

LE VICE ITALIEN: PHILIPPE D'ORLÉANS
AND
CONSTRUCTING THE SODOMITE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE
by
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Abstract

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In seventeenth-century France, sexual acts among men did not correspond to modern notions of “homosexuality,” which developed during the nineteenth century. Instead, biblical and civil law designated such acts as “sodomy,” which was cast as an Italian vice and did not constitute a sexual identity. The sexual practices of sodomites might involve only men, or they might also involve women, and the ways in which those acts were linked to stereotypes of masculinity, femininity, and effeminacy changed over the course of the century. Across a continuum ranging from non-sexual homosociality to sodomy, the performance of masculinity was grounded in dynastic imperatives and the display of armed prowess rather than sexuality. During the early part of the century, Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1621–86) and Louis XIII followed in a tradition of warrior sodomites extending back to Greco-Roman and Judaic culture, but by the end of the century, due to the rise of salon and court civility, which required new ways of performing masculinity off the battlefield, the sodomite had become associated with the degraded *efféminé*. Philippe de France, duc d’Orléans (1640–1701), only brother of Louis XIV and known at court as Monsieur, is an emblematic figure in this shift. To explore the construction of the sodomite in seventeenth century France, theoretical matters of terminology, including the meaning of “sodomie” and “sodomite” are discussed first; then the evolution of the sodomite from warrior to *efféminé* is traced over the course of the century via the civilizing process through which warriors became courtiers; next, how Monsieur’s image as a warrior functioned within dynastically-oriented discourse is established; and finally, it is shown how, through the manipulation of Monsieur’s natural *inclinations* for warring and effeminacy (associated in his case with cross-dressing) by Mazarin, Anne d’Autriche, and Louis XIV, his identity as a masculine warrior was sacrificed in favor of his role as *efféminé* in response to dynastic demands.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

Sodomy and Homosexuality: Acts and Identities

SODOMIE, *s.f.* Péché de la chair contre nature qui a été apellé de la sorte, de la ville de Sodome qui périt par le feu à cause de cet exécration péché. La *sodomie* est un péché que tout homme qui a une goutte de bon sens doit abhorrer. Il n’y a que les coquins à bruler qui commettent des Sodomies.

— Pierre Richelet (1626–98), *Dictionnaire françois* (1680)¹

According to the first published French dictionary definition, “sodomie” is a sin of the flesh that is contrary to nature and named for the biblical city of Sodom, which was destroyed by fire for its sinful practice. Thus those senseless enough not to abhor the sin and to follow Sodom’s example should also be burned, and apparently not for one particular sin, but for a class of acts, “Sodomies,” which Richelet capitalizes as a proper noun, perhaps to emphasize the association with Sodom.² Richelet avoids naming the practices that constitute sodomy (as do most pre-modern sources) or those “coquins” without “une goutte de bon sens” who might practice it. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of sodomy and sodomites provide a wide range of sometimes contradictory descriptions, four of which recur frequently, and which I will discuss: it was proper to Italy; it might be learned by anyone; it is a contagious corruption inherent in the blood of certain people; and it is an ordinary activity for some, but not others. Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. explain how the term “sodomy” could be used to describe a wide range of sexual practices in a broad spectrum of contexts extending beyond the religious context of the sin described by Richelet:

Early modern French theologians, jurists, and doctors characterized sodomy as an offense against God, law, and nature. They commonly applied the word to a variety of non-procreative sexual acts including masturbation, bestiality, homosexual or heterosexual oral or anal intercourse, and vaginal penetration of one woman by another through use of an enlarged clitoris or phallic substitute. . . . they described this kind of misconduct largely as a male problem and added only cursory remarks about women.³

This definition of sodomy, which is based on a group of primary sources, is a useful summary of the acts that were designated by the notion of sodomy, but it is problematic in its terminology because it uses terms (“homosexual” and “heterosexual”) that did not exist in pre-modern France. These terms designate categories of people that arguably also did not exist, and they define a modern sexuality binary that is difficult to apply to the historical notion of sodomy. Awareness of taxonomy is fundamental in discussing the sexual practices of periods before the mid-nineteenth century because it is inseparable from the question of whether groups of people designated by the modern terms “homosexual” and “heterosexual” existed before the nineteenth century, a concern that has fueled heated debate among scholars for almost forty years.

Modern theories of sexuality may be broadly categorized according to two opposing viewpoints: the theory of acts (nominalism or constructivism), of which Michel Foucault (1926–84) is usually considered to be the founding representative, and the theory of sexual identity (which is essentialist, transhistorical, and supports the notion of “gay history”) espoused by John Boswell (1947–94). In response to difficulties inherent in each of these approaches, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1950–2009) sought to shift focus away from the apparently irresolvable nominalist/essentialist argument and to define the notions of minoritizing and universalizing discourse.⁴ David M. Halperin, who criticizes Sedgwick’s lack of historical awareness, asserts that Foucault has been misinterpreted, and Halperin developed premodern categories of “prehomosexuals,” which, despite his claim to the contrary, are similar to modern notions of identity by his assertion that certain types of people were identifiable through stereotypical behavior reflecting sexual practices.⁵ The French stereotype of sodomy as “le vice Italien” reveals that neither the nominalist nor the essentialist theory is applicable to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France where the notion that sexual acts were linked to a sexual identity did not exist. I would argue that early modern sodomites engage in

acts of sodomy because of what I, based on early modern evidence, term *inclination*, something with which sodomites may be born. This concept, which I will discuss in detail below, is not an identity, but it accounts for preferences and proclivities, including that for sodomy.

Foucault's nominalism has usually been viewed as grounded in his observation that the notion of "homosexuality" is not a universal applicable to all historical periods. He bases this assertion on the fact that the term "homosexual" was not coined until 1868 by Karl Maria Kertbeny (1824–82), who used it to describe sexual acts among those of the same biological sex, which he cast as abnormal.⁶ This is a then medicalized notion developed during the nineteenth century. However, in many pre-modern societies, including Greco-Roman cultures,⁷ and even in Christian contexts, such as Renaissance Florence,⁸ sexual acts among men were not considered abnormal but amoral based on biblical proscriptions. Thus it was the sodomite's acts, not some essential aspect of him as an individual, that were condemned in religious and moralizing discourses. The homosexual, on the other hand, was defined through the psychological traits that supposedly determined his desire to engage in sexual acts with other men, thereby creating a class of people with a distinct psychology that purportedly defined character. The contrast between acts and identities, pre-modern and modern, is what grounds what many commentators have claimed is Foucault's most important assertion regarding the distinction between sodomy and homosexuality:

La sodomie — celle des anciens droits civil ou canonique — était un type d'actes interdits; leur auteur n'en était que le sujet juridique. L'homosexuel au XIXe siècle est devenu un personnage: un passé, une histoire et une enfance, un caractère, une forme de vie; une morphologie aussi, avec une anatomie indiscreète et peut-être une physiologie mystérieuse. Rien de ce qu'il est au total n'échappe à sa sexualité. . . . Le sodomite était un relaps, l'homosexuel est maintenant une espèce. 9

As Foucault explains,¹⁰ a sodomite is someone who commits acts of sodomy (what Richelet calls "Sodomies"), but those acts do not have any further implications regarding what Americans today

call his “identity.” Lynne Huffer makes the critical observation that in this passage Foucault never uses the word “identité,” which does not align with his terminology or its meaning:

Like most of his French compatriots, Foucault saw identity, in its personal or political meanings, as a specifically American obsession. In the passage, he uses the words *individus* (individuals), *personnage* (character), and *figure* (figure) to name a phenomenon of emergence that Anglo-American readers have interpreted, again and again, as identity. And while an *individual*—a single human being—could have the personality or specific traits that, together, we sometimes call identity, this is not necessarily the case. . . . *identity* means not only a general sense of identification with sameness (from the Latin *idem*) in one’s relation to oneself or to others; it also includes, more importantly, the connotations of group belonging or affiliation associated with American identity politics. ¹¹

In other words, it is dangerous to draw the Anglo-American notion of identity and its related political implications into Foucault’s observations on the nineteenth-century idea of the homosexual. Here Foucault is emphasizing differences between pre-modern and modern approaches to classifying sexual behaviors, and he does not posit that the notion of identity is associated with either of them. Before the nineteenth century, the sodomite was defined in religious and juridical terms (since Judeo-Christian religious traditions, the basis of Western law,¹² was the source of sodomy’s condemnation) as a “relaps,” which during both the seventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries is defined as someone who has fallen into heresy.¹³ In the medicalized nineteenth-century view, the homosexual was thought to be something different from the sodomite. No longer defined in religious terms, the homosexual, as Foucault emphasizes, was an “espèce” (“species”), a notion that evokes the period’s evolving taxonomy for systems of classifying plants and animals.

Thus, in theory, although a sodomite is only a sodomite when he commits sodomy, a homosexual is a homosexual whether or not he engages in sexual acts with other men. Boswell summarizes the nominalist (constructionist) approach rooted in Foucault’s theory of acts:

Nominalists . . . in the matter [of naming sexualities] aver that categories of sexual preference and behavior are created by humans and human societies. Whatever reality they have is the consequence of the power they exert in those societies and the socialization processes that make them seem real to persons influenced by them. People consider themselves

“homosexual” or “heterosexual” because they are induced to believe that humans are either “homosexual” or “heterosexual.” Left to their own devices, without such processes of socialization, people would simply be sexual. The category “heterosexuality,” in other words, does not so much describe a pattern of behavior inherent in human beings as it creates and establishes it. ⁴₁

This explanation of nominalism does not really match important aspects of Foucault’s theory of sexuality. Since “processes of socialization” are inherent in all human cultures, there is no possibility for people to be “left to their own devices” and thus “simply be sexual,” an assertion that does not take into account Foucauldian notions of power-knowledge that leave little room for agency. ⁵₁

Indeed, in Foucault’s writings, “sexual” is an ideological term that is no less constructed than “sodomite” and “homosexual.” Sexual acts necessarily fall into the categories available in the social and cultural (epistemological) structures in which they are performed. Foucault’s observation that there were no “homosexuals” before the nineteenth century does not mean that acts were “simply” sexual without categories, such as “sodomy,” but, as Boswell emphasizes, in the nominalist view, sexuality itself did not involve a set of categories, and thus there were no labels for types of sexuality, such as “homosexual.” However, there are other ways in which Boswell’s view of nominalism conflicts with Foucault’s theory. Whereas Foucault asserts that the name defines the group and imposes its classification, Boswell views nominalism as claiming that identities are created by people who are then “induced” to believe in the existence of categories and conform their behavior to the patterns established to define that particular group. But Foucault observes that (religious and juridical) sodomy and (medical and psychological) homosexuality are both defined (but not created) by terminology. According to Foucault, terms, such as “sodomite” and “homosexual” are a historically-contextual means of categorizing sexual acts; he does not say, as Boswell posits, that people change their behavior to conform to taxonomy.

Boswell advocates the transhistorical, essentialist notion that there has always been a “homosexual,” even a “gay,” identity¹⁶ grounded in what he asserts to be a real and universal homosexual/heterosexual binary, ignoring the absence of this binary in so many historical discourses on sodomy.¹⁷ According to Boswell, all humans have certain characteristics that establish a sexual identity, as his definition of essentialism suggests:

Realists (“essentialists”) hold that . . . Humans are, they insist, differentiated sexually. Many categories might be devised to characterize human sexual taxonomy, some more or less apt than others, but the accuracy of human perceptions does not affect reality. The heterosexual/homosexual dichotomy exists in speech and thought because it exists in reality: It was not invented by sexual taxonomists, but observed by them.⁸¹

According to Boswell’s “realist” or “essentialist” argument (which in his writings is transhistorical), the notion of homosexuality elaborated beginning in the nineteenth century (namely that there are clearly-defined groups of homosexuals and heterosexuals) was not new: the formal categories described what already existed. However, Boswell, unlike Foucault, does not attribute this to a shift in mentalities, the needs of a disciplinary regime, or even human behavior. This transhistorical approach is crucial for those, including Boswell, who seek to legitimize the notion of “gay history,” which developed during the 1970s and 80s when the gay rights movement was gaining momentum and declared that a transcultural gay minority had been excluded from canonic historical discourse.

Boswell asserts:

One of the revolutions in the study of the history of the twentieth century might be called “minority history”: the effort to recover the histories of groups previously overlooked or excluded from mainstream historiography. . . . Since the exclusion of minorities from much historiography prior to the twentieth century was related to or caused by concerns other than purely scholarly interest, their inclusion now, even for purely political ends, not only corrects a previous political distortion but also provides a more complete data base for judgments about the historical issues involved.⁹¹

In Boswell’s view, “gay history” is similar to that of other minorities and needs to be recovered in an effort to correct distortions in the historical record. However, this assertion is contestable since it is

based on the presumption that there have always been “gay” people and that throughout history they form a cohesive enough group that can be identified as an intentionally-suppressed minority.

Paradoxically, although Boswell argues for a transhistorical view of same-sex eroticism, he distinguishes between “homosexual,” which (despite its medical-psychological taxonomy observed by Foucault and inherent in its use by Kertbeny) he casts as simply meaning “same sex,” and “gay,” and which he designates as referring to a conscious self-designation:

In this study, therefore, “homosexual” — used only as an adjective — occurs either in its original sense of “all one sex” (as in “homosexual marriage”) or elliptically to mean “of predominantly homosexual erotic interest” (“a homosexual person”). “Homosexuality” refers to the general phenomenon of same-sex eroticism . . . it comprises all sexual phenomena between persons of the same gender, whether the result of conscious preference, subliminal desire, or circumstantial exigency. “Gay,” in contrast, refers to persons who are conscious of erotic inclination toward their own gender as a distinguishing characteristic or, loosely, to things associated with such people, as “gay poetry.” “Gay sexuality” refers only to eroticism associated with a conscious preference. ⁰₂

In Boswell’s identification, the gay category includes the homosexual, but the homosexual does not necessarily include the gay since it is not a “conscious preference.” Although I would argue that Boswell’s overlapping taxonomy of “homosexual” and “gay” (particularly given his emphasis on a “real” homosexual/heterosexual binary) ultimately leads to a transhistorical “gay” identification, ¹₂ Boswell avoids explicitly asserting the existence of a single homosexual or gay identity across historical and cultural boundaries. He claims to recognize different forms of same-sex eroticism, but he nonetheless argues for an underlying constant and a transhistorical notion of sexual categories, which he extends into antiquity, essentially through modern constructs of sexuality. Boswell bases his choice of a “gay” designation on what he views as current preferences:

It might also be noted that gay people appear to prefer the term “gay,” which they have chosen to apply to themselves, to “homosexual,” which was coined and popularized in the context of pathology. There can be no more justification for retaining a designation out of favor with gay people than for continuing to use “Negro” when it has ceased to be acceptable to blacks. ²₂

Although it may be useful and proper to designate a modern group of self-designated “gay” people, it would be inappropriate, following Boswell’s own argument, to apply the term to others who do not choose the same appellation for themselves and who might object to being classified as “gay” just as strongly as blacks might object to the term “Negro.” Thus, it would be equally unjustified to apply the term, or indeed any modern term, to people of the past, who are not able to reject the taxonomy assigned to them by a modern historian. For example, modern “gay history,” which proceeds from the premise of a historically-locatable minority based on sexuality, claims Alexander the Great (356–323 BC) as one of its foremost representatives.²³ However, in his own society, Alexander was identified as a king and conqueror, not as a member of any minority, and his sexual activities, which openly included men and women, were not viewed as unusual. Furthermore, it cannot be argued that Alexander the Great has ever been excluded from dominant historical discourse, and in this case, “gay history,” which, according to Boswell, seeks to “correct political distortion,” is in fact creating distortion by appropriating a canonic historical figure, marginalizing him based on sexual practices that never had any bearing on his historical renown or social stature. Boswell adamantly claims that the homosexual/heterosexual binary exists, but he acknowledges that it was not “perceived” in ancient Greece and Rome:

It is apparent that the majority of residents of the ancient world were unconscious of any such categories. This fact is disturbing. How can a dichotomy so obvious to modern society, so morally troublesome, so urgent in the lives of many individuals have been unknown in societies where homosexual behavior was even more familiar than it is today? . . . The answer to this question seems to relate less to the incidence or reality of homosexuality than to the perception of it. . . . In the ancient world so few people cared to categorize their contemporaries on the basis of the gender to which they were erotically attracted that no dichotomy to express this distinction was in common use. . . . no one thought it useful or important to distinguish on the basis of genders alone, and the categories “homosexual” and “heterosexual” simply did not intrude on the consciousness of most Greeks . . . or Romans.⁴²

Although Boswell is unsettled by the fact that this “obvious” binary is not described in antiquity, he asserts that it existed but was not something that anyone bothered to notice. This claim seems problematic given the developed classical philosophy of erotic attraction in works including those of Aristotle and Plato,²⁵ which describe a wide range of sexual practices.

The stakes are high for essentialists seeking to establish and legitimize “gay history” alongside models of other minority histories based on gender and race, and this includes Boswell: “But if the nominalists are correct and the realists wrong . . . if the categories ‘homosexual/heterosexual’ and ‘gay/straight’ are the inventions of particular societies rather than real aspects of the human psyche, there is no gay history.”²⁶ I do not consider the lack of a transhistorical “gay history” to be worrisome. In my view, “gay history” begins with the twentieth-century gay rights movement and the defining of a “gay” identity; the history of homosexuality is not much older and dates from the mid-nineteenth century. However, there are many other forms of sexual and affective relations among men dating back to antiquity, and these should not be forced into modern categories as a response to the concerns of those seeking to legitimize a modern gay identity by universalizing it.

Since the views of essentialists and constructivists tend to be fundamentally unreconcilable, many theorists, including Sedgwick, have found it more productive to attempt moving beyond the stalemate. Instead of a homosexual/heterosexual paradigm, Sedgwick argues in *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990) for the usefulness of other discursive categories, such as minoritizing/universalizing:

My demurral [to attempt adjudication [of constructivist versus essentialist views of homosexuality] has two grounds. The first . . . is that it is impossible to the degree that a conceptual deadlock between the two opposing views has by now been built into the very structure of every theoretical tool we have for undertaking it. The second one is already implicit in a terminological choice I have been making: to refer to “minoritizing” versus “universalizing” rather than essentialist versus constructivist understandings of homosexuality. . . . I am specifically offering minoritizing/universalizing as an *alternative*

(though not an equivalent) to essentialist/constructivist, in the sense that I think it can do some of the same analytic work as the latter binarism, and rather more tellingly.⁷²

For Sedgwick, “minoritizing” designates discourse that is of interest to a homosexual minority, while “universalizing” situates the homosexual/heterosexual binary within a wider range of sexualities in different historical and cultural contexts:

[There is a contradiction in] seeing homo/heterosexual definition on the one hand as an issue of active importance primarily for a small, distinct, relatively fixed homosexual minority (what I refer to as the minoritizing view), and seeing it on the other hand as an issue of continuing, determinative importance in the lives of people across the spectrum of sexualities (what I refer to as a universalizing view).⁸²

Yet Sedgwick’s new binary still relies on the questionable notion of a “relatively fixed homosexual minority” that constitutes a historically-identifiable group. Despite this, through her notion of the closet, Sedgwick elaborates a theory for addressing “gay” people hiding their sexuality through discourses involving notions of the private/public, inside/outside: “the epistemology of the closet has given an overarching consistency to gay culture and identity throughout the twentieth century.”⁹² Although this is pertinent for the modern group identifiable as “gay,” Sedgwick extends the notion of the closet back in time: “The epistemology of the closet has also been, however, on a far vaster scale and with less honorific inflection, inexhaustibly productive of modern Western culture and history at large.”³⁰ Sedgwick does not argue for or against the homosexual/heterosexual binary, but she still relies on its fundamental elements in her notion of the closet, which is closely tied to the modern notion of gay identity, and thus is not a useful tool for examining pre-modern sexualities.

As an example of the closet and its function of hiding dangerous secrets, Sedgwick’s reading of *Esther* by Jean Racine (1639–99) equates Esther’s hiding of her religious and racial identity with that of a modern gay person hiding his or her sexual identity and Esther’s self-revelation as a Jew with that of a modern gay person coming out of the closet.³¹ Although it falls within the realm of Sedgwick’s “universalizing” discourse,³² this reading is fundamentally problematic in its presumption

that Jewish religious and racial identity in both the Christian Western tradition, which framed Racine's cultural viewpoint, and the ancient Persian context of the historical Queen Esther, marked her as belonging to the same stigmatized minority. This comparison is fraught with anachronism and presumes that early modern and modern notions of religion, race, and identity are the same. Although Sedgwick emphasizes differences between the stability of Jewish and gay identity (including that Jews growing up in a Jewish environment have a solid notion of group identity that is not typical of gay people growing up in non-gay environments),³³ there is nevertheless a central presumption of transhistoricism necessary for Sedgwick's argument to function.

Sedgwick's choice of Racine's *Esther* to illustrate her theory of the closet is surprising since she usually focuses on modern examples, a point that Halperin uses to underscore Sedgwick's lack of historical grounding and to question her criticism of Foucault's notion that models of sexuality succeed one another (as when he casts the homosexual as superceding the sodomite). Rather than construct a historical theory, Sedgwick imposes her own binary of minoritizing and universalizing discourse as a replacement for the debate between nominalism and essentialism, according to Halperin:

Sedgwick, then, deliberately set aside historical questions about the emergence of modern sexual categories and described those questions as effectively superseded by her own approach. In a gesture exactly congruent with the one she criticized, she structured her project in such a way that "the superseded model then drops out of the frame of analysis." But just as discourses on sodomy or inversion³⁴ do not disappear with the emergence of the discourses of homosexuality, as Sedgwick rightly argued, so the historical problem of describing the difference between prehomosexual and homosexual formations will not simply disappear with a heightened awareness (however valuable or necessary) of the crisis of homo- and heterosexual definition in the present.⁵³

Halperin's coining of the term "prehomosexual" reflects his emphasis on the importance of historical models for determining patterns of sexuality prior to the nineteenth century. He grounds his work on Foucault's description of the difference between the sodomite and the homosexual.

