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SCULPTURE

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CROSS-LEGGED KNIGHTS AND SIGNIFICATION IN ENGLISH MEDIEVAL TOMB SCULPTURE

Rachel Dressler

When armored effigies first emerged in Europe circa 1240, they gained most prominence in England, where today more than 150 military effigies survive from the thirteenth century and almost 200 armored figures from the fourteenth.¹ Such early military effigies are chiefly identifiable by the appearance of chain mail and surcoats, and many display shields and swords as emblems of knighthood. As can be observed in the effigy of William Longespée (Fig. 1) in Salisbury Cathedral, components of costume denote the figure's knightly status in the manner that vestments and mitre assert the ecclesiastic identity of the effigy of Bishop Walter de Blois in Worcester Cathedral (Fig. 2), and the crown signifies the royalty of King Henry III in Westminster Abbey (Fig. 3).

When we compare England's knightly effigies to those of ecclesiastics, kings and queens, and female aristocrats, we are struck by the armored figures' intense physical dynamism. Whereas other effigies lie serenely on their tomb slabs with folded hands and straight legs, many of the knights unsheath their swords and even more cross their legs (Fig. 4).² When considered in light of vocational specificities, the dynamic representation of physicality in English knights' effigies raises two vital questions: what motivated such an overall lively attitude in figures commemorating the dead; and why were knights singled out for such vigor? The cross-legged attitude has a central role in addressing these issues, for, unlike the sword-pulling gesture, it seems unmotivated by the knight's vocation. Traditional explanations have failed to resolve the questions raised by this distinctive attitude, because they have neglected the important issues of gender and vocation in their account of the pose's significance. This essay will examine the issue of the knights' crossed legs, bringing to bear current theoretical and historical studies of gender construction and chivalric ideologies on the question of the attitude's significance in military effigies. It is my contention that the overlapping lower limbs speak of a culture in which gender is inseparable from social role. Indeed, my study of England's knightly effigies suggests that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries social difference was as much at issue as gender anxiety.

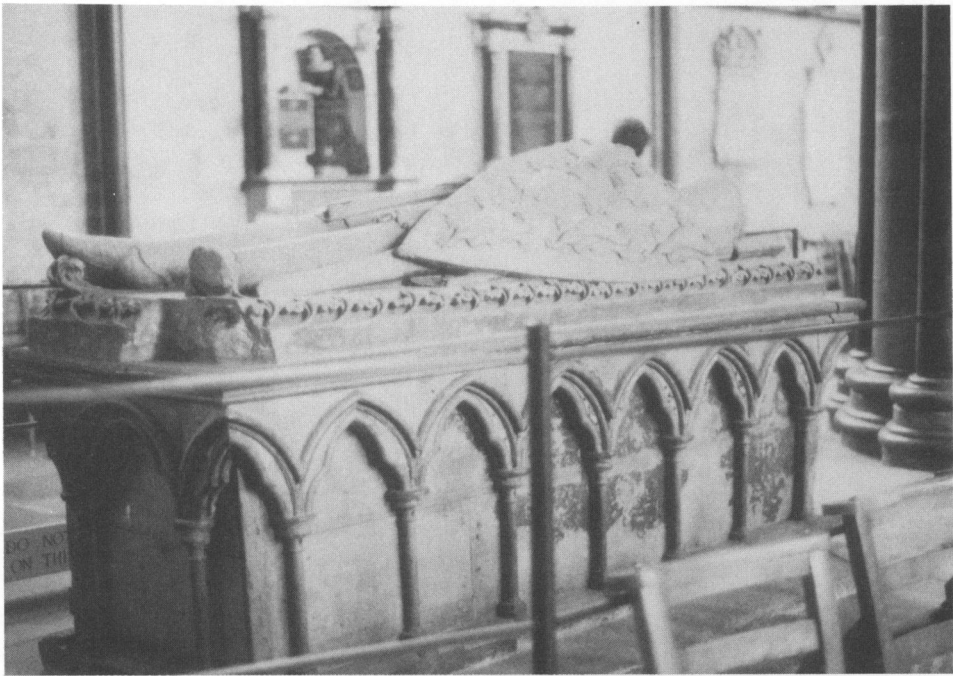


Figure 1. Effigy identified as William Longespée (ca. 1240); Salisbury, Salisbury Cathedral. (Photo: author.)

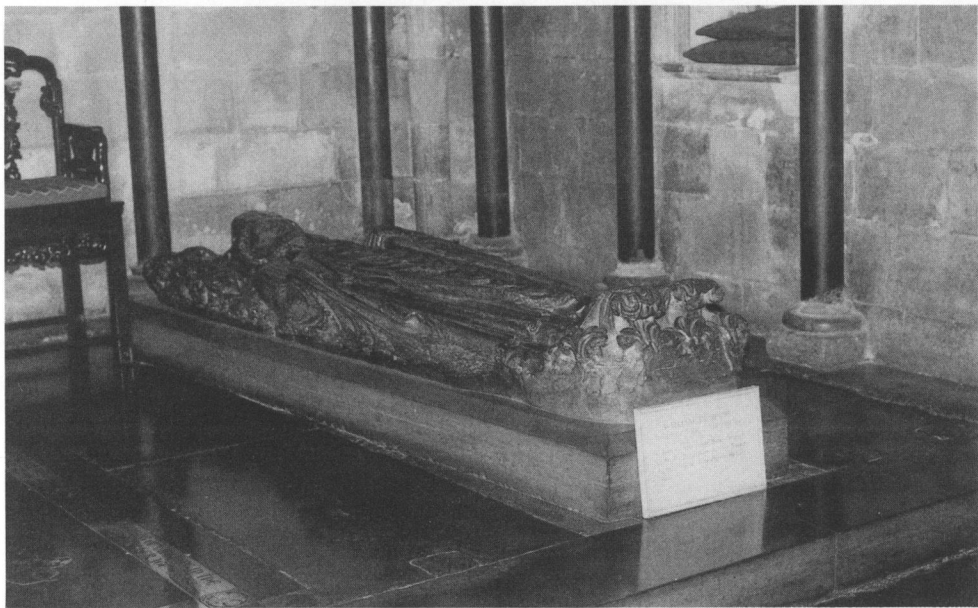


Figure 2. Effigy identified as Bishop Walter de Blois (ca. 1240); Worcester, Worcester Cathedral. (Photo: author.)

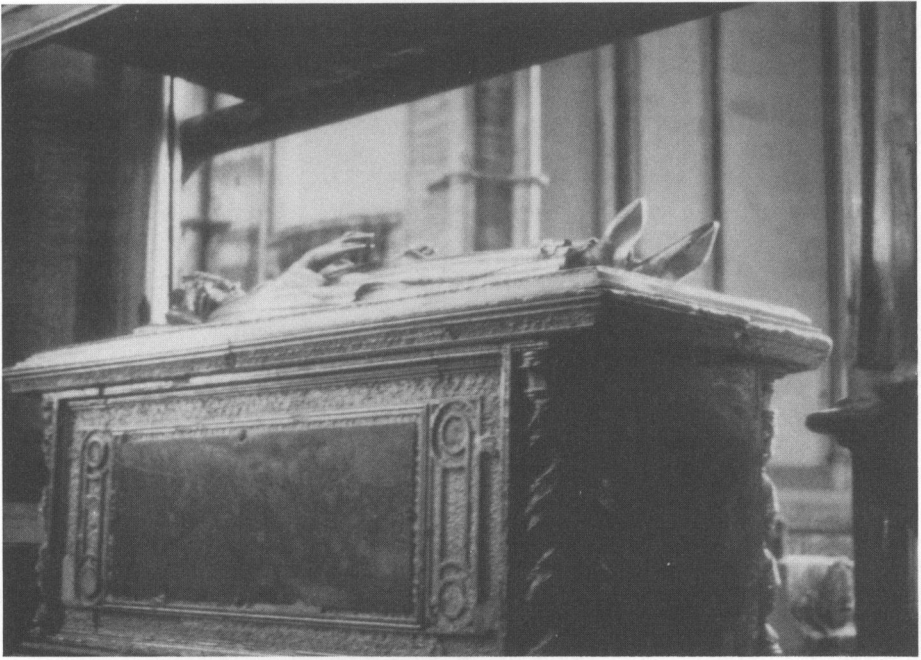


Figure 3. Effigy identified as Henry III (late 13th c.); London, Westminster Abbey. (Photo: author.)

