dominated by knighted cavalry. Whether largely because of the military revolution or for other reasons, the elite male knight moved to the periphery of war with consequent changes in notions of gender and social rank.

The strategy Dialeti identifies, the concern over access to and use of weapons—words or otherwise—by people of different statuses or genders, and the changes loosely linked to Roberts's military revolution, are all various manifestations of the same

phenomenon: competing attempts to lay claim to the power, wealth, and status ascribed to the position of elite masculinity at the top of the hierarchical and patriarchal power structures in early modern Europe. The martial body—literally, metaphorically, and rhetorically—is a similarly contested space because it depends upon the same structuring logic that equates manliness, skill with and touted sole authority over weapons, and wealth with entitled power. Because of the assumption that martial masculinity is the most sacrosanct space of elite manhood, I argue that the martial body—its most shining avatar—reveals the instability of that assumption because of the inability to prevent its use by men and some women invested in constructing new notions of masculinity and status. As a consequence, the deployment of the martial body for purposes not in line with that dictated by elite martial masculinity can rupture hegemonic masculinity.[14] Further, because of the involvement of diverse women who lay claim to the weapons, words, and violence considered exclusive to masculinity, defining masculinity against a homogenous category of woman or femininity merely proliferates masculinities and femininities.[15] This fragmentation can provide opportunities for social mobility, but it carries with it the risk of being targeted and punished for transgressive behavior. The weapon of the martial body is two edged; it can help some women and men carve out spaces in resistance to those prescribed by normative social codes, but it often comes with a price paid in blood. This chapter contends that a consideration of the rhetorical and physical debate in fencing treatises and epic romances reveals shifts in the politics of gender and social status as a result of using the martial body, an assumed stable

representative of elite martial masculinity, to exploit chinks in the armor of a strictly hierarchical and patriarchal social structure.

1. Gender, Status, and the Sword

The relationship between gender, status, and the sword is, at first glance obvious: a high-ranking man wears and uses the sword, which is a symbol of his authority and masculinity. This is an assumption that arises often in scholarship on the sword. Walter Karcheski, Jr., observes about the sword: "For centuries it served not only as a weapon, but also as a symbol of royalty, an attribute of chivalry, and an essential accessory of male costume."[16] Cristoph Amberger, an amateur historian who is also one of the most accomplished practitioners of historical sword play, even (troublingly) writes, "The history of the sword is the history of the Y chromosome."[17] Intrinsically connected to wearing a sword is the statement that one can use it, which implicates force and violence in this triad of sword, status, and gender. This is, again, a commonly accepted position. In the introduction to a collection of essays about violence and masculinity, Jennifer Feather and Catherine Thomas state that the collection proceeds from this starting place: "This collection argues that if masculinity is defined by its contingency, achieving masculinity frequently, if not always, relies on acts of violence in one form or another. In other words, masculinity is achieved and negotiated through acts of aggression."[18] Without completely rejecting any of these points, this section instead argues that the use of the sword as a symbol for elite masculinity paradoxically enables the fragmentation of masculinity into masculinities via the mechanism of appropriation of that symbol by lower-status men while women's association with both the symbol and violence further

erodes the idea that something like stable masculinity can exist. In response, attempts to define the elite masculinity of the courtier turned to other skills, particularly rhetorical ones. As a consequence, status and gender complicate and even, to an extent, render invalid our easy assumptions about elite masculinity, the sword, and violence. This complication of assumptions spurs conflict even as it creates perilous opportunities for mobility.

Skill with arms has a long history of serving as a tool for social mobility. Historians Marc Block and Georges Duby outlined the transition from *miles*, the Latin term that came to signify noble vassals who fought for a noble, to knights. This group at first possessed no special distinction besides skill in arms, and it was not a transferrable status or an indicator of special status. Over time, this group coalesced and became the knighted nobility, which did become a marker of superior status. Especially in the early to middle part of the Middle Ages, this group's connection to status and wealth depended upon winning it in war, so young knights would fight in wars or sometimes raid and pillage to build up wealth.[19] Partly in an attempt to limit or contain the violent behaviors of knights skilled in arms, codes of courtly conduct and chivalry developed.[20] These codes emphasized other skills and increasingly education while also outlining appropriate methods of interacting with women and lower status people. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries confronted another need to redefine conduct for elite martial men, partly as a result of changes in warfare that increasingly relegated knights and nobility to the sidelines and saw the rise of mercenary fighting groups.[21] In fact, *condottieri* in Italy often used their military skill to seize land and money or were given it. Some even rose to

the level of nobility like the Sforzas in Milan,[22] and in England, the lower classes and even criminals became infantry and replaced the cavalry in importance.[23] This led to what some scholars have called a "crisis of chivalry."[24]

Into that crisis stepped writers of conduct books like Baldesar Castiglione and even romance writers like Matteo Boiardo. In both *Il cortegiano* and *Orlando innamorato* martial men discuss what it means to be a knight or a courtier, and in both cases, skill at arms is not enough to distinguish the elite martial male from the roving mercenary. Orlando, the titular and best Christian knight, fights an extended battle with King Agricane, a pagan. When it gets dark, they decide to rest in the field until they can resume their fight the next day. While they lay next to each other on the grass, "they reasoned together over worthy and chivalric things" [E ragionando insieme tuttavia / Di cose degne e condecente a loro] (I.xviii.41.1-2) until Orlando brings up God. Agricane says, "I understand that you certainly want to argue over faith; I have no expertise in science, neither when young did I want to learn, and I broke my master's head as payment" [Io comprendo per certo / Che tu voi de la fede ragionare; / Io de nulla scienzia sono esperto, / Né mai, sendo fanciul, volsi imparare, / E roppi il capo al maestro mio per merto] (I.xviii.42.2-5). His violent reaction to education induces fear in his teachers, and the reason that Agricane did not learn is an affective one; he did not want to. Subtly setting up a juxtaposition between unrestrained desire and education, the text next stages a discussion about what a knight should be able to do:

> And so I spent my boyhood in hunts, games of arms, and riding. It does not seem becoming to a gentleman to spend the whole day in books and thoughts, but the

> strength of the body and dexterity are the qualities that a knight exercises. Scholarship is fine for the priest and scholar. I know well what is fitting to me. Orlando responded, ‘I am convinced that arms are the first honor of man, but learning does not make a man less worthy, instead it adorns him like a flower in a field [E così spesi la mia fanciulezza / In caccie, in giochi de arme e in cavalcare; / Né mi par che convenga a gentilezza / Star tutto il giorno ne’ libri a pensare; / Ma la forza del corpo e la destrezza / Conviense al cavalliero esercitare. / Dottrina al prete ed al dottor sta bene: / Io tanto saccio quanto mi conviene. / Rispose Orlando: Io tiro teco a un segno, / Che l’arme son de l’omo il primo onore; / Ma non già che il saper faccia men degno, / Anci lo adorna come un prato il fiore] (I.xviii.43-44.4).

Agricane tells him “It is a great discourtesy to want to argue with advantage. I have revealed to you what my nature is, and I know you to be learned and wise. If you speak more, I will not respond” [Egli è gran scortesia / A voler contrastar con avantaggio. Io te ho scoperto la natura mia, / E te cognosco che sei dotto e saggio. Se più parlassi, io non risponderia] (I.xviii.45.1-5). Agricane wants no part in a debate about the value of education for a knight, and he is ill-prepared to participate in a disputation precisely because he has not been educated whereas Orlando is both learned and wise. Orlando has the advantage in the argument, and the implication is that he also has the advantage of his position being right. The next day Agricane dies in their combat, so Orlando gets the last word about what a knight should be like. Uneducated, brutal Agricane ruled by desire vs.

educated, wise, polite, deadly Orlando easily stand in for the figures of the knight and the mercenary often contrasted at the time.

Using education to separate the cultured class of warriors from the rest also aligns that group with superior status. They represent elite manhood through their dual possession of skill with arms and education. Vincentio Saviolo, a famous Italian fencing master who taught in England and wrote the first fencing treatise in English, dedicates his text to the Earl of Essex and several other knights, and he similarly connects arms and learning to this class: "The meanes whereby men from time to time haue bene preferred euen to the highest degrees of greatnes and dignitie, haue euer bene and are of two sortes, Armes and Letters: weapons & books."[25] Boiardo anticipates Castiglione in asking the question of what is a knight or courtier, but Castiglione expands Boiardo's discussion of it from a few stanzas to an entire book that significantly influenced the Italian city-states, England, and Europe more broadly.[26] One of the debates staged has to do with the importance of arms for the courtier, and the French are described in a position similar to Agricane's: "Although the French, I know, recognize only the nobility of arms and think nothing of all the rest; and so they not only do not appreciate learning but detest it, regarding men of letters as basely inferior and thinking it a great insult to call anyone a scholar."[27] Even Count Ludovico who had previously argued for the superiority of arms switches sides to condemn the French for not valuing education: "I blame the French for believing that letters are harmful to the profession of arms, and I maintain myself that it is more fitting for a warrior to be educated than for anyone else; and I would have these two accomplishments, the one helping the other, as is fitting, joined together in our

courtier."[28] Throughout the book, the ideal courtier is equipped with skills in rhetoric, dancing, art, gestures and demeanor, politics, etc.[29] As Aldo Scaglione observes, the ideal courtier combines the previous categories of knight and cleric.[30] This ideal courtier, like the knight Orlando, should have military prowess, but it is not the only, or maybe even the most, important attribute possessed. Rather than identity by statute, the emphasis on education meant that while blood alone was not enough, cultivation of those other virtues could weaken the boundaries to a particular social group.[31] In his "Letter to Raleigh," Spenser explains the purpose of his book "to fashion a gentleman or noble person" (l.8) through a presentation of the virtues of a private man and a public one. Castiglione and the romances participate in efforts to redefine elite masculinity in opposition to seizures of its power and status by others who used skill in arms and words to climb the social ladder.

Two developments in the history of the sword contributed to skill in fencing as a means of social mobility: the custom to wear a sword with civilian dress and the development of the rapier.[32] During the Middle Ages, it was not customary for anyone, including knights, to wear a sword except in combat or training or when travelling. During the sixteenth century, however, it became fashionable to wear a sword as part of normal dress.[33] This fashion lasted into the eighteenth century, and the practice of dueling experienced the most popularity during this same period of time.[34] Treatises about defining and protecting one's honor also proliferated in the sixteenth century, usually in connection with treatises on dueling or courtesy.[35] Limitations on who could carry a sword—usually all nobility, soldiers, and gentlemen could—created two classes,

according to Frederick Bryson: those with honor and those without.[36] Within those broad categories, skill with a sword or even just carrying one, usually a rapier by the late sixteenth century, could win social status.[37] The conventions of the duel were elaborate, but a core principal is that the combatants either are or become equals during the duel.[38] Further, as Bryson explains in his early study of honor and the duel in early modern Italy, the one giving the insult took to himself (or herself) the honor the other lost.[39] Consequently, for the group who could carry swords, gradations of status could be leveled by the conventions of the duel.

Both England and many of the Italian city-states passed laws prohibiting duels or limiting who could wear swords, but the fact that these laws were issued repeatedly in combination with existing crime records indicate that they were unsuccessful at stopping dueling.[40] Opponents and even some dueling treatises tried to limit access to the duel by profession or style of fighting. Scholars were expected to fight with words rather than swords, and tradesmen and similar professions were considered unfit to be soldiers or duel.[41] The discrimination by profession finds its roots in the classical military treatise *De re militari* by Flavius Vegetius. This military text enjoyed popularity throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period, and when discussing where to get recruits for soldiers, he writes, "Fisherman, fowlers, confectioners, weavers, and in general all whose professions more properly belong to women should, in my opinion, by no means be admitted into the service."[42] Pietro Monte, a noted fencing master, opposed the practice of fighting unarmored, saying that this style of combat was fit only for "pimps, blasphemers, and shopkeepers."[43] In reality, though, enforcing these expectations failed,

and while the duel of honor between aristocrats has received the most scholarly attention, evidence supports the use of force to resolve conflicts across the social classes.[44] As long as access to force was a way of establishing social rank, as Alexandra Shepard argues in her study of manhood in early modern England, skill with a sword could be an opportunity for advancement.[45]

While men with lower social standing could take on bigger opponents speaking in terms of social rank, writers of fencing treatises often provide advice for how a smaller opponent can defeat a larger one. Camillo Agrippa's 1553 *Trattato di Scientia d'arme* gives specific direction for smaller fighters, and he concludes that "according to the assigned rules those of weaker strength can conquer the stronger" [secondo la regola assegnata d'onde le minor forze potranno con tal procedure vincere le maggiori].[46] They also advocate continual practice, exercise, and training because that, along with the instruction of a master, can equip anyone with fighting skill. Originally written in 1570 and translated into English and printed in 1594 as *Digrassi, His True Arte of Defense*, Giacomo di Grassi's last section deals with training the body and building strength. Throughout the text di Grassi emphasizes the need for exercise, and in this last section he points out that skill in fencing can be developed by anyone: "And there hath been manie, who by reason of such sudden wearines, haue suddenlie dispaired of themselues, giuing ouer the exercisse of the wepon, as not appertaining unto them. Wherein they deceiue themselves, for such wearines is vanquished by exercise, by meanes whereof it is not long, but that the bodie feete & armes are so strenghened that heauie things seem light & that they are able to handle verie nimblie anie kinde of weapon, and in briefe ouercome

all kind of difficulty and hardnesse."[47] The attention to physical size and strength is obviously practical, but the ability of a smaller, weaker opponent to win also adumbrates the possibility of social advancement by the metaphorical little guy.