However, Halperin insists that Foucault has been misread and that he never asserted that prior to the nineteenth century there were only sexual acts and no sexual identities:

Foucault's formulation is routinely taken to authorize the doctrine that before the nineteenth century the categories or classifications typically employed by European cultures to articulate sexual difference did not distinguish among different kinds of sexual actors but only among different kinds of sexual acts. In the pre-modern and early modern periods, so the claim goes, sexual behavior did not represent a sign or marker of a person's sexual identity; it did not indicate or express some more generalized or holistic feature of the person, such as that person's subjectivity, disposition, or character. . . . There is a good deal of truth in this received view, and Foucault himself may even have subscribed to a version of it at the time he wrote *The History of Sexuality*, volume I. . . . Whence the conclusion that before the modern era sexual deviance could be predicated only of acts, not of persons or identities. ⁶₃

Since Foucault never retracted the nominalism with which he is credited, Halperin is careful to observe that he may have meant it when he wrote it and that in an interview recorded in 1976 he reasserted his view regarding the difference between sodomites and homosexuals emphasizing the “late” (nineteenth-century) “invention” of the individual homosexual:

La catégorie de l'homosexuel a été inventée tardivement. Ça n'existait pas, ce qui existait, c'était la sodomie, c'est à dire un certain nombre de pratiques sexuelles qui, elles, étaient condamnées, mais l'individu homosexuel n'existait pas. ⁷₃

The question of historical classification is fundamental to Halperin's theories of sexuality. Although he proceeds from Foucault's observation that there were no homosexuals before the nineteenth century, Halperin nevertheless insists that this does not mean that there were no identities:

[In the 1976 interview], Foucault is simplifying matters for the benefit of his decidedly unacademic interlocutor; then, even so, he stops short of making the formal distinction between acts and identities; and he never says that before the nineteenth century there were no sexual identities, only sexual acts. ⁸₃

Halperin's intimation, based on what Foucault did not say, that he may have believed in pre-modern sexual identities, is tenuous, particularly in light of Huffer's careful analysis of his terminology and insight into the likelihood that Foucault's cultural perspective was incompatible with the American

notion of sexual identity. Nevertheless, proceeding from the view that pre-modern identities existed, Halperin develops five historical sexual categories of sexuality among men for which he seeks to determine the degrees to which they reflect identities or practices.³⁹ He cites historical examples, such as the *kinaidos* (an ancient Greek designation for one type of man who took the “passive” role in sexual acts with other men⁴⁰), within their own cultural context, attempting to locate and define them without asserting that they are essentially similar to the modern homosexual:

There may be modern categories of deviance — and there may well be contemporary forms of sexual rebellion, transgression, or affirmation — that correspond in some ways to the ancient figure of the *cinaedus* or *kinaidos*. But such categories would only partly overlap with the category of “the homosexual.” And if “homosexuality” today is sometimes understood to *apply* to figures such as the *cinaedus*, that tells us less about the particular characteristics of those figures than it does about the elasticity of homosexuality itself. To capture the defining features of the *kinaidos*, it is necessary to begin, at least, by situating him in his own conceptual and social universe, as I have tried to do here. ¹⁴

Although Halperin’s emphasis on models of sexuality in historical context and on their own terms reflects Foucault’s assertion that there are distinct historical models of sexual acts among men, he nevertheless draws those models into the modern notion of homosexuality, noting that “homosexuality” can sometimes be applied to historical models and that “homosexuality” is “elastic” enough to encompass at least some of them. In my view, this brings Halperin’s viewpoint close to the notion of a transhistorical identity,⁴² and thus his project is at odds with that of Foucault. In fact, Halperin protests that too much work on sexuality rejects all aspects of essentialism: “But as queer theory⁴³ has become more institutionalized, the understandable reluctance to accept essentialist assumptions about lesbians and gay men has hardened into an automatic self-justifying dogmatism, a visceral impulse to preempt the merest recognition of *any* cultural patterns or practices that might be distinctive to homosexuals.”⁴⁴ Beyond the problematic elision of terminology (“homosexual” vs. “gay”), Halperin makes a false and arbitrary assertion that no recognition of practices or patterns is tolerated, and his belief that there are indeed distinguishing

modes of being for homosexuals is universalizing.

Carla Freccero criticizes Halperin for making direct comparisons and connections between modern homosexuality and historical sexualities: “But homosexuality and, more specifically, male homosexuality, is not just one example that can be generalized to other deviant sexualities.”⁴⁵ In other words modern homosexuality is not a category that can be considered to include earlier notions of sexuality simply because some of their aspects are similar, just as the sodomite cannot be considered a type of homosexual based on sexual acts. Freccero also notes the danger of generalizations across cultures and throughout history, “universalizing a U.S. (or Euro-American) model of gay identity across national, cultural, and spatial boundaries. By projecting cultural difference onto temporality, this description of historical difference runs the risk of a kind of ethnocentrism in its characterizations of gay identity.”⁴⁶ Despite Halperin’s insistence to the contrary, Freccero observes that his work contains strong universalizing and transhistorical elements based on modern Western notions of homosexuality. With this aspect of Halperin’s project in mind, the title of *How to do the History of Homosexuality* is revealing: homosexuality does indeed have a history, but Halperin’s genealogy extends that history to antiquity, subsuming many sexualities into a type of universalism.

As the work of Foucault, Boswell, Sedgwick, and Halperin reveal, taxonomy (which includes terminology and notions of group identification) is a crucial concern in discussing sexuality of any period, and it becomes particularly complex regarding sexualities before the nineteenth century. The fundamental question remains of how to discuss those sexualities with the vocabulary now available to us without distorting or misrepresenting historical discourse by anachronistic terms and their related social constructs. Some scholars working on the early modern period, including

Katherine Crawford, seek to apply modern terms in a “neutral way,” as she does in her study of the French Renaissance:

I do not use the terms to refer to modern notions of foundational sexual identity. “Homosexual” refers to sex acts (actual or imagined) between persons of the same biological sex; “heterosexual” between persons of different biological sex. “Homosexuality” and “heterosexuality” are used when assumptions about persons and behaviors are attached to sexual expression without presuming that the person about whom the assumption is made felt any generalized identificatory attachment. . . . I use these terms in order to move past them.”⁷⁴

Although Crawford’s explanation of her terminology is precise, I do not believe that it is possible, or even desirable, to redefine terms, such as “homosexual,” which have profound historical and political resonance, and use them in an anachronistic way. I share Alan Bray’s caution against the danger of using terms outside of their historical context: “To talk of an individual [in the Renaissance] as being or not being homosexual is an anachronism and ruinously misleading.”⁴⁸ With this warning in mind, it seems best to avoid anachronistic taxonomies altogether whenever possible. The only way, I believe, to approach historical sexualities is to use the vocabulary available in a given period to designate particular sexual acts and the people that engaged in them. The modern terms “homosexual” and “gay” are then not synonyms for the early modern concept of “sodomie,” the significance of which is partly revealed in its sixteenth- and seventeenth-century designation as “le vice italien.”

Le Vice Italien

In his *Vita*, Benvenuto Cellini (1500–70) records that while in France, where he worked under the patronage of François Ier from 1540 to 1545, he was accused of sodomy by a certain Caterina (about whom little is known other than that she had formerly been his model and mistress) and her mother in retaliation for a perceived offense:

Pensarono vendicarsi di questa ingiuria, e conferito con un avvocato normando, insegnò loro che lei dicessi, che io avessi usato seco al modo italiano; qual modo s'intendeva contro a natura, cioè in sodomia . . . La Caterina disse che io avevo usato seco al modo dell'Italia. . . . Allora io dissi: "Se io avessi usato seco al modo italiano, l'arei fatto solo per desiderio d'avere un figliuolo, sì, come fate voi altri." Allora il giudice replicò dicendo: "Ella vuol dire che tu hai usato seco fuori del vaso dove si fa figliuoli." A questo io dissi che quello non era il modo italiano; anzi che doveva essere il modo francese, da poi che lei lo sapeva et io no⁹⁴

[They thought to avenge themselves of this injury and consulted a Norman attorney who told them that they should say that I had used her according to the Italian manner (which means against nature, as at Sodom). Caterina said that I had used her in the Italian manner. . . . Then I said that if I had used her in the Italian manner, it was only because I wanted to have sons, just as others do. Then the judge replied, saying: she means that you used her outside the vessel where sons are made. To which I said that this was not the Italian manner, so it must be the French manner since she knew it and I did not⁵⁰]

Caterina accused Cellini of a sexual act that the French associated with Italy and Sodom, but Cellini claimed to be ignorant of what that act might be (which was untrue since he had already been convicted of sodomizing a boy in Florence⁵¹). He attempted to cast the act as French rather than Italian, explains that the sin is the same as that attributed to Sodom, which is "against nature," that is, not procreative.⁵² Although texts from the Middle Ages through the early modern period generally avoid describing precisely what the sin of Sodom (sodomy) was, it is likely that Cellini was being accused of anal sex, which was generally characterized in France as a vice proper to Italy.

The meaning of the "modo dell'Italia" is depicted in a virulent attack by Pierre de Ronsard (1524–85) on the apparently widespread practice of sodomy at the court of France, particularly attributed to Henri III (1551–89) and his "mignons" (young male favorites⁵³):

Et les culs blancs de chair, de tout poil decouverts
 Les culs plus que les cons sont maintenant ouverts,
 Les Mignons de la Cour y mettent leurs lancettes.
 Le Roy ne m'aime point pour estre trop barbu.

Il aime à semencer le champ qui n'est herbu
 Et comme un Castor⁵⁴ chevaucher le derriere.
 Lors qu'il foule les Culs qui sont cons estreçis

Il tient du naturel de ceux de Medicis
 Et prenant le Devant il imite son Pere.⁵⁵

Ronsard describes anal sex between men, and even though it was considered against nature in the sense that it was not procreative, he asserts that it is indeed “natural” for the Italian Medici. This view of sodomy as inherent in the Florentine bloodline of Henri III’s mother, Catherine de Médicis (1519–89), and of vaginal sex, practiced by his father, Henri II (1519–59), as French, reflects a nationalistic dichotomy in which France is morally upright and Italy is a source of deadly corruption. In a similar vein, *Le reveille-matin des François* (1574), a pamphlet against the Valois monarchy by the philosopher and polemicist Nicolas Barnaud (ca. 1538–1604?), graphically accuses Catherine de Médicis of sowing poisonous sodomy into French royal blood: “Trouble-repos, estable d’avarice,/Dont s’eschaufa cette noble Putain,/Le sang infect des bougres d’Italie,/Nouri du laict d’une horrible Furie,/. . ./Cause de maux, semence de malheurs!”⁵⁶ Italy, as viewed by Barnaud, is a stable of vice from which the queen, its emblematic personage, emerges as a depraved whore carrying the poison of sodomy with which she infects her offspring through her blood and milk, thus spreading unrest and calamity in France.

The designation of sodomy in France as “le vice italien” developed largely during the Renaissance,⁵⁷ when the influence of Italian culture over the French court was significant, particularly during the Italian Wars (1494–1559)⁵⁸ and under the politically-troubled influence of Catherine de Médicis.⁵⁹ In that context, whatever was viewed as undermining French moral and political stability was readily depicted as dangerous Italian corruption.⁶⁰ The diarist Pierre de L’Estoile (1546–1611) posits an Italian origin for Henri III’s alleged sodomy: “D’estre bougre, il en est marri,/mais cela lui vient d’Italie.”⁶¹ L’Estoile’s claim that sodomy “came to the king from Italy” might accord with Ronsard’s assertion that it was in his blood, but it is also possible that the king learned its practice in Italy, through which he passed in 1574 on his return from Poland to assume the crown of France.⁶² Indeed, beyond Henri III, who was supposed to have begun engaging in

sodomy while in Italy, even those who found sodomy most repugnant were likely to learn it in Italy and then to practice it unabashedly, according to the *Introduction au traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes* (1566) by the printer, Hellenist, and philologue Henri Estienne (1528?–98)⁶³:

Mais pour retourner à ce peché si infame, n'est ce point grand' pitié qu'aucuns qui auparavant que mettre le pied en Italie, abhorrissoient les propos mesmement qui se tenoyent de cela, apres y avoir demouré, ne prennent plaisir aux paroles seulement, mais viennent jusques aux effects, & en font profession entr'eux, comme d'une chose qu'ils ont apprise en une bonne eschole? ⁴⁶

For Estienne, those who returned to France taught others the infamous sin of sodomy, thus debasing the kingdom, jeopardizing French cultural identity and moral authority. The havoc purportedly wreaked on France by the introduction of foreign corruptions, including sodomy, is described in *Le cabinet du roy de France, dans lequel il y a trois perles précieuses d'inestimable valeur par le moyen desquelles Sa Majesté s'en va le premier monarque du monde & ses sujets du tout soulagez* (1581), an anonymous⁶⁵ political satire addressed to Henri III and castigating him for not opening a case of three pearls, the secrets of which would rid the kingdom of foreign evils and vices:

Hà sire, que si vous l'eussiez fait, & vous mesmes l'ouvrir à vostre arrivée de Pologne, en ce Royaume, asseurement la France fust tousjours demeuree France, c'est à dire que les tyrannies, guerres civiles, perfidies, cruautez, massacres, concussions, & pilleries, exercees depuis vingt ans en France fust sorties: l'atheisme, sodomies, & toutes autres sinistres, & puantes Academies, que l'estranger y a introduites, n'y eussent peu trouver place. ⁶⁶

Cast as an unholy practice linked with atheism and the sinister, with war, treachery, violence, and political corruption, sodomy, a “puante Academie,” is not only unnatural to France, it is to be blamed on the foreign. As Ivan Arnaldi notes, stereotyping sodomy as an Italian vice was a commonplace throughout Europe during the Renaissance and the early modern period⁶⁷ when it was particularly identified with the cities of Florence, Rome, and Venice.⁶⁸ Indeed, Michael Rocke's research on the Ufficiali di Notte, an institution charged with policing sodomy in Florence, reveals that during the Renaissance, sodomy was practiced by the majority of men there (with an older

“active” partner and a younger “passive” one) as a tacitly-condoned phase of youth that ended with marriage.⁹⁶

Although sodomy was thought to be against nature, it neither interfered with the procreative capacities of those who practiced it, nor were sodomites restricted to sexual acts only with men. As Roche shows, sodomy among men in Florence did not preclude marriage (indeed, it was a usual precursor to marriage), and throughout the Renaissance and seventeenth century, notable sodomites (or reputed sodomites), including Cellini, Henri III, Louis XIII (1601–43), Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1621–86), Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–87), and Armand de Gramont, comte de Guiche (1637–73) married and sired families. Indeed, that sodomites had sexual relations with women cannot be attributed solely to the dynastic imperative of producing heirs since many supposed or known sodomites also had amorous passions for women. Henri III eagerly courted and wed Louise de Lorraine (1553–1601) after which he had a number of mistresses;⁷⁰ Élisabeth-Angélique de Montmorency-Bouteville, duchesse de Châtillon (1627–95) was the mistress of Condé;⁷¹ the comte de Guiche had affairs with men and women;⁷² and the sexual practices of Lully, a Florentine, also included men and women.⁷³ This behavior led to several satirical chansons, one of which (dating from the 1670s) depicts Lully wooing Madeleine d’Angennes de la Louppe, duchesse de la Ferté-Sennetterre (1629–1714): “Aimable la Ferté,/Qui vous voit un moment est pour jamais charmé:/Moy qui suis Florentin, j’ay changé de côté.”⁷⁴ Here the notion of “changing sides” begins with the usual association of Florence with sodomy and is similar to the description of Henri III practicing both the stereotyped “Italian” (anal) and “French” (vaginal) styles of intercourse. Lully’s sexual practices are thus described not only as changing sides physically (back to front), but as changing national styles, just as he had been legally naturalized as a Frenchman in 1661.⁷⁵ In other words, among sodomites, the choice of men or women sexual partners was not necessarily

immutable. Indeed, practicing sodomy did not even necessarily reveal a liking for that activity; sometimes it could be a means of seeking advancement and advantage (economic, social, and political) through the system of clientage.⁷⁶ Colonel Henri de Campion (1613–63) explains his anxiety over being invited to join the renowned army leader and sodomite, César de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme (1594–1665):⁷⁷

Le sieur de Beauregard . . . me mandoit en même temps de venir joindre le Duc [de Vendôme], son maître, duquel il m'annonçoit que j'aurois toutes sortes de satisfactions. Ces lettres me donnèrent de l'inquiétude par la connoissance que j'avois de l'humeur de ce prince et de la mienne; je le savois gouverné par de jeunes valets qui, selon l'opinion commune, se maintenoient en ses bonnes grâces par des moyens honteux et infâmes. Je les avois toujours méprisés en France, sans que cela eût fâché le Duc, à cause que, n'étant point son domestique, il ne prétendit pas m'assujettir à faire comme les siens; mais je jugeois que si je m'attachois à lui en des lieux où il n'avoit nul sujet de se contraindre, il voudroit que j'eusse commerce avec ses favoris . . . Je considérai que tous ses gentilhommes, et Beauregard même, avoient fait amitié avec les mignons pour se maintenir; que je ne pourrois me déterminer à les imiter, le trouvant honteux et répugnant à ma manière d'être ordinaire.⁷⁸

Campion does not name the “shameful and infamous” acts that he finds repugnant as he invokes a clear distinction between his “humeur” and that of Vendôme, which is not Campion’s “manière d'être ordinaire.” He does, however, understand the benefits that could devolve from such a sexual relationship. The “humeur” of Vendôme is a reference to seventeenth-century medical theory in which the humors were four corporeal elements of which the “ordinary course,” in which one humor was typically dominant, determined a person’s usual temperament⁷⁹ or “ordinary way of being.” Campion chose not to waver from his ordinary course by pursuing advancement through sodomy with Vendôme.

As these examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggest, the only identities attributed to sodomites are national and moral through their association with Italian corruption rather than French uprightness. It appears that everyone is capable of “learning” sodomy as a sexual act, indeed even likely to do so while in Italy. Indeed, whereas sodomy is proscribed as against

nature, it is cast as natural for Italians, who carry its practice in their blood and make it infectious through lineage; thus a man (an Italian, or even a Frenchman with Italian blood) can supposedly be born a sodomite.

The French view of sodomy as an Italian vice tends to cast it as practiced by all Italian men, but the Italian attitude documented by Rocke considers it to be an age-specific activity. The two conflicting notions are emphasized by the chronicler, Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayolo (1648–1713) when he recounts sexual advances from Charles François de la Baume Le Blanc, marquis de la Vallière (1642–76), which in one instance, turned on French notions regarding nationalistic stereotypes of sodomy:

Anche il marchese di la Vallière mi teneva discorsi simili. Ma me ne fece diversi il giorno che mi condusse in camera sua. Mi si accostò dicendomi: “Signore, in Ispagna i monaci, in Francia i nobili, in Italia tutti!”

Mi trassi indietro, e gli riposti scherzando che una simile idea non poteva venire a me, poiché avevo già venticinque anni e la barba. Me replicò che i Francesi di buon gusto non badano nè agli anni, nè al pelo. In breve, dovete fare non poca fatica per andarmene. Raccontai quest’episodio all’Abate de Carretto. Rispose che bisognava aver compassione di gente simile, nascono con quest’inclinazione come i poeti nascon con la rima. ⁰₈

[The marquis de la Vallière also made similar remarks to me. But he made many others the day that he led me to his chamber. He approached me, saying: “Signore, in Spain the monks, in France the nobles, in Italy everyone!”

I drew back, and I responded jestingly that such an idea could never come to me since I was already twenty-five years old and had a beard. He replied that Frenchmen of good taste did not bother with age or hair. In short, I had to do more than a little to get away. I recounted this episode to the abate de Carretto. He said that it was necessary to have compassion for such people since they were born with this inclination as poets are born with rhyme.]

Visconti’s account disaffirms the French stereotype of sodomy as a vice practiced by all Italians and insists instead that it is widespread among the French aristocracy who, in contrast with the Italians, do not view its practice as age-specific. Most importantly, Carretto’s response to Visconti situates sodomy within the contested field in modern discourse of acts vs. identities. According to Carretto, sodomites “nascono con quest’inclinazione” [“are born with this inclination”]. But *inclinazione*

(*inclination*) is not an identity; it is, according to Antoine Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel* (1690): “une pente ou disposition naturelle à faire quelque chose.”⁸¹ In the study that follows, I will argue that this is the key to discussing sodomy in seventeenth-century France. Although it was unnatural according to biblical proscriptions, it was also a natural disposition in some people as an *inclination*, but not an identity or a set of constant characteristics analogous to an essentialist notion of identity. *Inclination*, after all, could be resisted and even controlled.

Philippe de France, duc d’Orléans: Monsieur’s *Inclinations*, or, How to Construct a Sodomite

During the reign of Louis XIV, the most socially-exalted sodomite in France was his brother, Philippe, known at court as Monsieur. He will constitute a case study for the second half of this dissertation, not because of his illustrious status as *frère unique du roi* and second *fils de France*, but because he is the emblematic figure of evolving notions of sodomy and sodomites in seventeenth-century France. During this period, historically-rooted notions of masculine warrior sodomites were gradually replaced by an image of the *efféminé* that was to become stereotypical of sodomites during the eighteenth century. Monsieur lived at the cusp of this evolution, and although in a general sense his life can be cast as following a similar evolution from heroic warring activities in his youth to a later “molesse” (“softness”) associated with the *efféminé*, these two tendencies (*inclinations* for warring and effeminacy, both of which were associated with the sodomite) overlapped, particularly during his youth and at crucial moments later in life. The ample documentation of Monsieur’s *inclinations* is unique in that it reveals how his mother, Queen Anne d’Autriche (1601–66), Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–61), and Louis XIV attempted to manipulate them according to dynastic demands. These were closely bound to the political imperative that no one, especially no one in the royal family, challenge the sovereignty of the king, and this imperative sought to marginalize Monsieur and the authority he might wield.

There have been few studies on Monsieur in French or in English, and these are largely biographical and anecdotal: Hugh Stokes's *A Prince of Pleasure: Philip of France and His Court* (1913), Guy Le Batut's *La cour de Monsieur, frère de Louis XIV* (1927), Philippe Erlanger's *Monsieur, frère de Louis XIV* (1953), and Christian Bouyer's *Le duc d'Orléans* (2003).⁸² There is only one academic work, Nancy Nichols Barker's *Brother to the Sun King: Philippe, Duke of Orleans* (1989), which although adequately documented, is hampered by labelling Monsieur a "homosexual" or "bisexual." Barker also attempts to decipher Monsieur's personality through Freudian psychology. She takes no account of theories of gender and sexuality, nor even the seventeenth-century's notions of these constructs. Just authors of other works that discuss Monsieur, such as Marc Daniel's *Hommes du grand siècle: Études sur l'homosexualité sous les règnes de Louis XIII et de Louis XIV* (1957), Maurice Lever's *Les bûchers de Sodome* (1985), and Didier Godard's *Le goût de Monsieur: L'homosexualité masculine au XVII^e siècle* (2002) (these three works are examples of "gay history"), Barker is not interested in analyzing the discourses that constructed the sodomite to provide historical and social contextualization of sodomitical practices and same-sex *inclination* in seventeenth-century France. Instead she proceeds entirely through modern notions of homosexuality, even describing Monsieur in homophobic terms,⁸³ which is shocking in an academic work that dates from the end of the twentieth century. And yet Barker's is the most recent and most thoroughly-documented work on Monsieur, whose sexual practices have yet to be discussed within the cultural context of seventeenth-century France without the imposition of modern, often deprecating, notions of sexuality and gender .

* * *

In the first chapter of part 1, "Crimen Contra Natura': Naming, Condemning, and Punishing the Sodomite," I develop a methodology for determining how the sodomite became distinguishable as a juridical subject. I consider terminology, including the meaning of "Sodomite" in

biblical texts, and the meaning of “sodomy” in early theological texts from late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Then I examine how the punishments prescribed for sodomy in early theological commentary were absorbed into early modern juridical codes. I conclude by discussing how these codes relate to the punishment of sodomites in the seventeenth century as evidenced in juridical and literary texts.

The second chapter, “Civilizing the Sodomite: From Warrior to *Efféminé*” views the French seventeenth century as a turning point in the evolution of the sodomite from a historically-rooted warrior prototype, who might engage in sexual acts with men without compromising his masculinity, to a non-warrior, cast as unmanly. This shift took place toward the end of what Norbert Elias designates as the “civilizing process.” By the early eighteenth century, sodomy had become largely linked to the *efféminé*, who typically manifested behavior codified as feminine. This shift is closely tied to changes in the performance of masculinity.