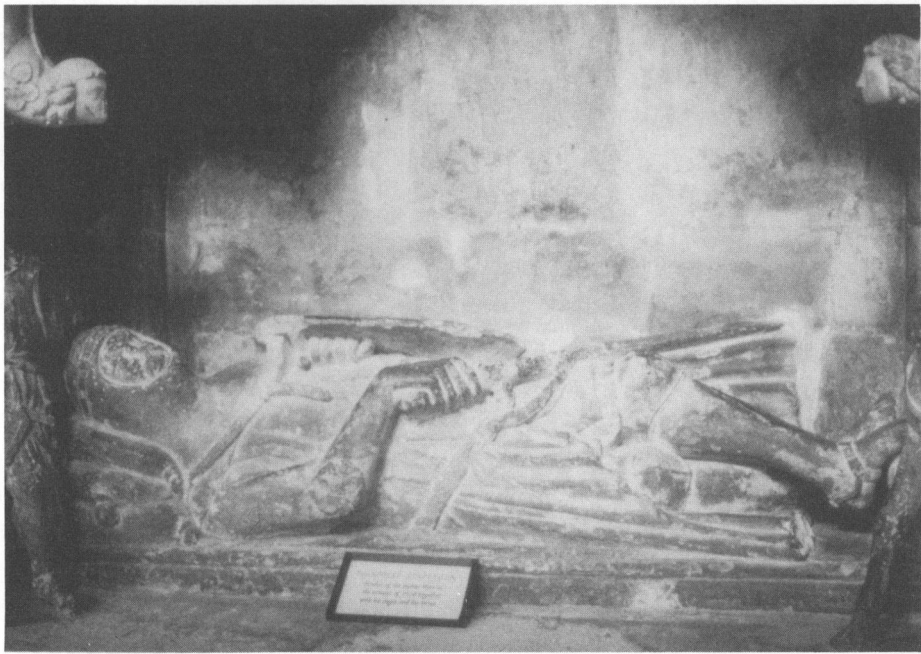


Figure 4. Effigy identified as Sir Richard de Stapledon (early 14th c.); Exeter, Exeter Cathedral. (Photo: author.)

Crossed Legs: Traditional Explanations

Recent studies of armored gisants and secular tomb sculpture by Judith Hurtig and Harry Tummers have revealed close to 350 thirteenth- and fourteenth-century knights' effigies extant in England.³ Of these, approximately 200 display the cross-legged pose, making such figures the largest category of military effigies from the period.⁴ Although a generalized cross-legged pose seems to have become a convention for a large number of English knightly funereal sculptures in the thirteenth century, an especially dynamic version of the attitude occurs within a smaller number of these figures. Within this more energetic group the crossed-legged pose is combined with an emphatic sword-pulling gesture that causes the forms of the body to tilt and twist. This pose is evident in the effigy of Robert, duke of Normandy, now in the south ambulatory of Gloucester Cathedral (ca. 1260; Fig. 5); and an effigy dating to the same period (Fig. 6) of an unknown knight now in the choir of Dorchester Abbey church.⁵ A generalized sword-handling gesture is almost as common as the crossed-legged pose in English knights' effigies from this time, and it imparts a heightened degree of dynamic animation in examples from Abbey Dore (Herefs.), the Lord Mayor's Chapel in Bristol (Fig. 7), Draycott-in-the-Moors (Staffs.), Ripplingale (Lincs.; Fig. 8), and Southwark Cathedral (Fig. 9), all dating between 1260 and the end of the century.⁶

The most common explanation for the cross-legged pose is that it denotes a crusader. The belief that intersecting lower limbs signified a participant in the Holy War goes back to sixteenth-century antiquarians and probably originated in the association between the military effigies in the Temple Church and the Knights Templars.⁷ The link between cross-legged effigies and the Crusades persisted through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, with Erwin Panofsky accepting this account of the attitude's association with crusaders.⁸ Other scholars, however, have disagreed with this interpretation since the nineteenth century.⁹ Today the popular belief that cross-legged military effigies represent crusaders still appears in explanatory signs and local literature found in many of the churches sheltering such figures.

Crossed legs have also carried connotations of authority or status in the eyes of many art historians. Their presence has been noted in medieval representations of judges and kings, and they may have originated in antiquity when Roman deities were depicted standing on overlapped legs to distinguish them from mortals.¹⁰ Paul Binski is the latest art historian to consider the pose specifically in English military effigies. His interest in the attitude resides in its connotations of status, not authority. For Binski the knight's crossed legs are intended to convey an air of aristocratic nonchalance.¹¹

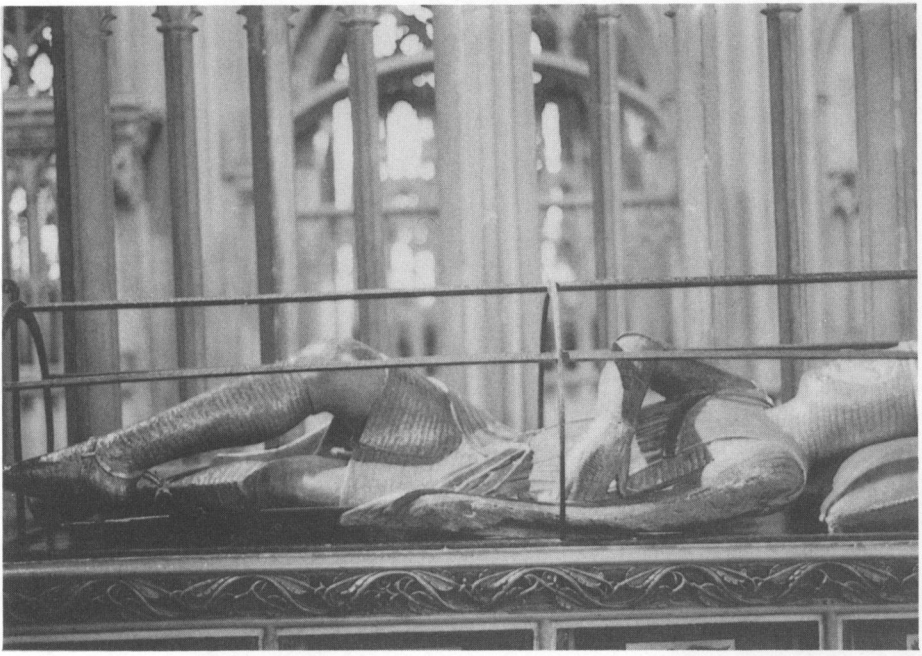


Figure 5. Effigy identified as Robert, Duke of Normandy (ca. 1260); Gloucester, Gloucester Cathedral. (Photo: author.)



Figure 6. Effigy of a knight (ca. 1260); Dorchester, Oxon, Dorchester Abbey. (Photo: author.)



Figure 7. Effigy of a knight (left-hand figure, late 13th c.); Bristol, Glos., Lord Mayor's Chapel. (Photo: author.)



Figure 8. Effigy of a knight (early 14th c.); Rippingale, Lincs. (Photo: author.)



Figure 9. Effigy of a knight (late 13th c.); London. Southwark Cathedral. (Photo: author.)