At the heart of the duel of honor and the attempts to control access to higher social levels is a concern for policing the borders of elite martial masculinity. Vegetius's rejection of recruits from "professions more properly belong[ing] to women" reveals the gendered dimensions of both the challenge that can lead to a duel and assumptions about who can access violence. Ultimately, the insult that becomes the challenge to fight assaults the manhood of the recipient, suggesting or explicitly stating that he is not a real man. Scholars working in masculinity studies have long concerned themselves with, as Elisabeth Badinter puts it, the observation that "being a man is expressed more readily in the imperative than in the indicative. The order so often heard—'Be a man'—implies that it does not go without saying and that manliness may not be as natural as one would like to think."[48] The challenge demands that the recipient prove his honor, his manhood, and calling another man a woman or womanish often makes explicit the gendered nature of the insult. For example, in *The Faerie Queene*, Guyon, the hero of Book II and representative of temperance, fights with Pyrochles who yells after being knocked down: "Thine armes seem strong, but manhood frayl: / So hast thou oft with guile thine honor blent" (II.v.5.6-7). When Atin, a female character, goes to get Pyrochles' brother Cymocles to help in this fight with Guyon, she gets him to arm and leave his lady by calling him a "womanish weake knight" (II.v.36.2). Frailty and femininity are set in opposition to both manhood and knightliness, so the conclusion is that violence prevents

effeminacy.[49] In her study of violence in sixteenth-century Rome, Laurie Nussdorfer argues that violence regulated and contested social hierarchies "because early modern men established and experienced their sense of manhood by contrast or comparison with other men."[50] Proving that one's "showing of manliness," [dimostravi sì virile] (I.xxvi.61.5) as Orlando says in *Orlando innamorato*, was truly manly depended upon comparison with other men as well as skill with a sword.

If fencing or rhetorical skill could offer social mobility, there will always be certain groups who want to limit access to other groups. This is likely why the only sixteenth-century fencing text written in English by an Englishman, George Silver, is a scathing criticism of Italian fencing techniques that relied on the rapier and a defense of the older English tradition that prioritized the short sword. For Silver the popularity of Italian fencing masters, treatises, and style was an affront to English nationalism. Published in 1599, the title page of Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence* promises to display the "weakenesse and imperfection of the Rapier-fights . . . Together with an Admonition to the noble, ancient, victorious, valiant, and most braue nation of Englishmen, to beware of false teachers of Defence, and how they forsake their owne naturall fights." By opposing English national character to Italian fencing style, Silver implies that Englishmen who learn from Italian masters or practice rapier fighting are neither valiant nor brave and in fact may be traitors who have forsaken what is naturally English.[51] He also targets the manliness of rapier fighters, repeatedly calling them boys: "these toyes are fit for children, not for men, for stragling boyes of the Campe, to murder poultrie, not for men of Honour to trie the battell with their foes."[52] Vincentio Saviolo, who had dedicated his

English fencing treatise to the Earl of Essex and other knights just four years earlier, is the reason for Silver's written riposte.[53] By identifying the same elite male martial readership, Silver stages a verbal duel through the fencing treatises.

Sir John Smythe similarly protests the use of rapiers, the decreasing reliance on English archers, and other military changes. For him, his argument is class and status oriented. In the dedication to the nobility of England, he laments the "the vanitie and ouerweening of yong men" who are specifically not noblemen "for such as are Noblemen by birth, or descended of noble fathers, or themselues worthie, doo knowe by good education and instruction, that experience is the mother of Science, and therefore, will not neglect nor contemne the wisedome and sufficiencie of former ages, nor the opinions and iudgements of the auncient and experienced men of this time."[54] While he does cite legitimate reasons why a rapier is not fit for war—the rapier is too long to draw and the blade breaks upon contact with armor—his framing of this complaint as targeting the military pride of non-noblemen reveals the class-based tension inherent in his position. The referential nature of early modern masculinity results in competing notions of manhood or masculinities. When these competing frameworks are buttressed by martial prowess, they enable social mobility for the lower status man who can challenge his social betters and win, whether in a duel or simply by making the challenge public.

A more insidious challenge to elite martial masculinity, at least from the perspective of the men at the top of the social order, comes from women who appropriate the symbol of elite martial masculinity and use it to fight for their own causes. While Britomart, Bradamante, Marfisa, Chlorinda, and Gildippe are fictional characters and the

products of male authors who have, at best, an equivocal relationship with women's agency, they are also symbols of a potential challenge to the automatic linkage of the sword and martial prowess to manhood. When Paridell sees and recognizes Britomart from her armor, he says he will not challenge her again because she defeated him: "This knight too late his manhood and his might, / I did assay" (IV.i.35.1-2). Britomart's "manhood" withstands Paridell's challenge because her "might" exceeds his own. Martial prowess enables Britomart to claim the status of manhood even if she makes no effort to present herself as male. The manipulation of masculinity via the martial body simultaneously reveals the instability of the notion of elite martial masculinity even as it complicates the assumption that the categories of woman and femininity are homogenous points against which masculinity can be defined.[55] In Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* other women are inspired by the warrior Chlorinda to take up arms themselves in defense of their city: "And there appear on the bulwarks again troops who had previously fled in fear; and marveling at the vigorous (in battle) virgin, for love of the fatherland, the women run to place themselves to defend with their hair loose and their skirts tucked up. They launch arrows and show know fear to expose their breasts for their beloved city walls" [E già tra' merli a comparir non tarda / Lo stuol fugace che 'l timor caccionne; / E, mirando la vergine gagliarda, / Vero amor de la patria arma le donne: / Correr le vedi, e collocarsi in guarda / Con chiome sparse e con succinte gonne, / E lanciar dardi, e non mostrar paura / D'esporre il petto per l'amate mura] (xi.58.1-8). Saviolo relates a similar story that took place during the war between the Venetians and the Turks. The Turks approach in a ship to attack an island town "where the men dismaied with the soddainnes

of the attempt, betooke themselues to flight, and left the place to the defence of the women, who quitted themselues with such vndaunted courage, that one of them betaking her self to a peece of artillerie, plaied the gunner so artificiallie, that she directed a shot cleane through the ship where Allibassa was."[56] Together, Tasso and Saviolo speak to the risk of legitimizing women's seizure of the martial sphere: other women might be inspired to do the same. Moderata Fonte, a sixteenth-century Venetian woman, wrote an *Orlando furioso*-inspired epic romance that features a warrior woman who makes a defense of the equality of women.[57] While not inspired to take up literal arms, Fonte picked up another weapon, the pen, and entered the debate on her own terms.

Ballads about women who disguised themselves as men to join the navy, pirates, or the army were very popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and we have some historical records of women who actually did this.[58] In the early years of the seventeenth century Catalina de Eranso of Spain did just that and ended up fighting in the Americas, leading troops, winning duels against numerous men (even killing her own brother who was in disguise), and eventually returning to Spain where she met the king and Pope.[59] Records of female duelers are more scanty, but Julian Pitt-Rivers recounts on example of two women dueling and killing each other in sixteenth-century Italy, and in a note he calls duels involving women "travesties."[60] A newspaper clipping included in a nineteenth-century bibliography of all historical fencing texts the author could find includes a story titled "Should women fight duels?" from 1890 about a duel between two men, one of whom was the substitute for a female journalist whose article had caused the other man to challenge her to a duel. One aptly named Madam Estoc (an estoc is a kind

of sword designed to pierce the weak parts of armor) proposed a resolution to the League for the Emancipation of Women to condemn the female journalist for not "meet[ing] him on the field of honor herself." The whole assembly condemned the journalist.[61] While there is not an abundance of evidence, it is also not a subject often studied, in large part because of our own assumptions about women and combat.

Historical records of noble women who directed defenses of their homes or women who participated in battle exist.[62] One of the most famous of these women in the English tradition is Boudica who, along with her daughters, fought and drove off the Romans. In the chronicle of British kings provided in Book II of *The Faerie Queene* Spenser includes Boudica as well as several other warrior women. In Spenser's account Boudica, or Bunduca, sees the Romans subduing the weak so she "vp arose, / And taking armes, the *Britons* to her drew; / With whom she marched streight against her foes" (II.x.54.6-8). Some of her own men conspire against her and she ends up killing herself to prevent her seizure. Boudica's historiography is complex with some accounts lauding her as a savior and others presenting her as a savage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, she was often invoked as a symbol of British strength.[63] In a seventeenth-century play about her, she casts the Romans as effeminate and all British, including British women, as manly and deserving of fighting for liberty and honor.[64] Much like male challengers in the duel assert that their own manhood is superior, aligning manliness with female warriors further corrodes the boundaries of elite martial masculinity. The sword may symbolize elite martial masculinity, but just what that means is debatable.

2. Tournament-Style Combat and Spectacle

The operative logic of the duel is public because for honor to be accrued or lost, a display of martial prowess must have an audience. As Leo Braudy says, this turns individual honor into a social fact.[65] When honor and shame are social evaluations, display and performance of martial prowess make masculinity a spectacle.[66] The link between performativity and gender, as Judith Butler has famously argued, renders the gendered body socially and discursively produced: "That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality. This also suggests that if that reality is fabricated as an interior essence, that very interiority is an effect and function of a decidedly public and social discourse, the public regulation of fantasy through the surface politics of the body, the gender border control that differentiates inner from outer, and so institutes the 'integrity' of the subjects."[67] Building on Butler, I argue that the martial body is an ideal vehicle for performing masculinity, and the chivalric tournament provides an apt setting for that performance because the public display of the martial body in tournament settings instantiates the fantasy of elite martial masculinity even as that fantasy breaks down upon investigation. Bryson identifies these tournaments as the predecessor of the sixteenth-century duel of honor,[68] and both the duel and tournaments prioritize display. Lances were designed to splinter upon impact both to minimize risk to the combatants and to maximize the visual effect for the audience. The pageantry turns war into a stylized performance, but the tournament maintains a tenuous link with war, as does the duel. Referencing the Italian fencing treatise by Achille Marozzo, Bryson traces the etymology of duel to the Latin *duellum*, which was another word for war.[69] As Edward Muir

explains in his work on the vendetta in early modern Italy, the duel has inherent theatricality because violence is restricted in space and time and there are judges and observers.[70] Theatricality and war come together in the epic romances. They blend war verisimilitude with an idealized chivalric version of combat to focus on heroic martial characters who display elite martial masculinity, but the spectacle is vulnerable to the intrusion of moments of war realism and the cooptation of the martial body by lower status men and women. The display itself, then, reveals the fragmentation of a coherent, unified meaning of what elite martial masculinity is or does.

The accuracy of presentations of war and combat in epic romances has received some critical attention, most notably in Michael Murrin's *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic*. Bryson's study of the duel deals with the epic romances brusquely: "So the Italian epics were scarcely influenced by the actual code of honor of the sixteenth century. Although they were concerned largely with duels, these were generally treated in accordance with the literary traditions of the Middle Ages."[71] Sydney Anglo similarly notes that narrative sources are "patchy, inadequate and unreliable" at helping reconstruct personal combat techniques.[72] Murrin, instead, finds that the epic romances respond to the changing practice of war in a variety of ways that range from turning to classical models, incorporating historical accuracy in war and combat, and turning to fantasy to avoid the ways that the "practice of war had drifted far from traditional narrative modes."[73] He points to places where Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso all link their narratives to history for verisimilitude and to classical sources like Vergil and Herodotus.[74] Tasso relied on medieval chronicles to tell the story of the First Crusade, and his description of

the impact of the weather on the soldiers, the construction of siege engines, and the conditions of the siege itself all reflect attempts at realism. Similarly, in the Siege of Paris, Ariosto, who had never been to Paris but was familiar with contemporary practices of war, describes the destruction and devastation characteristic of the total war policies pursued by the French during the Italian Wars.[75] While Spenser "hardly represents war,"[76] he, too, describes the devastation of siege warfare in Book I when the dragon lays siege to Una's city and in Book V when Geryoneo's seizure of Belge's land allegorizes the military-enforced Spanish claim to the Low Countries. These intrusions of realism in combination with the deaths of characters in combat remind readers of the risks attendant upon the martial body. Those risks are literal in the form of combat wounds or even death, but they are also metaphorical and strike at the idea that martial masculinity has an uncontested hold over power, force, and status.