Part 2 studies Philippe d’Orléans as a well-documented case of a sodomite identified as both a masculine warrior and an *efféminé* at different periods in his life and in response to particular sociopolitical imperatives linked to prototypes of masculinity and effeminacy. Chapter 1, “Monsieur: The Impossible Warrior,” explores the four-part evolution of Monsieur’s relation to warring as depicted in official and public discourse, including emblematic examples of visual art and literary texts: from promising young warrior prince to active hero, and finally to a historical dynastic supporter. During the first phase (1640–72), engravings, laudatory texts, and the memoirs of Monsieur’s governor, César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin (1602–78), describe him as a budding warrior prince able to accomplish valiant exploits. This promise begins to be fulfilled during the second phase, which corresponds to the Dutch War (1672–78), but Monsieur’s demonstration of armed prowess (although he openly dedicated them to his brother) arguably detracted or distracted

from Louis XIV's preeminent role as dynastic hero. Thus the third phase (1678–1701), revealed in royally-commissioned art, the memoirs of Louis XIV, and the marital alliances of Monsieur's children, redefine Monsieur's dynastic duties so that his associations with warring are represented as past events, his dynastic service henceforth to consist of assisting the king's dynastic ambitions through politically-motivated Orléans marriages. Finally, after Monsieur's death in 1701, which ends the threatening possibility of dynastic divisiveness, eulogizing poetry, the funeral oration given by François de Clermont-Tonnerre (1629–1701) at the Basilique Saint-Denis, and biographical accounts once again emphasize Monsieur's warrior accomplishments as exemplary dynastic service, willing efforts to increase the king's *gloire* rather than his own.

In the final chapter, “Manipulating *Inclination*: Philippe d'Orléans as *Efféminé*,” I discuss the ways in which Anne d'Autriche, Cardinal Jules Mazarin, and Louis XIV may have exploited *inclination* in Monsieur to produce a performance of dynastic submission. Just as Monsieur dedicated his warrior victories to the king's *gloire* rather than to his own, he appears to have accepted sometimes humiliating enactments of effeminacy as signs of his obedience to Louis. Monsieur's *inclination* for effeminacy was encouraged and strengthened at the same time as his *inclination* for masculine armed prowess, but as the dynastic usefulness of his warrior image declined, his *inclination* for effeminacy became dominant in his performance of gender. I explore Monsieur's identity as *efféminé* first through a discussion of the seventeenth-century notion of *inclination*. Then I examine early accounts of Monsieur's purported effeminacy, including the memoirs of Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier (1627–93), daughter of Gaston d'Orléans (rebellious brother of Louis XIII); Françoise de Motteville (1621?–89), *dame d'honneur* of Anne d'Autriche; the abbé François Timoléon de Choisy (1644–1724), and references in political satire during the Fronde. Finally, I analyze Monsieur's staged performances in *ballets de cour* and the *Grand carrousel du roy* (1662)

in which gender performance, including cross-dressing and effeminacy associated with the Orient, was part of his performance of symbolic dynastic subservience.

* * *

The modern argument between notions of pre-modern acts and identities will likely never be resolved, but it opens new possibilities for understanding sexuality in seventeenth-century France. This is revealed through my study of Monsieur whose “identity” was not bound to his sexuality. Instead, it was grounded in dynastic imperatives, such as establishing and politically advancing the house of Orléans (the junior branch of the house of Bourbon, with which it was thus in conflict). His *inclinations* for “masculine” activities and acts, namely warring and procreation, were first promoted and then tempered, even undermined, by emphasizing submission to his both the king in order to confirm the preeminence of the house of Bourbon, of which Louis XIV was the heroic emblem. Throughout Monsieur’s life, Anne d’Autriche, Mazarin, and Louis XIV achieved this balance by manipulating his *inclination* for “passive” effeminacy, enacted through cross-dressing and public performances such as in *ballets de cour*, the carrousel, and a proclaimed willingness to sacrifice his own “masculine” warrior achievements to the preeminence of Louis as sole dynastic focus. Ultimately, when Monsieur, in conflict with the king, attempted to assert authority over his own wife, Henriette d’Angleterre (1644–70), Louis succeeded in forcing Philippe to endure a posture of defeat, relinquishing Henriette to the king’s political goals in England in return for extracting a concession from Louis that Monsieur’s favorite, Lorraine, would not be banished permanently from France. In a cruel imposition of royal authority, Louis sacrificed Philippe, the second *fils de France*, his own brother, to his imperial wishes and goals by exploiting Monsieur’s *inclinations*.

Notes

1. Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois contenant les mots et les choses* (Genève: Jean Herman Widerhold, 1680), 380.
2. On the use of “Sodomy” as a proper noun, see part 1, chapter 1.
3. Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., *Homosexuality in Early Modern France: A Documentary Collection* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1. The term “sodomite,” although usually applied to men in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France, either in relation to acts between men or between men and women, could, particularly in legal discourse and the religious discourse on which it was grounded, be applied to acts between women. Works such as Ludovico Sinistrari’s *De delectis et poenis* (1700), which includes *De sodomia tractatus, in quo exponitur doctrina nova de sodomia foeminarum a tribadismo distincta*, reveal the complexities of sodomy among women during the early modern period. Since my work does not focus on early modern French sodomy as a whole, but exclusively on discourse constructing the male sodomite, I will not discuss tribadism or sodomy among women, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Recent work on sexual acts qualified as sodomy among women during the Renaissance and early modern periods includes Marianne Legault, *Female Intimacies in Seventeenth-Century French Literature* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); and Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
4. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
5. David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 104–37.
6. See Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Plume, 1996), 53.
7. See, among others, Kenneth J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), and Thomas K. Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
8. See, Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
9. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité. I: La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 59.
10. Foucault’s theories of sexual identity seem to undergo some modification, reflected in his writings on ancient Greek sexuality, including in the third volume of *Histoire de la sexualité* (published eight years after the first volume), which emphasizes a mode of living or an ethics of sexuality that brings his thought closer to the ideas of Boswell. See, for example, the interview with Foucault and Boswell’s “Towards the Long View: Revolutions, Universals, and Sexual Categories” in *Salmagundi* 58–59 (1982–83): 10–24 and 89–113. Although I recognize this development, I have not yet found a statement by Foucault retracting or definitively negating his earlier theories on the seventeenth century. I do not hesitate to bolster my own argument with those theories, particularly in light of Foucault’s declaration that: “Je voudrais que mes livres soient une sorte de *tool-box* dans lequel les autres puissent aller fouiller pour y trouver un outil avec lequel ils pourraient faire ce que bon leur semble, dans leur domaine.” Michel Foucault, “Prisons et asiles dans le mécanisme du pouvoir” in *Dits et écrits*, 4 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 2:523.
11. Lynne Huffer, *Mad for Foucault: Rethinking the Foundations of Queer Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 70.

12. On the ties between religious proscriptions on sodomy and Western law, see part 1, chapter 1.

13. In the first (1694), seventh (1878), and eighth (1935) editions of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (the new edition is still in preparation and has not yet reached the letter “R”), “relaps” is defined as “Qui est retombé dans l'hérésie.” *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st edition, 2 vols. (Paris: Coignard, 1694), 1:631; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 7th edition (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878), 2:610; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1932–35), 2:489. Unless otherwise noted, references to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* will cite the first edition.

14. John Boswell, “Towards the Long View: Revolutions, Universals, and Sexual Categories,” *Salmagundi* 58–59 (Fall 1982–Winter 1983): 91.

15. See, for example, *Histoire de la sexualité I*, 107–51.

16. Particularly important among Boswell’s writings are *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) and *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

17. Although Boswell necessarily had to contend with the theories of Foucault and the nominalists, it should be noted that in his highly influential first book, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, in which he elaborates his essentialist approach, Foucault is not mentioned, and his work is not even included in the bibliography.

18. John Boswell, “Towards the Long View,” 92.

19. John Boswell, “Towards the Long View,” 90.

20. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 44.

21. Indeed, throughout *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, Boswell uses the term “gay” to refer to pre-modern communities and their discourse. For example: “The transformation of the urban culture of antiquity into the agricultural society of the Middle Ages had an ambivalent effect on gay people” (169). Here “gay” is asserted as a group of people in Greco-Roman and early medieval culture.

22. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 45.

23. See, among others, Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality & Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 76–78; and Colin Spencer, *Homosexuality in History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1995), 47.

24. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 58.

25. Aristotle and Plato are discussed in part 1, chapter 2.

26. John Boswell, “Towards the Long View,” 93.

27. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 1.

28. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 1.

29. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 68.

30. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 68.

31. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 75–82.

32. Sedgwick’s stated goal in *Epistemology of the Closet* (44–48) is to emphasize the coexistence and overlapping of sexualities rather than successive historical models. However, even in models involving the historical succession of sexuality paradigms, those paradigms can and do overlap.

33. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 81.

34. “Inversion” was a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century term defined by Havelock Ellis as “sexual instinct turned by inborn constitutional abnormality toward persons of the same sex.” See Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion*, vol. 2 of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1900–28).
35. David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 11.
36. David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 28.
37. Cited in David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 160.
38. David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 161.
39. Halperin’s five categories are homosexuality, effeminacy, sodomy, friendship, and inversion. His summary table is found in *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 135. Halperin insists that he is not an essentialist: “Least of all do I wish to revive an essentialist faith in the unqualified existence of homosexual and heterosexual persons in Western societies before the modern era” (28).
40. For Halperin’s discussion of the *kinaidos*, see *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, particularly pp. 32–38.
41. David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 37.
42. Also see Linda Alcoff, *Identity Politics Reconsidered* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 216.
43. Meanings of “queer” and the notion of “queer theory” (a term coined by Teresa de Lauretis) are beyond the scope of this study. For fundamental work on queer theory, see, among others, *Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities*, ed. Teresa di Lauretis, special issue of “Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies” 3.2 (1991); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Lynne Huffer, *Mad for Foucault*; and Jonathan Goldberg, ed., *After Sex? On Writing since Queer Theory* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011). The complex relations between queer theory and historicity are discussed by Valerie Traub in “The New Unhistoricism in Queer Studies,” *PMLA* 128.1 (January 2013): 9–20.
44. David M. Halperin, *How to be Gay* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2012), 63.
45. Carla Freccero, “Undoing the Histories of Homosexuality” in *Queer/Early/Modern* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 35.
46. Carla Freccero, “Undoing the Histories of Homosexuality,” 40
47. Katherine Crawford, *The Sexual Culture of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3.
48. Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men’s Press, 1982), 16.
49. Benvenuto Cellini, *La vita*, ed. Lorenzo Bellotto (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1996), 548, 551.
50. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
51. On 14 January 1523, Cellini was ordered to make reparations for sodomizing a boy, Domenico di Ser Giuliano da Ripa. He was accused again of sodomy with a boy in 1548, and in 1556 he was convicted and sentenced to four years of house arrest for having sodomized his apprentice, Fernando di Giovanni di Montepulciano. Cellini’s poetry and autobiography also contain explicit homoeroticism. See Margaret A. Gallucci, *Benvenuto Cellini: Sexuality, Masculinity, and Artistic Identity in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Ivan Arnaldi, *La vita violenta di Benvenuto Cellini* (Roma: Laterza, 1986); and Luigi Greci, “Benvenuto Cellini dei delitti e nei processi fiorentini,” *Archivio di antropologia criminale* 50 (1930): 342–85, 509–42.
52. The notion of sodomy as “crimen contra natura” is discussed along with the biblical origins and meaning of “sodomy” in part 1, chapter 1.

53. The link between sodomy and Italy is not the main subject of this poem, which, as Gary Ferguson explains, revolves around the contrast between the hairy and the smooth, the old and the young, the smooth being associated with the buttocks of young men and the hairy with older men, reflecting Ronsard's resentment over not enjoying the same degree of royal favor as that accorded to the *mignons* because he was "trop barbu." See Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2008), 136–138. On Henri III and the *mignons*, see especially Nicolas Le Roux, *La faveur du roi: Mignons et courtisans au temps des derniers Valois* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2001). Also see Katherine B. Crawford, "Love, Sodomy, and Scandal: Controlling the Sexual Reputation of Henry III," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12.4 (October 2003): 513–42; Joseph Cady, "The 'Masculine Love' of the 'Princes of Sodom': Practicing the Art of Ganymede at Henri III's court" in Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler, eds., *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 123–54; and Philippe Contamine, "Pouvoir et vie de cour dans la France du XVI^e siècle: Les mignons," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 138.2 (1994): 541–54.

54. "Castor" ("beaver") is a euphemism for "sodomite" since beavers were traditionally thought to practice sodomy. See Claude Courouve, *Ces petits Grecs ont un faible pour les gymnases: L'amour masculin dans les textes grecs et latins* (Paris: C. Courouve, 1988), 16. Online version only. <http://www.inlibroveritas.net/lire/oeuvre34320-chapitre196623.html>

55. Pierre de Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, 20 vols., ed. Paul Laumonier (Paris: Droz, 1937–82), 18:417.

56. Nicolas Barnaud, Théodore de Bèze, and François Hotman, "Dialogue sur l'effigie de la Paix" in *Le reveille-matin des François* (Paris: Éditions d'Histoire Sociale, 1977), n.p.

57. See Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 322; Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 75–76; Rebecca Zorach, "The Matter of Italy: Sodomy and the Scandal of Style in Sixteenth-Century France," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28:3 (fall 1998): 581–609; Katherine Crawford, *The Sexual Culture of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 10–12; and Pierre Guiraud, *Dictionnaire érotique* (Paris: Payot, 1978), 77.

58. During the reigns of the last seven Valois kings, Charles VIII (1470–98), Louis XII (1462–1515), François Ier (1494–1547), Henri II (1519–59), François II (1544–60), Charles IX (1550–74), and Henri III (1551–89), France was almost continuously at war seeking to take possession of coveted territories in Italy. See, among others, Jean-Louis Fournel and Jean-Claude Zancarini, *Les Guerres d'Italie: Des batailles pour l'Europe* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003).

59. After the death of Henri II, Catherine de Médicis was regent first for the fifteen-year-old François II (1544–60), who reigned for only one year, and then for her sons Charles IX (1550–74) and Henri III. Her regencies were characterized by civil war, religious strife, and her purportedly detrimental influence over her sons was frequently cast as a foreign corruption resulting in, among other disasters, the French Wars of Religion (1562–98) and the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572). The queen was widely accused of introducing not only sodomy, but poison and black magic to France. Her demonized reputation has been revised by much current scholarship. For recent work on Catherine de Médicis, see, among others, Raphaël Dargent, *Catherine de Médicis: La reine de fer* (Paris: Grancher, 2011); Jean-François Solnon, *Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: Perrin, 2009); and Thierry Wanegffelen, *Catherine de Médicis: Le pouvoir au féminin* (Paris: Payot), 2005.

60. See Henry Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

61. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Mémoires-journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, 11 vols., ed. Gustave Brunet, Aimé Louis Champollion-Figeac, Eugène Halphen, et al. (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1875–83), 2:311.
62. Rebecca Zorach includes sodomy as an element of a larger Italian style that was adopted in France. In this sense, sodomy was not natural to Frenchmen, and thus not part of their own national style. See Rebecca Zorach, “The Matter of Italy: Sodomy and the Scandal of Style in Sixteenth-Century France.”
63. Estienne includes a whole chapter on sodomy as an Italian vice. See Henri Estienne, *L'introduction au traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes, ou, Traité préparatif à l'Apologie pour Hérodote*, 2 vols., ed. Bénédicte Boudou (Genève: Droz, 2007), 1:276–80.
64. Henri Estienne, *L'introduction au traité de la conformité des merveilles*, 1:277.
65. According to the Catalogue Collectif de France, the work may be by the physician, philosopher, and Huguenot pamphleteer Nicolas Barnaud (ca. 1539–1604?).
66. *Le cabinet du roy de France* (s.l.: s.n., 1581), [v].
67. “Le definizione di ‘vizio italiano’ adottata in tutta l’Europe è un attestato del primato della penisola materia.” [“The definition of the “Italian vice” adopted in all of Europe is a statement of the record of the Italian matter.”]. Ivan Arnaldi, *La vita violenta di Benvenuto Cellini*, 130.
68. For an overview of sodomy in Renaissance and early seventeenth-century Italy, see Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 245–290.
69. See Michael Roche, *Forbidden Friendships*. See also Katherine Crawford, *The Sexual Culture of the French Renaissance*, 11.
70. See Jean-François Solnon, *Henri III: Un désir de majesté* (Paris: Perrin, 2001).
71. Writing on the duchesse de Châtillon dates mainly from the beginning of the twentieth century, including Émile Magne, *Madame de Châtillon: Portrait et documents inédits* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1910); and Paul Fromageot, *Isabelle de Montmorency, duchesse de Chatillon et de Mecklembourg une cousine du Grand Condé* (Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1913).
72. The most notable liaisons of the comte de Guiche included Philippe d’Orléans (brother of Louis XIV) and then Philippe’s wife, Henriette d’Angleterre. See Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King: Philippe, Duke of Orleans* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 61, 62, 79, 80; and Denis Labau, *Guy Armand de Gramont, comte de Guiche: Un franc gaulois à la cour du roi-soleil (1637–73)* (Moenh: Pyrémonde, 2005).
73. Although dated, the most complete source on Lully’s sexual practices is Henry Prunières, *La vie illustre et libertine de Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Plon, 1929).
74. *Recueil dit de Maurepas*, 5 vols., ed. Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas (Leiden: s.n., 1865), 1:256.
75. On Lully’s naturalization, see Philippe Beaussant, *Lully ou le musicien du Soleil* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 239–44.
76. Systems of clientage and their relation to sodomy are discussed in part 1, chapter 2.
77. Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 339, 346.
78. Henri de Campion, *Mémoires*, ed. Célestin Moreau (Paris: Jannet, 1857), 208–09.
79. For a discussion of the humors and temperament, see part 2, chapter 2.
80. Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayol, *Memorie d’un avventuriero alla corte di Luigi XIV*, Ed. Irene Brin (Roma: Capriotti, 1945), 91.
81. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (Rotterdam: Arnout et Reinier Leers, 1690), s.v. “inclination.”

82. Didier Godard's *Le goût de Monsieur: L'homosexualité masculine au XVIIIe siècle* (Montblanc: H&O, 2002) is a general study and does not focus on Monsieur.

83. In *Brother to the Sun King*, Barker links Monsieur's "homosexuality" with, among other negative notions, demoralization (xv, 59, 80), disgrace (56), self-punishment (238), and masochism (64); she decries it as "unnatural" (2).

CHAPTER 1

“Crimen Contra Natura”: Naming, Condemning, and Punishing the Sodomite

Scholarship on sodomy in early modern France has traditionally accentuated repression and an immanent fear of execution under which sodomites supposedly lived. In 1957, Marc Daniel declared that sodomites of all classes lived in fear of retribution, and that during the reign of Louis XIV (1638–1715), “Une grande frisson de peur, soudain, se passa parmi tous ces hommes qui, pour fanfarons qu’ils fussent, savaient qu’ils risquaient, les uns le bûcher, les autres la disgrâce et l’exil.”¹ In 1978, Claude Courouve posited a “threat of death hovering over every participant in homosexual acts and the chilling effect which this emphasized,”² and according to Didier Godard, writing in 2002, there developed in seventeenth-century France, “la conscience naissant . . . toujours à la lueur des bûchers, chez les sodomites parisiens, d’appartenir à un même groupe, que la répression même dont il fait l’objet amène à se penser comme tel. Lorsqu’ils assistaient à une exécution, ils savaient que ce destin pouvait devenir le leur.”³ And yet Godard also remarks on the openness with which sodomy, allegedly repressed elsewhere, was practiced at court, “[qui] conduit à relativiser le discours traditionnel qui met l’accent sur la répression: si les homosexuels n’éprouvent pas le besoin de se cacher, c’est que la répression, que ce soit sous sa forme légale (sanctions pénales), ou diffuse (réactions de rejet de la part des différents milieux dans lesquels les individus évoluent), est soit inexistante, soit peu importante.”⁴ In 1985, Maurice Lever had asserted a similar class division in punishment, declaring that sodomites at court, “se moquaient ouvertement de tout. . . . Mais ce n’était-là, rappelons-le, qu’une poignée de privilégiés. Combien d’autres se retranchaient derrière un silence prudent!”⁵ Although it is true that a sodomite subculture emerged in France during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries⁶ (before the notion of sexual identity had developed⁷) and that the juridically- and religiously-prescribed penalty for sodomy was burning, there is little evidence

that sodomites of any class lived in persistent and compelling fear of the stake based solely on their sexual practices, nor that the nobility was immune from chastisement.

Surviving documentation strongly suggests that most so-called “sodomy trials” of the period were not for sodomy itself, but for violent crimes of which sodomy might be a related transgression. In seventeenth-century France, the juridical designation and reprobation of sodomy were grounded in theological discourse around biblically-proscribed sexual acts (usually between men, a qualification that developed over several centuries) capitalily punishable by burning. However, extant evidence reveals that sodomy itself was rarely punished; rather the castigation of sodomites usually resulted from crimes of violence, and these were admonished by fire among the lower classes and banishment from court among the nobility, both of which constitute death for the physical or social body.

In this chapter, I examine the methodology for observing how the sodomite became distinguishable as a juridical subject by considering terminology (the meaning of “Sodomite” in biblical texts, the meaning of “sodomy” in early theological texts), then by observing how the punishments prescribed for sodomy in early theological commentary were absorbed into early modern juridical codes, and finally how these codes relate to the punishment of sodomites in the seventeenth century as evidenced in legal and literary texts. Two theories of Michel Foucault are particularly useful in the interpretation of these sources. The first, developed in *Histoire de la sexualité I: La volonté de savoir*, posits that religious attempts at the repression of proscribed sexual acts incite discourse around those acts. I argue that it was this discourse that produced “sodomy” as a term, and the restrictive designation of “sodomite” as one who engages in certain prohibited sexual acts. The second theory, elaborated in *Surveiller et punir: La naissance du prison*, explains the strategies of punishment as spectacle, which I apply to explain the apparently dissimilar, but functionally parallel

punishments of noble and non-noble sodomites. Throughout this discussion, and in contrast to Foucault, who focused exclusively on discourses, I will address discourses and acts such as punishments together (usually by examining how discourse relates to acts), because punishments result from discursively established strictures, but not in a direct, linear, or causal manner, as writers such as Lever and Godard seem to suggest. For example, just because burning was prescribed for sodomy in juridical discourse does not mean that sodomites who were burned were so punished because of sodomy. All offenses, particularly those that involved legal proceedings, need to be considered, and this reveals that sodomy was rarely punished on its own. The interaction between discourse and acts forms the basis for understanding the definition and castigation of sodomy and sodomites in seventeenth-century France.

Abomination and Excess: Sodom, *Luxuria*, Sodomy, and Foucault's Theory of Incitation

On Palm Sunday 1666, Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) thundered before the court:

Avant que Dieu consumât par le feu du ciel ces villes abominables dont le nom même fait horreur, nous lisons dans la Genèse qu'il parla en cette sorte: "Le cri contre l'iniquité de Sodome et de Gomorrhe s'est augmenté, et leurs crimes se sont aggravés jusqu'à l'excès: je descendrai et je verrai s'ils ont fait selon la clameur qui est venue contre eux jusqu'à moi ou si leurs œuvres sont contraires, afin que je le sache au vrai."⁸

In his imprecation against the biblical "villes abominables," Sodom and Gomorrah,⁹ Bossuet condemns the "crimes" of Sodom's inhabitants, or "Sodomites," a designation that, although capitalized and apparently referring to the inhabitants of the biblical city, is a metonym for an unnamed sin. The very name of the city of Sodom carried connotations of vice that Bossuet aligns with excessive crime. Bossuet does not name the fault of the Sodomites, although the outcry against it supposedly reached God himself and provoked divine wrath. There was, in fact, no need for Bossuet to name the sin in question since moralizing texts of early modern France indicate that there

was already a general consensus on the nature of the Sodomites' transgression.