Other discussions of the pose emphasize overtly artistic concerns. Hurtig suggests crossed legs were intended to infuse the figure with a vitality and battle-readiness at odds with, and in denial of, death.¹² Tummers views the attitude as, first of all, a technical device designed to reinforce the figure at the knees, the weakest part of the effigy between the head and the footrest.¹³ In addition he suggests the pose mediates the transition from a figure conceived as vertical—like a jamb figure placed on its back—and a figure conceived from the start as recumbent. According to Tummers the latter approach depended upon perceiving the effigy as an actual body laid on a tomb slab; the crossed legs thus made the recumbent figure seem more naturalistic.¹⁴

The last two theories seem viable explanations for the distinctive pose, as the desire both to convey high social status and to confer greater naturalism on a recumbent figure offers plausible reasons for employing the cross-legged pose in knights' effigies. The first explanation, that the pose denotes one who fought in the Crusades, is less likely but not impossible. English barons were active in these wars, especially in the Third Crusade.¹⁵ Their interest remained high until about 1290. Although participation dropped off in the fourteenth century, the crusading mentality had pervaded

English noble society to the extent that these military campaigns were a chief motivation for tourneying.¹⁶ In addition a certain amount of artistic evidence for associating cross-legged knights and medieval religious wars exists in the cross-legged effigy of the Spanish prince Don Felipe, who died in 1274 and whose body lies in the Knights Templar chapel at Villasirga. The Templars were charged with defending the pilgrim routes in the Holy Land.¹⁷ One can also point to two other cross-legged warrior figures with crusading associations: one is a jamb figure on the porch of Verona Cathedral, traditionally identified as Oliver, companion to that supreme crusader exemplar Roland; and the other is a column figure from Châlons-sur-Marne, now in the Louvre, which is known as the “crusader.”¹⁸ Given the Crusades’ continuing prestige and cross-legged figures with Crusade associations, there are some grounds to associate the two. If ever there was such a connection, it is possible that effigies continued to employ crossed legs in order to associate those whom the figures commemorated with the prestige of the holy wars and with the status of the English magnates who engaged actively in them, often as leaders, during the thirteenth century.

Crossed Legs: Masculinity and Knighthood

In addition to these interpretations of the cross-legged attitude, it is also important to consider the pose’s role in the effigies’ overall signifying strategies as they operated within the social context of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England. I would suggest that the lower limb’s distinctive arrangement emerged in the wake of cultural tension about the relationship of gender to vocation. The knights’ cross-legged pose serves to reinforce the viewer’s awareness of the male body, especially below the waist. In addition the military effigies’ foregrounding of male physicality is tied to social function: whereas knights’ figures emphasize a powerful physique, the effigies of other social categories—male or female—conceal their corporeal dimension. Sexual and social difference interacted in representing the body, and anxieties about these linked regimes fueled a centuries-long discourse.

The Middle Ages inherited variant classical notions concerning sexual division, some of which stressed the rigid boundary between male and female, whereas others implied a continuum between the two sexes. According to Vern Bullough, ancient thinkers perceived males as absolutely different from and superior to females. Their medieval descendants such as Isidore of Seville and Avicenna located generative power in the male semen, arguing that the male body’s greater warmth led to the visibility of his sex organs—the most overt sign of his masculinity—as well as to his greater vitality.¹⁹ Thus, a combination of factors erected a seemingly impregnable boundary

between male and female. In contrast to Bullough's contention, Thomas Laqueur has proposed that classical thinkers considered males and females to differ in degree but not in kind.²⁰ The one-sex model (Laqueur's term) held that females were physiologically analogous to males, save that their genitals remained inside the body, whereas those of males were exteriorized.

Aristotle, who generally affirmed a rigid sexual opposition, undermined the boundaries between male and female on occasion. He contended that the sexes are defined by their reproductive apparatus, specifically the penis and uterus, but he also argued that not only is there no standard form of male organ across species but some lack a visible penis altogether. Thus Aristotle noted that whereas some males—humans and horses—have overly large external penises, the male elephant's is absurdly small and dolphins have no external organ at all.²¹ Aristotle even proposed an assimilation between the female womb and the male scrotum and called the cervix (*kaulos*) an internal penis. Five hundred years later, Galen espoused the one-sex model by asserting that females were simply inverted males, with their genitals turned inward rather than outward:

Think first, please, of the man's [external genitalia] turned in and extending inward between the rectum and the bladder. If this should happen, the scrotum would necessarily take the place of the uterus with the testes lying outside, next to it on either side. Think too, please, of . . . the uterus turned outward and projecting. Would not the testes [ovaries] then necessarily be inside it? Would it not contain them like a scrotum? Would not the neck [cervix and vagina], hitherto concealed inside the perineum but now pendant, be made into the male member?²²

Despite his assertions about the superiority of male semen, Avicenna, whose writings were translated and transmitted to the West at the end of the twelfth century, generally upheld the one-sex model. His *Canon* points to parallels between the two sexes in every aspect of genital physiology:

I say that the instrument of reproduction in the woman is the womb (*matrix*) and that it was created similar to the instrument of reproduction in the man, that is to say the penis and what goes with it. However, one of these instruments is complete and stretches outwards, whereas the other is smaller and held on the inside, to some extent constituting the opposite of the male instrument.²³

Avicenna compares all parts of the reproductive system as he understood them in terms of analogies between male and female, with the female versions merely being smaller or fewer than the male's. In the thirteenth century Thomas of Cantimpré, writing in *De Natura Rerum*, continued to assert the Galenic notion of the similarity

between male and female organs, ending his exposition of sexual anatomy with the analogy of the seal and its imprint:

One can compare the relation which exists between the instrument of reproduction in the man and the instrument of reproduction in the woman to the relation which exists between the seal which leaves its imprint and the impression of the seal in the wax. The woman's instrument has an inverted structure, fixed on the inside, whereas the man's instrument has an inverted structure extending outwards.²⁴

Classical and medieval authors also debated the nature of semen based on the belief that men and women possessed differing complexions: men were warm and dry whereas women were cool and moist.²⁵ In general, authors agreed that females and males both expel a fluid as a result of intercourse. This fluid is blood, which is refined into menstrual fluid and semen through the action of the body's heat or its relative lack. In other words a man's greater warmth allows his blood to become semen, its most refined state, whereas a woman's coolness leaves her blood as the less-refined menstrual fluid.²⁶ For those who believed that both men and women produce semen, men's greater warmth results in a more powerful substance, primarily responsible for bringing the fetus to life, but of essentially the same nature as that found in women.²⁷

What the foregoing discussion demonstrates is that for ancient authorities and their medieval descendants sexual difference, as expressed by anatomy and physiology, was not irrevocable or fundamental, as one might expect. The genitals, the parts of the body we are most likely to consider the defining aspect of the two sexes, were inverted images of one another. Semen and menstrual blood, substances which we employ to determine sexual difference, were for them the same fluid at differing levels of refinement. In short, for many ancient and medieval authors men and women were more alike than different at the level of physiology.

If sexual difference was labile in the ancient and medieval world, what was its relationship to gender? According to Laqueur what we take to be primary—the biology of sex—and what we identify as secondary—gender—were at least equivalent, if not reversed, in priority.²⁸ Thus for Aristotle the idea that males were active and females passive, notions that we consider social constructions, was a foundational truth. The fact that the male's genitals were externalized did not give rise to his greater perfection but was that perfection's sign.²⁹ Joan Cadden's analysis of the medieval sex-gender topography posits a more complex model in which the two were inextricably tangled together. To many medieval thinkers a man's greater heat allows him to produce semen and contributes to his greater vigor, whereas the woman's coolness prevents the refinement of semen and leads to her greater weakness. From

this it follows that men should and do lead more active lives, whereas women are and should be more sedentary. According to Hildegard of Bingen, for example,

A male who is of sound body is not much harmed if he walks or stays standing for a long time. . . . Woman, however, since she is more fragile than man, and since she has a divided skull, should walk and stand in moderation, but should sit more than she runs around.³⁰

Albert the Great explained women's greater longevity through a combination of sexual and social factors: menstruation purges a woman's body of harmful substances; intercourse is physically easier for a woman than a man; a woman's greater weakness means that she does not work as hard as a man. Other medieval authors seem to offer the possibility that, at times, gender divisions could also be transgressed. Jerome, for example, suggests that as

. . . long as woman is for birth and children, she is different from men as body is from soul. But when she wishes to serve Christ more than the world, then she will cease to be a woman and will be called a man.³¹