Tournaments and tournament-style combat are much more common than instances of military realism, but just as those moments of realism highlight physical risks to the martial body, the spectacle of the tournament also indicts, even as it celebrates, the legitimacy of martial masculinity's claim to force and status. *Orlando innamorato* begins with Charlemagne's Pentecost tournament.[77] When Angelica and her brother, Argalia, appear and promise Angelica's hand to whoever can defeat Argalia, everyone immediately wants to fight Argalia, so it is decided that "the matter would be settled by lot" [la vicenda se ponesse a sorte] (I.i.56.5). The first name drawn is Astolfo, whom Boiardo presents as a comic caricature of a knight. He is quickly defeated, as is the next challenger, Feraguto, who breaks the laws of chivalry and tries to fight the victor

after being defeated. Others also fight out of turn until the tournament setting ends and the story follows numerous characters who chase the fleeing Angelica or each other. The degeneration of the tournament and the protocol violations by characters marked off as comedic or inferior call into question whether the martial code of ethics can reliably control behavior. Other instances of friends having to fight each other because of this same code further show the problems embedded in an honor-based system of masculinity that depends upon public display.

In *Orlando furioso* a knight, Pinabello, and his lady institute a custom at one of his castles where Aquilante, Grifone, Samsonet, and Guidone Selvaggio stay. Pinabello welcomes them and then seizes them in bed "and before he would release them, he made them swear they would remain here for a year and a month (this was the end point he set) and despoil as many knight errants as came by" [e prima non li sciolse, / che li fece giurar ch'un anno e un mese / (questo fu a punto il termine che tolse) / stariano quivi, e spogliarebbon quanti vi capitasson cavallieri erranti] (xx.53.4-8). They swear the oath: "It is the custom that one of them, who is chosen by lot, goes out first to run at the enemy alone, but if he finds the enemy so strong that the enemy stays in the saddle and throws him to the ground, the others are obligated to fight as a band to the death" [È ordine tra lor, che chi per sorte / esce fuor prima, vada a correr solo: / ma se trova il nimico così forte, / che resti in sella, e getti lui nel suolo, / sono ubligati gli altri infin a morte / pigliar l'impresa tutti in uno stuolo] (xx.55.1-6). Ruggiero and Bradamante encounter them, and after Ruggiero unhorses the first of the four, the others protest that "it would be better to be taken and killed than encounter a man alone" [e preso e morto rimanere inante /

ch'incontra un sol volere andar più d'uno] (xx.78.3-4). The lady demands that they honor their oath: "When I had you in prison, that was the time to make these excuses, and not now when it is too late. You must keep the pact you have accepted" [Quando io v'avea in prigione, era da farme / queste escuse, e non ora, che son tarde. / Voi dovete il preso ordine servarme] (xx.79.1-3). They end up attacking Ruggiero, but his magic shield scares everyone away when the cover slips off. Bradamante recognizes Pinabello, who is an enemy of her family and tried to kill her earlier and stole her horse, so she chases him down and kills him, which releases the four from their oath. As a whole, this incident showcases the competing obligations of this honor system. Even though the oath was made under duress, the four feel bound to keep it, and the lady's words support the position that the oath is binding. On the other hand, their chivalric code considers ganging up on an opponent dishonorable, so the four knights face a dishonorable choice either way. Critically, though, it is the public element of shame that induces them to make the choice to attack Ruggiero. The lady as spectator and judge evaluates them publicly and goads a choice in line with her evaluation. Muir points out that honor comes from self-presentation and how it is judged, not from following rules, so some men of high repute could break rules with impunity.[78] Similarly, the variable of public evaluation in this episode from *Orlando furioso* can dictate a course of action that inevitably results in dishonor. Much like the tournament that begins *Orlando innamorato*, this example makes apparent the problematic nature of an honor code that depends on spectacle and display; performances are always judged.

Spenser packs the fourth book of *The Faerie Queene* with the spectacle of tournaments. Cambell and Telamond are the knights who display the virtue of friendship, which is presented as one way to resolve competing obligations that compel friends or allies to fight each other or change sides. Jennifer Forsyth argues that "violence and friendship are not always viewed as opposites but are often seen as complementary elements of a single system governing the healthy male body."[79] This certainly seems to be the message of Spenser's book on friendship, and the tournament is the place where friends go to fight. However, Lauren Silberman states that "the pattern of the joust, by means of which friendship is realized throughout Book IV, is a process of fragmentation."[80] I contend that both positions are accurate responses to the connection between violence and friendship, and even though these positions are contradictory, they are both demonstrated in Spenser's book of tournaments and result from the contradictory elements of elite martial masculinity encoded in the structure of tournaments and male friendship. Even as the homosocial bond promises a relationship between men that exceeds that between men and women,[81] when it is grounded on violence and competition, as it is in Spenser's book and tournaments, some amount of fragmentation is inevitable.

Foes often become friends after combat in the epic romances, and Bryson observes that many dueling treatises called for friendship after a duel if both combatants survived.[82] Alliances can quickly shift, as they do in *Orlando innamorato* when we first meet Marfisa. She has withdrawn from the larger battle to await opponents worthy of fighting. This is exactly the approach Federico Fregoso advises in Castiglione's *Il*

cortegiano. According to him, a courtier in military action should keep to himself and go battle in small company and not mingle with common soldiers.[83] Marfisa and Ranaldo prepare to fight when a messenger comes to tell her that King Galafrone's forces are being defeated and he needs her to come fight, but she tells the messenger she will come after she fights Ranaldo, as well as the knights Prasildo and Iroldo. The Christian knights face her, and she easily defeats Prasildo and Iroldo. She and Ranaldo fight first with lances, then swords, and lastly hand-to-hand until Marfisa knocks Ranaldo out and his horse runs away with him (I.xvii.1-23). In spite of the ferocity of their encounter, their mutual statements desiring revenge, and another fight lasting all day, she switches sides to aid Ranaldo when he is attacked by King Galafrone, whom she ostensibly serves. Her change in allegiance is because Galfrone "disturbed her battle" [che sua battaglia viene a disturbare] (I.xix.39.2). In the ensuing battle in which Marfisa fights with her former allies, Ranaldo admires her and calls out, "I want to help you even if I must die with you" [Io te voglio aiutare, / Se ben dovessi teco esserne morto] and Marfisa welcomes his assistance, "Jolly knight, if you are with me, I care not if the world is against me" [Cavallier iocondo, / Poi che sei meco, più non stimo il mondo] (I.xix.47.3-4, 7-8). They both end up fighting former allies. This exchange speaks to a friendship born in combat, but it also reveals the competing obligations that are unavoidable in an honor code that contains contradictory positions. Loyalty necessarily shifts, but as a consequence of that, friendships are tenuous.

Similar to the friendship between Marfisa and Ranaldo, Cambell and Telamond or Triamond become friends after combat, but whereas Marfisa and Ranaldo's transition

from foes to friends arises as a result of their choice, Cambell and Triamond become friends as a result of an external force. Cambell faces the triplets Priamond, Diamond, and Triamond in a tournament-like setting. Much like the appointment of a place and time for a duel of honor, "The day was set, that all might vnderstand, / And pledges pawnd the same to keepe a right" (IV.iii.3.3-4). Just as Muir ties the theatricality of the duel to the fact that the field restricts violence to a particular place and time where there are judges and observers, the combat between Cambel and the brothers depends upon spectacle:

> The field with listes was all about enclos'd,
> To barre the prease of people farre away;
> And at th'one side sixe iudges were dispos'd,
> To view and deeme the deedes of armes that day;
> And on the other side in fresh aray,
> Fayre *Canacee* vpon a stately stage
> Was set, to see the fortune of that fray,
> And to be seene, as his most worthie wage,
> That could her purchase with his liues aduentur'd gage (IV.iii.4).

While sixteenth-century duels replaced the exchange of gages with sending letters called *cartelli*, the gesture of throwing a gage or glove to issue a challenge resonates with the procedures of the duel of honor. In this case, though, the issue is Canacee's hand in marriage, which, like Angelica's at the beginning of *Orlando innamorato*, can only be won by defeating and killing her brother. The lady sits opposite the judges both so she

can see and, most importantly, be seen by the fighters and the assembled spectators and judges. Few things could invoke elite martial masculinity more than a fight by armored men evaluated by other men all for the purpose of possessing a beautiful woman. The borders of the field literally mark off the space of the martial body and prevent the spectators, judges, and watching woman from entering it.

Yet, the violation of that boundary and the interruption of the display of elite martial masculinity by another woman, the triplets' sister, Cambina, results in the virtue of friendship. Cambell fights and kills first Priamond, then Diamond, and then delivers two killing strokes to Triamond. Cambell is protected by a magic ring that prevents any wound from bleeding, and the triplets share souls so that Triamond is able to survive death blows. When they have nearly killed each other as “all mens eyes and hearts, which there among / Stood gazing,” (IV.iii.37.3-4), a chariot pulled by lions bursts onto the field. A beautiful women, Cambina, drives the chariot and, using her training in magic and the arts, has come to “pacifie the strife, which causd so deadly smart” (IV.iii.40.9). The spectators who had been gazing at the fighting men shift their gaze to her: “And as she passed through th'vnruly preace / Of people, thronging thicke her to behold, / Her angrie teame breaking their bonds of peace, / Great heapes of them, like sheepe in narrow fold, / For hast did ouer-runne, in dust enrould” (IV.iii.41.1-5). Though her entrance causes strife itself, knocking people down and even running them over as she breaks through the crowd and barriers, her violent entrance is as interesting to watch as the deadly combat in the lists. Peace, here, is obviously relative. Some scholars like Muir subscribe to Norbert Elias's theory about the civilizing process, which holds that the duel

was a means of controlling almost always male violence.[84] Yet, in this episode it is clear that violence or force is not limited to the martial male bodies fighting inside the lists. Cambina brings with her Nepenthe, "a drinck of souerayne grace, / Deuized by the Gods, for to asswage / Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chace, / Which stirs vp anguish and contentious rage: / In stead thereof sweet peace and quiet age / It doth establish in the troubled mynd" (IV.iii.43.1-6). This drink acts on the body like a medicine would under the Galenic model; it affects the humors to return the body to a temperate state. By chasing away bitter gall, the drink reconstitutes the body to predispose it to peace. Cambina also has "a rod of peace" (IV.iii.42.1) like Mercury's caduceus.

She uses this rod first to break the rails preventing her access to the field where the men fight and then to beat peace into the combatants when they attempt to return to fight. She at first cries and prays, but when this does not work, she takes a different approach:

> But when as all might nought with them preuaile,
> Shee smote them lightly with her powrefull wand.
> Then suddenly as if their hearts did faile,
> Their wrathfull blades downe fell out of their hand,
> And they like men astonisht still did stand.
> Thus whilest their minds were doubtfully distraught,
> And mighty spirites bound with mightier band,
> Her golden cup to them for drinke she raught,
> Whereof full glad for thirst, ech drunk an harty draught (IV.iii.48.1-9).

Knocking a few heads, in this case, prevents the men from killing each other, and while the outcome is peaceful, Cambina's use of force through the rod and the medical draught also reveal that martial masculinity does not possess the sole use of force or power. Instead, Cambina's intervention reconfigures masculinity even as the rod and drink reconfigure Cambell and Triamond's humoral bodies. The resulting friendship between them does not arise naturally from their armed combat. In contrast Cambina and Canacee become friends because Canacee sees what Cambina does and admires it. The construction of friendships between the women and men turns this depiction of triumphant martial masculinity into a celebration of friendship achieved only because of the disruption of the display of that very martial masculinity. The tournament concludes with trumpets sounding, the people cheering, and Cambina much "admir'd of all the people" (IV.iii.51.9). The spectacle follows and approves the change because a display of honor that depends on public approval can dictate changes in behavior that go counter to what the combatants initially wanted.