The overarching religious view of the sodomite was firmly grounded in biblical texts and their theological commentaries. According to Genesis 19:4–5, Lot, who lived in the city of Sodom with his family, was visited by two angels sent to discover whether the Sodomites were culpable of their alleged transgressions: “Prius autem quam irent cubitum, viri civitatis vallaverunt domum a puero usque ad senem, omnis populis simul. Vocaveruntque Lot, et dixerunt ei: Ubi sunt viri qui interoierunt ad te nocte? educ illos huc, ut cognoscamus eos.”¹⁰ In 1550, this biblical passage was translated into French as: “Mais avant qu’ilz allassent coucher, les hommes de la cité environnerent la maison, depuis l’enfant jusques à l’ancien, tout le peuple ensemble. Et appellerent Lot, & luy dirent: Ou sont les homes qui sont entrez à toy de nuict? Meine les hors icy, afin que nous les cognoissions.”¹¹ Neither in the Latin nor in the French translation does the Old Testament reveal what the transgressions of the Sodomites were. In the text of Genesis, the only apparent fault of the Sodomites is their demand “cognoscamus eos,” which the French translation renders exactly as “que nous les congnoissions;” a precise translation, since, according to Jean Thierry’s the *Dictionnaire françois-latin* (1564), the Latin “cognoscere” and the French “cognoistre” are direct cognates.¹² The *Forensium verborum* (1545) of Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) employs “cognoscere” almost exclusively in the juridical sense, “Recōgnoistre son seing” [“to know his heart], “Cognoscere & judicare, Juger ung procès” [“To judge a trial”],¹³ and in Robert Estienne’s *Les mots francoys selon l’ordre des lettres* (1567), “cognoistre” indicates simply the acquisition of knowledge.¹⁴

It is difficult to ascertain what the damning iniquity of the Sodomites may have been, since references to Sodom in the Bible are general evocations of desolation, unnamed transgression, and divine retribution.¹⁵ Only the Book of Jude, the penultimate in the New Testament, explicitly attributes sexual transgression to Sodom: “Sicut Sodoma et Gomorra et finitimae civitates simili

modo exfornicatae et abeuntes post carnem alteram factae sunt exemplum ignis aeterni poenam sustinentes.”¹⁶ [“As Sodom and Gomorrhah and the neighbouring cities, in like manner, having given themselves to fornication and going after other flesh, were made an example, suffering the punishment of eternal fire.”¹⁷] This citation refers to a sexual act or acts (“modo exfornicatae”) of “going after other flesh” [“abeuntes post carnem alteram”], but it is not restrictive, and could be applied to any sexual acts. Thus, although Genesis does not impugn the Sodomites with sexual misconduct, the carnal aspect of the Sodomites’ offense is established in Jude.

Already linked to apparently lustful activities long before the seventeenth century, early religious discourse fused the impugned but unnamed transgressions in Genesis with Jude’s accusation of carnality. Although the damning term, “Sodomite” (inhabitant of Sodom), could apply to any human subject, it became particularly grounded in religious proscriptions against sexual acts between men.¹⁸ The earliest and principal interdiction against such acts is found in Leviticus 18:22: “Cum masculino non cimmiscearis coitu femineo, quia abominatio est”¹⁹ [“Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind, because it is an abomination”²⁰], and Leviticus 20:13 warns that “Qui dormierit cum masculino coitu femineo, uterque operatus est nefas, morte moriantur; sit snaguis eorum sit super eos.”²¹ [“If a man lies with a man as one lies with a woman, both of them have done what is detestable. They must be put to death; their blood will be on their own heads.”²²] Although it is unclear exactly what “dormierit cum masculino coitu femineo” means, a reasonable inference can be made in light of the injunctions on unlawful sexual relations given in Leviticus 18:6–21, which covers 16 forbidden types of relations between men and women, and Leviticus 19:23, which prohibits both men and women from engaging in sexual acts with animals. Leviticus clearly condemns sexual acts between men, although those acts are given no specific names, and they must be considered distinct from the Sodomites’ transgression since neither Genesis nor Jude explains

what “crime” the Sodomites had committed.

A key support to the conflation of Genesis with Leviticus and Jude is found in the description of Sodom in Ezekiel 16:49: “Ecce hæc fuit iniquitas Sodomæ soror tuæ, superbia, saturitas panis, & abundantia, & ocium ipsius & filiarum eius: & manum egeno, & pauperi non porrigebant, & elevatae sunt, & fecerunt abominationes coram me, & abstuli eas sicut vidisti.”²³ [“Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom thy sister, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance, and the idleness of her, and of her daughters: and they did not put forth their hand to the needy, and the poor.”²⁴] Sodom’s “iniquity” was thus first and foremost “superbia” (“pride”), “saturitas panis, & abundantia, & ocium” [“fullness,” perhaps better translated as “excess” “of bread, and abundance, and idleness”], all of which are elements of *luxuria* (one of the seven deadly sins opposed to sobriety and chastity),²⁵ and avarice (“pauperi non porrigebant” [“they did not put forth their hand to the needy, and the poor”]), another deadly sin. In antiquity, the notions of excess and *luxuria* were already central elements in the construction of the sodomite, and both, according to theological commentary, extended beyond material overabundance to concupiscent sexual activities. An emblematic example of such commentary is found in the writings of the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher, Philo of Alexandria (20 B.C.–50 A.D.):

The land of the Sodomites . . . was brimful of innumerable iniquities, particularly such as arise from gluttony and lewdness . . . The inhabitants owed this extreme license to wealth, for, deep-soiled and well-watered as it was, the land had every year a prolific harvest of all manners of fruits, and the chief beginning of evils, as one has aptly said, is goods in excess. Incapable of bearing such satiety, they threw from their necks the law of nature and applied themselves to deep drinking of strong liquor and dainty feeding and forbidden forms of intercourse. Not only in their mad lust for women did they violate the marriages of their neighbors, but also mounted men without regard for the sex nature which the active partner shares with the passive.²⁶

Excess, the central theme of this passage, involves a range of intemperate transgressions that amount to lewdness, gluttony, and debauchery: “deep drinking of strong liquor” and “forbidden

forms of intercourse,” one of which, spurring them to “violate the marriages of their neighbors,” is forbidden in Leviticus 18:18: “Cum uxore proximi tui non coibis nec seminis commixtione maculaberis.”²⁷ [“Do not have sexual relations with your neighbor’s wife and defile yourself with her.”²⁸] The second “forbidden form of intercourse,” also denounced in Leviticus, describes anal intercourse between men: “[they] mounted men without regard for the sex nature which the active partner shares with the passive.” What Philo finds most offensive about intercourse between men is the violation of “sex nature,” which might be interpreted as meaning “the natural sex role” of the partners. According to Philo, intercourse between men is unnatural because it “renders cities desolate and uninhabited by destroying the means of procreation.”²⁹ However, his catastrophic vision of the dangers allegedly inherent in intercourse between men is at odds with his own description of the Sodomites, who were supposed to practice intercourse not only between men, but in excess between men and women, which would hardly result in a reproductive dearth. Furthermore, anal intercourse between men is not the only sin ascribed to the Sodomites, but one among “innumerable iniquities,” so it cannot alone be equated with the subsequent notion of “sodomy” (the term that I will show did not exist before the eleventh century) primarily as anal intercourse between men. Nonetheless, the link between the Sodomites and debauched fornication had been established in the Bible and in Hellenistic philosophy.

Although he was Jewish, Philo’s works were well-received among early Christians, and most of his extant writings were preserved by the Church Fathers.³⁰ For Philo, the same-sex “iniquities” of the Sodomites are against “the order of things” since both partners are of the same “sex nature.” In this context, it is “natural” for a man and a woman to be joined, unnatural to violate their union, and unnatural that men, in the words of Leviticus, “dormierit cum masculo coitu femineo.” The wrongs of the Sodomites, then, were not, according to Philo, restricted to sexual acts between men

(on the contrary, they allegedly had a “mad lust for women”), but included any “unnatural” act that could be classified among the “forbidden forms of intercourse.”

Judeo-Christian philosophy condemned all unauthorized forms of intercourse, yet patristic texts typically focus not on the Sodomites’ “mad lust for women,” but on the same-sex fornication attributed to Sodomite men. The *Confessiones* (397–98) by Augustine of Hippo (354–430) are a representative example:

Therefore those offences which are contrary to nature are everywhere and at all times to be held in detestation and punished; such as were those of the Sodomites, which should all nations commit, they should all be held guilty of the same crime by divine law, which has not so made men that they should in that way abuse one another, for even that fellowship which should be between God and us is violated, when that same nature of which He is the author is polluted by the perversity of lust.³¹

In Philo’s vein, Augustine emphasizes offenses “against nature,” and he also suggests that the crimes attributed to the Sodomites are not unique to them, since the offending acts are ubiquitously practiced and punishable. This universalization of the notion of sodomy, extending beyond the city of Sodom, permitted “Sodom” and “Sodomite” to be used as metonyms. According to Augustine, the sin of the Sodomites was not destroyed with their city and continued to be committed, since he insists that it deserves punishment. But whereas Philo decried the general debauchery of the Sodomite men and women, which included not only forbidden sexual acts, but gluttony, drunkenness, and general lewdness, Augustine chooses to focus on the notion of a personified God who did not create men for mutual “abuse” through the practice of sexual acts.³² For Augustine, the sin of the Sodomites is concretely defined as a transgression committed among men, despite the fact that the Bible mentions no such restriction. In *De civitate Dei* (ca. 412), Augustine asserts that Sodom was “an impious city where sexual intercourse between men had become so commonplace that it received the license usually extended by law to other practices.”³³ In other words, the Sodomites were damned not only for committing the crime, but for generalizing and legitimizing it. Augustine

reserves vituperation for Sodomite men in the *Confessiones*: “To Carthage I came, where a cauldron of unholy loves bubbled up all around me. . . . To love and to be loved was sweet to me, and all the more when I succeeded in enjoying the person I loved. I befouled, therefore, the spring of friendship with the filth of concupiscence, and I dimmed its luster with the hell of lustfulness.”³⁴

Augustine’s admission to a “friendship” that he soiled “with the hell of lustfulness” in this penitential text almost certainly refers to a relationship with another man.³⁵

According to the Bible and patristic commentary, sexual acts between men were transgressive and had to be repressed by punishment, a necessity that largely established a more precise definition of sodomy, which had not yet been named. The process was notably impelled during the Middle Ages by penitential texts, which sought to inhibit unsanctioned acts by prescribing attrition for confessed sins, thus compelling explicit narrations of dereliction so that offenses could be appropriately admonished. This mechanism constitutes a principal element of Michel Foucault’s theory of “institutional incitation,” a notion that he develops in *Histoire de la sexualité I* and had already articulated in *Surveiller et punir*.³⁶ As Foucault explains, “l’essentiel, c’est la multiplication des discours sur le sexe, dans le champ d’exercice du pouvoir lui-même: incitation institutionnelle à en parler, et à en parler de plus en plus; obstination des instances du pouvoir à en entendre parler et à faire parler lui-même sur le mode de l’articulation explicite et du détail indéfiniment cumulé.”³⁷ In the case of sodomy, the insistence on accumulating precise details through confession allowed the act that, according to Augustine, had been condoned as an accepted practice in Sodom to be explicated in Christian Europe through the development of moralizing religious discourse and the advocacy of confession, a type of discourse in which sins must be named so that they may be identified and chastised. Foucault posits the seventeenth century as a period of “naissance des grandes prohibitions, valorisation de la seule sexualité adulte et matrimoniale, impératifs de décence,

esquive obligatoire du corps, mise au silence et pudeurs impératives du langage.”³⁸ The “pudeurs and impératives du langage” are observable in the preface to the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (1694), which states that “Quant aux termes de l’emportement ou qui blessent la Pudeur, on ne les a point admis dans le Dictionnaire, parce que les honnestes gens évitent de les employer dans leurs discours.”³⁹ Ironically, the heightened policing of sexuality resulted in a multiplicity of discourse, thus inciting through repression, according to Foucault, who begins his chapter, “L’incitation aux discours” with the assertion: “XVIIe siècle: ce serait le début d’un âge de répression.”⁴⁰ According to Foucault, the incitation to discourse resulted from an increasing emphasis on the Sacrament of Penance (confession) after the Council of Trent (1545–64), which required that each person examine their sins and, with growing frequency and detail, confess them.⁴¹ However, at least in the case of sodomy, this occurred much earlier, in medieval penitentials beginning in the sixth century. As Mark Jordan notes, early penitentials are important because they reveal that sodomy had become a particular act: “by the seventh or eighth century, Sodom and its inhabitants were being mentioned as a way of designating a particular kind of sexual intercourse,”⁴² and books such as the *Penitentiale Commeani* (eighth century), which was the main source for Gallican penitentials, contain explicit discourse on sexual acts.⁴³ Such discourse would first have circulated among the monks and priests who originally compiled penitentials for their own use, and then, by the eleventh century, among priests and the laity through the confessional,⁴⁴ thus inciting discourses on sodomy and establishing it as a specific carnal transgression designated by a particular name referring back across centuries of religious tradition.

Sexual relations between men are among those catalogued in penitential texts condemning acts that had allegedly been performed by the Sodomites. The earliest penitentials, compiled in Irish and Anglo-Saxon monasteries for the use of confessors,⁴⁵ also circulated on the continent during the

seventh and eighth centuries. According to one of these, the *Sinodus Luci Victoriae* (ca. 550):

“Whoever commits the male crime as the Sodomites [shall do penance] for four years; whoever in the thighs, three years; whoever by the hand of another or his own, two years.”⁴⁶ Here, as in the writings of Augustine, and John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407), another influential Church Father, the sin of the Sodomite is a “male crime,” unspecified, but distinguishable from a similar act “by the hand of another or his own” or “in the thighs.”⁴⁷ The first of these is probably an allusion to masturbation, forbidden in Genesis 38:8-10,⁴⁸ and the second act, similar to the third, but performed “in the thighs,” is most likely coitus-interfemoris. Through the easily-manipulated tale of Sodom, a narrative to which were added the injunctions in Leviticus, and the association of Sodom with fornication found in Jude and influential patristic texts as source material, moralizing religious discourse had developed adequate textual authority on which to base its condemnation of sexual acts between men. Although the terms “sodomy” and “sodomite” did not yet exist, the acts attributed to the Sodomites had now been precisely named and condemned, marking living individuals that commit them as damnable.

The penitentials spread from Ireland to England in the seventh century and to the continent in the eighth century when they began to be written there, too.⁴⁹ Six penitentials of Gallic origin survive from the Merovingian period (sixth–eighth century):⁵⁰ the *Burgundian Penitential* (ca. 700–25), which was the basis of the *Bobbio Penitential* (ca. 700–25) and the *Paris Penitential* (ca. 750), associates sexual acts between men with the Sodomite, although it does not always stratify the levels of acts and their punishments as in the *Sinodus Luci Victoriae*. The *Burgundian Penitential* stipulates: “If anyone commits fornication as the sodomites did, he shall do penance for ten years, three of these on bread and water, and never sleep with another,”⁵¹ which suggests that by the mid-eighth century, French religious texts associated the Sodomite, understood *a priori* to be a man, with the type of fornication

between men condemned in Leviticus.

Applied to medieval penitentials, Foucault's theory of incitation is critical to the evolution of "sodomy" as an express designator, because it requires that "the male crime as the Sodomites" be named. In this sense, the repressive direction of institutional power (the Church policing sodomy), which often has a negative connotation, functions productively, a mechanism that Foucault describes in *Surveiller et punir*: "Il faut cesser de toujours décrire les effets de pouvoir comme négatifs: il 'exclut,' il 'réprime,' il 'refoule,' il 'censure,' il 'abstrait,' il 'masque,' il 'cache.' En fait le pouvoir produit; il produit du réel; il produit des domaines d'objets et des rituels de vérité. L'individu et la connaissance qu'on peut en prendre relèvent de cette production."⁵² The penitentials sought to repress sodomy, which resulted in its being named since this was required by the discourse that surrounded it. From Biblical times, the crime of the Sodomites had been chimerical, hidden, mythical in its proportions. During the eleventh century, the need to know and name the sin in order to condemn it produced "sodomy," which is among Foucault's "domains of objects."

Although there may have been "fornication as the Sodomites did" in early medieval France, there was, as yet, no such thing as "sodomy" itself. According to Mark Jordan, the Latin "Sodomia" was coined as a proper noun by Peter Damian (ca. 1007–1072), a reforming cardinal associated with Pope Gregory VII (1020/25–85), in his *Liber Gomorrhianus* (1051): "If blasphemy is the worst sin, I do not know in what way Sodomy is any better."⁵³ Damian fuses the name of the city to an act with which it is now irrevocably bound. He links "the worst sin" with the act prohibited by Leviticus:

In fact, this shameful act is not improperly believed to be worse than all other crimes since, indeed, we read that almighty God always dealt with this detested evil in one way. Even before he had placed the bridle of legal precept on other vices, he was already censuring it with the punishment of a severe penalty. There is no need to mention that he destroyed the two famous cities of Sodom and Gomorrah and all their surrounding regions by sulphur and fire from heaven. . . . It is also written in the Law, "If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have done evil and shall be put to death; their blood will be upon them."⁵⁴

By citing Leviticus, Damian emphasizes the separation between the individual and the act. A man is an individual, but the “evil” that he has done is an act. For Damian, Sodomy is an act equal to the worst sin, and the newly-named sodomite (no longer a proper noun) was identifiable, not by the city in which he lived, but by a crime inextricably associated with sexual acts in which he engages. Beyond this, he conjoins the notions of “legal precept” and “the Law,” attributing both to God, a position that would later resurface in juridical codes that seek to enforce the religious injunctions from which they are drawn. Having named sodomy, Damian then refers to sodomites as individuals in the first chapter of the *Liber Gomorrhianus*, “The Different Types of Those Who Sin Against Nature.” Here the sinners, who are types of individuals, are distinct from their sins, which are the acts that they commit. Damian begins by classifying behaviors: “Four types of this form of criminal wickedness can be distinguished in an effort to show you the totality of the whole matter in an orderly way: some sin with themselves alone; some commit mutual masturbation; some commit femoral fornication; and finally, others commit the complete act against nature.”⁵⁵ Confirming the differentiation between the individuals (“some”) and the sexual act (“sin”), Damian stratifies the types and levels of sodomy in parallel with the *Sinodus Luci Victoriae* as solitary or mutual masturbation, femoral fornication, and “the complete act against nature,” which may logically be read to mean anal intercourse. Sodomy, then, comprises not just an individual act, but a range of acts associated with men, and those who engage in these transgressive acts are deemed to be sodomites, which is a moral classification. Jordan succinctly summarizes the process and purpose of naming the sodomite when he observes: “Most often in Christian theology . . . [naming is used in] qualifying a crime, which is then blamed and analyzed, depicted and condemned.”⁵⁶

Damian’s notion of a “crime against nature” is perhaps the most frequently recurring theme in moralizing Christian discourse on sodomy, yet there is no explanation of why its constitutive acts

are “contra natura.” Genesis 38:8–10 tells of God slaying Onan, who, lying with his brother’s wife, Tamar, “sui semen fundebat in terram”⁵⁷ [“spilled his semen on the ground”⁵⁸]. But this was not necessarily the reason for Onan’s punishment, since Leviticus 20:21 prohibits a man from having intercourse with his brother’s wife. Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–74), whose *Summa theologiae* attempts to reconcile traditional Christian morality and natural law, classifies sexual acts “contra natura” into four categories. In rising degrees of gravity, these are “solitary sin” (masturbation), sexual intercourse between a man and a woman “in the wrong vessel” (anal or oral intercourse) or in the wrong position (that is, in any but the “missionary position”),⁵⁹ sodomy (relations with the “wrong” sex), and bestiality⁶⁰ (which violated the original prescription of Leviticus).⁶¹ Aquinas increases the weight of the sodomite’s sin beyond the same acts performed between a man and a woman, which for him does not constitute sodomy, thus concretizing the association of sodomy with men and departing from the Biblical attribution of sodomy to “omnis populus” of Sodom.

“Igitur Dominus Pluit”: Punishing the Sodomite

Once the meaning of sodomy had been established, it could more easily be punished, and civil authorities took up disciplining acts that the Church proscribed. Foucault observes this overlap of religious and secular law and notes that, “La sodomie – celle des anciens droits civil ou canonique – était un type d’actes interdits; leur auteur n’en était que le sujet juridique.”⁶² This conception of sodomy engages the moral condemnation of the religious establishment and the punitive function of the juridical, which may now police identifiably transgressive acts. As Foucault explains in *Surveiller et punir*, the punishment of any transgressive act seeks not only to chastise the person who commits it, but to demonstrate the authority of law:

Il doit, par rapport à la victime, être marquant: il est destiné, soit par la cicatrice qu’il laisse sur le corps, soit par l’éclat dont il est accompagné, à rendre infâme celui qui en est la victime; le supplice, même s’il a pour fonction de “purger” le crime, ne réconcilie pas; il trace autour ou, mieux, sur le corps même du condamné des signes qui ne doivent pas s’effacer; la

mémoire des hommes en tout cas gardera le souvenir de l'exposition, du pilori, de la torture et de la souffrance dûment constatés. Et du côté de la justice qui l'impose, le supplice doit être éclatant, il doit être constaté par tous, un peu comme son triomphe.⁶³

Punishment, says Foucault, is a precisely calibrated mechanism,⁶⁴ and although crime is never excised, the éclat of publically-imposed suffering that marks the body as reprobate confirms the ascendancy of law. Perhaps the most dramatic example of such expiation is the destruction of Sodom, supposedly accomplished by divine justice, the ultimate that can be imposed. The bodies of the Sodomites were not only marked, but consumed by fire, and the memory of Sodom's annihilation was perpetuated in the minds of Christians through religious discourse, which in pre-modern and early modern France was invoked by juridical codes prescribing burning to punish sodomy. Since religious proscription largely served as the basis for civil law from the Middle Ages through the nineteenth century and beyond, the death sentence was invoked by juridical texts in keeping with the Old Testament.

With the extensive institution of certain sexual acts as “contra natura,” theological texts from the Middle Ages through the early modern period manifest increasing detail on various sexual acts associated with sodomy, such as masturbation and coitus-interfemoris. Descriptions become more graphic, as in *La somme des pechez et les remèdes d'iceux* (1587) of the Franciscan theologian, Jean Benedicti (d. ca. 1611), although he abstains from describing sodomy in French: “Copula Sodomitica sit masculino coitu eiaculando semen intra pudenda posteriora. Actus Sodomiticus polluendo deipsum cum secunda persona. Et haec est sortassis Sodomia mulierium quanuis possit etiam esse masculorum.”⁶⁵ [“Sodomitical copulation is committed by a male ejaculating semen inside the posterior pudenda. The sodomitical act is committed by polluting oneself with another person, and this is perhaps sodomy of women as much as it can also be of men.”] Although Benedicti associates sodomy primarily with men, he notes that there was “perhaps sodomy of women” (and by this he

means sexual acts between and among women). However, he also relies on earlier definitions of the sin “contra natura,” asserting: “Ce peché est contre l’ordre de nature, pource qu’il se commet contre l’ordre du sexe.”⁶⁶ According to Benedicti, there is no demarcation between the “natural order” and the “sexual order,” which he considers to be one of its attributes.