As Lorraine Stock has recently noted, the possibility of gender instability is further evident in a number of medieval romances that feature gender role-reversal of various sorts. In Heldris's *Le Roman de Silence* the eponymous heroine is trained by her father in the traditional pursuits of the knight and passes herself off as such in the court of King Ebain. In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* Antikonie fights as an equal partner next to Gawan, and the lady Orgeluse displays a riding skill worthy of a knight. Such cross-gender behavior is not limited to women. Lancelot, protagonist of Chrétien de Troyes's *Chevalier de la Charret*, possesses a name derived from Old French and Latin terms meaning servant and handmaiden, subservient positions generally ascribed to females.³² His willingness to ride in a dwarf's cart and his excessive emotion mark him as a "feminized" knight.³³ In *Silence* King Ebain is also subject to gender transgression: he indulges in excessive wrath over trivial matters; he displays terror in the face of a dragon he is supposed to vanquish and has to be rescued by his nephew; and he fails to father any children, an ability central to the medieval notion of masculinity.³⁴

The above romances suggest that in the later Middle Ages gender boundaries were not as secure as they might be. Stories of empowered females—empowered in specifically male-signified ways—and feminized warriors speak of a cultural tension over gender issues. At the same time these romances call into question the stability of gender roles and social functions. Fighting women are seen to be equal in skill and

courage to male knights, and male warriors are shown to act like female servants. Indeed, these stories suggest that vocation is as much at issue as gender: does Lancelot's "feminized" temperament call his knightly status into question, or is it his un-knightly behavior that de-stabilizes his masculinity? King Ebain's various gender and social anomalies also resist prioritizing.

Like these literary models of social and gender inconstancy, England's military effigies evidence anxiety concerning the indeterminate relationship between gender and vocation. Their recumbency threatens a perception of passivity associated with women in medieval sexual physiology. This potential is increased by the costume they wear, for the clinging mail, short hauberk, and sleeveless, slit surcoat expose the limbs and suggest access to the genitals—a locus for sexual determinacy. The sword-handling and especially the cross-legged pose of many of these figures act to counter any perceived vulnerability or effeminacy of the knightly effigy. By crossing over the chest, the sword-reaching arm partially covers the torso and obscures visual—or any other—access to it. The crossed legs block the approach to the genitals but also call attention to those organs upon which the discourse of sexual difference focused its assertions.

The same elements of costume and pose work to deny female-coded weakness by highlighting the male body's potential for physical prowess. Such emphasis is evident already in the straight-legged effigy of William Longespée; dated between 1230 and 1240 (Figs. 1, 10), it is one of the earliest surviving military gisants.³⁵ The figure's powerful arms with their muscular volumes are articulated by the carved mail. Similarly, the swell of the calves is made visible by the knight's leggings. On the figure's right side, between the upper and lower limbs, the surcoat's skirt, articulated as softened nested Vs and alternating smooth and pleated zones, calls attention to the curve of the hip and the expanse of upper thigh. William's head turns to his right, foreshadowing the dynamism of his sculptural descendants: the cross-legged figures of the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

The male body's force is even more pronounced in cross-legged military effigies (Fig. 11). In the figure from Pershore Abbey (ca. 1270–90) the body is configured as massive: the mail clings to the muscular limbs unencumbered by any other covering.³⁶ Furthermore, the surcoat falls open, revealing the crossing of the left leg over the right. The left hip tilts up in response, exposing its curved form and powerful upper thigh. Sword-handling figures frequently exhibit similar corporeal presence; in fact, the sword-handling gesture can work to heighten the effigy's physicality. A late thirteenth-century wooden effigy from Danbury (Essex) shows pronounced muscular salience.³⁷ It is also extremely apparent in the late thirteenth-century figure now installed in the south porch at Burton Coggles (Fig. 12). In the latter the right leg's

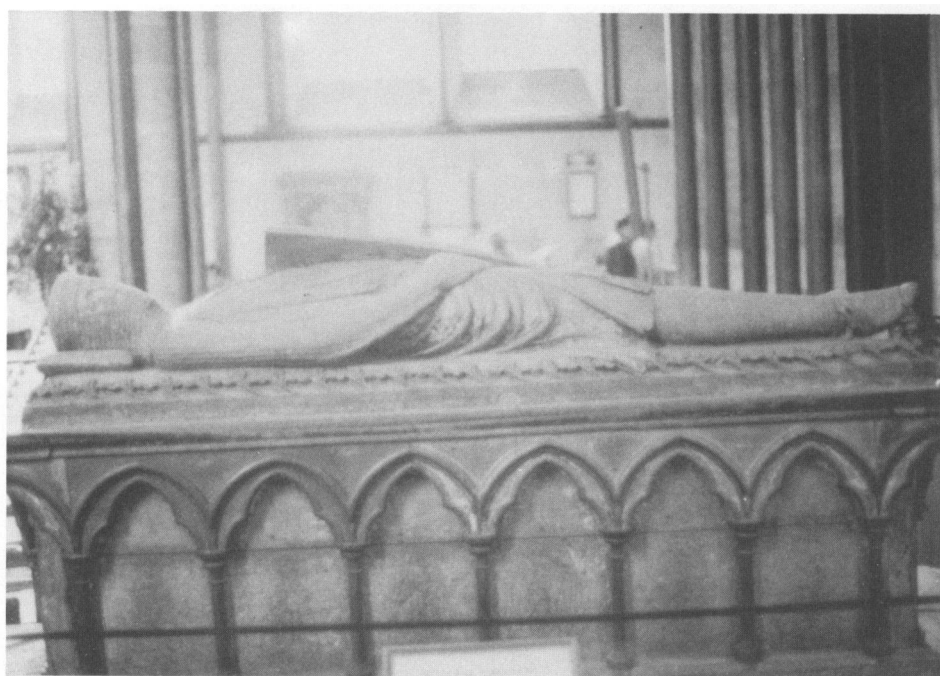


Figure 10. Effigy identified as William Longespée (ca. 1240), left side; Salisbury, Salisbury Cathedral. (Photo: author.)



Figure 11. Effigy of a knight (ca. 1270–1290); Pershore, Worcs., Pershore Abbey Church. (Photo: author.)

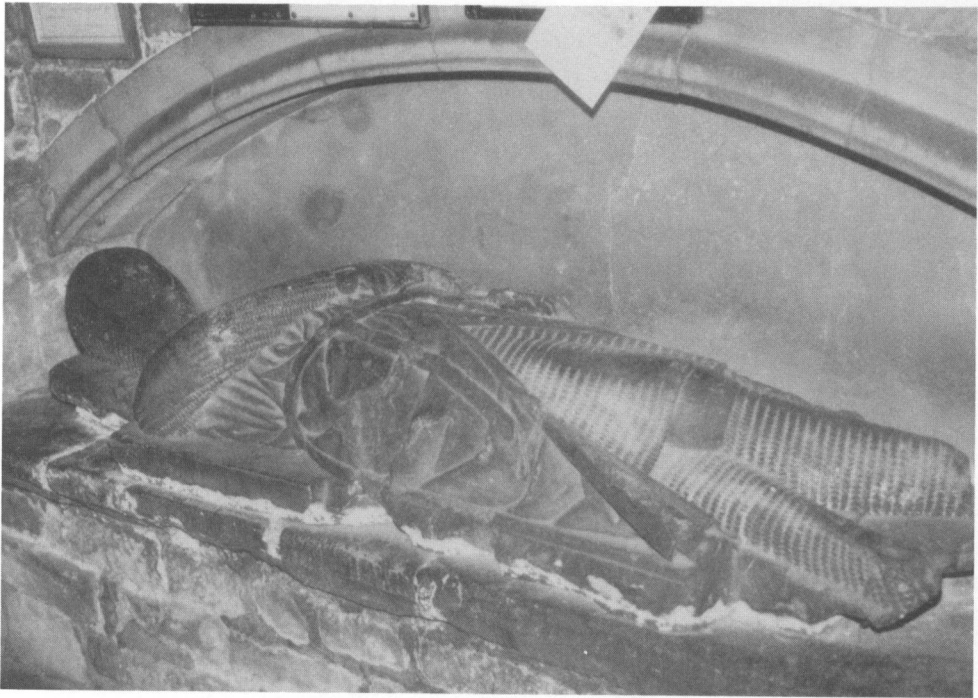


Figure 12. Effigy of a knight (late 13th c.); Burton Coggles, Lincs. (Photo: author.)

crossover is underscored by the split surcoat and clinging mail hauberk. In addition the right arm's reach for the sword counters the head's twisting motion, and the powerful limb is thrust into the viewer's field of vision.