While the previous examples of tournament-style combat highlight both spectacle and the contradictory impulses of martial masculinity's honor code, the episode of Marfisa's battles in the land of the killer women foregrounds the seizure of martial masculinity's claim to the sword and combat, which undermines the larger patriarchal structure while demonstrating how skill with a blade could aid social mobility. Scholars tend to take opposing positions on Marfisa in general and this episode in particular. She is either a proto-feminist contribution to the *querelle des femmes* or a caricature who is present to make fun of women.[85] Her refusal to join the killer women, who are basically

Amazons, shows her complicity in the patriarchal system or her loyalty to her companions. In spite of the varied approaches, however, most scholars tend to agree that a centrally important part of this episode is Marfisa's lacking anatomy.[86] The women's custom is to kill or enslave all men who come to their coast with one exception: "only he who could conquer ten men in the field and then that night in bed could satisfy ten damsels with carnal delight could avoid this" [solamente schiva / chi nel campo dieci uomini conquide, / e poi la notte può assaggiar nel letto / diece donzelle con carnal diletto] (xix.57.5-8). A storm threatening ship wreck forces Marfisa along with Astolfo and other male companions to go to shore where they are met by the leader and "six thousand women at the port, with bows in hand and in martial attire" [sei mila femine sul porto, / con gli archi in mano, in abito di guerra] (xix.65.3-4). The leader presents the custom: "if a man among you finds himself so spirited and so strong that against ten of our men he dares to do battle and gives them their death and then for one night fills the mate's role for ten women, he will remain our prince and you all can go on your way" [s'uom si ritrovasse / tra voi così animoso e così forte, / che contra dieci nostri uomini osasse / prendar battaglia, e desse lor la morte, / e far con diece femine bastasse / per una note ufficio di consorte; / egli si rimarria principe nostro, / e gir voi ne potreste al camin vostro] (xix.67.1-8). That man would become their prince and the rest would be free to go. The slight difference between the shipmaster's explanation of the custom and the leader's makes explicit the expectation of a male challenger, but it leaves ambiguous what exactly the expectation of performance is for the second task. "Carnal diletto"—carnal delight or pleasure—and "consorte"—mate, spouse, or companion—do not

necessarily require a man, just someone who can play the role. Further, the challenge is a single night, so the terms of the custom do not necessarily require insemination of the women or the condition of pregnancy. Rather than considering the potential slippage in the language of the custom, critics focus instead on Marfisa's response: "Marfisa did not lose heart, even though she was ill adapted to the second dance, but where Nature did not aid her, she was sure she could make it up with her sword" [a Marfisa non mancava il core, / ben che mal atta alla seconda danza; / ma dove non l'aitasse la natura, / con la spada supplir stava sicura] (xix.69.5-8). When the men agree to draw lots to decide their champion, they, at first, do not include Marfisa, "estimating that she would stumble in the second joust during the night, as she was not equipped to have a victory" [stimando che trovar dovesse inciampo / ne la seconda giostra de la sera; / ch'ad averne vittoria abil non era] (xix.73.6-8), but Marfisa insists she can succeed: "this sword I give you as guarantee" [questa spada . . . vi do per securtade] (xix.74.5, 6). She specifically says that she will end their troubles "in the way that Alexander did the Gordian Knot" [al modo che fe' Alessandro il gordiano nodo] (xix.74.7-8). Alexander, of course, simply cut the knot to solve the complicated problem of unravelling it, and Marfisa proposes to use her sword to solve both problems: defeating the men and pleasuring the women. The phallic implications of the sword are certainly relevant here, and the comedic and satiric nature of Ariosto's writing resonates strongly, as critics have noted.[87] While critics and the text are concerned with what Marfisa is not "equipped" with, Marfisa does not perceive herself as lacking. As Geraldine Heng's study of the endless knot in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* has shown, the connections between knots and female sexuality have a

long history,[88] and those associations between sexuality, knots, and phallic swords lay just below the surface in this exchange.

Some scholars, like Ita Mac Carthy, conclude that the episode depends upon exposing Marfisa's anatomical lack as a judgment about her masquerade as a knight: "Her stubbornness seems to me, however, a refusal to accept her anatomy as 'inadequate.' The episode serves to drive home to her that her anatomical 'difference' is, in fact, biological 'inferiority.' She might look and perform the part, but underneath it all she simply lacks the accoutrements of a fully-fledged knight. Once more the text has endorsed Marfisa's self-identification as a knight while, at the same time, undercutting her integrity."[89] Certainly there is textual evidence to support this reading and it is definitely one implied by the comedic staging of the episode. On the other hand, the slippage in the language of the terms, the comparison to the knot, and Marfisa's confidence that her sword can aid her suggest another possible reading. When she swears on her sword, "she pointed to her sword that was belted to her" [e lor la spade addita, / che cinta avea] (xix.74.5-6). The sword is worn on a belt around the waist, so while she is pointing at the object, she is also indicating her groin area. If pleasure is the criterion for the second challenge, then she has other ways of providing it. Rather than exposing her fundamental lack, I read this episode as exposing the flaws in the use of the sword as a symbol of elite martial manhood. The sword itself can and is used by lower status men and even women, and the ability to provide pleasure, to play a mate's role, can be accomplished in ways other than heterosexual sex, as the scholarship on tribades in the Middle Ages and early modern period has shown.[90]

We do not see how Marfisa would approach the second part of the challenge, though we do see her use her lance and sword to kill nine of the ten challengers and match evenly with the tenth. In a confined area much like tournament lists, she fights for the day. Marfisa and the tenth challenger, a young knight named Guidone Selvaggio, become friends during the night, and she proposes that they fight their way free the next day: "Tomorrow when the crowd settles around the barrier of the arena, we can kill them or make them flee or seek to defend themselves" [Quando la turba intorno allo steccato/ sarà domani in sul teatro ascesa, / io vo' che l'uccidian per ogni lato, / o vada in fuga o cerchi far difesa] (xx.71.4-6). Much like Cambina breaks the boundaries of the lists when she enters the field to stop the fight between Cambell and Telamond, Marfisa proposes to break the boundaries of the allotted space of combat in order to prevent the spectacle of her and Guidone fighting to the death for the assembled spectators. While Guidone is only reluctantly convinced, Marfisa's determination to rupture the spectacle and slay the spectators resists a display-based honor code, and it lays bare the fantasy upon which such a paradigm depends. Together, these instances of tournament-style combat expose the relationship between honor and spectacle and the complications for martial masculinity that governs itself by that code.

3. Duels and Debates

If, as Daniel Lord Smail contends, the feud, vendetta, duel, and lawsuit proceed from the same impulses, the debate as a rhetorical competition to prove victory or rightness shares similar impulses.[91] They also all differ in the degree of impact these attempts to contest honor or rightness have on the people involved. While the feud and

vendetta can rack up huge body counts, the duel might not result in the death of the participants, though it certainly could and often did, and the lawsuit or debate generally avoids physical injury. Given these differences in outcome, it is possible to identify certain options—like the lawsuit and debate—as safer tools for redress of wrongs or social mobility. Partly because of the pageantry and spectacle of tournaments and tournament-style combat, it is easy to forget the consequences of violence as a tool for the display of martial masculinity, but when access to the sword and force are definitive markers of elite manhood, violence and death are inescapable consequences.[92] While women and lower-status men can occupy the martial body and use its access to the sword and combat as a tool to advance themselves socially or engage in transgressive actions, the consequences of using the sword redound to the user. Further, the seizure of the martial body by those considered unfit carries significant potential risk. Building on the work of the previous sections to make sense of the logic of martial masculinity and its connection to the sword and display, this section considers the violence inherent in debate, whether physical or rhetorical, and argues that fragmenting martial masculinity, complicating femininity, and struggling for social mobility are similarly inherently agonistic practices. As a result, the martial body can serve as a vehicle for these actions. By contrasting deadly duels with instances of debate, though, the increased emphasis on education for the courtier suggests that rhetorical combat affords the best opportunities for advancement, even if the sword is still sometimes necessary.

Fencing masters taught their students to fight to win, which means fighting to wound and kill. In Saviolo's *His Practice*, the student with whom he conducts the dialog

asks him about dueling against a friend. Saviolo makes it clear that friendship should not blunt a fighter's edge:

> Wherefore when you see one with weapons in his hand that will needes fight with you, although hee were your freend or kinseman, take him for an enemye, and trust him not, how great a freend or how nigh of kin soeuer he be, for the inconuenience that may grow therby, is seene in many histories both ancient and moderne. But when you see the naked blade or weapon, consider that it meanes redresse of wrong, iustice, and reuenge: and therefore if he be your freend that will needs fight with you, you maye tell him that you haue giuen him no cause, nor offred any wrong, and if any other haue made any false report, & that he is to proue and iustifie it, that for your selfe, if by chaunce without your knowledge you haue offended him, that you are ready with reason to satisfie him and make amendes. But if they be matters that touch your honour and that you bee compelled to accept of the combat, doo the best you can when you haue your weapon in your hand, and consider that fightes are dangerous, and you know not the minde and purpose of your enemye, whome if you should chaunce to spare, afterwards peraduenture he may kill you or put you in danger of your life, especially when you vse the mandritta or right blowes: for if he be either a man skilfull at his weapon, or fierce or furious, he may peraduenture doo that to you, which you would not doo, (when you might) to him. Wherfore if hee bee your friend goe not with him into the fielde, but if you go, doe your best.[93]

Similarly, in Giovanni dall'Agocchie's *Opera necessaria*, he says that aiming to harm or kill the enemy is what makes rapier fighting militaristic (even though the rapier is not a battlefield weapon, as Silver and Smythe were quick to point out as the first section notes): "the military art consists of nothing other than in knowing how to defend oneself from the enemy with judgement and prudence and how to harm him, as in the cities, like in the armies, and in any other place; because this subject fencing is nothing and means nothing other than defending oneself with a way to harm the enemy. Thus it is clear that it can be taken generally for every kind of combat" [l'arte militare in altro non consiste, che in saper congiudicio & prudenza difendersi dal nemico, & lui offendere, cosi nelle città, come ne gli eserciti, & in ogni altro luogo: perche non essendo, ne significando altro questa voce schermire, che difendersi, con modo di offendere il nemico; chiaro è che si può pigliare generalmente per ogni sorte di combattimento].[94] Other fencing texts distinguish between play or practice fights and duels by saying a particular strike should not be used in play because of how dangerous it is but should be employed in the duel.[95] The early fifteenth-century Italian text *Fior di battaglia* by Fiore dei Liberi covers fighting with a variety of different weapons, as well as wrestling, and advises holds that are the equivalent to today's submissions and bars.[96] Whether fighting a former friend or a hated enemy, duelers might give verbal praise to the idea of gallantry—letting a fallen man get up, replacing broken weapons, pausing to rest—and sometimes even write these conditions into the rules of the combat, but fighting for survival could often lead to "dirty" fighting and death.[97]

In addition to fighting to win, the fencing masters, often building on Vegetius, identify emotional reactions as both unavoidable and at times useful. The English translation of di Grassi warns: "And although there be some, who being strooken runne rashly on, yet generally, men wil not so do, albeit they be strooken when they are most collorick, but will, when they are strooken or wounded, giue backe and be dismayed and by reason of the bloud which goeth from them, alwaies more & more be weakened. But yet when they be so wounded, it shall be for their profit to be well aduised, and not to discomfort themselues for the greatnes of the blowe, but to beare it paciently."[98] The conditions of a duel naturally produce a choleric temperament because of the increase in heat from the exertion and stress,[99] and the effect of the humors causes emotional responses like anger, but the sight of one's own blood can dismay and weaken the body, just as the loss of blood from a wound physically weakens the body. While di Grassi advises fighters to bear the wound patiently, overcoming the body's natural physical reactions can be difficult. Saviolo repeatedly warns of the impact of emotion on combat: "It is very likely, that many are of this opinion, for there are fewe or none that in cause of quarrell when they come as we tearme it to buckling, but suffer themselues to be ouercome with fury, and so neuer remember their arte: such effect choller worketh. And it may be some being timerous and full of pusillanimity, (which is euer father to feare) are so scarred out of their wits, that they seeme men amazed and voide of sence."[100] He advises men who naturally respond with more heat to try to resist the inevitable anger: "but especiallye, let such men take heede, to whome nature hath not giuen a valorous spirite: as for others, whose courage is hot, it importes them very much, to haue great

skill in their weapon, for being ouer-mastered with heate and courage of their harts, if in managing their armes they want a skilfull dexteritie, they soone spoyle themselues."[101] In short, Saviolo warns, "take heede that you suffer not your selfe to bee blinded and carried awaie with rage and furie."[102] In spite of the obvious benefits of not allowing rage or fury to result in loss of skill with the sword, the repeated admonitions in various fencing texts also speak to the inevitability of the body experiencing the physiological effects of increased heat. Humorally speaking, that means changes in temperament automatically mean emotional reactions to combat that range from fear to fury. Vegetius says this as well when pointing out how fear comes from seeing the dead and dying on the battlefield. He advises a good general "to know the sentiments of the soldiers on the day of an engagement" and plan that people will not always react as expected or predicted from their mood before battle. In contrast to Saviolo, however, Vegetius holds that anger can be useful. A general should "employ every argument capable of exciting rage, hatred and indignation against the adversaries in the minds of his soldiers."[103] Taken together, the fencing texts and Vegetius make it clear that fighting to kill is inevitably messy and emotional business.