In nature, sexual acts are theoretically procreative, so those acts are part of the natural order. Sodomy (excluding Damien’s category of intercourse between men and women “in the wrong position”) is not procreative. Therefore sodomy is an offense against the natural and sexual orders. This notion becomes a constant in the definition and chastisement of the sodomite in early modern Europe. The philosopher and theologian Ludovico Maria Sinistrari (1632–1701) enjoins that sodomy “Est autem, *regulariter* loquendo, crimen hoc *coitus in vase præpostero.*”⁶⁷ [“Is against the *right order*, it is *coitus in the posterior vessel.*”] Sinistrari is even more clear than Benedicti in designating that which is not only “natural,” but “right.” The “right order” to which Sinistrari refers parallels Benedicti’s procreative “sexual order,” both belonging to the “natural order,” and he explicitly aligns sodomy with anal coitus, an act “contra natura” and the gravest fault of the sodomite.

By the early modern period, “sodomy” in French juridical discourse was linked, sometimes used interchangeably, with “bougrerie.” According to the second edition of the *Dictionnaire universel* (1701)⁶⁸ by Antoine Furetière (1619–88), “bougre” signifies “Sodomite, nonconformiste en amour.”⁶⁹ Sodomy as nonconformity invokes notions of the normative, and religious and civil obedience. The *Dictionnaire françois*⁷⁰ of Pierre Richelet (1631–98) defines “conformation” as “Constitution et proportion naturelle de la partie” and “conformer” as “Rendre conforme. [La Loi du Seigneur conforme les ames à ses instructions salutaires];” “se conformer” as “se rendre conforme. [Se conformer aux volontez d’autrui.]”⁷¹ Just as theological and juridical discourses on sodomy overlapped, so did the notion of nonconformity transfer the religious to the secular.

Sodomy's nonconformity, because it is "contra natura," is against natural constitution and proportion, flouts the laws of God, and refuses to submit to the prescribed order of a religious or civil authority.

Juridical injunctions rested on Biblical decrees, which those injunctions necessarily sought to uphold in order to safeguard their own authority. By the Middle Ages, the Church was promulgating civil punishments for violations of faith, and the notion of heresy (the contravention of Catholic doctrine) was the motivating force behind the condemnation of sodomites. According to William E. Burgwinkle, by the 12th century, "Sodomy was already seen as an adjunct to heresy, an accusation to be disproved or punished."⁷² The jurist Philippe de Beaumanoir (ca. 1250–96) names "sexual heresy" as synonymous with sodomy; religious and sexual aberrance were closely associated. Indeed, "bougre," perhaps the most common slang for "sodomite," derives from the campaign against the Albigensians who inhabited the south of France during the thirteenth century. The Albigensians followed a form of Manichaeism, which was Gnostic and heretical, were accused of practicing sodomy, and the Pope led a crusade against them in 1208, taking their wealthy capital, Carcassonne, a year later. This campaign, along with the suppression of the wealthy order of Knights Templar, also accused of sodomy, in 1312, are reminiscent of the charges of sodomy against high-ranking political enemies by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (482–565) and Empress Theodora (ca. 500–48).⁷³ The Albigensians' beliefs were probably drawn from the Bulgarian heresy, the term "Bulgar" being corrupted to "Boulgre" and "Bougre," and associated with sodomy as sexual heresy. In early modern France, heresy continued to be named, along with sodomy, in juridical trials.⁷⁴

The Albigensian Crusade is emblematic of the interconnectedness of secular and civil authority in medieval Europe where, as Malcolm D. Lambert notes, there was an assumption that: "it was the right of the Church to call on the State to put down heresy."⁷⁵ The Church had failed to

convert the Albigensians peacefully or excise their heresy, but it was not until the papal legate, Pierre de Castelnau (d. 1208) was killed by a knight in the service of Raymond VI, comte de Toulouse (1156–1222), who was among the nobles that had been excommunicated for refusing to assist the Church, that Pope Innocent III (ca. 1160–1216) called for a crusade, which was undertaken by nobles, largely from northern France, who had been promised the heretics' confiscated land. Both Louis VIII (1187–1226) and Louis IX (1214–70) aided in conquering Languedoc. Furthermore, the bull *Ad Abolendam* (1184) of Pope Lucius III (ca. 1100–85) laid the foundations for the Inquisition by instructing that bishops were to investigate heretics (several of those that did not were suspended), and canon three of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) propounds that “*Damnati vero, saecularibus potestatibus praesentibus, aur eorum Ballivis, relinquuntur animadversione debita puniendi . . .*”⁷⁶ [“Those condemned [of heresy], being handed over to the secular rulers of their bailiffs, let them be abandoned, to be punished with due justice . . .”] Thus it was formally instituted that civil law was to enact retribution for violations of Church doctrine.⁷⁷ In the section entitled “Bougres” in the *Traicté des peines et amendes tant pour les matieres criminelles que civiles* (1573), Jean Duret (ca. 1540–1620), a royal prosecutor in the presidial court of Moulins, declares:

Moyse traictant de cet abominable peché, ordonna que celuy qui . . . coucheroit avec un autre homme, ainsi qu'il pourroit faire avec une femme, que tous ayans transgressé fussent punis de mort. Les loix Imperiales conformes à tant saintes ordonnance, lors que l'homme prent le lieu de la femme, comme s'il esperoit quelque fois enfanter (chose detestable à penser) . . . veulent que les droits s'arment, & selevant pour punir de mort tels monstres⁷⁸ infames à jamais.⁷⁹

For a man to assume a position similar to that of a woman engaging in procreative sex almost certainly refers to anal penetration, and this is confirmed by Sinistrari's definition. A slightly later treatise, *Les [sic] procès civil et criminel divisé en cinq livres* (1611) of Claude Lebrun de La Rochette (1560–1630), an attorney in Lyon, also identifies sodomy with buggery: “Le nom de Sodomie, a esté

tiré de la miraculeuse punition des Sodomites, lors que Dieu pour cest execrable forfait, abisma dans les entrailles de la terre, les villes de Sodome, Gomorrhe, Seboin, Segor, & Oleale. Nous l'appellons, bougrerie”⁸⁰ To specify its meaning, La Rochette posits an Italian origin for “bougrerie”: Nous l'appellons, bougrerie, à l'imitation des Italiens, qui ont nommé ceux qui en sont atteints, *Buzzerroni*, quasi *buzo erroni*: & de fait, lors que l'on execute quelqu'un à mort en Italie, s'ils sont interrogez pour quelle cause se fait l'execution, leur commune response est, que *ha errato il buzo*, qui signifie trou, en leur langue.”⁸¹ By referring to particular “monsters” as targets of personified laws and to individuals executed for having transgressed codes of sexual convention, Duret and La Rochette confirm that although punitive law is directed against acts, these may only be censured through the persons that commit them.

Beyond defining the nature of the crime of sodomy, La Rochette and Duret both prescribe the death penalty, a punishment based on religious proscriptions in Leviticus, among other texts. Duret, refers to Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13 when he writes: “Moyse traictant de cet abominable peché, ordonna que celui qui . . . coucheroit avec un autre homme, ainsi qu'il pourroit faire avec une femme, que tous ayans transgressé fussent punis de mort,”⁸² and his reference to “imperial laws” invokes further ancient legal precedent. Those laws are found in the *Corpus juris civilis*, commissioned by the Justinian in 528 and issued in 534.⁸³ Justinian's declaration in the text 9:9:31 is the first promulgation of civil punitive measures against sodomy.⁸⁴

What is a man after, when he lies, embracing, with a man as with a woman; when difference of sex disappears; when there is a crime which it does not pay to know; when Venus is changed to some other form . . . We order the laws to rise up and statutes to be armed with the sword of an avenger, so that those who are now or hereafter guilty may become infamous and be subjected to the most exquisite punishment.⁸⁵

Justinian's law, personified as armed, replaces the divine to avenge statutes and does not expressly prescribe death for those found guilty of sexual acts between men. What might constitute “the most exquisite punishment” is left open to question, but the Latin “*exquisitus*” refers to that which is

chosen with meticulous care, and in this context might imply that the sentence should entail a particularly refined infliction of suffering. According to the Byzantine chronicler John Malalas (ca. 491–578):

At this time, bishops of diverse provinces were prosecuted for the lustful act of sleeping with males. . . . by an edict of the Emperor they were examined by the prefect of the city, stripped of their rank and punished. After he had suffered severe torture, Isaiah was sent into exile. Alexander, on the other hand, had his male organ cut off, and was placed in a litter and exposed as a spectacle to the people. Shortly after, the emperor passed a law that the crime of sex with males should be punishable by castration . . . many . . . were seized and their genitals were cut off, and they died.⁸⁶

In these cases, the “most exquisite punishment” is torture and exile. The public exhibition of genital excision illustrates Foucault’s description of the *éclat* required for the triumphant staging of punitive law, and both of these cases are paradigmatic examples of Foucault’s theory of retributive calibration: “Le supplice repose sur tout un art quantitatif de la souffrance. . . . Le supplice met en corrélation le type d’atteinte corporelle, la qualité, l’intensité, la longueur des souffrances avec la gravité du crime”⁸⁷ If the degree of corporeal punishment corresponds to the degree of the offence, then the “most exquisite” punishment would be reserved for the most heinous crimes, of which sodomy was declared one by the Justinian Code. Torture, castration, and banishment publicly mark as iniquitous the bodies and lives of those who have been found guilty. Beyond this, death may well have been the intention of castration since the mortality rate was extremely high, even with medical care.⁸⁸ The events that Malalas describes most likely took place in 528,⁸⁹ and it was not until ten years later that Justinian explicitly ordained the death sentence for sodomy in his Novella 77, which would establish legal precedence for Europe.⁹⁰

However, another aspect of the influential Justinian Code suggests that it was not sodomy, but other offenses that were the true causes of reprobation. John Boswell notes: “[although] the emperor expressed his opposition to homosexuality⁹¹ in religious terms There is no indication

that any Church official suggested or supported the emperor's action against gay people. On the contrary, the only persons known to have been punished for homosexual acts were prominent bishops."⁹² It would seem unusual for Justinian to deploy charges of sodomy against exalted members of an institution whose precepts he was allegedly enforcing, but the Byzantine historian, barrister, and legal advisor, Procopius Caesarensis (ca. 500–65)⁹³ explains the emperor's actions by asserting that in claiming to prohibit sodomy, Justinian was in fact targeting those who were either political enemies, "or possessed of great wealth, or who happened to have done something else which offended the rulers."⁹⁴ Sodomy itself was not being punished (a characteristic also typical of early modern France), but it provided a convenient cover for the ruler to pursue personal vendettas. Procopius records that Theodora accused a young man of sodomy after he had spoken ill of her, had him dragged from the church in which he sought asylum, tortured, and castrated without a trial,⁹⁵ a breach of the *Corpus juris civilis*, which ordains that anyone forcibly removing someone from Church asylum is guilty of *laesio majestatis*.⁹⁶ Such selective application of the legal code by the emperor and empress suggests that neither civil nor religious law was the basis for the punishment of sodomites since both were being violated. In yet another incident that Procopius recounts, Theodora unjustly incriminated an innocent man of sodomy, but on this occasion, although witnesses were bribed and one of the accused's friends was tortured, the judges refused to hear the case, largely because a number of high-ranking people came to the defense of the indicted.⁹⁷ Similar situations were later typical in early modern France where class distinctions determined the enforcement of sodomy laws, and those of high station were punished according to different standards than others.⁹⁸

Death by fire for those convicted of sodomy undoubtedly stems from the story of Sodom in Genesis 19:24, which recounts: "igitur Dominus pluit super Sodomam & Gomorram sulphur &

ignem a Domino de caelo.”⁹⁹ [“the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven.”¹⁰⁰] The earliest civil act that ordains burning for sodomites is to be found in the Codex Theodosianus, compiled by the the Byzantine emperor, Theodosius II (401–50) and published in 438: “Iidem aaa. Orientio vicario urbis Romae. Omnes, quibus flagitii usus est, virile corpus muliebriter constitutum alieni sexus damnare patientia (nihil enim discretum videntur habere cum feminis), huius modi scelus spectante populo flammis vindicibus expiabunt.”¹⁰¹ [“All persons who have the shameful custom of condemning a man’s body, acting the part of a woman’s, to the sufferance of an alien sex (for they appear not to be different from women) shall expiate the crime of this kind in avenging flames in the sight of the people.”¹⁰²] Casting sodomites as men using men’s bodies as if they were women’s bodies repeats the proscriptions of Leviticus and parallels the Justinian Code’s accusation that “natural” sex roles were being transgressed; in both instances the man’s body is said to be used “contra natura.” The gravity of such an offense demanded a superb chastisement, because, as Foucault observes in *Surveiller et punir*, “la mémoire des hommes, en tout cas, gardera le souvenir de l’exposition, du pilori, de la torture et de la souffrance dûment constatés. Et du côté de la justice qui l’impose, le supplice doit être éclatant, il doit être constaté par tous.”¹⁰³ The éclat of burning sodomites in public was intended to make a lasting impression on the viewer. Foucault observes: “L’exemple était recherché non seulement en suscitant la conscience que la moindre infraction risquait fort d’être punie; mais en provoquant un effet de terreur par le spectacle faisant rage sur le coupable.”¹⁰⁴ The mental imprint sought by spectacular punishment was to deter crime through instilling such terror of institutional justice that the least infringement engendered consternation.

Although the appropriateness of death by fire was confirmed in the Theodosian Code, it was, according to Crompton, the earlier, Justinian Code that was resurrected in the twelfth century

and became the strongest influence on Western European law.¹⁰⁵ By the mid-thirteenth century, civil prohibitions of sodomy existed in France,¹⁰⁶ and legal treatises and codes prescribed capital punishment by burning. For example, the *Livres de justice et de plet* (a juridical treatise compiled in Orléans, ca. 1260) ordain: “Celui qui est sodomie prouvé, doit perdre les couilles, et s’il le fait une seconde fois, il doit perdre le membre; et s’il le fait une troisième fois, il doit être brûlé.”¹⁰⁷ Here, the act (sodomy) is being punished, not the person (sodomite), but the transgression may only be castigated through the corporeal medium of the one who committed it. Furthermore, this text, which combines Justinian and Theodosian precedent, moves beyond castration to death by burning, as do the *Contumes de Beauvaisis* (1283), a monument of procedural and substantive law written by Beaumanoir: “Qui erre contre la foi, comme en mécréance, de laquelle il ne veut venir à voie de vérité, ou qui fait *sodomiterie* [c.à.d. hérésie sexuelle], il doit être brûlé.”¹⁰⁸ Unlike the prescriptions in *Justice et plet* and the imperial codes, that of Beaumanoir attaches to those who err against the Catholic Church, are unbelievers, or commit heresy. In this context, the notion of sexual heresy involves transferring the religious onto the sexual. If an act is proscribed by religious discourse, then committing that act contravenes Church doctrine, which constitutes heresy. Conor McCarthy observes: “Heresy is associated with sexual deviance in the accusations of the orthodox throughout the Middle Ages,”¹⁰⁹ and he also notes the relation between heresy and accusations of sodomy during the Albigensian Crusade.¹¹⁰ This process of transference had begun in Biblical texts, such as the Book of Jude, in which the carnal aspects of the Sodomites’ alleged offenses are emphasized and condemned by religious strictures supposedly echoing the response of God himself in the destruction of Sodom.

The Boundaries of Punishment: Religious and Civil Penalties for Acts of Sodomy

Medieval law was embedded in early modern judicial practice through juridical texts, which stipulated death by fire for committing sodomy, even though the number of executions remains

uncertain. The *Coutume de Bretagne* (early fourteenth century), which refers to the Justinian Code and states that “Tous condamnés de crime de sodomie seront traînés, ards et brûlés,”¹¹¹ was published throughout the seventeenth century.¹¹² In 1715, Antoine Bruneau (1640–1720?), an attorney of the Parlement de Paris, wrote in his *Observations et maximes sur les matières criminelles* (which cites the *Coutume de Bretagne*): “La peine de la sodomie ne sçauroit être assez forte pour expier un crime qui fait rougir la nature . . . de faire mourir l’agent & le patient par le feu qui les consomme & les cendres jettées au vent.”¹¹³ Nature blushes from acts violating her order, thus both active and passive sodomites are guilty of using a man’s body in an “unnatural” manner (*contra natura*), and both are condemned.¹¹⁴ Similar prescriptions for sodomites are found in other early modern sources, including Benedicti’s *Somme des pechéz*, which declares that sodomites “doivent estre punis de mort & bruslez.”¹¹⁵ However, the impact of juridical texts on punitive judicial acts (the number of trials and executions by fire for sodomy) in early modern France is impossible to estimate with any precision before the eighteenth century. Louis XIV did not create the office of Lieutenant Général de Police until 1667, and the police did not generally collect detailed information on sodomites before 1715. The corpus of existing documents is primarily the collection of juridical proceedings from the Parlement de Paris, which contains only nine cases from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1540–1661).¹¹⁶ Among modern scholars, Maurice Lever mentions 38 executions for sodomy between 1317 and 1789,¹¹⁷ Claude Courouve, whose corpus covers cases from throughout France, counts 25 trials during the reign of Louis XIV in which 17 men were executed.¹¹⁸ Although, according to this documentation, fewer than 40 men appear to have been executed (and not always by burning)¹¹⁹ over a period of more than 400 years, it is usually assumed that the number of executions was higher since, as Michael Sibalís asserts: “Some records may have been burned along with the condemned—apparently a customary practice—and others simply thrown out over the

centuries.”¹²⁰ Although this may be true, it does not necessarily follow that the number of cases was significantly higher, since, as Courouve mentions: “The actual trial records were generally burned, [but] we possess copies of the procedures and decrees of the Parlements, or accounts of reliable witnesses.”¹²¹ Sibalis and Courouve agree that sodomy cases were rarely heard in court and that the death sentence was infrequently ordained.¹²²

The records of appeals lodged with the Parlement de Paris, including cases from roughly half the kingdom, which was under its jurisdiction, help to form a general picture of how actively sodomy was policed. According to Alfred Soman, there were 176 sodomy appeals from 1565 to 1640, in which 44% of the accused were executed.¹²³ This figure is considerably higher than the record of 10 surviving cases directly tried in Parlement over a period of more than a hundred years. It is possible that Paris documents were burned or lost, but Soman’s figure does not specify whether the 176 appeals were for cases strictly involving sodomy or whether there were other charges cited, an important consideration in determining what constitutes a “sodomy case.” For example, in every one of the 10 surviving cases heard in Parlement (these have been selected because they constitute a known corpus), either violence, incest, rape, bestiality, or the abuse of a child or youth is a principal element. Emblematic examples (in which the accusers and defendants were all commoners¹²⁴) include the case of Gervais Liénard, who was found guilty of raping by sodomy the thirteen-year-old Thibaut Valeran (21 July 1612), and that of Jacob du Tertre, who was found to have raped by sodomy his nephew René du Tertre (19 January 1680). The accused was acquitted in only one case, and of the eight cases in which the guilty were sentenced to death, six ordained burning as the penalty.

Beyond sexual crimes, the notions of blasphemy and heresy could also be invoked during the trials of sodomites, and, as in cases of violent crimes such as rape, those transgressions, not sodomy, were the cause for condemnation. Only rarely in the surviving judicial documentation are sodomites

tried or condemned solely for their sexual practices, and, particularly since sodomy was officially punishable according to religious and civil codes, there is no reason to infer that when a supposed sodomite was prosecuted for another crime, then sodomy was the real cause for judicial action, particularly when sodomy is named only as an ancillary offense.¹²⁵ It is not unusual for discussions on policing sodomy in early modern France to evade this point, suggesting that in the trials of sodomites, sodomy was the obliquely-targeted offense, even when more punishable crimes are the explicitly stated reason for prosecution. For example, in the case of Claude Le Petit (ca. 1638–62), known as a sodomite and writer of obscene verses, Godard attributes to Le Petit the recognition of belonging to a circle of sodomites aware that they were subject to capital punishment for their sexual practices.¹²⁶ Although this may be true, belonging to a group that wrote poetry deemed obscene would have been the more likely reason for pause, particularly during a time in which censorship was becoming increasingly aggressive.¹²⁷ As Joan DeJean notes, Le Petit was “the first, and the last, writer to be ceremonially and publically executed because of his publications.”¹²⁸ Although a sodomite, Le Petit was not tried and burned for sodomy, but for publishing *Le bordel des Muses ou les neuf pucelles putains*, a collection deemed “impious” and “blasphemous.”¹²⁹ The opening poem of the collection, the “Sonnet foutatif,” blatantly invokes sodomy in the first tercet:

Foutre du cul, foutre du con,
 Foutre du Ciel et de la Terre,
 Foutre du diable et du tonnerre,
 Et du Louvre et de Montfaucon.

Foutre du temple et du balcon,
 Foutre de la paix et de la guerre,
 Foutre du feu, foutre du verre,
 Et de l'eau et de l'Hélicon.
 Foutre des valets et des maîtres,
 Foutre des moines et des prestres,
 Foutre du foutre et du fouteur.

Foutre de tout le monde ensemble,
 Foutre du livre et du lecteur,
 Foutre du sonnet, que t'en semble?¹³⁰

According to Aquinas, “to blaspheme is to utter an affront or insult against the creator,”¹³¹ which is essentially the offense that was imputed to Le Petit by his judges. Declaring “Foutre des moines et des prestres,” God’s representatives, is impious and blasphemes by insulting the religious establishment, and thus God. Frédéric Lachèvre notes: “La sentence de la Chambre criminelle du Châtelet, présidée par le Prévôt de Paris . . . déclarait Claude Le Petit atteint et convaincu du crime de lèse-majesté divine et humaine pour avoir composé le livre intitulé le *Bordel des Muses* et autres écrits contre l’honneur de Dieu et de ses saints, et le condamnait à avoir le poing droit coupé et à être brûlé vif en place de Grève.”¹³² Writing poetry that was “against the honor of God and his saints” is the same as speaking against or insulting the creator. Blasphemy, as a spoken or written utterance, is a discursive act, which, according to Robert S. Perinbanayagam, is “the transformation of sounds into a discourse that embodies one’s intentions.”¹³³ As a discursive act, blasphemy was dangerous because it signaled intentions against the Church. In this sense, blasphemy was also a form of heresy, since, according to Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universelle*, heresy is everything “qu’on avance contre les décisions de l’Eglise Catholique & des Conciles”¹³⁴ Burning at the stake was a common punishment for crimes of heresy and blasphemy,¹³⁵ and sodomites burned at the stake were not necessarily executed for sodomy. Beyond this, severing Le Petit’s right hand following the proverb that “On est toujours puni par où l’on a péché” emphasizes the authorial offense. In the case of Le Petit, as DeJean and Lachèvre show, obscenity (which in this context means sexually transgressive writing¹³⁶), not sodomy, was the principal reason for execution.