Of all English military effigies the figure from Dorchester Abbey exhibits an unparalleled corporeal intensity.³⁸ The figure's broad, powerful mass is set off by the sheer surcoat, which clings in rippling folds to its torso and hips (Fig. 13). Parallel crossover movements of right arm and right leg result in an emphatic twist to the body, countered by the turn of the head in the opposite direction. As the right arm turns while reaching for the sword, the elbow protrudes beneath the mail covering and the upper arm muscles bulge. The right hand curls around the hilt in an exaggerated reverse twist. The left hand's hold on the scabbard is so strong that the entire arm tenses with effort. The lower body's strength is equally apparent. The figure's upward tilt displays the mass of the upper thigh, which is articulated by the surcoat's folds. The garment's split skirt reveals the swell of the inner thighs and the bulge of the knee. As the right leg crosses and rests on the left, the pressure pushes the calf muscle out before the leg tapers to the ankle. Of all military effigies this figure is deservedly among the most admired; its appeal lies in sheer physical impact.



Figure 13. Effigy of a knight (ca. 1260), left side; Dorchester, Oxon, Dorchester Abbey. (Photo: author.)

Earlier this essay suggested that English thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century military effigies are visually constructed in opposition to effigies of females and other males and that this difference pertains to corporeal spectacle. But what effigies do not have some corporeal presence? After all, each commemorates a once-living body by displaying its image as a three-dimensional representation with its own materiality. But in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century England only military effigies made the mass of the body, and especially its legs, visible. Female effigies tend to hide the lower body under heavy masses of drapery. A mid thirteenth-century female effigy from Worcester Cathedral (Fig. 14) displays heavy drapery whose fluted folds obscure any sense of the underlying anatomy.³⁹ What is true at Worcester holds for all other female effigies. Although the particular drapery styles differ from figure to figure, they all camouflage rather than define the lower body. Similarly, male figures besides knights exhibit no greater display of the body than do female effigies. Archbishop de Gray's figure (Fig. 15) hides beneath full, heavy vestments; only his head, lower arms, and feet imply a body underneath. The body underneath Bishop de Blois' vestments is merely suggested by two tubular protrusions representing his legs beneath the carved fabric; otherwise, his figure is shallow and planar. Male civilians



Figure 14. Effigy of a lady (mid 13th c.); Worcester, Worcester Cathedral. (Photo: author.)

fare no better in the physique department; even kings lack the physicality of the knights. In their effigies King John's body (Fig. 16) has substantial bulk but no real definition, and Henry III (Fig. 3) is positively anorexic.

When considered as a totality, the knightly effigies of England demonstrate a visual construction that sets knights apart as one group over and against all others, regardless of gender. The knights' bodies are revealed and well-defined; they are robust, well-muscled, and powerful. In all other effigies the bodies are concealed, hidden away, obscured. In fact, in many figures the drapery itself acts as the effigy's body. Costume contributes to this contrast: the knight's armor defines and displays parts of the body not visible in other figures. Their very perceptibility foregrounds the knight's legs as a locus of difference.⁴⁰ In other words, when viewed from the corporeal perspective, rather than sexual difference—male or female—these effigies construct corporeal difference, bodily display or concealment, a difference that transcends biological sex and gender.

In England's medieval effigies corporeal difference cuts across gender but obeys social lines, thereby undermining the primacy of the former category. Judith Butler has recently argued against the priority and stability of gender in more recent cultural



Figure 15. Effigy attributed to Archbishop de Gray (ca. 1255); York, York Minster. (Photo: Evelyn Lane.)



Figure 16. Effigy identified as King John (ca. 1240); Worcester, Worcester Cathedral. (Photo: author.)

production. In her “performative” model, gender, race, and class are constructed through iteration: repeated cultural practices that naturalize some identities and de-naturalize others.⁴¹ Bodies are also not essential but are produced (Butler uses the term “materialized”) through the performance of gender, race, class, and so forth. In other words, like sex and gender, bodies do not have a prior and autonomous existence on which identity categories are grafted but only become bodies through the naturalization of those categories. As Butler observes in her analysis of the film, “Paris is Burning,” the character of a Latina transvestite, Venus Xtravaganza, demonstrates the inextricable connection between sexual and social modalities:

And it would not be enough to claim that for Venus gender is *marked by* [sic] race and class, for gender is not the substance or primary substrate and race and class the qualifying attributes. In this instance, gender is the vehicle for the phantasmic transformation of that nexus of race and class, the site of its articulation.⁴²

Here Butler argues that Venus does not desire to be simply a “real” woman, but a white, middle-class woman, a creature she perceives as powerful and privileged. Venus is ultimately murdered by one of her clients. Butler suggests that Venus’ death

is the result of a failure of her body to be materialized sufficiently through the vectors of gender, race, and class.⁴³

Both Butler's denial of any essentialism in the order of gender, race, and class and her notion of the performativity of all these modalities have application to England's knightly effigies. In these figures the body of the knight is materialized through its physical display, its corporeal dimension, and its opposition to the de-corporealized bodies of non-knightly others. In addition, mail signifies the knight's social function, his class, so to speak, and works to set his body apart from all others, including others of the same sex. Corporeality is performed repeatedly within each knightly figure in the visible play of the musculature and the dynamic motion of crossing legs, which highlights that musculature.

Medieval effigies' problematizing of the sex/gender/social relationship through the opposition between one class of male and others has its parallel in medieval literature. Simon Gaunt has recently identified such complicated gender politics in the twelfth-century *chanson de geste*. He discusses a dynamic monologic masculinity, a gender identity that is forged strictly with reference to the aristocratic masculine world of the battlefield in which women play little or no role.⁴⁴ Thus epics such as *Chanson de Roland*, *Ami et Amile*, and *Raoul de Cambrai* centralize the relationship between men, whether for good or ill, and exclude women from the value system of the story except as supporters or critics of the ideal of male solidarity.⁴⁵ Furthermore, according to Gaunt, these tales argue for a knightly ideal that is set in opposition to kingly behavior.⁴⁶ *Raoul de Cambrai*, for example, is wrongfully deprived of his lands by his uncle, King Louis, and is later compensated for this loss by other land that the king takes away from its rightful heirs. The king's actions lead to much bloodshed and the eventual destruction of Paris. *Daurel et Beton* portrays Charlemagne as corrupt and greedy in that he supports a traitor and murderer against the testimony of his own sister, who divines that he has done this for money.

Gaunt proposes that the discord between knight and king, which fuels the epic's narrative in the two cases cited above, responds to a historical situation in which the nobility saw the king's political power growing at the expense of its own.⁴⁷ To detail the evolution of medieval royal centralization is beyond the scope of this essay, but a brief account of the process in England suggests reasons that English magnates and lesser knights may have contested royal authority. After the Conquest, William of Normandy forced much of the Saxon nobility to forfeit their lands to him as punishment for their rebellion and then parceled out this territory to his Anglo-Norman followers as his tenants-in-chief.⁴⁸ These magnates in turn granted these territories to their followers, the *mesne* or lesser lords, in the process of subinfeudation. This ensured the theoretical subservience of most landholding elites to the crown. Royal

domination continued under the Conqueror's successors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries until it was checked in the reign of King John by baronial intransigence.⁴⁹ Under Henry III English barons continued to oppose royal endeavors, breaking out in open rebellion in 1258. Through his campaigns against the Welsh, Edward I gave the English crown enormous prestige, but the extreme financial demands levied to support his wars against France and Scotland caused considerable baronial hostility. His successor, Edward II, inherited his father's problems with the magnates, a state he exacerbated by his relationship with Piers Gavaston, his defeat by the Scots at Bannockburn in 1314, and his dependence upon the Despensers. England was brought to the brink of civil war, and Edward was murdered in 1327. All in all, from the twelfth into the fourteenth century relations between the English kings and barons were unstable and often antagonistic.