The epic romances do include duels and duel-like combats fought to the death that incorporate similar responses to fear, anger, and the necessity of fighting to survive. These instances mirror the intrusion of war realism as with the sieges to remind readers of the risks of occupying the martial body. *Orlando furioso* ends with such an example. Rodomonte comes to Ruggiero and Bradamante's marriage feast to challenge Ruggiero. After they both are armed, armored, and mounted, they joust. Both lances "break into

splinters" [rotta in scheggie] (xlvi.117.3), and the horses fall on their haunches. The two men spur their horses to rise and "grabbed their swords and returned to cruelly and fiercely wound each other" [preso il brando, / si tornaro a ferir crudeli e fieri] (xlvi.118.3-4). At this point, the Italian stanza that begins with specifying the knights with the plural "i cavallieri" conflates the two. Though I translated using the plural, the Italian itself is conjugated for third person singular. This conflation of the fighting men levels the differences between them, making it harder to quickly identify the "good" guy and the "bad" guy. Ruggiero wears enchanted armor that is not pierced by Rodomonte's blows, but Rodomonte bleeds from many wounds. He hits Ruggiero in the head and stuns him, following that with several more strikes that eventually break his sword. Ruggiero, sword unbroken, attacks, and in response, Rodomonte "grabbed him round his neck with a powerful arm and held him with such force so as to root him out of the saddle and throw him to the ground" [gli cinge il collo col braccio possente; / e con tal nodo e tanta forza afferra, / che de l'arcion lo svelle, e caccia in terra] (xlvi.124.6-8). Rodomonte charges at the dismounted Ruggiero, who grabs the horse's bridle to stab twice at Rodomonte. Rodomonte then uses his broken sword to hit Ruggiero on the head, trying to knock him out, but Ruggiero "grabbed his arm and, adding his other hand to his right to use both arms, pulled until the pagan came out of the saddle" [gli prese il braccio, e tirò tanto allotta, / aggiungendo alla destra l'altra mano, / che fuor di sella al fin trasse il pagano] (xlvi.127.6-8). With both men dismounted, but Ruggiero still armed with his sword, Rodomonte tries to close distance and wrestle with the smaller Ruggiero, who stays out of reach. Rodomonte throws his broken sword and tries to take advantage of the

momentary distraction of Ruggiero to grab his opponent but falls when his wounded leg gives out. Ruggiero "walloped" [percuote] Rodomonte in the face and moves in for body control through wrestling technique and "held him so tightly that he could use his hand to wrestle him to the ground. But with effort the pagan stood again and he hugged Ruggiero in a body-clinch. They both turned, and shook and squeezed, adding art to extreme force" [tien sì curto, / che con la mano in terra anco lo caccia. / Ma tanto fa il pagan, che gli è risurto; / si stringe con Ruggier sì, che l'abbraccia: / l'uno e l'altro s'aggira, e scuote e preme, / arte aggiungendo alle sue forze estreme] (xlvi.131.2, 3-8). Each try several different holds on the other, as both are experienced in wrestling, but Ruggiero eventually secures a hold and throws Rodomonte, whose head hits the ground. Ruggiero grabs him and tells him to surrender, menacing Rodomonte with a dagger. Rodomonte gets his own dagger and tries to stab Ruggiero through a weak point in his armor, so Ruggiero ends the fight by killing Rodomonte: "and two or three times he raised his arm as high as he could and buried the iron dagger in Rodomonte's forehead" [E due e tre volte ne l'orribil fronte, / alzando, più ch'alzar si possa, il braccio, / il ferro del pugnale a Rodomonte / tutto nascose] (xlvi.140.1-4). The detail of this altercation reflects Ariosto's own experience with martial training, but it also shows the violence inherent in a duel to the death. Just as the fencing masters train students to fight to win, taking advantage of any techniques to do so, both Ruggiero and Rodomonte violate the idealized chivalric notions of fair combat by attacking at vulnerabilities and weapons failures. They both are described as angry and passionate, and while Vegetius and the fencing masters are mixed on the benefits of anger, they are basically in agreement that it is inevitable. The extremely

physical nature of their wrestling at the end makes clear the lengths needed for survival. Since Ruggiero is one of the main heroes of the book, we can conclude that the spectators watching and judging this combat approve of his actions to assure his own safety.

Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* includes a related situation that even more closely models the procedure of the duel of honor. Tasso had no military experience and lived after the Italian Wars,[104] but he did have copies of Agrippa and Marozzo's fencing and honor treatises, which he wrote in.[105] Familiarity with the procedure for duels is evident in the one between Gernando, a Norse king, and Rinaldo, the young hero. When a senior leader is killed in a battle, Godfrey, the leader of the crusade, needs to replace him so asks for the men to suggest potential replacements. Rinaldo's name is put forward, and Gernando considers it an insult because Rinaldo is "a mere knight" [seco di merto il cavalier] (v.17.6). He is filled with "wrath and hate" [l'ira e l'odio] (v.18.5) and goes throughout the camp slandering Rinaldo. Eventually in a big crowd he accuses Rinaldo and Rinaldo responds "Liar!" [Menti!] (v.26.7). Rinaldo's response is giving the lie or the *mentita*, which is a formal requirement for a duel to occur.[106] There is no delay in time here, though, as there would usually be in a duel of honor. Gernando assumes the defender's role: "with his great enemy attending and his sword drawn, he puts himself in the defender's stance" [E 'l gran nemico attende, e 'l ferro tratto, / Fermo si reca di difesa in atto] (v.27.7-8). The defensive stance and variations of it are taught by the Italian fencing masters. It signals Gernando's willingness to duel, so a place is cleared for Gernando and Rinaldo to face each other. Rinaldo wounds Gernando in several places and then lands a fatal blow: "It never stopped until he buried the iron sword once and

twice into his breast" [Nè cessò mai, fin che nel seno immersa / gli ebbe una volta e due la fera spada] (v.31.1-2). This detail is also more in line with unarmored rapier fighting common in the duel of Tasso's time than the arming sword that was actually used by the crusaders. Rinaldo leaves the bloody body along with his own "raw spirit and wrathful will" [L'animo crudo e l'adirata voglia] (v.31.8). The presence of wrath echoes the passions in Ruggiero and Rodomonte's combat and the discussions of emotion's place in the fencing treatises. Rinaldo is exiled because Godfrey had proclaimed a law preventing the Christians from fighting and killing one another. Temporary exile was also common after deadly duels.[107]

Together these two examples show the deadly consequences of assuming the martial body, and they also show the necessity of using all available advantages to defeat an opponent. Scholarly responses to these events often hold them up as examples of the heroes' martial prowess and skill. The two duels between women in *Orlando furioso* and *The Faerie Queene*, on the other hand, are more commonly criticized as "comic," "cat-fight," or showing excess emotion and "forgetting combat."[108] I suggest rather that the women warriors involved do the same things as the male warriors just discussed, so rather than being throw-away scenes or comedic, the duels between Bradamante and Marfisa and Britomart and Radigund demonstrate what it looks like for the martial body to be fully occupied by women. The risks for the women involved depict not only the violence of armed combat, but also they represent the risks to those who occupy the martial body but are not elite men. Together, I argue that these combats contribute to the

fragmentation of martial masculinity even as they lay out the very real risks of co-opting the ostensible symbols of martial masculinity: the sword and violence.

The fights between Bradamante and Marfisa and then Marfisa and Ruggiero exhibit a realism in the approach to winning at all costs as well as the power of a disruptive intervention to avoid bloodshed. Bradamante changes her armor and symbol to seek out Ruggiero to joust with because she believes he has been unfaithful to her with Marfisa. During her search, she jousts with and quickly defeats several other knights. She does have a magic lance, but plenty of other characters have magic armor or swords, so she is neither unique nor even unusual in her use of a magic object. In spite of that, some critics reject the idea that Bradamante is skilled in combat and see her victories as solely comedic and the result of borrowed phallic power from Astolfo's lance.[109] Carthy refers to Marfisa and Bradamante's combat as a "cat fight" and "ridiculous squabbling" that requires the reassertion of male authority and superiority in the intervention of Ruggiero.[110] I find plenty of evidence for Bradamante and Marfisa's martial prowess. In canto thirty-six, which describes this encounter, the Saracen Ferrau tells the others that the knight who has defeated him and several other knights must be Bradamante because "To me it seemed like Rinaldo's younger brother when I saw the face with visor up, but then I experienced the [knight's] great valor, I know that it cannot be Ricciardetto. I think it is his sister who, according to what I've heard, has a face very similar to his. She is well-reputed to be as strong as Rinaldo and as any paladin, but as far as I now see, it seems she is more valorous than her brother, and more than her cousin" [A me parea, ch'il vidi a viso aperto, / il fratel di Rinaldo giovinetto: / ma poi ch'io n'ho l'alto valore

esperto, / e so che non può tanto Ricciardetto, / penso che sia la sua sorella, molto / (per quell ch'io n'odo) a lui simil di volto. / Ella ha ben fama d'esser forte a pare / del suo Rinaldo e d'ogni paladino; / ma, per quanto io ne veggo oggi, mi pare / che val più del fratel, più del cugino] (xxxvi.13.3-14.4). Reputation makes the man (or woman) in this chivalric, honor-code orientated environment. Bradamante's reputation in combination with her life-long martial training, leadership roles in Charlemagne's forces, and skill in combat with other weapons beside the lance all speak to her skill in combat. As such, why is this duel between Bradamante and Marfisa so often dismissed?

Bradamante wants to fight Marfisa, whom she recognizes while waiting for Ruggiero to come joust with her, because "she saw herself dying if she did not revenge her grief on her (Marfisa)" [che morir si vede, / se sopra lei non vendica il suo pianto] (xxxvi.19.3-4). Bradamante believes that Ruggiero has been unfaithful with Marfisa, so she feels herself insulted and channels her affective reaction into the duel. This approach matches the procedures for the duel of honor, and in fact, many duels were ostensibly fought between men over the affections of a woman.[111] Carthy dismisses the duel's legitimacy because of its cause, discounting the fact that jealous anger was considered a just reason for initiating a duel of honor in the early modern period.[112] In addition to the cause, critics often consider the combat itself as unchivalric and excessive. This portrayal of fighting women, then, serves to show how women are not fit to be knights, how their martial display is a grotesque attempt to claim masculinity that, in the end, Ruggiero, the rightful male warrior who seems like "the god of war" ['l dio di Guerra] (xxxvi.54.3), must prevent. However, the conditions of Bradamante and Marfisa's combat foreshadow

the concluding one between Ruggiero and Rodomonte, and the reliance on all weapons and techniques to win similarly marks their combat as deadly serious. Bradamante unhorses Marfisa with her magic lance, so Marfisa on the ground fights the mounted Bradamante with her sword, striking at both Bradamante and her horse. While in tournaments it was considered unchivalric or even illegal to strike at a horse, in actual combat, soldiers were trained to aim for the horse.[113] Their combat is interrupted as knights from the Saracen and Christian forces join the fray. In this melee-like environment, Bradamante turns to target Ruggiero but cannot strike him. He recognizes her and tries to speak to her, but she instead joins the battle: "In no time she threw to the ground three hundred and more with that golden lance. She alone won the battle that day" [In poco spazio ne gittò per terra / trecento e più con quella lancia d'oro. / Ella sola quell dì vinse la guerra] (xxxvi.39.1-3). While the three hundred to one ratio is certainly fantastic, it fits the numbers fought off by other heroes, so it is not a satirical criticism of Bradamante's martial skill. She goes off into a secluded area and Ruggiero follows, still trying to speak to her. Marfisa follows as well, thinking that Ruggiero and Bradamante (whom she does not recognize) are going "to finish a quarrel and answer insults with arms" [per finir con l'arme ingiurie e risse] (xxxvi.43.8). Instead, Bradamante and Marfisa resume their duel. Bradamante again unhorses Marfisa, but she then dismounts and draws her sword to fight Marfisa on foot: "They were suddenly at half-sword length; and great pride that inflamed them and they pushed forward advancing under each other's guard so that they could do nothing besides come into a clinch. They let fall their swords, which were no longer needed, and looked for new ways to cause injury" [A mezza spade

vengono di botto; / e per la gran superbia che l'ha accese, / van pur inanzi, e si son già sì sotto, / ch'altro non puon che venire alle prese. / Le spade, il cui bisogno era interrotto, / lascian cadere, e cercan nuove offese] (xxxvi.49.1-6). Like Ruggiero and Rodomonte, Marfisa and Bradamante display wrestling and close quarters-combat skills. Fencing masters and people who trained soldiers taught these same techniques to their almost exclusively male students, and we see these techniques used by both male and female warriors in the romances. In spite of these similarities, critics only ever label the women's combat as problematic.