On the whole, neither the number of cases, nor the number and method of executions provides compelling evidence of vigorous punishment for sodomy in early modern France. Because there is so little court documentation, Courouve declares: “The vast majority of homosexual acts completely escaped judicial notice.”¹³⁷ More likely, acts of sodomy usually went unmentioned

because they were not considered remarkable. Godard observes that sodomy in seventeenth-century France was “une homosexualité qui échappe le plus souvent à toute répression, et en particulier au châtement préconisé par les juristes, à savoir la peine du feu.”¹³⁸ It is credible that the police, courts, and even the Church, were not primarily interested in exterminating sodomites, but in admonishing violent crimes, such as rape. In this perspective, acts of sodomy, although criminal according to both civil and religious strictures, were not deemed so threatening to public safety and well-being as were crimes such as rape and murder, which were logically prioritized by prosecutors.

Considering the social status of the accused in surviving cases involving sodomy, Merrick and Ragan note: “The police records . . . reveal more about workingmen than they do about notables . . .”¹³⁹ This is fortunate when considering sodomy among the lower classes, since judicial inquiries preserve details of the circumstances under which the practice might be considered actionable and reveal the influence of juridical discourse on judicial acts. On the other hand, because those classes were largely unlettered, discourse on their practice of sodomy is necessarily constructed by judicial and, to a lesser extent, religious texts, and there is a dearth of first-hand accounts from the lower classes. Documentation on the practice of sodomy among those of higher station is richer, particularly among the court nobility, who were rarely subject to juridical prosecution. One notable exception is Théophile de Viau (1590–1626), a *gentilhomme de la chambre* of Louis XIII, known sodomite, member of unconventional social circles,¹⁴⁰ and author of scurrilous poetry who was exiled from France in 1619.¹⁴¹ According to Lachèvre, the injunction against Théophile was directed at him as an atheist,¹⁴² and the *Mercure françois* reports:

Au mois de May de ceste année, sur ce que l’on fit entendre au Roy que le poète Théophile avoit faict des vers indignes d’un Chrestien, tant en croyance qu’en saleté, il envoya à Paris commander au seigneur qui le tenoit à sa suite qu’il eust à luy donner congé, ce qu’il fit: et aussi tost sorty, le Chevalier du guet luy enjoignit de la part de sa Majesté de vuidier dans les vingt-quatre heures la France, sur peine de la vie: ce qu’il fit en diligence car le commandement estoit très-exprez.¹⁴³

Théophile was accused of offending Christian decency as writer of filthy verse, which was no doubt made more grievous by his Protestantism, a religion that the Catholic establishment also deemed “unworthy of a Christian.” In the *Mercuré’s* report, sodomy, although traditionally associated with the heresy and blasphemy of atheists and the ungodly, is not mentioned, and it is the religious defilements contained in Théophile’s writings that draw explicit condemnation. Nonetheless, he was permitted to return to court in 1621 after his friends had won the influence of some of the devout there and the ear of the king when Théophile abjured Protestantism and wrote his *Traicté de l’immortalité de l’âme ou la mort de Socrate*, which the sovereign read.¹⁴⁴ According to Lachèvre, the king warned him: “s’il découvre qu’il dise ou écrive jamais rien qui offense Dieu, ou contre les bonnes mœurs, il le fera punir du dernier supplice.”¹⁴⁵ If this is so, the king’s explicit warning was not against sodomy, but against obscene or blasphemous speech and irreligious or scabrous verses that would put impieties, which might include sodomy, into print. The threat of the “dernière supplice,” which meant death, most probably burning at the stake as prescribed for heresy and sodomy, is arguably directed at the heretic, not the sodomite.

The ultimate punishment was in fact symbolically invoked against Théophile in 1622 when the *Parnasse satyrique* was published under his name (although, according to DeJean, none of the poems attacked by the censors were his¹⁴⁶). Théophile was sentenced to death by fire, a condemnation executed in effigy since the poet was in hiding. DeJean posits that “since the authorities didn’t have their hands on him, the death sentence could hardly have been carried out, so they simply burned him in effigy . . . this was clearly just a ceremonial warning intended to send a message that limits [on obscenity] would henceforth be enforced.”¹⁴⁷ However, execution in effigy was more than a formality created by a frustrated or evaded justice: it is an emblematic example of the essential interconnectedness between discourses and acts. As Foucault explains, punishment is

“une production différenciée de souffrances, un rituel organisé pour le marquage des victimes et la manifestation du pouvoir qui punit”¹⁴⁸ Proscriptive religious and juridical discourse seeks to excise forbidden acts, which are committed by persons whose bodies function as the locus of transgression and retribution. If capital punishment sought only to fustigate the physical body of the miscreant, then the “formality” of execution in effigy would confirm not the triumph of justice described by Foucault, but its failure since that body is not marked. However, Foucault does not limit the marking of victims to the corporeal, and in cases such as Théophile’s, for justice to inflict the terror that Foucault ascribes to spectacular suffering, marking may be inflicted non-corporeally on the victim’s “soul.” This soul, Foucault explains, is not theologically-constructed: “Cette âme réelle, et incorporelle, n’est point substance; elle est l’élément où s’articulent les effets d’un certain type de pouvoir . . . une pièce dans la maîtrise que le pouvoir exerce sur le corps. L’âme, effet et instrument d’une anatomie politique; l’âme, prison du corps.”¹⁴⁹ Execution by effigy is invested with the potency to endow the victim with a condemned, judicially-constructed soul confirmed by the spectacle of punishment and imprisoning the fugitive physical body, thereby inflicting permanent suffering. Esther Cohen notes that for the adjudged, “the execution in effigy put to death his or her public persona.”¹⁵⁰ Thus, when Théophile was apprehended, he was imprisoned for nearly two years before sentencing and subsequently banished for life. This suggests that executing the effigy was deemed a real social death, in which case executing the subject again would be redundant with an underlying admission of the inefficacy of the first, symbolic death.

Although Théophile’s sodomy was not the cause of his official censure and condemnation, it was nonetheless denounced, particularly by the Jesuit François Garasse (1584–1631), who claimed to be outraged by the rampant immorality in Paris and attacked Théophile, among others, in *La doctrine curieuse des beaux esprits de ce temps ou prétendus tels contenant plusieurs maximes pernicieuses à la religion, à*

l'Estat, & aux bonnes moeurs, combattue et renversée par le P. François Garassus (1624). Although Garasse may have been horrified by what he deemed to be vice, him seems to have been most outraged by the public manner in which it was practiced: “Parmy les Payens, il y avoit iadis quelque retenuë, & les plus vilains ont usé de quelque preface honorable pour fair passer avec adoucissement les impudicités de leur plume, & ont dit que le papier est capable de tout, que la presse endure tout, que leur vie n'est pas semblable à leurs escrits.”¹⁵¹ Garasse asserts that Petronius, Plautus, and Catullus, although pagans, had the delicacy to claim that their poetry did not reflect their lives, thus guaranteeing themselves from accusations of immorality. Théophile, on the other hand, was brazen in his non-conformity, and this prompted Garasse to accuse him of sodomy:

aujourd'huy on verra un livre qui se vend publiquement dans les galeries du Palais, qui porte en front un Sonnet execrable, par lequel l'auteur qui se dit le sieur THEOPHILE se repentant, à ce qu'il dit, d'avoir eu & contracté une maladie infame avec une prostituée, fait vœu à Dieu d'estre SODOMITE tout le reste de ces jours, & ce par des parolles les plus execrables qui soient jamais sorties de la bouche du plus abominable Sodomite qui ait esté enveloppé dans les cendres de Gomorrhe.¹⁵²

Here Théophile the sodomite, not just the act of sodomy, are condemned. As a sodomite, Théophile is known by his acts, and the impieties decried by Garassus, including unclean language, venereal disease, prostitution, and sodomy,¹⁵³ are encapsulated in the well-known first sonnet of the *Parnasse satyrique*:

Phylis tout est [f]outu je meurs de la verolle;
Elle exerce sur moy sa derniere rigueur:
Mon V[it] baisse la teste et n'a point de vigueur,
Un ulcère puant a gasté ma parole.

5 J'ay sué trante jours, j'ay vommy de la colle,
Jamais de si grand maux n'eurent tant de longueur,
L'esprit le plus constant fut mort à ma langueur,
Et mon affliction n'a rien qui la consolle.

9 Mes amis plus secretz ne m'osent approcher,
Moy-mesme cét estat je ne m'ose toucher,
Philis le mal me vient de vous avoir [fou]tue.

12 Mon Dieu je me repans d'avoir si mal vescu:
 Et si vostre couroux à ce coup ne me tuë,
 Je fais le veu desormais de ne [fout]tre qu'en cu[ll].¹⁵⁴

Vulgarity such as “foutu” and “foutre” (vv. 1, 11, 14), “vit” (v. 3), and the graphic description of the repugnant symptoms of syphilis were censurable, but more serious is the mention of impious acts proscribed by Catholic doctrine: masturbation (v. 10, “je ne m’ose toucher”) and sodomy (v. 14, “foutre en cul”) accompanied by a blasphemous promise to God that for the poet, sodomy will henceforth replace sanctioned intercourse. As DeJean observes, one impact of Théophile’s trial was to “declare that the representation of homoeroticism in print would henceforth be taboo.”¹⁵⁵ The practice of sodomy was generally unpunished unless it involved a disruptive ancillary aspect, and in Théophile’s case, it was the printed flaunting of impiety, which included sodomy, that drew condemnation.¹⁵⁶

Because he was a noble and had an appointment at court, the legal proceedings against Théophile were unusual. For other documentation of sodomy among the court nobility there exists a wealth of sources from the early modern period, even though it does not have the presumed authority of judicial documentation. An important corpus of memoirs, including those of Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayolo (1648–1713), Roger de Bussy-Rabutin (1618–93), Louis de Rouvroy de Saint-Simon (1675–1755), the voluminous correspondence of Monsieur’s second wife, Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, duchesse d’Orléans (1652–1722), and textual sources including the *Historiettes* of Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux (1619–92) and Bussy-Rabutin’s *La France devenue italienne* refer to the open practice of sodomy at court, although their factual status is unclear because of their gossipy nature. With rare exception, sodomy among the nobility was not aggressively policed, and there was no precedent of capital punishment for sodomy among nobles that would cause sodomites such as Louis XIV’s brother, Philippe d’Orléans, known

as Monsieur (1640–1701), Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1621–86), or Louis-Joseph, duc de Vendôme (1612–69) to fear the stake.¹⁵⁷

Louis XIV, whatever his personal views on the morality of sodomy (Bussy-Rabutin affirms, as does Saint-Simon, that the king “haïssoit à la mort ces sortes de débauches”¹⁵⁸), had good reason not to prosecute his brother and the several valuable military commanders who were known to be sodomites. Louis kept Monsieur close to him and dependent rather than risk rebellion,¹⁵⁹ and it would not have been politically wise for the king to ostracize some of his best military commanders, of which Condé and Vendôme were two.¹⁶⁰ However, that no member of the court was ever tried or executed for sodomy does not suggest that the *crimen contra natura* was any less or more aggressively policed there than elsewhere, only that the type of punishment was different. The punishment of sodomy at court did not involve juridical procedure and civil retribution, but it did entail other publicly-enacted measures, such as banishment and the forfeiting of royal favor, which were, in court society, the equivalent of judicial reprobation among commoners. Foucault’s discussion of the strategies of public chastisement highlights the éclat necessary for optimal effect. At court, the social excision of banishment was a kind of death, and Claire Goldstein observes that the imprisonment of Nicolas Fouquet (1615–80), Louis XIV’s disgraced Surintendant de Finances, was “a sentence of symbolic, if not an actual, death: total expurgation from the realm of court consciousness.”¹⁶¹ Banishment was so dreaded at court, that, as Jean-François Solnon posits: “La disgrâce est avant tout une épée de Damoclès suspendue au-dessus de chaque courtisan. Le menace de l’exil est assez dissuasive pour contraindre à l’obéissance.”¹⁶² In Foucault’s sense, this meant that spectacular sentences were effective because although the subject was cast away, the memory of his fall remained, imprinting dread of the same fate on those who witnessed it.¹⁶³

Perhaps the most touted case of sodomites punished at court was that of the Versailles

“confrérie” (ca. 1681), the details of which are provided in several sources, including the memoirs of Louis-François du Bouchet, marquis de Sourches, Grand Prévôt de France (1639–1716); the letters of Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710), a diplomat attached to the elector of Brandenburg; the correspondence of Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, duchesse d’Orléans; and Bussy-Rabutin’s *La France devenue italienne*, which covers the period from about 1670 to 1686 and is appended to his novel, the *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (1660). The veracity of the *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* cannot be fully established, but several events that it recounts also contain the same details that appear in contemporary correspondence and memoirs; thus a degree of plausibility can be assumed, at least for those portions confirmed elsewhere. According to Bussy-Rabutin, the *confrérie* had a constitution outlining sodomitical protocol, and among its members were some of the most prominent men at court, including the comte de Vermandois (1667–83), Louis XIV’s son by Louise de La Vallière (1644–1710); the prince de Conti (1643–1709), Condé’s nephew; the chevalier Jean-Baptiste Antoine de Colbert (1651–90), son of Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619–83), the king’s Contrôleur Général des Finances; and Gabriel de Cassagnet, chevalier de Tilladet (d. 1702), a cousin of François Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvois (1639–91). According to Sourches, who corroborates Bussy-Rabutin’s account, word of the group’s activities reached the king in 1682: “Le commencement du mois de juin fut signalé par l’exil d’un grand nombre de personnes considérables accusées de débauches ultramontaines.”¹⁶⁴ Sourches confirms the names of those whom Bussy-Rabutin depicts as having been exiled for sodomy¹⁶⁵ and notes that the chastisements were exemplary. Among many others:

M^r le duc de La Rochefoucauld employa tout son crédit auprès du Roi pour épargner un chagrin si mortel à son parent [le comte de Roye], qu’il aimoit fort; mais le Roi fut inexorable en son endroit. Il accorda pourtant aux instantes prières de M. le Grand que M. le comte de Brionne, son fils aîné, ne fût point exilé comme les autres, quoiqu’il fût accusé de la même chose; mais M. le Grand ne put sauver M. le comte de Marsan, son frère, lequel, quoiqu’il ne fût pas chassé de la cour, fut néanmoins perdu dans l’esprit du Roi à n’en jamais revenir.¹⁶⁶

Banishment from court was among the most dreaded penalties that might follow disgrace, and

those who suffered it were marked as reprobates. Those who were not banished, such as Charles de Lorraine, comte de Marsan (1648–1708), were condemned to remain in the king’s disfavor. If the particularly exalted, such as Monsieur, Condé, and Vendôme were relatively immune from punishment, this was not necessarily the case for nobles of lower standing, although they were still not subject to criminal prosecution.

It could be argued that punishments for those accused of being involved in the Versailles *confrérie* took place fairly late in the reign when the conservative religious faction at court was growing stronger, particularly under the influence of Françoise d’Aubigné, marquise de Maintenon (1635–1719). According to Souches, Louis personally extracted a confession from the youngest member of the *confrérie*:

M. le comte de Vermandois, amiral de France, qui n’avoit encore que quatorze à quinze ans, étoit fort mêlé dans ces débauches, et, le Roi l’ayant interrogé avec toute l’autorité d’un père et d’un roi, il n’avoit pas pu tenir contre lui et avoit tout avoué, de sorte que le Roi avoit su par lui tous ceux qui y avoient quelque part, ce qui fut cause de leur disgrâce.¹⁶⁷

According to Bussy-Rabutin, Vermandois was then whipped in the king’s presence,¹⁶⁸ and his admission spurred the monarch’s fury and resolve to disband the society. Although the case of Vermandois did not involve violence or rape, the “seduction” of one so young, especially when he was a son of the king, was considered a malfeasance too egregious to ignore. Analogously, in surviving juridical cases, the seduction or rape of youths by older men was more likely to draw notice and chastisement.¹⁶⁹ In the case of the *confrérie*, it may seem strange to find no mention of Monsieur, particularly since, according to Bussy-Rabutin, Philippe de Lorraine-Armagnac, chevalier de Lorraine (1643–1702), Monsieur’s favorite, was among its leaders. According to Monsieur’s second wife, “Ceux qui ont débauché le pauvre M. de Vermandois, c’étoient le chevalier de Lorraine et son frère le comte de Marsan; ils lui ont enseigné le bel art.”¹⁷⁰ As punishment, according to Souches, Lorraine “avoit eu ordre de ne venir pas si souvent à la cour.”¹⁷¹ The command to attend

court less frequently is an incomparably lighter chastisement than outright banishment and long-term disgrace.¹⁷² Lorraine's close connection to Monsieur, despite his notoriety as a sodomite, might have shielded him from accusations of corrupting Vermandois. As the king's brother, Monsieur was not subject to anything but a private reprimand.¹⁷³

The castigations of the Versailles *confrérie* were severe by court standards, but they were not statutory, and this situation confirms the degree to which nobles accused of sodomy and ancillary transgressions enjoyed immunity. This is even more evident in another event summarized by Bussy-Rabutin in his correspondence:

Dernièrement, le duc de La Ferté, Biran, le chevalier de Colbert et d'Argenson, étants ivres au bordel, envoyèrent quérir un oublieu, qui se trouvant assez joli garçon à leur gré, ils le voulurent traiter de putain et sur ce qu'il s'en défendit, ils lui donnèrent deux coups d'épée. Le Roi, ayant su cela, a commandé à M. de Louvois de dire au duc de La Ferté, de sa part, toutes les infamies que mérite son attention, et manda à M. de Colbert que la première folie que feroit son fils, il le chasseroit du royaume pour toute sa vie; il a fait dire même chose à Biran. Argenson s'est sauvé. M. Colbert enferma son fils et le battit outrageusement.¹⁷⁴

This event was supposed to have occurred shortly after the *confrérie* had been censured in 1682, and some of the men involved (such as the chevalier de Colbert, Antoine Gaston de Roquelaure, marquis de Biran, and the duc de La Ferté) had been implicated in the earlier scandal. Other than Colbert's son, they were punished by banishment, the length of which is not mentioned. In *La France devenue italienne*, Bussy-Rabutin tells the incident differently: the nobles cut off the resisting young man's sexual organs, placed them in his basket, and Colbert beat his son before witnesses.¹⁷⁵ The second account is more violent, perhaps because it is part of a novel, and not necessarily verifiable. However, one salient common point between the two versions is that several nobles attempted to violate a youth and brutalized him for resisting. In neither version is the punishment anything but banishment, and, in the case of Colbert's son, beating, despite the fact that even in some apparently consensual cases of sodomy between youths and older men, the punishment was death by fire.¹⁷⁶ In

La France devenue italienne, Bussy-Rabutin explicitly addresses this:

Cet excès de débauche . . . ayant été su du grand Alcandre,¹⁷⁷ il en fut dans une colère épouvantable. Mais la plupart de ces désespérés appartenant aux premiers de la cour et aux ministres, il jugea à propos, à la considération de leurs parens, de se contenter de les éloigner. Les parens trouvèrent cet arrêt si doux, en comparaison de ce qu'ils méritoient, qu'ils en furent remercier le grand Alcandre, avouant de bonne foi qu'un crime si énorme ne méritoit pas moins que la mort.¹⁷⁸

As Bussy-Rabutin casts it, the families of those who had so enormously transgressed religious and civil laws deserved, by statute, to be put to death, and they recognized the favor that the king granted them as members of the high court nobility. Social class was the determinant for the severity of punishment, and these banishments recall the chastisements of the 1682 *confrérie*, drawing attention to the relative immunity of the court nobility in cases of sexual and physical violence.

In seventeenth-century France, the sodomite was identified as a reprobate in Christian moralizing discourse grounded in the interpretation of Old Testament proscriptions against sexual misconduct, the censure of which was adopted by civil law. The ultimate penalty that could be invoked for sodomy was death by fire, a punishment that was also rooted in readings of the Old Testament. Despite earlier assertions to the contrary, there is no evidence to suggest that sodomites in early modern France lived in oppressive anxiety that they would be burned at the stake solely for their sexual practices. Rather, sodomy was not aggressively policed or punished unless it involved violence or corruption of the young, in which case those crimes, not sodomy, were the principal causes of prosecution and conviction. In this sense, all offenders, nobles and non-nobles alike, were subject to castigation and a form of death. For commoners, burning at the stake and physical death were sometimes asserted, and for nobles, banishment from court, which constituted death through excision from society, was the usual form of retribution for violent misconduct.

Notes

1. Marc Daniel, *Hommes du Grand Siècle*. (Paris: Arcadie, 1957), 37.
2. Claude Courouve, "Sodomy Trials in France," *Gay Books Bulletin* 1 (1978): 23. Courouve's use of the term "homosexual" rather than "sodomite" is anachronistic and reflects his belief in the existence of "homosexuality" throughout history. For a discussion of the historical notion of homosexuality and the implications of terminology, see the introduction to part 1.
3. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur* (Montblanc: H&O 2002), 38.
4. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 165.
5. Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 107.
6. The manifestation of a sodomite subculture in France at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries is discussed in part 1, chapter 2.
7. For a discussion of the developing notion of sexual identity, see the introduction to this dissertation.
8. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Second sermon pour le Dimanche des Rameaux* in *Œuvres complètes*, 31 vols., ed. François Lachat (Paris: Vivès, 1862), 2:647.
9. The city of Gomorrah is frequently cited along with Sodom because the Bible names it as a pendant to Sodom in, for example, Genesis 13:10, Amos 4:11, and Zephaniah 2:9. In none of these, nor in any canonical tradition, is any particular sin attributed to Gomorrah. According to *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, "For the unnatural sins of their inhabitants Sodom, Gomorrha, Adama, and Seboin were destroyed by 'brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven' (Genesis 13:13; 18:20; 19:24, 29; Hosea 11:8). Since then, their names are synonymous with impenitent sin, and their fall with a proverbial manifestation of God's just wrath (Deuteronomy 29:23; 32:32; Isaiah 1:10 sqq.; Ezekiel 16:49; Matthew 11:23 sq.; 2 Peter 2:6; Jude 7)." Nicola Reagan, "Sodom and Gomorrah" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols., ed. Charles G. Habermann and Edward E. Pace (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), 14:141.
10. *Biblia sacra: Integrum utriusque testamenti* (Paris: T. Kerver, 1534), fol. viii verso. This text is identical to that in the *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pontificis maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII* (Paris: Lancelot, 1662). The Vulgate edition of the Bible is an early fifth-century version based largely on the work of Saint Jerome. After the Reformation, Sixtus V sponsored a revised edition (the Sistine Vulgate), which was deemed imperfect and replaced by the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate in 1592. This was the standard Bible in all Catholic countries until 1972. The 1662 Lancelot edition of the Bible is a standard Sistine Vulgate edition.
11. *La sainte Bible nouvellement traduite de latin en françois* (Louvain: Bartholomy de Grave, Anthoine Marie Bergagne, and Jehan de Uvaen, 1550), [6].
12. Jean Thierry, *Dictionnaire françois-latin* (Paris: Jehan Macé, 1564), 118.
13. Guillaume Budé, *Forensium verborum & loquendi generum* (Paris: Rob. Stephani, 1545), 40.
14. Robert Estienne, *Dictionnaire françois-latin* (Paris: Estienne, 1549), 218.
15. See Mark D. Jordan, *The Discovery of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 31.
16. *Biblia sacra* (1662), 1283.
17. *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate . . . Old Testament First Published by the English College at Douay, A.D. 1609 and the New Testament First Published by the English College at Rheims, A.D. 1582*, rev. Richard Challoner (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1971), 1264.
18. According to Genesis, the sexual sins attributed to the Sodomites were allegedly endemic to the entire populace ("omnis populis"), not just men. Early modern definitions of sodomy included a

number of sexual acts practiced among women and by men with women. These will only be addressed when they relate to discourse involving sexual acts between and among men, which was the usual meaning of “sodomy” during the early modern period.