Like his literary image the visual representation of the knight may articulate the tension between knighthood's elite and the English king evident in their turbulent interaction in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England. Raoul de Cambrai, the virtuous and brave knight of epic, is contrasted with Louis, the wicked or corrupt king; similarly, the active and muscular Dorchester knight is opposed to the passive and frail Henry III, whose muscles are undetectable. The parallel between what Gaunt has articulated in medieval epic and what I have observed in the effigies is more structural than specific. In both, the knight is set against a member of another male social group, the king, in a relation of opposites. The terms of opposition differ, however; the epic sets virtuous behavior against injustice, whereas the effigies contrast corporeal revelation to its concealment.

Despite their differences there are specific parallels between the knight's literary image and his visual representation. Epics dwell on the knight's physical prowess as expressed on the battlefield almost to the point of absurdity. The legendary Roland spends most of the poem named for him vigorously cleaving various enemies in two. His companions likewise dispatch opponents with much effort and gore, and one of them, Ansei, even tosses bodies around like beachballs. In the *Song of William*, knights spend their time lopping off rivals' body parts, leaving behind a gruesome trail of blood. In all these accounts knights are portrayed as athletic and strong enough to perform the most strenuous feats of arms. Military effigies also stress physical strength and action. The powerful body of the Burton Coggles effigy and its dynamic sword-pulling gesture recall Roland's battlefield exploits:

Now through the battlefield Count Roland rides.
He grasps good Durendal which carves and cuts
so sharp and deep, he slaughters Saracens.
Had you but seen him as he tossed them dead,

corpse upon corpse and the bright pools of blood
lie gleaming on the ground!⁵⁰

In contrast to the epic, according to Gaunt twelfth- and thirteenth-century romances develop a more complicated model of masculinity that places the male chivalric ideal against both feminine and other masculine models.⁵¹ Gaunt terms this model dialogic masculinity. In it ideal masculinity is exclusively heterosexual so that women, and any males who remain outside heterosexual discourse, are constructed as other.⁵² Thus in the *Roman d'Eneas* Lavine's mother tries to dissuade her daughter from marriage to Eneas by accusing him of homosexuality, a charge Lavine herself repeats later in the story. Romance tends to be more inclusive of women than is epic, in that the female characters play important roles in the narrative. They primarily function as the object of exchange between males, however, and thus as the sign and guarantee of heterosexual masculinity.

Romance's construction of masculinity in relation to females may be due to changes within political and family structures. Howard Bloch has outlined the twelfth-century realignment of aristocratic social structure from the horizontal clan to the vertical lineage.⁵³ Although both organizations were built upon male bonds, vertical descent required marriage, sexual intercourse, and the production of children to ensure its continuance. Thus the Church's attempts to regulate aristocratic marriage reinforced changes already in progress. By insisting on strict exogamy, the Church undermined the cognatic bonds that formerly held the clan together. Their place was taken by the agnatic or vertical male bonds of the lineage. Simultaneously, the aristocracy began to practice primogeniture, in which the major family holdings were transmitted to the eldest son, whereas other children received lesser allotments. Women were a more significant factor in the revised social structure, for it was only with their participation that vertical descent and the integrity of the patrimony, the new aristocratic model, could be maintained. The Church's insistence on both parties' consent to the marriage may have contributed to women's greater strategic importance in preserving the patrimony. These changes may have played a role in the greater importance of women in romance literature and led to a more complicated construction of gender in these works.⁵⁴

The relationship between armored effigies and the construction of knighthood in the romances is rather different from the figures' parallel with epic. The former literary works construct masculinity around sexual relationships with women, and any possible homoerotic bonds are neutralized. The ideal knight is he who protects his lineage through sexual congress with appropriate females. Within the corpus of effigies, however, females alone do not play the decisive role in gender and class construction. Rather, they share characteristics with other males, and it is collectively

that these figures act as a visual foil for the knight's representation. The knightly effigy's striking corporeal display sets the knight in opposition to female bodily concealment, but such corporeal negation is not exclusive to females. All heavily draped figures act as a corporate other to the knight's corporeal spectacle. Thus, the Worcester Cathedral effigy of a lady and the figure of King John share the use of heavy drapery arranged in vertical tubular folds to conceal the lower body, whereas, in the same church a mid thirteenth-century knight's figure displays the sculptural emphasis on muscular crossed legs that we have seen in other military effigies (Fig. 17). What these effigies share with romance is the inclusion of women as a major component setting off the military effigy's construction of knightly identity.

The knights' effigies' emphasis on physicality may also be responding to literary attacks on the knights' masculinity by members of the clergy. From the early twelfth century, English chroniclers railed against the perceived effeminacy of the knights of their day. The anger of Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, and John of Salisbury, among others, was directed at men who dwelt on fashion and sexual pursuits. Both behaviors suggested a willingness to be socially or sexually dominated, a weakness which, to these authors, made the knight like a woman.⁵⁵ The "real man," according to Orderic, was the knight of old who wore decent clothes well-fitted to the body and who displayed a skill at horsemanship and physical endeavors, making him appropriately suited for any strenuous undertaking.⁵⁶ William of Malmesbury criticized the young men of the court for looking to a feminine model of behavior. He attacked their mincing gait, loose gestures, and semi-nakedness as rivaling the deportment of women.⁵⁷ In other words the ideal male was the active knight, not the effeminate courtier. The distinction between the vigorous warrior of former times and the courtly dandy of the present was still current in the late fourteenth century, to judge by *The Canterbury Tales*. In the General Prologue Chaucer emphasizes the Knight's military skill and crusading exploits but dwells almost exclusively on the fondness for fashionable attire, music-making, and dancing of the Squire, his son.⁵⁸

The divisions between effigy groups considered earlier resonate with medieval literary evidence of estrangement or opposition between knights and representatives of other social and sexual categories. In examining the corpus of English thirteenth- and fourteenth-century effigies, I have noted the existence of two distinct types. One group, kings, clerics, and females, is associated with one another through costume and pose. All wear similar lengthy, heavy robes that conceal the lower portions of their bodies and suggest that the legs are of little importance in the figure's signification. The straight-legged pose common to this group also neutralizes the legs' potential for movement and action. The second group, the knights, is distinguished by the wearing of mail that articulates the legs. In addition to highlighting the legs, the



Figure 17. Effigy of a knight (ca. 1260); Worcester, Worcester Cathedral. (Photo: author.)

cross-legged pose shared by the majority of these figures presents the lower limbs as especially powerful and active. The Rippingale effigy's right leg as it surges through the split surcoat and balances on its left companion energizes the entire figure despite the serenity suggested by the hands folded in prayer. Such a visual presentation resonates with the construction of knighthood in epic with its emphasis on male bonding on the battlefield and ferocious deeds of war. Even more, the physicality of the cross-legged knights counters the clerical charges of effeminacy while corresponding to the same group's depiction of the ideal knight as a man of action ready for any bold physical endeavor.

The misogynistic tenor of medieval culture is well known: women were routinely attacked as "daughters of Eve" and subject to cultural mechanisms for their regulation and disempowerment. Rather than rehearsing this well-analyzed topic, this essay aims at articulating the intersection of gender with class as suggested by the distinctions set up in the effigies. We have already seen evidence in epic and romance of a rupture between royal and knightly figures; likewise, in the effigies knights are clearly distinguished from kings, evidencing an estrangement between the two. Clerical attacks on contemporary knighthood for its effeminacy suggest that, on occasion, relations between those who fought and those who prayed were also tense. Since clerics accused the warriors of a greater fondness for court life than for military action, it is something of a paradox that they also consistently condemned the tournament, knighthood's favorite forum for the displays of military and physical prowess.⁵⁹ The Church's opposition took official form in the Second Council of Clermont in 1130. Clerical hostility to tourneying persisted throughout the thirteenth century; for example, preachers such as Caesarius of Heisterbach told stories of knights condemned to damnation for their participation in tournaments.⁶⁰ The English clerical chronicler Matthew Paris recounted the legend of a dead knight who was briefly resuscitated so that he might warn his brother of the spiritual dangers of tourneying.⁶¹ The Church denounced tournaments for their encouragement of violence, disorder, and waste. Since tournaments were extraordinarily popular occasions for displays of physical skill and material wealth, especially in England, ecclesiastical disapprobation could only alienate knights from clerics. Again the effigies bear witness to a perception of difference between the two classes of male. The cross-legged knight's effigy foregrounds the physical potential of the body, a power celebrated in the tournament, whereas the clerical effigy, like that of the king and of the female, conceals the body's presence. It is interesting in this regard to note, as does Hurtig, that English military effigies avoided the liturgical tradition associated with ecclesiastical and royal effigies—hands folded in prayer and angels flanking the head—until the end of the thirteenth century.⁶²

Conclusion

This study has examined explanations for the puzzling cross-legged pose in English military effigies; unlike the attitude's frequent accompaniment, sword-handling, intersecting lower limbs have no logical connection to the knightly role. Earlier scholarship proposed three interpretations for the cross-legged knight: the pose denoted a crusader, it signified one of high social status, or it imparted greater naturalism to the recumbent figure. For the most part I have concurred in these explanations, although I have offered a significant modification to the crusader theory.