Ruggiero attempts to intervene by wrestling their daggers away or trying to physically separate them, but he fails at this. He then draws his sword and attacks Marfisa. They fence, though at first Ruggiero uses the flat of the blade to avoid hurting Marfisa. Marfisa, however, has no intention to fight with friends differently than enemies—Saviolo would surely approve—and a particularly strong strike to his arm causes Ruggiero to lash out in earnest, "all pity removed from him" [ogni pietà da sé rimuove] (xxxvi.57.5). Scholars like Carthy and Finucci isolate the moment of Ruggiero's armed intervention as demonstrating the women's weakness and inability to properly be knights. Bradamante draws aside to watch and compares Ruggiero to Mars, and Marfisa, either by Bradamante or the narrator, is compared to "an infernal fury unleased" [Una furia infernal quando si sferra] (xxxvi.54.5).[114] Scholars often note the emotional states of both Bradamante and Marfisa, who are filled with rage and a desire for vengeance, as evidence of their excess. Upon comparison with other duels to the death, however, this affective rhetoric commonly appears. Further, as previously noted

regarding the fencing treatises and Vegetius, emotions in combat are unavoidable and, at times, useful. Carthy states that Ruggiero stands menacingly over a cowering Marfisa,[115] but there is no textual evidence that Marfisa cowers. The next description of Marfisa after the comparison between her and Ruggiero is her landing "a horrible blow meant to lead to a split head" [una percossa orrenda / gli mena per dividergli la testa] (xxxvi.56.1-2). Ruggiero most certainly does not win this encounter. He misses Marfisa and embeds his sword in a tree. In an actual combat, this would put him at a significant disadvantage, providing Marfisa the opportunity to incapacitate or kill him. Rather, the fighting is stopped by an extraordinary intervention much like that of Cambina to stop Campbell and Telamond's duel. An earthquake occurs, and the disembodied voice of Atlante comes from a tomb to tell Marfisa and Ruggiero their family history and reveal that they are twins. After this interruption, friendship between all three involved replaces bloody combat. In short, the very points often identified as making this episode comedic or ridiculous are in many ways the points that make it one of the more realistic duels described. The conditions and style of fighting, the deadly seriousness, and the way that this battle between Marfisa and Bradamante anticipates the concluding one between Ruggiero and Rodomonte all mark this encounter as more than comedy. Certainly, there are comedic moments, but in Ariosto's characteristic style, the mocking grin often comes through at the most serious points. In this case, the battle between the warrior women shows the very real risks of occupying the martial body, and the verbal disruption effected by Atlante, like the intervention of Cambina, suggests alternate methods of problem solving.

In *The Faerie Queene* Britomart fights a duel to the death with the leader of the Amazons, Radigund, and this combat, even more than that between Marfisa and Bradamante, highlights the risks of occupying the martial body. The gritty realism of the encounter demonstrates that women most certainly can deploy violence and the sword for their own purposes, but recourse to that tool can demand a price too high. Simon Shepherd calls the battle between Britomart and Radigund "one of the fiercest battles" in *The Faerie Queene*, in part because these women "are accustomed to behaving as male knights, and both are very capable in battle. In the fury of their conflict, however, they forget their military skill and they abandon the proprieties of chivalry [. . .] Their battle is something outside rules and convention."[116] Critical responses to this battle often emphasize the battle's ferocity and interpret it variously as Britomart's service to patriarchal order, an allegorized battle between competing ideas of self in Britomart, or a rejection of the idea that bodily practice can transform identity.[117] Instead, this duel to the death shares features in common with the other examples discussed in this chapter. It is considerably shorter and less violently descriptive than that between the brothers and Campbell, which results in two dead brothers. The fact that it goes to the death demonstrates that Britomart and Radigund, rather than forgetting military skill, have lost themselves in it, and in so doing, Radigund's death and the cost to Britomart establish the potential cost of fully occupying the martial body.

When Radigund and Britomart meet on the designated field, Radigund gives her the same terms she always does, but Britomart rejects them: "For her no other termes should euer tie / Then what prescribed were by lawes of cheualrie" (V.vii.28.8-9). From

Britomart's perspective, then, her actions are chivalric. After this verbal exchange, they begin fighting in earnest, but they skip the joust typical of chivalric encounters and go straight to the sword:

> The Trumpets sound, and they together run
> With greedy rage, and with their faulchins smot;
> Ne either sought the others strokes to shun,
> But through great fury both their skill forgot,
> And practick vse in armes: ne spared not
> Their dainty parts, which nature had created
> So faire and tender, without staine or spot,
> For other vses, then they them translated;
> Which they now hackt and hewd, as if such vse they hated (V.vii.29.1-9).

The choice of falchion is interesting because it was not a common blade in late sixteenth-century England. While large falchions in the Middle Ages were present in England and the continent, it is a weapon more associated with the East. As such, it fits for Radigund but is an odd choice for Britomart. However, since one party got to pick the weapons for a duel (variously the challenger or challenged depending upon the code used), it could reflect this custom and Radigund choosing the sword type. In any case, the text presents them as forgetting their skill and practiced use of arms, yet the description of the blows they deliver to each other undermines that judgement. The fencing masters warned of the need for practice to stave off the inevitable loss of skill that comes in actual combat. Repeated practice builds up what we call muscle memory so that when the sensory

overload of an actual armed encounter happens, the body reflexively performs what it has trained. The fencing texts suggest that what usually happens when a combatant forgets or becomes too afraid in battle is retreat, but in this case, Radigund and Britomart escalate the intensity of their attacks. This is measured on their bodies, which are fully translated so that the sole purpose of their tender parts is combat oriented.

The translation of the feminine, dainty body into a fully engaged martial body means that everything matters only in its use in a defensive or offensive context. The cost of this translation is measured in blood:

> Full fiercely layde the Amazon about,
>
> And dealt her blowes vnmercifully sore:
>
> Which *Britomart* withstood with courage stout,
>
> And them repaide againe with double more.
>
> So long they fought, that all the grassie flore
>
> Was fild with bloud, which from their sides did flow,
>
> And gushed through their armes, that all in gore
>
> They trode, and on the ground their liues did strow,
>
> Like fruitles seede, of which vntimely death should grow (V.vii.31.1-9).

The blood coloring the grass and pouring through their armor has a long chivalric romance tradition. Malory repeatedly uses these two images as stock phrases to signal the intensity of battle. The chivalric romance connection reinforces Britomart's statement at the outset that she abides by the laws of chivalry, but this stanza reveals the costs of this honor code: death as a result of violent conflict. They fight an additional two stanzas

during which Radigund lands a stroke that cuts through Britomart's shoulder plate and wounds her to the bone and Britomart responds with a strike to Radigund's helmet that cuts to the brain. Radigund falls to the ground and Britomart moves in and "with one stroke both head and helmet cleft" (V.vii.34.6). Critical response to Britomart's beheading of Radigund often connects it to a consequence of female usurpation of the male right to rule.[118] This reading is supported by Britomart's decision to restore men to rule in the land of the Amazons. Certainly, textual evidence exists for this position, but killing a vanquished opponent is also in line with the chivalric code—a victor may spare the vanquished's life, but it is not required—and it is certainly in line with decisions made on actual battle fields.

Britomart's killing of Radigund is immediately followed by Talus, the instrument of justice, slaughtering all the Amazons he can reach. Supporters of the duel of honor held that it developed two of the essential virtues of chivalry: justice and valor.[119] As the other examples in this section suggest and this battle between Britomart and Radigund that takes place during the book on justice shows, the judicial code governed by chivalry and the duel is, once the pageantry and pretty trappings are ripped off, fundamentally about the use of violence to wound and kill. In killing Radigund, Britomart also attacks her own claim to occupy the martial body. As Mihoko Suzuki argues, "The breakdown of allegory, transforming Radigund from a simple negation of Britomart to a complex counterpart or alter ego, works to diminish and ultimately erase Britomart through her own destruction of Radigund. Britomart cleaves Radigund in two just as the poem itself splits the Amazonian warrior in two parts and has one destroy the other; the half that

remains can only be an extremely diminished representation of the militant woman."[120] While I would suggest that we are left with a warrior woman who is not diminished in martial capacity, we are also left with a warrior who has confronted the consequences of her embrace of violence and the sword and has found that the justice of her chivalric code, like that enforced by Talus, leaves only "fruitless seed, of which untimely death should grow."

So far, this section has examined duels to lay out the consequences of violent martial masculinity. While occupying the martial body can aid lower-status men and women in demanding some mobility in social status and the gender hierarchy, it also has consequences and risks. The polyvalence of debate, however, can also provide access to combat that is primarily verbal rather than physical, and rhetorical prowess can sometimes shift the terms of the power structure with less bloodshed. Just like Cambina's intervention and Atlante's voice combine a violent display with other methods to stop death-oriented combat, rhetorically skilled characters can use those talents to avoid fighting or achieve a desired end. The characters Bradamante, Leone, and Calidore, whom I mentioned in the introduction, exemplify the possibilities of debate as rhetorical skill.

Bradamante was trained in arms from childhood, and "like Hippolyta and Camilla she sought glory at arms" [che gloria, qual già Ippolita e Camilla, / cerca ne l'arme] (xxv.32.1-2), but she also displays considerable rhetorical skill in debate as well. Carthy says she is "Ariosto's figuration of a near perfect model of female agency and political aptitude."[121] Scholars have been mixed on their readings of Bradamante, identifying her

variously as an instrument of order who returns to her place as a woman with her marriage at the end of the text, an example of the protean potential for women, or a figure who shows what the feminine supplement to martial masculinity can effect.[122] As with Britomart, scholars often point to the fact that she marries as showing the domestication of women, but male heroic characters marry as well. Marriage marks the transition from young knight or bachelor to lord. Historically, young knights travelled together to fight in wars, find brides, and participate in tournaments until they married and then moved to another life stage, leaving behind the martial prowess of their young knighthood.[123] Given this, and given that both Britomart and Bradamante return to their martial statuses to avenge their murdered husbands, Bradamante's martial and rhetorical skill matter despite her marriage.

In one episode Bradamante comes to Tristan's castle where there is a tradition that only one knight and one lady can be offered hospitality for the night. If there is more than one knight and more than one lady, then the best knight as determined by victory in combat and the most beautiful woman as judged by the castle's inhabitants can enter and the others must stay outside. Bradamante handily defeats all the other knights who are seeking refuge and then disarms and is revealed to be a woman. There is already another woman at the castle, so the male host, two old men, and some serving girls judge and decide Bradamante is more beautiful and want to eject the other woman. Bradamante intercedes and "persuades the lord of the house with many arguments and well-observed words" [al signor de l'albergo persuade / con ragion molte e con parlare accorto] (xxxii.107.5-6). She words her argument, which we are given in full, as a legal case:

To me it does not seem something has been well-determined if a judgement is not just, which it cannot be without first hearing from the affected party, her denials and reasoning included. I who am defending her cause say: whether I am more or less beautiful than she, I did not come here as a woman, nor do I want my prospects considered as a woman's. But who will say, unless I fully undress myself, whether or not I have the same things (genitalia) as she? And what you do not know should not be said, especially when someone would suffer. There are others who have long hair like mine, but this does not make them women. Whether I acquired entrance to the house as a knight or as a woman is clear: why then do you want to give me the name of woman when each of my action's is a man's? Your law requires that women should be ousted by women, and not beaten by warriors. Let's suppose that, as it seems to you, I were a woman (which I don't, however, concede) but that my beauty were not like this woman's; I don't think, though, that you would want to remove from me the reward of my valor, even if my face yielded (to hers in beauty). It does not seem right to me to lose through lacking beauty what I have bought by valor at arms. And even if that were the custom that the one who loses in beauty must leave, I would want to stay here, whatever good or ill must come from my obstinacy. From this you will infer that the contest between me and this woman is unequal because in contending over beauty, she can lose a great deal but could never win against me. And if chances for gains and losses are not all equal, it is unfair to every party, so the house's custom must be denied to her, even a gift. And if anyone is so bold as to

say that my judgment is not good and sound, I will sustain it against him at his pleasure; mine is true, his opinion is false! [A me non par che ben deciso, / né che ben giusto alcun giudicio cada, / ove prima non s'oda quanto nieghi / la parte o affermi, e sue ragioni alleghi. / Io ch'a difender questa causa toglio, / dico: o più bella o men ch'io sia di lei, / non venni come donna qui, né voglio / che sian di donna ora i progressi miei. / Ma chi dirà, se tutta non mi spoglio, / s'io sono o s'io non son quel ch'è costei? / E quel che non si sa non si de' dire, / e tanto men, quando altri n'ha a patire. / Ben son degli altri ancor, c'hanno le chiome / lunghe, com'io, né donne son per questo. / Se come cavalier la stanza, o come / donna acquistata m'abbia, è manifesto: / perché dunque volete darmi nome / di donna, se di maschio è ogni mio gesto? / La legge vostra vuol che ne sian spinte / donne da donne, e non da guerrier vinte. / Poniamo ancor, che, come a voi pur pare, / io donna sia (che non però il concede), / ma che la mia beltà non fosse pare / a quella di costei; non però credo che mi vorreste la mercé levare / di mia virtù, se ben di viso io cedo. / Perder per men beltà giusto non parmi / quel c'ho acquistato per virtù con l'armi. / E quando ancor fosse l'usanza tale, / che chi perde in beltà ne dovesse ire, / io ci vorrei restare, o bene o male / che la mia ostinazion dovesse uscire. / Per questo, che contesa diseguale / è tra me e questa donna, vo' inferire / che, contendendo di beltà, può assai / perdere, e meco guadagnar non mai. / E se guadagni e perdite non sono / in tutti pari, ingiusto è ogni partito: / sì ch'a lei per ragion, sì ancor per dono / spezial, non sia l'albergo proibito. / E s'alcuno di dir

> che non sia buono / e dritto il mio giudizio sarà ardito, / sarò per sostenergli a suo piacere, / che 'l mio sia vero, e falso il suo parere.] (xxxii.101.5-106.8).