My other interest in the cross-legged pose has been to explore its role in the signifying strategies adopted by the effigies of knights in response to cultural concerns with gender differentiation and social function. As we have seen, in these effigies biological sex is not the sole determinant of gender; furthermore, gender articulation is not primary but is rather interrelated with vocational representation. Both aspects are articulated by the degree to which figures display the body: is it revealed or hidden? is it active or passive? Within the corporeal regime the presence or absence of legs acts as a primary signifier: knights show them, sometimes with a vengeance, others do not. The effigies suggest that English knights in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries privileged the powerful and revealed body as the ultimate elite sign. Measured against a corporeal standard, the concealed physiques of kings and bishops rendered them womanlike, whereas the knight's body sought to counteract any such threat through extreme physicality. The aggressive pose and the formal composition of arms crossing the chest and/or legs overlapping served to negate the passivity of recumbency or the vulnerability of the knight's revealing costume. But that very dress also underscored the knight's social role and showcased his powerful physique. Ultimately, in the military effigies of England the dual discourses of gender and vocation converge to construct a fragile masculine ideal.

NOTES

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1. Harry A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 135–43.

2. For the most recent work on this effigy, attributed to Sir Richard de Stapledon, see Richard Marks, "Sir Geoffrey Luttrell and Some Companions: Images of Chivalry c. 1320–50," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 (1993–94): 343–55.

3. Judith Hurtig, *The Armored Gisant Before 1400* (New York: Garland, 1979). Two other major sources for these figures are Henriette s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954); and Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild: figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1976).

4. Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 118–19, identifies the workshop most responsible for cross-legged knights' figures as that associated with the Wells façade sculpture. It was this group that produced the Longespée effigy in the 1230s, and moved on to Bristol from where they would disseminate cross-legged figures throughout Britain. The dating of all these figures is fairly uncertain. Edward Prior and Arthur Gardner use material and stylistic criteria, but their dating has been extensively revised by Hurtig and Tummers; see Edward Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 553–69. For early attempts at dating and identification see John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), reissued in the series *The English Experience*, no. 961 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1979), 442–43. Knights' effigies are frequently mentioned as well in English county histories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These publications are mainly interested in heraldry and lineage and tend to attribute the almost wholly undocumented effigies to local lords of the manor in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although such attributions may be accurate in a number of cases, the sources for such identifications are often cited merely as "tradition"; therefore, these conclusions must be treated very carefully. On the topic of heraldry and identification and for a case study see Philip Lankester, "Two Lost Effigial Monuments in Yorkshire and the Evidence of Church Notes," *Church Monuments* 8 (1993): 25–27.

5. For the effigy traditionally identified as Robert, duke of Normandy, see Ida Roper, *The Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol* (Gloucester: H. Osborne, 1931), 231–36. Roper states that the figure was broken into pieces during the 1643 siege of Gloucester, sold to Sir Humphrey Tracy as a garden ornament, and only reassembled at the Restoration. The sword is now gone and the figure has been repainted. The most recent work on the Dorchester Abbey figure is Philip Lankester, "A Military Effigy in Dorchester Abbey, Oxon.," *Oxoniensa* 52 (1987): 145–72.

6. For the effigy at Abbey Dore see Alfred Cooper Fryer, "Monumental Effigies Made by Bristol Craftsmen, 1240–1550," *Archaeologia* 70 (1923–24): 63; and Aron Andersson, *English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in Wood, 1220–70* (Stockholm: Wahlstrom and Widstrand, 1950), 52–53. For the Lord Mayor's Chapel see Fryer, 37–38; Roper, *Monumental Effigies*, 46–49; and Andersson, 51. For Draycott-in-the-Moors see S. A. Jeavons, "The Monumental Effigies of Staffordshire," *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society* 60 (1951): 24. For Rip-pingale see John Monson, ed., *Lincolnshire Church Notes Made by William John Burton Monson 1828–1840* (Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1934), 302. For Southwark see A. C. Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales* (London: E. Stock, 1924), 104.

7. Gerald Leigh and John Stow were among the earliest to make this connection. Cited in Edward Richardson, *The Monumental Effigies of the Temple Church with an Account of their Restoration in the Year 1842* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843), 10; and *Stow's Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, intro. Henry Benjamin Wheatley (London: J. M. Dent., 1960), 357–58. The Temple Church effigies have sparked a great deal of interest over the past four centuries. For the whole of this period they have been associated with members of the famous Marshal

family, whose patriarch, William, was the king's marshal, and who died ca. 1219. See *Stow's Survey*; William Burton, *Description of Leicestershire* (London, 1622); and Henry Lawrence, *Heraldry from Military Monuments Before 1350 in England and Wales* (London: Harleian Society, 1946), 51. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, 19, acknowledges the weight of tradition concerning this identification. The restoration of the Temple Church effigies by Edward Richardson in 1842 is also of interest; see Richardson, *Monumental Effigies of the Temple Church*, 10–15, where the author repeats the traditional identifications and summarizes the major antiquarians who described the figures and their original positions within the church. See also Charles Greenstreet Addison, *The Temple Church* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1843); and Katherine Ada Esdaile, *Temple Church Monuments* (London: George Barber and Sons, 1933).

8. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 56.

9. Matthew Bloxam, "On Certain Sepulchral, Crossed-legged Effigies of Civilians," *Archaeological Journal* 33 (1876): 235–38.

10. See André Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Paris: A. Colin, 1906), 210; Dagobert Frey, *Englisches Wesen in der bildenen Kunst* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1942), 111 and 452 n. 32; François Garnier, *Le Langage de l'image au moyen âge: Signification et symbolique* (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1982), 229; and s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism*, 21–22.

11. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 100.

12. Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 126–28.

13. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, 124.

14. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, 124.

15. Simon D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Christopher Tyerman, "Some English Evidence of Attitudes to Crusading in the Thirteenth Century," *Thirteenth Century England I, Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1985*, ed. Peter R. Coss and Simon D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986): 168–69; and Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

16. Peter Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England 1000–1400* (Stroud, Glos.: Alan Sutton, 1993), 57–58.