Bradamante's argument constructs a syllogism to advance her position: there is no conclusive evidence that she is a woman if she does not remove her clothes or admit that she is; the rule of the castle requires that a woman eject a woman in the beauty contest and a knight eject another knight through combat; therefore, if Bradamante is not conclusively a woman, the other woman cannot be ejected by Bradamante, just as the other woman cannot defeat Bradamante in combat to eject her. This display of rhetorical legerdemain is backed up by her skill in armed debate; her last sentence promises that if anyone—specifically any man—rejects her argument, she is ready to back it up with her sword. Scholars typically read this interaction as an argument in favor of the performativity of gender,[124] and while I would agree in general, Bradamante's argument is actually grounded in the uncertainty or fluidity of sex. Sex can change whereas gender in terms of prescribed codes of conduct, appearance, and behavior is static, according to Laquer's theory, so Bradamante's argument that they cannot know her sex means they can only judge her gendered behavior, which in this case is that of a knight. While her position helps to bring the categories of knight and woman closer, as Shemek notes,[125] it also shows that female occupation of the martial body depends upon exploiting expectations about both gender and sex to act and speak in ways that might otherwise be proscribed.

By bringing together both valences of debate, Bradamante demonstrates how debate both as rhetorical performance and physical combat aims to result in a kind of

persuasion. Prince Leone of Greece in *Orlando furioso* and Calidore, the knight of courtesy, in *The Faerie Queene* similarly rely on rhetorical skill to persuade others. While both can fight, they prefer to spend their time disguised as a shepherd to court a lady or help an enemy escape because of admiration for his character. Calidore's "euery act and deed, that he did say, / Was like enchantment, that through both the eyes, / And both the eares did steale the hart away" (VI.ii.3.2-4). Words make a physical impression on the body via the senses, and persuasion operates through affecting the senses and passions.[126] Consequently, Calidore's enchantment depends upon his linguistic facility. Both physical and rhetorical debate impact the physical body, but while the duels discussed in this section reveal the costs of using the martial body's skill in combat, the potential for language and alternate interventions to result in desired outcomes suggests that rhetorical training offers greater opportunities for advancement than just skill with the sword.

In short, debate as both a rhetorical performance and physical combat is a double-edged sword, so to speak. It can be an offensive tool for social mobility or expression for lower-status men and some women, but for a hierarchical social structure that depends on limiting access to elite male spaces, it can be destructive. The epic romances explore the paradox of skill in debate as both a marker of elite masculinity and a means to undermine it. Whether relying on rhetorical or physical prowess to push back on elite masculinity's monopoly on force, status, and power, there are risks, and language itself can have violent effects. Saviolo advises his student to avoid bad company because of the impact of language: "Therefore you may see how dangerous the company of these quarrelsome

persons is, who doe lesse harme with their swordes then with their tungs: for as the Italian prouerbe is, *La lingua non ha osso, ma fa rompere il dosso,* that is, the tung hath no bones, and yet it breaketh the backe: ill tunges are occasions of much debate."[127] The valences of the word debate suggest the damage words and weapons can do, but debate can also afford access to spaces traditionally reserved for elite men. The concerns for social mobility in the Italian fencing treatises and Silver's goal to preserve a particular kind of English masculinity through his rejection of the rapier both reveal the ways in which fencing is bound up with nationalism and masculinity, which makes it a fraught space when lower status men, outsiders, or women are involved. While the epic romances' depictions of women engaged in combat are hardly realistic, though historical records of women who wore armor or fought with swords exist, they also stage an anxiety about social mobility and nationalism that challenged dominant power structures in Renaissance England and Italy.

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[1] Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, 45, ll. 879-914.

[2] For a classical example, when Cicero's head and hands were nailed to the rostrum in the Roman Forum for speaking against Mark Antony, Antony's wife repeatedly stabbed his tongue with her hairpins to symbolically take vengeance for the damage his tongue had done to her husband. For a biblical example, consider James 3:8 from the King James Version: "But the tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison." For other medieval examples, see Bardsley, *Venemous Tongues*, who examines the relationship between gender and the tongue in late medieval England in the context of the Black Plague to show that figuring the tongue as a weapon is used to police and silence women.

[3] Levy, *War in the Modern State*, states that the years between 1500 and 1700 were “the most warlike in terms of the proportion of years of war under way (95%), the frequency of war (nearly one every three years), and the average yearly duration, extent, and magnitude of war" (139-41).

[4] “Debate.” *MED Online*.

[5] “Combat.” *OED Online*.

[6] Most work on rhetorical materialism comes from scholars working in communication studies. See especially the work of Greene, "Another materialist rhetoric,” 21-40, and “Affirming Rhetorical Materialism,” with Matthew Bost, 440-44.

[7] See Taylor, “The Body of Law,” for an article that explores the judicial implications of the body/word connection in relation to swearing on the body and fighting as proof in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, 66-97.

[8] See Bloom, *Voice in Motion*. See also ch. 1 on the way speech was understood to work.

[9] Consideration of Castiglione and book VI has a long history beginning in the early twentieth century. For examples, see Judson, "Spenser's Theory of Courtesy," 122-136; Wells, “Spenser and the Courtesy Tradition,” 221-29; and Wadowski, “Framing Civil Life,” 350-69.

[10] For more on the *querelle* and Ariosto, see Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, 10-11. For her position on Bradamante as a character who “dwells at the masculine/feminine gender border” (92), see 77-125. Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, sees Bradamante as a character in the service of order who receives an education in femininity and is able to cross-dress for a time because she has an approved, heterosexual ending (229-53). See McLucas, “Amazon, Sorceress, and Queen,” for an emphasis on Bradamante’s manliness (39) and Bellamy, *Translations of Power*, for Bradamante as declaring herself male through a speech act (118). Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance*, holds that Bradamante is still feminine but is married to limit the threat of her independence to society (123-56).

[11] Dialeti, “Defending Women,” 4.

[12] Roberts, “The Military Revolution,” 14, 20.

[13] Parker, *The Military Revolution*, simplifies Roberts’ military revolution to four changes: a revolution in tactics characterized by tech changes and massive growth in army size and increasing strategy to bring large armies into action and finally the accentuation of the impact of war on society in terms of greater damage, more

administrative challenges, and a burden on the people (1-2). While he generally accepts Roberts' theory, he modifies it through a study of the impact of fortifications and sieges and notes that the growth in army size was not the same everywhere (6-44). Lynn, "The Pattern of Army," studies the French military in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and finds that the transition to a standing army was under way, but the individual knight was still valued (2, 6). Adams, "Tactics and Politics," similarly attacks army size, noting that armies were not huge until the seventeenth century, (32) and he notes that the cavalry enjoyed a resurgence during the Thirty Years' War and the English Civil War (36). Rogers, "The Military Revolution," represents a commonly agreed upon outcome of the military revolution; however, it has been modified or challenged: "Thus, the centrally organized, bureaucratically governed nation-state—the paramount symbol of the modern era—ultimately grew from the tiny seed of late-sixteenth century tactical reforms. Military factors played a key, even a pre-eminent, role in shaping the modern world" (2). Murrin, *History and Warfare*, provides the most comprehensive consideration of the impact of the military revolution, or the "Gunpowder Revolution," (9) as he calls it, on the literary genre of the epic. The heroic narrative faced a crisis bound up with military changes because sixteenth-century writers were more familiar with large armies and changing practices of war so that the gun became a synecdoche for military changes; this crisis called into question the future of heroic narrative and the heroic code in these stories (12).

[14] Connell, *Masculinities*, developed the idea of hegemonic masculinity from a study of gender inequality in Australian schools. At a basic level, it refers to practices that preserve the dominant position of men (67-81). It has been complicated to think about how generalization produces hegemonic femininity, which is also broken down into femininities. Criticism has also attacked its underlying concept of masculinity, but it remains a useful heuristic.

[15] On the link between masculinity and violence, see Feather and Thomas, "Introduction," who state that "the relationship between violence and masculinity still seems so intuitive as to be commonplace—men become men by engaging in or at least talking about violence, men secure their dominance in part by protecting a right to behave violently that is persistently denied to women, and men who do not engage in violence risk becoming effeminate" (7).

[16] Karcheski, *Arms and Armor,* 79. See also Nickel, Stuart, and Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, who say that the sword was the first true weapon because it was designed purely to kill men and is useless as a tool or hunting arm: "probably for this sinister reason the sword is regarded as the most noble of weapons; in the Middle Ages it was a status symbol of the knightly class, carried long after the introduction of impenetrable plate armor made it ineffective. Swords of state are still regalia of ceremony" (85).

[17] Amberger, *The Secret History*, 2.

[18] Feather and Thomas, "Introduction," 1. See also Shepard, *The Meanings of Manhood*.

[19] Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 115-20 and 158-67. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 293-99. See also Howard, *War in European History*, 1-5, and Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 15.

[20] See Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, throughout but for his division of codes into three related areas, 15.

[21] Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, explains that the knight, man-at-arms, and squire were easily confused by the thirteenth century and moving into the late Middle Ages (70).

[22] Ibid., 161.

[23] Ibid., 239.

[24] Keen, *Nobles, Knights, and Men-at-Arms*, 9. Anglo, *The Martial Arts*, says that scholars of the duel inevitably connect it to this idea of crisis. He says that most critical studies of dueling don't take into account actual combat, training, and practice and "have come to regard ritualized personal conflict as a symptom of some psycho-sociological malaise afflicting the elite; as a manifestation of something called a 'crisis' of the aristocracy; or as a gesture of defiance against increasing centralization and bureaucratization of government" (2).

[25] Saviolo, *His Practice*, B recto.

[26] See Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, 3-4, and A. Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status," 137.

[27] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 88.

[28] Ibid., 93.

[29] See A. Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status," for more on how managing gesture and demeanor signal status. See also Anglo, "Introduction," for more on how during the course of the sixteenth century martial prowess, particularly in connection to actual war, became less important (xi-xii); pulling the knight off the pedestal was "well advanced by the latter half of the fifteenth century and continued remorselessly thereafter" (xiii). James, *English Politics*, argues that knights who once focused energies on martial prowess now become courtiers focused on diplomacy, so chivalry becomes a symbolic

arena where issues are sorted out less with violence than with verbal argument. While I would argue that violence remains a central concern, it is also true that other means of solving problems and displaying honor developed.

[30] Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 235. See also Richards, “Assumed Simplicity,” for the position that *sprezzatura de*stabilizes the idea of nobility of blood and replaces it with nobility of performance (460-86).

[31] Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, notes: “Medieval and Renaissance man and woman could acquire an identity either by statute (as by the feudal, chivalric notion of nobility through blood and inheritance) or by education (as in the sociocultural making of the Renaissance courtier), but actions were always to be judged on the basis of membership in a specific social group” (2).

[32] For studies of the development of the sword, including a metallographic analysis, see Williams, *The Sword and the Crucible.* For more on the development of the rapier and side-sword in particular, see Norman, *The Rapier and Side-Sword*. See also Hoffmeyer, “From Medieval Sword,” for a concise outline of development during the Middle Ages and early modern period (52-79). See also Oakeshott, *A Knight and his Weapons*. For more on the development of the Italian fencing schools, see Wilson, *Sixteenth-Century Single Sword*, 1-6, and Pantanelli, “Scherma e Maestri,” 45-9.

[33] Hutton, *Old Sword Play*, 1. Norman, *The Rapier and Small-Sword*, 30. Capwell, *The Noble Art*, explains that “men of elevated social status, noblemen as well as (in some parts of Europe) affluent and upwardly mobile members of the middle classes, had begun to wear swords at all times in their everyday lives, whether a threat was anticipated or not” (29). See also Mondschein, “Introduction,” xxxi.

[34] Castle, *Schools and Masters*, 6.

[35] Pitt-Rivers, “Honor and Social Status,” 24.

[36] Bryson, *The Point of Honor*, 15. For the idea of a “dialectic of honor” in which logic of disdain and humiliation are bound up with issuing and taking up challenges, see Abou-Zeid, “Honor and Shame,” 198. See also Frevert, *Men of Honor*, who studies the duel in Germany as a social convention linked to social institutions and customs (2-4).

[37] See Norman, *The Rapier and the Side-Sword*, for more on the development and appearance of the rapier. Castle, *Schools and Masters*, records that schools of arms among the middle classes became a means for social advancement through skill with the rapier in particular (14-15).

[38] Pitt-Rivers, “Honor and Social Status,” 31. Though an older study, Bryson’s *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, comprehensively lays out the complicated procedures of the duel.

[39] Bryson, *The Point of Honor*, 84.

[40] See Anglo, *The Martial Arts,* 35.

[41] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, 13-14 and 21.

[42] Vegetius, *De re militari*, 18.

[43] Qtd. in Anglo, “How to Kill a Man,” 4.