17. Sten Lundwall, "The Knights with Crossed Legs," *Formae* (1960): 99.

18. Lundwall, "The Knights with Crossed Legs," 100.

19. Vern L. Bullough, "On Being Male in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 31–33.

20. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 8.
21. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 31–32.
22. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 25–26.
23. Cited in Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, 1988), 36.
24. Jaquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine*, 37.
25. Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 171.
26. Jacquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine*, 50, 59–60; Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 35–36; and Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, 171–73. Milk and sweat were also considered to be differently refined blood.
27. Jacquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine*, 59; and Lacquer, *Making Sex*, 41. Medieval authors favored Galen's notion of female seed over Aristotle's denial of the same. In an attempt to reconcile these two conflicting positions, authors such as Giles of Rome and Albert the Great held that the male's seed alone imparts life and spirit to the fetus, whereas the female's seed is negligible. The confusion was compounded by Hippocrates's claim that the sex of the fetus was determined by which seed was stronger, male or female. See Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 39.
28. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 8.
29. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 28.
30. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference*, 172.
31. Bullough, "On Being Male," 32.
32. Gary Ferguson, "Symbolic Sexual Inversion and the Construction of Courtly Manhood in Two French Romances," *Arthurian Yearbook* 3 (1993): 203.
33. Ferguson, "Symbolic Sexual Inversion," 204.
34. Lorraine Stock, "The Importance of Being Gender 'Stable': Masculinity and Feminine Empowerment in *Le Roman de Silence*," *Arthuriana* 7 (1997): 9–16.
35. Hurtig, *Armored Gisani*, 112 dates the figure ca. 1240 by comparison with the Wells façade. Tummers (*Early Secular Effigies*, 79) dates it 1230–1240, also comparing it to the Wells sculpture.
36. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, 141. This effigy is unusual in that its hands are not folded in prayer, nor are they handling sword and scabbard, but the right hand holds a hunting horn. Various explanations have been offered for this feature. For example, Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, 21, believed the patron was a forest ranger, one of the common duties of a knight of the shire in England;

Mathew Bloxam ("On the Effigy of a Knight, with a Horn, in Pershore Abbey Church, Worcestershire," *Archaeological Journal* 20 [1863]: 161) believed the effigy represented a knight who held lands by cornage-tenure, knights-service and who used the horn to warn of invasion in the Scottish marshes. The effigy is now broken off immediately below the knees. Thomas Habington, writing in the seventeenth century, claimed that the effigy came equipped with a hare at its feet and a serpent biting the lowest edge of its shield. He also referred to an inscription: *M. C. bis bino triplex x addere quarto Anno Wilielmus Domini Newton fuit Abbas*. He does not say where on the effigy the inscription was located. See John Amphlett, ed., *A Survey of Worcestershire by Thomas Habington*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Worcestershire Historical Society, 1895–97), 2, pt. 2: 242.

37. Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies*, 35. There have been several different suggestions as to the identity of the effigies. Frederick Chancellor reports that they have been thought to represent either members of the St. Clere family or the Darcys, both local landholders in the Middle Ages. Chancellor favors the St. Cleres as they were the local landholders in the late thirteenth century, when these figures were most likely produced. See *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex. A Record of Interesting Tombs in Essex Churches, and some Account of the Persons and Families Connected with Them* (London: Chelmsford, 1890), 101–3.

38. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, 98. The Dorchester knight is frequently illustrated in texts dealing with the English medieval art of tomb sculpture because it is the most dramatic example of the military effigy; yet, outside of Lankester ("Military Effigy"), the figure does not seem to have received a great deal of individual analysis.

39. Matthew Bloxam, "The Sepulchral Remains and Effigies in the Cathedral Church of Worcester," *The Archaeological Journal* 20 (1863): 347–48.

40. Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1995), 33.

41. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 2.

42. Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 130.

43. Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 133.

44. Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 22–26.

45. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, 62–63. The author notes that others have articulated the role of women in the *chanson* to that of critic of the dominant male ideology as well as object of exchange. Gaunt points out that these female critics are frequently ignored or suppressed, sometimes violently, so that the criticism lacks any impact (64). See Sarah Kay, "Compagnonnage, désordre social et hétéro-textualité dans 'Daurel et Beton,'" in *Actes du XIe congrès international de la Société Rencesvals*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1990), 1:352–67; "Investing the Wild: Women's Beliefs in the *Chansons de Geste*," *Paragraph* 13 (1990): 147–63; and "La Composition de Raoul de Cambrai," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 62 (1984): lxxi.

46. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, 42–43.

47. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, cites Erich Kohler and others' observations on the strengthening of the monarchy at the expense of the lesser nobility in explanation for the tension between knights and kings in *chansons*. See Kohler, "Quelques observations d'ordre historico-sociologique sur les rapports entre la chanson de geste et le roman courtois," in *Chanson de geste und hofischer Roman: Heidelberger Kolloquium 30. Januar 1961* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1963), 21–30; and *L'aventure chevaleresque: Idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois*, trans. Eliane Kaufholz (Paris: Gallimard, 1974). Gaunt also cites R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) and *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983); D. Boutet, "Les Chansons de geste et l'affermissement du pouvoir royal (1100–1250)," *Annales E. S. C.* 37 (1982): 3–14; Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 293–307; Albert Gérard, "L'Axe Roland-Ganelon: valeurs en conflit dans la *Chanson de Roland*," *Le Moyen Age* 75 (1969): 452–65; Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 101–19; Tony Hunt, "The Emergence of the Knight in France and England 1000–1200," in *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, ed. W. H. Jackson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1981); and Judith Kellogg, *Medieval Artistry and Exchange: Economic Institutions and Literary Form in Old French Narrative* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 88–91.

48. John Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 65–66.

49. The bibliography about English rulers from John through Edward III is too extensive to cite here. Good, succinct summaries of their reigns can be found in *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel T. Rosenthal (New York: Garland, 1998). See also prefacing sections of the catalog accompanying the "Age of Chivalry" exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts: *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Art in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987). More specialized and recent studies can be found in the bibliography of Michael Prestwich's books on Edward I and on English medieval military history. See *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980); *Edward I*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 375–86.

50. *The Song of Roland*, trans. Janet Shirley (Felfinbach: Llanerch Publishers, 1996), laisse 105.

51. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, 22–23.

52. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, 71–74, 78–79, 80–84.

53. Bloch's discussion is found in "Kinship," the second chapter of *Etymologies and Genealogies*, 65–91. Bloch bases much of his discussion on Georges Duby, *La Société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1953).

54. Christopher Baswell has brought together the themes of political and lineal concerns in a study of the *Roman d'Eneas*; see "Men in the *Roman d'Eneas*: the Construction of Empire," in *Medieval Masculinities*, 149–68.

55. Susan Shapiro, "Sex, Gender, and Fashion in Medieval and Early Modern Britain," *Journal of Popular Culture* (Spring 1987): 114–15.

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56. Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80), 4:189.

57. William of Malmesbury, *The History of the Kings of England*, trans. John Sharpe (London: Seeleys, 1854), 278–79.

58. General Prologue, *Canterbury Tales*, lines 43–100; ed. Larry D. Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). I am grateful to Richard K. Emmerson for reminding me of this passage from Chaucer.

59. Peter Coss points to the tournament as an increasingly important component of chivalric culture from the thirteenth century on. Within the tourneying milieu lavish display was almost imperative as evidence of wealth and power. See *The Knight in Medieval England 1000–1400*, 120. See also Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), 162–66; and Richard Barber and Judith Vale, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989).

60. Barber, *Knight and Chivalry*, 375.

61. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 95. At the same time Matthew Paris produced some of the earliest visual records of the heraldry associated with tourneying in his chronicles of the 1240s and 1250s. He filled the margins of his text with shields bearing the arms of those referred to in the text. See Anthony R. Wagner et al., eds., *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms Henry III* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1967). For a brief discussion of Mathew's interest in tournaments and heraldry see Coss, *Knight in Medieval England*, 73–76. The English royal response to tourneying was as ambivalent as that of Matthew Paris. The attitude of kings towards the chivalric spectacle seemed determined by the amount of political unrest at the time. Richard I recognized that the tournament could function as an effective training ground for knights but also acknowledged its potential for destruction. In order to reap its benefits and avoid its problems, in 1194 he licensed five places in England as the only legitimate tournament sites: between Salisbury and Wilton, Warwick and Kenilworth, Stamford and Warinford, Brackley and Mixbury, and Blyth and Tickhill. Knights had to obtain a license to participate and, of course, pay a fee. Non-English knights were excluded from tourneying in England, because Richard hoped to avoid political rivalries breaking out into warfare. In Henry III's reign tournaments were forbidden during his minority, during the struggle with the French, and in the turbulent period leading to Simon de Montfort's rebellion. Even Edward I, who was a passionate participant in tournaments, tried to suppress them during his Gascoigne, Welsh, and Scottish campaigns in the 1290s. See Barber, *Knight and Chivalry*, 162–64; Coss, *Knight in Medieval England*, 53–56; and Keen, *Chivalry*, 96–97.

62. Hurtig, *Armored Gisant*, 115, 138–51.

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