[44] Anglo, “How to Kill a Man,” moderates the general reading of dueling, which is found in V. G. Kernan, *The Duel in European History: Honor and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1988): “The duel is regarded as a symptom of some deep psychosociological malaise afflicting the elite: as a manifestation of a ‘crisis’ of the aristocracy; as a ritualization of the innate brutality of the ruling classes who were feeling ever more insecure in the face of sweeping social changes which they couldn't understand; as a gesture of defiance against the increasing centralization and bureaucratization of government; and as an affirmation of values which the aristocracy refused to recognize as obsolete” (2). See Karcheski, Jr., *Arms and Armor*, 84. Anglo, *The Martial Arts*, points out that the carrying and use of lethal weapons was normal throughout social hierarchy (3). Feather and Thomas, “Introduction,” contest Norbert Elias’s civilizing process claim about the courtization of the warrior by showing that male violence moved to different spheres like brawling so that “such comparisons reveal that shifting notions of social matters did not work exclusively to contain male violence but simply changed the venue and practice of masculine aggression” (5). See also Nussdorfer, “Priestly Rulers, Male Subjects,” who finds evidence of violence across the social hierarchy: “Males deployed violence to buttress or undermine social status and social order in Rome, both formally in the operations of the judicial apparatus and informally as men met each other in the city's narrow, twisting streets and squares or in its vineyards and canebreaks” (112).

[45] Shepard, *The Meanings of Manhood*, 131 and 140-41.

[46] Agrippa, *Trattato*, n.p., first page of the second book.

[47] Di Grassi, *His True Art*, Ee2 recto

[48] Badinter, *XY*, 1. See also Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making*, whose study “is about why people in so many places regard the state of being a 'real man' or 'true man' as

uncertain or precarious, a prize to be won or wrested through struggle, and why so many societies build up an elusive or exclusionary image of manhood through cultural sanctions, ritual, or trials of skill and endurance" (1).

[49] Feather and Thomas, "Introduction," observe that "the relationship between violence and masculinity still seems so intuitive as to be commonplace—men become men by engaging in or at least talking about violence, men secure their dominance in part by protecting a right to behave violently that is persistently denied to women, and men who do not engage in violence risk becoming effeminate" (7). These positions influence my reading, but I complicate them by contending that violence is and was not solely the purview of masculinity, and in fact, even when contested by men, the product is a multiplication of masculinities, each of which contend for the recognition of their realness.

[50] Nussdorfer, "Priestly Rulers, Male Subjects," 109-10.

[51] For more on Silver's xenophobia, see Anglo, *The Martial Arts*, 107. Silver is not alone in equating one's reputation with defending one's country. See Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England*, who, citing Thomas Churchyard, a late sixteenth-century gentleman, concludes "defending one's private reputation was thus equated with defending one's country" (55).

[52] Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence*, A6 verso (unmarked).

[53] Castle, *Schools and Masters*, says that Silver undertook to combat Saviolo with the pen after not disposing of him by sword (89). Pendragon, "Masters, Fencers, and Collectors," observes that "*Paradoxes of Defense* was itself a literary manifestation of the duel between the English and foreign masters. It was intended as a reply, or rather a riposte, to Saviolo's *Practice*" (238).

[54] Smythe, *Certain Discourses*, n.p. (Dedicatory Proem).

[55] See Dialeti, "Defending Women," "In their defenses of women, male writers both crafted themselves in regard to female 'otherness' and sought to establish models of hegemony and marginalization among diverse male identities. By detecting the demarcations of self and other in the debate, I suggest that the process of inclusion and exclusion was based on the interrelation between gender and social rank" (4). On the relational nature of gender, see Kimmel, "Rethinking Masculinity," who writes, "Masculinity and femininity are relational constructs . . . Although 'male' and 'female' may have some universal characteristics . . . one cannot understand the social construction of either masculinity or femininity without reference to the other" (12).

[56] Saviolo, *His Practice*, **3 verso (n. p. but following the pagination scheme before and after this page.

[57] Malpezzi, *Moderata Fonte*, provides a short biography and interpretation of Fonte's work.

[58] Dugaw, *Warrior Women*, says that female warrior ballads were a large group and very popular during time period covered (1-2). Warrior woman heroines were presented as ideal and rewarded with military exploits and love even though they occupied both sides of a competing bipolar gender system (5).

[59] Laffin, *Women in Battle*, 21-5.

[60] Pitt-Rivers, "Honor and Social Status," 28.

[61] Thimm, *A Complete Bibliography*, 455.

[62] See ch. 3 and also Laffin, *Women in Battle*.

[63] For a historical treatment of Boudica, see Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica*, especially 3-110, and then for a consideration of her use in the Renaissance, see 111-222. For a popular history approach, see Fraser, *The Warrior Queens*, 43-57. For more on the use of Boudica in discussions of gender and nation in early modern England, see Mikalachki, *The Legacy of Boadicea*, 1-17 and 115-55 in particular.

[64] Shepard, *Amazons and Warrior Women*, 145. For a reading of Holinshed's entry on Boudica, see Feather, *Writing Combat and the Self*: "Boudica connects her martial might to a social structure of both gender equality and common sharing. If all Romans are effeminate and subject to their lusts, all Britons, even British women, are free warriors. Gender separates persons not in terms of individual, sexed bodies but in terms of temperament and relationship to desire" (85).

[65] Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism*, 56.

[66] For honor and shame as social evaluations, see Peristiany, "Introduction," 9.

[67] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 173.

[68] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel,* xxii.

[69] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, xi and 151.

[70] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, 168.

[71] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, 205.

[72] Anglo, *The Martial Arts*, 18.

[73] Murrin, *History and Warfare*, 12.

[74] Ibid., 58.

[75] Ibid., 79-97 and 203.

[76] Ibid., 240.

[77] The Pentecostal Oath, which is the code of conduct knights swear to uphold, in Malory's *Morte Darthur* is connected to a Pentecost feast.

[78] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, 169.

[79] Forsyth, "Cutting Words," 68.

[80] Silberman, *Transforming Desire*, 101.

[81] See Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, for more on homosocial bonds and *amicitia* as a male-male relationship.

[82] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, 81.

[83] Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 231.

[84] Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*, 166 but throughout. The idea of the civilizing process comes from Elias, *The Civilizing Process*. See also James, *English Politics*, who argues that knights who once focused energies on martial prowess now become courtiers focused on diplomacy so that chivalry became a symbolic arena where issues were sorted out less with violence than with verbal argument.

[85] Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, argues that "Marfisa pays heavily for reveling in a male-related course of action, for she is characterized as unfeminine and placed only in comic or semi-comic situations," meaning that she is presented as a quasi-woman (229-30). Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, says that Marfisa refuses all identification with womanhood so is insufficient because she, unlike Bradamante, cannot add femininity "to a masculine martial identity normally considered complete in itself" (92). Benson, *The Invention of the Renaissance*, asserts that Ariosto excludes Marfisa from his presentations of contemporary thought about women because she is masculine (125). Carthy, "Marfisa and Gender Performance" and *Women and the Making*, presents Marfisa as a character who argues for the performativity of gender but who continually comes up against the

limits of anatomical sex, which parody her in the episode with Gabrina ("Marfisa") (188-90) and the killer women (*Women*) (81-85).

[86] Carthy in both "Marfisa and Gender Performance" and *Women and the Making* focuses on anatomical lack and "inferiority." See note 85.

[87] For more on the phallic connotation of the lance and the use of it as an attempt to gain a phallus, see Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, 236-7. For the phallic sword as used by women warriors in Ariosto, see McLucas, "Amazon, Sorceress, and Queen," 33-55.

[88] Heng, "Feminine Knots," 500-14. See also Bateman, "Amazonian Knots," 1-20.

[89] Carthy, *Women and the Making of Poetry*, 84. For Carthy this incident is one of several that show limits on gender as performative. In "Marfisa and Gender" she argues that identity can be constructed, but the limits on performative freedom are set by biological sex (182).

[90] See Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism*, and Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England*.

[91] Smail, "Factions and Vengeance," 781-9.

[92] Many studies of idealized chivalric combat and early modern male nobility tend to downplay violence. Anglo, *The Martial Arts*, says that most critical studies of dueling do not take into account actual combat, training, and practice (2). For examples of this, see Ferguson, *The Language of Allegory*, who sees chivalry in the sixteenth century as mere spectacle and hence not deeply invested in the bodily damage of combat, and Leslie, *Spenser's 'Fierce Warres*, who focuses on symbolic aspects of chivalric values and combat rather than on the bloodier aspects of combat.

[93] Saviolo, *His Practice*, E3 or p. 11 verso.

[94] Dall'Agocchie, *Dell'Arte di Scrimia*, B recto.

[95] Saviolo, *His Practise*, G2, p. 19 verso-recto identifies killing wounds and thrusts as not for play or practice.

[96] See Mondschein's illustrated guide to Fiore dei Liberi's *Fior di battaglia* where various wrestling and submission techniques are taught: it shows an arm bar for mounted fighters (112-13), how to throw a mounted opponent to the ground (110), and different ways to lock an opponent with knife or sword (37-42).

[97] For more on combat during duels, see Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, 55-74.

[98] Di Grassi, *His True Arte*, E2 verso. Similarly, Saviolo says that a blow to the face that causes blood to run into the face "dismaieth a man either by stopping his breath, or hindering his fight: and he shall oftner find aduantage to hit in the face than in the belly if he lie open with his weapons" (*** verso, n. p.).

[99] Forsyth, "Cutting Words," argues that "according to the doctrine of the humors, masculinity is associated with heat; therefore, both the 'chafing' or heating, of the passions and the physical activity of the combat signify an intensification of maleness" (69). While the connection of heat to men reflects early modern medical theory, it is also true that variations in heat were observed, such that some women were hotter than some men. Nonetheless, combat increases bodily heat and, by extension, makes the body more male in constitution.

[100] Saviolo, *His Practise*, n. p. First page of the third day's discourse of rapier and dagger in the first book.

[101] Ibid., L verso.

[102] Ibid., H recto.

[103] Vegetius, *De re militari*, 84, 87-8.

[104] Murrin, *History and Warfare*, 208.

[105] Gelli, "Un trattato di scherma," reports on a copy of Agrippa's *Trattato di Scientia* with Tasso's marginalia (1113-20). See also Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, who adds that in addition to Agrippa, Tasso had Marozzo (193).

[106] Bryson, *The Point of Honor*, 55.

[107] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, 75-86.

[108] See notes 109 and 110 and Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women*, 5.

[109] Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes*, 236.

[110] Carthy, *Women and the Making*, 86, 152.

[111] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, xv, 32, 94.

[112] Carthy, *Women and the Making*, 152.

[113] Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, notes that horses were common targets for arrows in war because of the disruption it had on opposing forces (317). Howard, *War in European History*, also explains that one of the functions of pikemen was to check charging horses, which would obviously cause injury or death to the horse (32).

[114] Carthy, *Women and the Making,* 86. Malpezzi, *Moderata Fonte*, observes: "Boiardo and Ariosto created or developed the two most important figures of women warriors in Italian literature: Marfisa and Bradamante. These female characters embody the ambivalence that male authors and men in general felt for armed women: while they are allowed to act at times subversively and in a seemingly transgressive way if judged by the morality of that period, they are kept under the author's control and ultimately made either to conform to society's paradigms or accept their marginality" (104).

[115] Carthy, *Women and the Making*, 86.

[116] Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women*, 5.

[117] For the idea that Britomart must defeat the Radigund within herself to prepare for marriage and submission to Artegall, see Fletcher, *Prophetic Moment*, 248 and 279, and Hamilton, *The Structure of Allegory*, 185. For readings of it as providing a statement about female rulers, see Phillips, Jr., "The Woman Ruler," 217-18 and 233-34, and Jordan, "Woman's Rule," 421-51. Feather, *Writing Combat and the Self*, states that "in appropriating masculine codes of combat, Radigund threatens to assert this model of subjectivity in which bodily practice can transform identity, thereby overthrowing the epistemological regime on which humanist subjectivity relies" (167). Further, Britomart, like Radigund, ceases to be herself when fighting Radigund: "But her masculine acts ultimately reveal rather than threaten the social order based on the proper relationship between body and social meaning" (169). Because Britomart forgets herself when killing Radigund this really means forgetting her female limitations and then restoring the patriarchal order and returning to her female self (169-70).

[118] See Quilligan, "The Comedy of Female Authority," on decapitation as an apt punishment for a female head of state usurping male authority (169). For more on decapitation and women, see Eilberg-Schwartz and Doniger, *Off with her Head!*, 1-11.

[119] Bryson, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Duel*, 6.

[120] Suzuki, "Scapegoating Radigund," 190.

[121] Carthy, *Women and the Making*, 136.

[122] See notes 10 and 114.

[123] Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 115. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 15.

[124] See Carthy, *Women and the Making*, 138, and Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, 95-103. See also Malpezzi, *Moderate Fonte*, who says that Bradamante's defense of her deeds and refusal to allow physical appearance to make her a lady is limited by the scenes preceding and following it when she is “in an ‘hysterical’ jealous state, crying in her frustrated indecision whether to kill herself, Ruggiero, or her presumed rival. Such extreme emotionalism serves to discredit, in the reader's mind, Bradamante's behavior and her capacity to think and act reasonably” (104-5).

[125] Shemek, *Ladies Errant*, 100-1.

[126] See chapter one on humoral theory and persuasion in the reading of the allegory of Alma.

[127] Saviolo, *His Practice*, **3 verso.

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