19. *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pontificis maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1868), 112. In all Catholic countries, the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate was the authorized version of the Bible from the late 16th (first published in 1592) through the 20th century (it was replaced by the Vulgata Nova in 1979). Unless otherwise noted, Latin citations will be from this Bible.

20. *The Holy Bible*, 170.

21. *Biblia sacra*, 114.

22. *The Holy Bible*, 172.

23. *Biblia sacra*, 838.

24. *The Holy Bible*, 1247.

25. Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1994), 88.

26. *Philo*, 10 vols., trans. Francis Henry Colson and George Herbert Whitaker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929–62), 10:135–36.

27. *Biblia sacra*, 112.

28. *The Holy Bible*, 170.

29. *Philo*, 3:39, 7:499.

30. See Christopher Stead, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

31. Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions* in *Basic Writings of Saint Augustine*, ed. Whitney J. Oates (New York: Random House, 1948), 36–7.

32. In this context, “abuse” may be interpreted as “misuse,” since Augustine emphasizes that men are not made to engage in sexual acts with each other, which is also Philo’s assertion. According to Philo, such acts violate “sex nature,” which Augustine personalizes by invoking the principle of divine creation, so that such acts are not only against nature, but against God, a pollution of his work, and thus abusive.

33. Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, 7 vols., trans. George E. McCracken (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 6:84–5.

34. Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, 29.

35. In the classical tradition, friendship, as Plato (*Lysis* and *Symposium*) and Aristotle (*Ethics*) discussed it, was deemed a virtue proper to men. This philosophical stance endures at least through the sixteenth century when Montaigne expressly states in “De l’amitié” that friendship is normally restricted to men, although he makes an exception for Marie de Gournay. See Michel de Montaigne, “De l’amitié” in *Les essais*, ed. Pierre Villey (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), 186. On Augustine and sexuality, see Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 131–47. I will discuss philosophies of friendship in part 1, chapter 2.

36. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 227.

37. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. 1, *La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 26–7.

38. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*. 1:152.

39. *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coingard, 1694), 1:Préface. Neither “sodomie” nor “sodomite” are found in this edition of the *Dictionnaire*.

40. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, 1:25.

41. Foucault's documentation does not support his assertion that the seventeenth century was the beginning of an age inciting discourse on sexuality through religious practices. He names only two texts: *L'instruction du pénitent* by Paolo Segneri (a 1696 translation of *Il penitente istruito*, which was first published in 1669) and Alfonso de' Liguori's *Pratique des confesseurs* (an 1859 translation of the *Pratica del confessore*, first published in 1755). The French edition of Segneri that Foucault cites dates from the very end of the century, and Liguori's work was not available in French until after the mid-nineteenth century, so these two works on their own are not sufficient evidence of a new age of incitation through religious discourse beginning in the seventeenth century. Foucault's theory is ahistorical, and although he mentions medieval penitentials in passing, he cites none, despite his assertion that many were still in use during the seventeenth century. Although I agree with the notion that religious prescriptions (apparently repressive in their condemnation of sodomy) essentially incited discourse about forbidden acts, I believe that this incitation occurred long before the seventeenth century, as evidenced by medieval penitentials.

42. Mark Jordan, *The Discovery of Sodomy*, 41.

43. See Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of the Sexual Code (550–1150)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 135–39.

44. By the eleventh century, penitentials contained explicit language on anal intercourse, the penalties for which depend on whether the man has a wife, habitually commits sodomy, or has done so with his blood brother. Because monks and priests could not marry, the first possibility could only have applied to the laity, which indicates that there was discourse between them and their confessors regarding sodomy. See Mark Jordan, *The Discovery of Sodomy*, 52–3.

45. Mark D. Jordan, *The Discovery of Sodomy in Christian Theology*, 41.

46. *Synod of the Grove of Victory* in Ludwig Bieler, ed., *Irish Penitentials* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963), 69, cited and translated in Peter Damian, *The Book of Gomorrah: An Eleventh-Century Treatise Against Clerical Homosexual Practices*, trans. and ed. Pierre J. Payer (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982), 29. The *Synod of the Grove of Victory* is also included in McNeil and Gamer's *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, but they omit the stratifying precisions, opting instead for "[In substance:] He who is guilty of sodomy and its various forms shall do penance for four, three, or two years according to the nature of the offense." (172) They do, however, provide the complete Latin in a footnote: "Qui facit scelus virile, ut sodomite, IV annis. Qui vero in femoribus, III annis, manu autem, sive alterius sive sua, II annis." In addition to the inexplicable omission, the translation itself is problematic, since the Latin "sodomite" simply means "Sodomite," an inhabitant of Sodom or someone akin to the inhabitants of Sodom as a habitation-based identifier. The term "sodomy" had apparently not yet been coined.

47. Sodom's condoning of prohibited sexual acts might be deemed unique to the city and therefore just reason for its destruction. This aspect of Sodom's condemnation had been previously mentioned by Saint John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407) in *Against the Opponents of the Monastic Life* (ca. 386). As in Philo's condemnation of the Sodomites, Chrysostom's disapprobation is drawn by men's forsaking of the supposed natural order to practice "abominations" that preclude the necessity for women, and acts that are practiced without shame or fear because they are legal. Beyond this, his denouncement further consolidates the association between the Sodomite and non-authorized sexual acts among men. The stature of Chrysostom and Augustine as Church Patriarchs, both emphatically associating the Sodomite, a man, with sexual and moral deviance, had a lasting affect on later interpretations of Sodom's sin, although it had not yet been accorded a unique designator.

48. "Onam . . . sui semen fundebat in terram . . . et idcirco percussit eum Dominus quod rem detestabilem faceret." *Biblia sacra*, 38. ["Onan . . . spilled his seed on the ground . . . And therefore

the Lord slew him, because he did a detestable thing.” *The Holy Bible*, 64.]

49. James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 152. Brundage provides a list of Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Continental penitentials on 597–98.

50. Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul (A.D. 481–751)* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill, 1995), 183.

51. John T. McNeill and Helena Margaret Gamer, eds., *The Burgundian Penitential in Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 274.

52. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 227.

53. Peter Damian, *The Book of Gomorrah*, ed. Pierre J. Payer (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982), 89. Damian offers no explanation for why his treatise takes the city of Gomorrah rather than Sodom in its title, and Payer does not address the issue in his edition of the work. As previously mentioned, no particular sin is associated with Gomorrah in the Bible or in Christian moralizing discourse.

54. Peter Damian, *The Book of Gomorrah*, 32–3.

55. Peter Damian, *The Book of Gomorrah*, 29.

56. Mark D. Jordan, *The Discovery of Sodomy*, 41.

57. *Biblia sacra*, 38.

58. *The Holy Bible*, 64.

59. According to Aquinas, any position other than the “missionary” was unnatural because it impaired impregnation, promoted pleasure-seeking, and violated the man’s dominant role. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 1.98.2 and 2–2159.11. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 61 vols., ed. Thomas Gilby (Cambridge, England: Blackfriars and New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954–81) **PP**. For an overview of canonical Christian texts dealing with this matter, see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 452–53.

60. Although Aquinas ranks bestiality as a more serious offense than sodomy, not all medieval texts do. It might be grouped with offenses such as adultery, sodomy, fellatio, or cunnilingus. Unconventional vaginal coitus was often linked with bestiality, and the early Irish penitentials rank it as a rather minor offense in the same class as masturbation. See Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society* (398–401) and his comparative table of punishments prescribed for sexual offenses (600).

61. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 43:249.

62. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, 1:58. This idea is applicable, for example, to the text of Leviticus 20:13 where the single act, “cum masculo coitu femineo,” condemns the subjects, who become “juridical subjects” through conviction and punishment.

63. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 44.

64. “Le supplice pénal ne recouvre pas n’importe quelle punition corporelle: c’est une production différenciée de souffrances, un rituel organisé pour le marquage des victimes et la manifestation du pouvoir qui punit; et non point l’exaspération d’une justice qui, en oubliant ses principes, perdrait toute retenue. Dans les ‘excès’ des supplices, toute une économie du pouvoir est investie.” Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 44. At stake in the spectacle of punishment is not only the life of the victim, but also the power that punishes. In the marking of victims, that power is asserted and confirmed.

65. Jean Benedicti, *La somme des pechez et les remèdes d’iceux* (Paris: Guillaume de La Noue, 1601), 160. Even in this volume specializing in sins and their prescribed punishments, the sin of sodomy is cast as exceptionally dreadful, unspeakable: “Ce peché . . . est plus grief que d’avoir affaire avec sa sœur, voire avec sa propre mere. . . . Je n’ose gueres parler de ce vilain & horrible peché & signament

France. . . . ce peché est si enorme, qu'il ne peut estre pour son horreur recité." (160) Thus, Benedicti provides his technical description of sodomy only in the margin notes, in Latin.

66. Jean Benedicti, *Le somme des pechez*, 160.

67. Ludovicus Sinistrari, *De sodomia tractatus, in quo exponitur doctrina nove de sodomia foeminarum a tribadismo distincta* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Curieux, 1921), 6.

68. Neither the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, the first edition of Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*, nor Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois* contain definitions for "bougre" or "bougrière."

69. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 2nd edition, 3 vols. (A. & R. Leers: 's-Gravenhage and Rotterdam, 1701), 1: s.v. "bougre." According to Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. in *Homosexuality in Early Modern Europe*, during the early eighteenth century, "nonconformist" was a synonym for "sodomite" and "derived from the English words applied to persons who did not conform to the beliefs and rites of the Anglican Church, used since the late seventeenth century. The first edition of the *Dictionary of Trévoux* reported that 'people say, in an obscene sense, that the Italians are nonconformist in love' and that 'some, in jest, call the love of boys the sin of nonconformity.'" (xv) Claude Courouve also discusses the connection (*Vocabulaire de l'homosexualité* [Paris: Payot, 1985], 162–64. Because nonconformity rejects the imposition of religious and secular prescriptions concerning sexual acts, it has points in common with "libertinage," which is, according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, "L'estat d'une personne qui tesmoigne peu de respect pour les choses de la Religion . . . Il se prend quelquefois pour Debauche & mauvaise conduite." (1:645) However, "libertin," according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* is not a synonym for "sodomite," but refers to all irreligious acts, including debauchery. These include sodomy, but are not limited to it.

70. Neither the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*, Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois*, nor Nicot's *Thrésor de la langue française* give definitions of conformity or nonconformity that refer to sodomy or sexual acts.

71. Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois*, 165.

72. William E. Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31.

73. On the Albigensian and Bulgarian heresies, see Mark G. Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and Walter Leggett Wakefield and Austin Patterson Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). On heresy and sodomy, see Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., *Homosexuality in Early Modern France*, 8–9; Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality in History*, 190, 192–95, 299–300, 368–69, 537; Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome*, 47–50; and Byrne R.S. Fone, *Homophobia: A History* (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 148–55.

74. See Ludovico Hernandez, *Les procès de sodomie au XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Curieux, 1920).

75. Malcolm D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 3.

76. Henry J. Schroeder, trans., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder, 1937), 562, 42.

77. Although this was originally a strategy of the Church to enforce its laws through secular authority (Arthur Verslius, *The New Inquisitions: Heretic Hunting and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Totalitarianism* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2006], 13–14), decisive authority was eventually assumed by the state under Louis XIV. In 1662, when Pope Alexander VII did not apologize after a conflict involving three French diplomats (two of whom were mortally wounded) in Rome, the king

expulsed the papal nuncio, occupied Avignon, and prepared his army for war. To avoid further conflict, the pope was forced to accept the Treaty of Pisa (1664), which obliged him to send Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali, governor of Rome, to apologize personally to Louis. Mario and Agostino Chigi (the pope's brother and nephew) made amends with the duc de Créquy (the French ambassador), and a commemorative pyramid was erected in Rome. See chapter 3, "The Créqui Affair" in Paul Sonnino, *Louis XIV's View of the Papacy (1661–1667)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 29–53. The fullest assertion of temporal power over papal authority in France (Gallicanism) was achieved with the *Cleri gallicani de ecclesia potestate declaration* (1682), which declared the king sovereign in his kingdom with no earthly superior and that the pope was not infallible. See Henry Phillips, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 104–14.

78. Duret's association of the sodomite with monsters is probably not coincidental, but a reference to the notion of sodomy as *contra natura*. According to the *Livre des monstres & prodiges* (1573) of Ambroise Paré (ca. 1509–1590), physician to Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III, "Monstres sont choses qui apparoissent contre le cours de nature." Ambroise Paré, *Livre des monstres & prodiges* in *Les œuvres de M. Ambroise Paré* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1599), 802. The course of "natural" sex, according to Christian doctrine, was procreation, so non-procreative sex was not only considered *contra natura*, but monstrous. In a similar vein, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* links monstrosity with abominations such as sodomy when it defines "monstre" as "Une personne noircie de quelque vice." *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 2:83.

79. Jean Duret, *Tracité des peines et amendes tant pour les matieres criminelles que civiles* (Lyon: Abel L'Angelier, 1583), 41.

80. Claude Lebrun de La Rochette, *Les [sic] procès civil et criminel divisé en cinq livres* (Rouen: P. Calles, 1611), 40.

81. Lebrun de La Rochette, *Les procès civil et criminel*, 14. The supposed Italian origin of sodomy is a commonplace in early modern France. Often designated "le vice italien" or "le vice ultramontain" sodomy was frequently cast as a foreign vice particularly associated with Italians. Sodomy as an Italian vice is discussed in the introduction. See François Bluche, *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 1588–89.

82. Jean Duret, *Traicté des peines et amendes*, 41. The Biblical texts to which Duret refers are Leviticus 18:22, "Cum masculo non cimmisceris coitu femineo, quia abominatio est" ["Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind, because it is an abomination."] and Leviticus 20:13, "Qui dormierit cum masculo coitu femineo, uterque operatus est nefas, morte moriantur; sit sanguis eorum sit super eos" (*Biblia sacra*, 112, 114) ["If any one lie with a man as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination. They must be put to death: their blood be upon them."]. *The Holy Bible*, 127, 129.

83. La Rochette also refers to the precedent of imperial law: "Certainement ce crime en ses especes sus narrées, est tellement detestable, que nos loix n'en ont osé parler que couvertement, sans curieusement expliquer toutes les circonstances estimans les Empereurs & Juriconsultes estre assez, qu'ils puissent imprimer en l'ame des Juges, combien il est horrible, & combien grande en doit estre la punition." Lebrun de La Rochette, *Les procès civil et criminel*, 43.

84. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981), 171.

85. Justinian, *The Civil Law*, 17 vols., trans. and ed. Samuel Parsons Scott (Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932), 4:11.

86. John Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger

Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 164.

87. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 43–44.

88. On mortality and castration, see Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 146.

89. Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality & Civilization*, 145.

90. “We learn from the Holy Scriptures that both cities as well as men have perished because of wicked acts of this kind. . . . after the publication of Our warning; in order that this city and the State may not be injured by the contempt of such persons and their impious acts, and inflict upon them the punishment of death.” Justinian, *The Civil Law*, 16:42.

91. Boswell’s terminology reflects an essentialist, transhistorical view on the nature of homosexuality. His theory of an underlying “gay” identity attaching to “homosexuality” is anachronistic. The notion of “the homosexual” did not emerge until the nineteenth century, and that of “gay people” until the twentieth. I discuss historical terminology and its implications regarding acts and identities are discussed in the introduction to part 1.

92. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 172.

93. Although frequently biased against the emperor, Procopius is generally considered to be among the principal historians of the sixth century. See Anthony Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); and Warren Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2007), 176–226.

94. Procopius Caesarensis, *Anecdota in Procopius*, 7 vols., trans. Henry B. Dewing (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960–62), 11:34–6.

95. Procopius Caesarensis, *Anecdota*, 16:18–22.

96. Justinian, *The Civil Law*, 1.12.2 97; Procopius Caesarensis, *Anecdota*, 16:23–28.90.

97. Procopius Caesarensis, *Anecdota*, 16:23–28.

98. Despite the assertions of Lever and Godard, among others, the nobility was not immune from capital punishment for offenses that resulted in execution for those of lower station. Indeed, cases such as those of Henri Coeffier de Ruzé d’Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars (1620–42) and Marie-Madeleine d’Aubray, marquise de Brinvilliers involved trials and capital punishment. Cinq-Mars was convicted of lèse-majesté (Philippe Erlanger, *Cinq-Mars ou La passion et la fatalité* [Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1962], 275) and Brinvilliers for poison (Frances Mossiker, *The Affair of the Poisons* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969], chapter 2, “The Brinvilliers Case,” 142–148). These two cases are emblematic of legal procedures at the highest level in seventeenth-century France. The king was the ultimate juridical authority, and he could, by means such as the *lettre de cachet*, inflict banishment, imprisonment, or execution at will, just as he could pardon a condemnation registered by even the most elevated courts of law. Access to the king and the ability to sway his opinion, either directly or through family members and associates, frequently resulted in the leniency that many have interpreted as immunity for the nobility. In the case of Cinq-Mars, the condemnation resulted from a highly irregular trial directed by Richelieu who sought to impose the death sentence. For Brinvilliers, the possibility that she would implicate exalted members of the court in a poisons scandal largely determined her execution. Neither defendant had powerful support at court. On the other hand, the chevalier de Lorraine, who had been accused of poisoning Monsieur’s first wife, Henriette d’Angleterre, was only briefly banished from France and was allowed to return, thanks to his ties to Monsieur. Similarly, after an incident with the Versailles *confrérie* of sodomites (which involved attempted rape and the death of a young man), the king, who supposedly intended to have the culprits executed, relented and banished them, after pleas from their families. On the prerogatives and theories of royal juridical authority in Ancien Régime France, see Arlette Lebigre, *La justice du roi: La vie judiciaire dans l’ancienne France* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1995).

99. *Biblia sacra*, 13.
100. *The Holy Bible*, 23.
101. Theodosius II, Emperor of the East, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, 3 vols., ed. Theodor Mommsen, Paul M Meyer, Paul Krueger, Jacques Sirmond, Otto Gradenwitz, and Alfred von Wretschko (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1954), 2:42.
102. Theodosius II, Emperor of the East, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. and ed. Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 285.
103. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 44.
104. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 69–70.
105. Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 142.
106. Maurice Lever asserts that in 805, Charlemagne, whom he quotes without citing a source, referred to the Theodosian Code in an interdiction against sodomy. See Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 41. Boswell, however, citing ample primary and secondary sources, asserts that “The only surviving Carolingian statute against homosexuality is a forgery.” John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 177–78.
107. *Li livres de justice et de plet*, ed. Louis Nicolas Rapetti, François Adrien Polycarpe Chabaille, and Henri Klimrath (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1850), 215–16.
108. Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Les coutumes du Beauvaisis*, ed. Arthur Beugnot (Paris: J. Renouard et Cie, 1842), 42.
109. Conor McCarthy, *Love, Sex, and Marriage in the Middle Ages: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 13.
110. Conor McCarthy, *Love, Sex, and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, 13.
111. *Coutumes de Bretagne*, ed. Michel Sauvageau (Rennes: Chez Remslein, and Brest: Chez Romain Malassis, 1771), 284. In the edition by Marcel Planiol, *La très ancienne coutume de Bretagne* (Rennes: J. Plihon et L. Hervé, 1896): “Les bougres, qui sont traitres et pis, doivent estre ars.” (153)
112. The influence of medieval law is reflected in its continued publication and study throughout the seventeenth century. For example, the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, although compiled during the late thirteenth century, were first published in Bourges and Paris in 1690. The Catalogue Collectif de France lists annotated editions of the *Coutumes de Bretagne* published in 1605, 1608, 1613, 1621, 1628, 1635, 1646, 1651, 1659, 1674, 1693, and 1694.
113. Antoine Bruneau, *Observations et maximes sur les matières criminelles* (Paris: Guillaume Cavelier, Fils, 1715), 40.
114. The injunction that both active and passive sodomites should be put to death is rooted in the prescriptions of Leviticus, which also require that both men be executed.
115. Jean Benedicti, *La somme des pechez*, 161.
116. These cases are transcribed in Ludovico Hernandez, *Les procès de sodomie*, 11–87.
117. Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome*, 50.
118. Claude Courouve, “Sodomy Trials in France,” *Gay Books Bulletin* 1 (1979): 22–3.
119. Those condemned for sodomy were usually strangled, their bodies being burned only after they were dead. For examples from court documents, see Ludovico Hernandez, *Les procès de sodomie*. Lever (*Les bûchers de Sodome*, 52) suggests that this practice stemmed from religious concerns since, as Julius Clarus posited in the sixteenth century, a slow death by burning might lead the victim to despair over whether repentance would save his soul.
120. Michael Sibalis, “Homosexuality in Early Modern France” in *Queer Masculinities (1550–1800)*,

ed. Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 169.

121. Claude Courouve, "Sodomy Trials in France," 22.

122. Sibalis notes: "French law courts tried sodomites infrequently and rarely imposed the death sentence. . . . Harsh repression was the exception rather than the rule." Michael Sibalis, "Homosexuality in Early Modern France" in Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke, *Queer Masculinities*, 212. Courouve observes: "Even in the worst period, under Louis XIV, the order of magnitude of the repression was relatively low. The rarity of conviction acted to compensate for the severity of the penalty." Claude Courouve, "Sodomy Trials in France," 23.

123. Alfred Soman, "The Parlement of Paris and the Great Witch Hunt," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 9.2 (1978): 36.

124. Ludovico Hernandez, *Les procès de sodomie*, 56–59.

125. Courouve sidesteps this issue to support his claim that sodomy was the real cause of prosecution: "The extent of violence in cases of homosexual activity is . . . uncertain. . . . It is necessary, however, to emphasize that in the records of old trials, the testimony, and the interrogatories, the horror attendant on homosexual practice appeared to be far greater than that engendered by violence, while one was rarely offended by acts of heterosexual compulsion." Claude Courouve, "Sodomy Trials in France," 23. Courouve offers no evidence to support the comparison of forced sexual acts by men on other men or boys with those forced by men on women, nor does he provide proof that the "horror" of sodomy supposedly reflected in judicial records is greater than the objection to violence.

126. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 38.

127. For a discussion of the development of censorship, see Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity: Sex, Lies, and Tabloids in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

128. Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity*, 150.

129. Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity*, 90.

130. Claude Le Petit, "Sonnet foutatif," *Le bordel des Muses*, in *Les œuvres libertines de Claude Le Petit*, ed. Frédéric Lechèvre (Paris: E. Capiomont, 1918; reprint, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), 107.

131. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2.2.13.

132. Frédéric Lachèvre, *Les œuvres libertines de Claude Le Petit*, XLVIII.

133. Robert S. Perinbanayagam, *Discursive Acts* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991), 34.

134. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "hérésie."

135. Mass burnings at the stake had been imposed during the Albigensian Crusade. Heinrich Fichtenau and Denise A. Kaiser, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages (1000–1200)* trans. Denise A. Kaiser (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 7. Under Louis IX (1214–70), the long-established custom was practiced, although not made explicit law until his *Établissements* of 1270. Henry Charles Lea: *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958), 1:221.

136. On the evolution of the notion of obscenity and its sociopolitical implications, see the introduction, "The Words that Shock So Much at First," in Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity*, 1–27.

137. Claude Courouve, "Sodomy Trials in France," 23.

138. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 78.

139. Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., *Homosexuality in Early Modern France*, 31–32.

140. Théophile is usually cited among the leading *libertins* of early seventeenth-century France. Seventeenth-century French libertinage is typically associated with an unorthodox philosophical

perspective that might extend to the sexual, including the practice of sodomy, but it was not primarily focused on sexual pleasure as it supposedly was during the eighteenth century. As a corpus, the libertine writings of Théophile and Le Petit are not so germane to this discussion as are their respective censures for obscenity linked to transgressive sexuality. Therefore, their judicial condemnation is addressed rather than their literature and practice of libertinage. On the evolution of libertinage in France, see René Pintard, *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Boivin, 1943; reprint, Genève: Slatkine, 1983); Antoine Adam, *Les libertins au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Buchet/Castel, 1964); Joan DeJean, *Libertine Strategies: Freedom and the Novel in Seventeenth-Century France* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1981); Claude Reichler, *L'âge libertin* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1987); Lise Leibacher-Ouvrard, *Libertinage et utopies sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Genève: Droz, 1989); Jacques Prévot, *Libertins du XVIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1998–2004); Catherine Cusset, ed., *Libertinage and Modernity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998); and Isabelle Moreau, *Guérir du sot: Les stratégies d'écriture des libertins à l'âge classique* (Paris: Champion, 2007). Also see Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity*.

141. DeJean asserts that the banishment was not enforced (*The Reinvention of Obscenity*, 32), but this is not entirely true. Although Théophile did not immediately quit the kingdom when he was banished in June, he did slowly make his way to Spain (even writing a lament that he sent to the king from Casteljaloux in September), but remained there only a short time before retiring to his family's estate at Boussères in October. See Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le procès du poète Théophile de Viau*, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion 1909; reprint, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), 1:31–38.

142. Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le procès du poète Théophile de Viau*, 1:31.

143. *Mercure françois* (1619) cited in Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le procès du poète Théophile de Viau*, 1:31. Following the king's command, Théophile left the kingdom and traveled to England, but he returned the following year

144. Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le procès du poète Théophile de Viau*, 1:75.

145. Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le procès du poète Théophile de Viau*, 1:76. Lachèvre indicates that this is a quote, but he does not provide the source.

146. Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity*, 44.

147. Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity*, 44.

148. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 44.

149. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 38.

150. Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), 192–93.

151. François Garasse, *La doctrine curieuse des beaux esprits de ce temps* (Paris: S. Chappelet, 1624; reprint, Westmead, Farnborough, Hants, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1971), 779.

152. François Garasse, *La doctrine curieuse des beaux esprits de ce temps*, 782.

153. Garasse preserves the distinction that had evolved between “sodomite” and “Sodomite,” referring to the inhabitant of Sodom with a proper noun.

154. Théophile de Viau, *Œuvres complètes*, 4 vols., ed. Guido Saba (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1978–84), 3:267–68.

155. Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity*, 46.

156. In addition to Le Petit and Théophile, there were several other poets during the early part of the seventeenth century whose writings might be considered obscene, blasphemous, or heretical. Among them are Denis Sanguin de Saint-Pavin (ca. 1600–70) and Jacques Vallée Des Barreaux (ca. 1599–1672). See Jacques Prévot, *Libertins du XVIIe siècle*.

157. Condé, Vendôme, and other warrior sodomites are discussed in part 1, chapter 2.

158. Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, *La France devenue italienne* in *L'histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, 2 vols., ed. Georges Mongrédien (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1930), 2:306.
159. This is not to say that Louis left Monsieur untroubled. Louis XIV's methods of controlling his brother will be discussed in part 2, chapters 1 and 2.
160. For a discussion of warrior sodomites and how Louis XIV dealt with them, see part 1, chapter 1.
161. Claire Goldstein, *Vaux and Versailles The Appropriations, Erasures, and Accidents that Made Modern France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 21.
162. Jean-François Solnon, *La cour de France* (Paris: Fayard, 1987), 386–87.
163. For a discussion of banishment from court and several notable cases, see Solnon, *La cour de France*, 386–91.
164. Louis-François du Bouchet, marquis de Sourches, *Mémoires du marquis de Sourches sur le règne de Louis XIV*, 13 vols., ed. Gabriel-Jules de Cosnac and Arthur Bertrand (Paris: Hachette, 1882–93), 1:110.
165. The editors of Sourches's memoirs also provide biographical details about the men implicated in the fraternity.
166. Louis-François du Bouchet, marquis de Sourches, *Mémoires*, 1:112.
167. Louis-François du Bouchet, marquis de Sourches, *Mémoires*, 1:112–13.
168. Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, *La France devenue italienne* in *L'histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, 2:306. Spanheim offers an equally-explicit reason for the punishment of the group in a message to Berlin dated 12 June: “La débauche des jeunes seigneurs à Versailles a contribué à en éloigner encore quelquesuns . . . de ladite troupe, accusés de dessins infâmes de sodomie, et d’avoir voulu y faire entrer le jeune duc de Vermandois, fils du Roi et de La Vallière. On prétend que cette juste et nécessaire sévérité de Sa Majesté rompra le cours à ces vilaines débauches.” Ezechiel Spanheim, Fasc. 33, 74 v⁰ (12 June 1672) cited in Dirk Van der Cruysse, *Madame Palatine: Princesse européenne* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), 176. Among its definitions for “desbaucher,” the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* lists, “Jetter dans la débauche, dans le vice,” (2:318) thus sodomy, as a “vice,” constitutes a *débauche*. However, the term does not only indicate sodomy as a vice, but “desbauche” “se prend encore pour l’abandonnement aux femmes.” (2:318) In this sense, according to the *Dictionnaire*, “débauche” can indicate many disorders and excesses of abandon to food, drink, vice, and pleasure, all of which are linked to the original crimes imputed to the Sodomites.
169. For example, in all but one (which involved a young girl) of the six sodomy cases transcribed by Hernandez, boys or young men were either “seduced” or “raped” by older men, and this “corruption” or “abuse” of youths is what prompted legal action. Ludovico Hernandez, *Les procès de sodomie*, 15–87.
170. *Les lettres d’Élisabeth Charlotte à Karoline von Wales et Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Hans Ferdinand Helmolt (Annaberg in Sachsen: Graser, 1909), 284–85.
171. Louis-François du Bouchet, marquis de Sourches, *Mémoires*, 118–19.
172. Nonetheless, an editorial note in Sourches's memoirs says of Lorraine, “Il étoit perdu dans l’esprit du Roi par les mêmes raisons qui avoient perdu M. le comte de Marsan, son frère, car il étoit aussi accusé d’avoir voulu corrompre Monseigneur le Dauphin, et on l’en soupçonnoit d’autant plus aisément qu’il n’avoit pas bonne réputation et qu’il étoit suspect de grandes débauches avec Monsieur, frère unique du Roi.” Louis-François du Bouchet, marquis de Sourches, *Mémoires*, 118.
173. Louis XIV's treatment of Monsieur, which exceeds the publicly-enacted exemplary chastisement and descends to a private level that might even be qualified as sadistic, is an exceptional and complex case of castigating the sodomite, and, again, it was not necessarily sodomy as such that

was being reproved.

174. Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, *Correspondance*, 6 vols., ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris: Charpentier, 1858–59), 5:46. The Argenson involved is not to be confused with Marc-René de Voyer de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson (1652–1721), who would be Lieutenant Général de police from 1697 to 1718.

175. Roger de Bussy Rabutin, *La France galante* in *L'histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, 2:410–12.

176. One example is the case of Antoine Mazouer (aged 45) and Emery Ange Dugaton (aged 21) in which Dugaton accused Mazouer of having seduced and debauched him through sodomy, which charge Mazouer denied. In February 1666, both were found guilty of sodomy by the Lieutenant Criminel au Baillage et Presidial de la Ville et Cité de Tours and condemned to death, a decision that was confirmed by the Parlement de Paris in March of that year. See Ludovico Hernandez, *Les procès de sodomie*, 30–35.

177. *L'histoire amoureuse des Gaules* is a *roman à clef*, and Alcandre is supposed to represent Louis XIV.

178. Roger de Bussy Rabutin, *La France galante* in *L'histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, 2:412.

CHAPTER 2

Civilizing the Sodomite: From Warrior to *Efféminé*

In France, the seventeenth century was a turning point in the evolution of the sodomite from a historically-rooted warrior prototype, one who might engage in sexual acts with men and not compromise his masculinity, to a non-warrior cast as unmanly. This transformation took place toward the end of what Norbert Elias designates as the “civilizing process,” and by the early eighteenth century, sodomy had become largely linked to the *efféminé*, who typically manifested behavior codified as feminine. A mutation in the performance of masculinity is closely tied to this shift.

As James Metterschmidt observes:

Masculinity is accomplished, it is not something done to men or something settled beforehand. And masculinity is never static, never a finished product. Rather, men construct masculinities in specific social situations . . . in so doing, men reproduce (and sometimes change) social structure . . . Masculinity must be viewed as structured action—what men do under specific constraints and varying degrees of power.”¹

Judith Butler argues that gender must be constantly reiterated, not only to be maintained, but in order to be achieved, each new iteration confirming or shifting power hierarchies, which are necessarily comprised of interdependent subjects. Although men do not freely construct masculinity, since pre-existing structures largely determine their conduct, the variants that may be introduced into its reiteration are what permit its mutability, which is one of the fundamental aspects of what Butler calls gender performance. One goal of gender performance is to construct a body that conforms to conventions of gender identity, “masculine” or “feminine,” and, according to Butler, these conventions seek a materialization of gender in which “The descriptivist ideal creates the expectation that a full and final enumeration of features is possible.”² Seeking certain recognizable features as the

markers of gender implies that some aspects of gender are stable and thus constitute an identity, in the sense of something that can be consistently recognized and enunciated. However, absolute consistency is not characteristic of gender, since, as Butler asserts, “When some set of descriptions is offered to fill out the content of an identity, the result is inevitably fractious.”³ The reason that such attempts at describing fixed gender markers resist coherence is that gender is not material, nor is it immutable. Instead, as Butler explains in *Undoing Gender*:

Gender is the apparatus by which the production and normalization of masculine and feminine take place . . . Gender is the mechanism by which notions of masculine and feminine are produced and naturalized. Indeed, it may be that the very apparatus that seeks to install the norm also works to undermine that very installation, that the installation is, as it were, definitionally incomplete.⁴

Because the impulse to normalize the gender binary of masculine and feminine seeks materialization through performance, it simultaneously ensures the instability of that which it attempts to solidify because performance is inherently changeable and variable. In other words, seeking to affirm gender performatively is essentially impossible, since there is no pre-existing stable essence. As Butler had already establish in *Gender Trouble*:

According to the understanding of identification as an enacted fantasy or incorporation, however, it is clear that coherence is desired, wished for, idealized, and that this idealization is an effect of corporeal signification. . . . That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts that constitute its reality.⁵

Attempts to construct performatively an idealized gendered body rise from a propulsion to establish what Butler describes as “socially instituted and maintained norms of sociability”⁶ in which “the heterosexualization of desire requires and institutes . . . opposition between ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine,’ where these are understood as expressive attributes of ‘male’ and ‘female.’”⁷ This ostensibly establishes a binary on which gender structures are presumably based.

Although masculine and feminine may be the two extremes of the normative gender binary, there are also polar extremes within the notions of masculine and feminine and these, too, are

marked by performative signifiers. In pre-modern and early modern France, the performative notion of masculinity was closely tied to war and the exercise of arms to protect and advance propertybased dynastic interests was deemed a realization of masculinity. In the tradition of the warrior nobility (*noblesse d'épée*) inherited from the Middle Ages, the skill of arms in its heroic extreme required public enactment to uphold chivalric codes of honor. With the rise of centralized government, the honorable practice of arms was effectuated above all by serving in the king's army where the commanders were drawn from the warrior nobility and the monarch fought as the exemplary noble. Valor in honorable (dynastic or royal) service chiefly defined the warrior and his masculinity. The army,⁸ where the noble warrior largely performed his masculinity, was a homosocial milieu.

The term "homosociality" was coined in 1976 by Jean Lipman-Blumen, who defines it as "the seeking, enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same sex. . . . it does not necessarily involve (although it may under certain circumstances) an explicitly erotic sexual interaction between members of the same sex."⁹ This definition of homosociality is the most neutral and the most useful since it allows, but does not require, a sexual component. However, although Lipman-Blumen coined the term, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick is largely responsible for its currency in gender theory. Sedgwick follows Lipman-Blumen in her basic definition of homosociality as "men promoting the interests of men,"¹⁰ but she emphasizes what she designates as "male homosocial desire":

"Homosocial desire," to begin with, is a kind of oxymoron. "Homosocial" is a word occasionally used in history and the social sciences, where it describes social bonds between persons of the same sex; it is a neologism, obviously formed by analogy with "homosexual," and just as obviously meant to be distinguished from "homosexual." . . . To draw the "homosocial" back into the orbit of "desire," of the potentially erotic, then, is to hypothesize the potential unbrokenness of a continuum between homosocial and homosexual. . . . I have chosen the word "desire" rather than "love" to mark the erotic emphasis¹¹

Although I agree that Sedgwick is right to emphasize a gender continuum, my own understanding is different and related to the particularities of the early modern period. Sedgwick structures a polarized continuum between the homosocial and the homosexual, placing non-sexual relationships (which she nevertheless considers to be grounded in erotic desire) at the homosocial pole, and homosexual relationships at the other. In an early modern context, this disposition requires some adjustments.

Sedgwick's use of the term "homosocial" emphasizes the erotic, particularly in triangular structures where the attraction between men is transferred to competition over a woman that essentially disguises the erotic aspect of their relationship.¹² However, I disagree with the notion that erotic desire is a fundamental aspect of all homosocial relationships, including competitive ones, and I prefer Lipman-Bluman's usage of "homosocial" as designating all relationships among men, which permits, but does not require, a component of sexual desire. In my reconstruction, the entire continuum is homosocial with the sexual and the non-sexual at opposite poles. In an early modern context, the sexual pole cannot be designated "homosexual," since that term and its implicit notion of sexual identity did not exist until the nineteenth century. Instead, this term will be replaced by "sodomy," which in the seventeenth century indicated sexual relations between men.¹³ Between the two poles of the homosocial continuum lies a region of overlap that may be termed the "homoerotic." In this area, where gender mutability is largely performed, the boundaries between the non-sexual and the sexual are porous, have no clear borders, and it is often difficult to distinguish between them.

As the notion of the continuum suggests, homosociality is not a static descriptor, but a gamut of behavior between and among men. The non-sexual pole includes friendship, which is cast as a male virtue and may be either disinterested in an idealized sense or an aspect of clientage-based

commerce, which Sharon Kettering defines as “the loyalty and service that a client owes a patron in exchange for advancement and protection.”¹⁴ This system is more characteristic of the bourgeoisie and the *noblesse de robe*,¹⁵ for whom prestige is based on social and financial ambition rather than dynastically-oriented warrior ambitions typical of the *noblesse d’épée*. However, clientage is also an anachronistic term for the seventeenth century, and Kettering notes: “Early modern French patrons and clients used the language of friendship, the terms *ami* and *amitié*, friend and friendship, to refer to themselves.”¹⁶ Although both disinterested ideal friendship and clientage are theoretically non-sexual, friendship is itself a complex notion that extends from the non-sexual (*philia*) through the erotic (*eros*), two types of friendship theorized in ancient Greek discourse, notably by Plato (427?–348? B.C.) and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), that form the basis of early modern philosophies on friendship among men. The nonsexual overlaps with the homoerotic, which does not necessarily involve sexual acts, but which is characterized by intense affective relations between men that suggest the sexual. Louis XIII, as I show below, is the emblematic example of homoerotic ambiguity in seventeenth-century France. Further along the homosocial spectrum, homosociality extends beyond homoeroticism to sodomy, which does involve sexual acts, and thus opens the way to sodomitical masculinity in armies, an association that has a long history. In antiquity, the Sacred Band of Thebes (4th century B.C.) and heroes, such as Alexander the Great (356–323) and the biblical David and Jonathan, set archetypes for seventeenth-century views on links among warriors, sodomy, and virtuous courage. Indeed several of the greatest warriors of the Ancien Régime, who were among the last remnants of noble independence from the monarch, were widely held to be sodomites. Louis II de Bourbon, prince de Condé is a notable example of the sodomite warrior who amplified elements of armed masculinity through exceptional armed prowess.

In the ancient tradition of armed homosocial masculinity, independence was a defining aspect of the nobility, and, as Jean-François Solnon observes of the sixteenth century nobleman:

La ville lui répugne, il ignore cette double résidence — demeure aux champs et l'hôtel urbain — qu'il cultivera au siècle suivant. . . . Pour la plupart des gentilhommes, le métier militaire, noble entre tous, reste l'expression achevée du service. . . . Les plus avisés . . . préfèrent conserver pouvoir et influence en province plutôt que . . . d'abdiquer leur indépendance. . . . La quête des faveurs paraît humiliante aux esprits orgueilleux.¹⁷

For the traditional nobility, including the masculine warrior sodomite, service in armed homosocial contexts was the basis of honor, but by the late sixteenth century, as absolutism began to develop, the authority of the Valois monarchy had become such that nobles were increasingly obliged to live at court in order to succeed socially, a compulsion that became inexorable under Louis XIV.¹⁸ Through this transition, an increased emphasis on civility and its attendant codes of sociability, such as *bonnêteté*, began to shift modes of male bonding from the theater of war to the court and the salon, which became new types of battlefields, and which necessitated a renegotiation of homosociality and masculinity.

This civilizing process, as described by Elias, consists of a gradual “courticization of the warrior”¹⁹ from the twelfth through the eighteenth century. In the first stage, the participation in war by the king and pseudo-military activities, such as jousting, were reduced in favor of ritualized spectacle in the seventeenth century. Since the Middle Ages, warrior nobles had asserted their masculinity through the defense and extension of their dynastic interests, which were grounded in the ownership of the land from which their houses drew their names and social identities. However, as the monarchy grew stronger, nobles no longer waged independent war. At court and in the salons, both increasingly important as the principle foyers for social advancement, the arts of captivation and dissimulation on which strategies of *bonnêteté* were grounded grew increasingly important. The warrior noble was no longer involved in combat only with his own kind, but with

the *bonnête homme*, who was typically not from the old nobility, and who might be cast as an arriviste. As Domna C. Stanton observes, the arriviste “like a chameleon, adjusts his persona to different contexts”²⁰ in order to advance, a skill that was not traditionally part of warrior culture. Unlike the battlefield, which was primarily reserved for the *noblesse d’épée*, the court and salons were also open to the bourgeoisie and the *noblesse de robe*, creating a more heterogeneous competitive milieu. For the warrior nobility, the loss of armed combat and the increased necessity to compete with those of less exalted station undermined traditional codes of conduct in which the deeply-entrenched armed model nonetheless persisted. Without the battlefield of war as a site for the exercise of masculinity, proxies were devised, notably dueling, the most direct surrogate for the traditional demonstration of armed merit. Ironically, because it was illegal, dueling preserved notions of noble warrior masculinity, but constituted, in the eyes of the king, an act of disobedience rather than one of noble honor.

The warrior had a difficult transition to court and salon culture that inverted the original meaning of sodomy, which had previously been admitted among warriors but was increasingly disparaged as the vice of men who violated the codes of masculinity. This shift became particularly evident toward the end of the civilizing process. At its extreme point, the sexual component of the homosocial continuum denoted the sodomite, which traditionally had caused little friction with the armed model of masculinity from the Middle Ages through the seventeenth century. However, the non-sexual competitive aspects of *honnêteté* paralleled old non-sexual aspects of armed homosocial competition, and the only way to form an equivalent paradigm in court and salon culture was to amplify aspects of sociability just as had been done previously with codes of armed merit. This was problematic, because whereas warrior homosociality had revolved around armed manifestations of masculinity by sodomites and non-sodomites, the new codes of civility found at court and in salons

were associated with women and “the feminine.”²¹ For the nonsodomite, there was increased emphasis in court and salon circles on the romantic and sexual pursuit of women as an affirmation of masculinity. Sodomites, partly through practicing *bonnêteté*, began to amplify modes of behavior associated with women and more generally men’s and women’s sociability (such as fastidious dress and an emphasis on captivating through the art of conversation, particularly in aristocratic salons) just as they had previously done with the practice of arms. However, this aspect of sociability also led to the increasingly codified language and comportment of the *efféminé*, who mimicked women’s dress and stereotyped mannerisms in what was considered a violation of masculinity. The notion of the *efféminé* was largely in place by the end of the seventeenth century, and the loss of the meaningful traditional warrior codes of homosociality meant that henceforth the sodomite was almost completely associated with effeminacy. I address this shift in notions of masculinity by considering the performative aspects of masculine warrior conduct within their dynastic context, by discussing the continuum of homosociality along which masculinity was performed, and by analyzing the civilizing process by which the masculine warrior sodomite evolved to the *efféminé*.

Warrior Nobles, Dynasty, and Masculinity

In early modern France, the performance of masculinity was closely bound to medieval notions of dynastic obligation, the duties of which were largely discharged in the homosocial contexts of battle and tournaments through the display of warrior virtues, particularly armed prowess. A warrior achieved his masculinity and confirmed the nobility of his house through the public exercise of arms among his peers. The close links between the practice of arms and dynastic responsibility largely grounded the notion of masculinity. In the early modern period, social status was determined first and foremost by station, which reflected blood, not wealth, and which determined the modes and acts of gender performance. In his *Traité de la noblesse* (1678), the heraldist

Gilles-André de La Roque de La Lontière (1598–1686) delineates the role of men in the dynastic system: “Il est aussi certain que dans l’ordre civil, la gloire des familles reside en la personne des mâles. Il n’y a qu’eux qui portent le nom & les armes de leur Maison; & si le sang conserve les familles dans la nature, le nom & les armes le conservent dans le monde.”²² According to La Roque, a family’s political strength resides entirely in its men. It is exercised through proprietary and nobiliary duties, which are public by nature, and their successful performance constitutes what he designates as *gloire*, which is the province of the masculine.²³ The *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (1694) confirms the public quality of *gloire*, defining it as “honneur, louange, estime, reputation qui procede du merite d’une personne, de l’excellence des ses actions ou de ses ouvrages.”²⁴ Men were the custodians of a family’s *gloire*, which consisted of esteem and high reputation stemming from illustrious deeds,²⁵ specifically from bearing arms. The term “armes” has a double meaning in La Roque’s description of the functions of the head of a noble house. As a heraldist, he is referring literally to the coat of arms reserved for the nobility to represent their distinguished ancestry, which ultimately attaches to weapons of war (the escutcheon represents the warrior’s shield). To women fell the charge of bearing healthy heirs, but they were excluded from legitimate succession and the official wielding of power in the interest of patrimonial preservation and advancement.²⁶

The *noblesse d’épée*, the traditional warrior class, rose within the system that later became known as feudalism,²⁷ which developed during the eighth and ninth centuries after the fall of the Carolingian Empire. Land was the principle source of wealth in this predominantly agrarian society, and land ownership, if it is to provide a means of amassing wealth and power, necessitates both defense and cultivation. This exigency set the division between noble warriors and non-noble laborers that was the basis of the manorial system. Ælfric of Eynsham (ca. 955–ca. 1010) designated three feudal social classes: *oratores* (those who pray), *bellatores* (those who do battle), and *laboratores*

(those who toil).²⁸ It was the responsibility of the suzerain to receive an oath of fealty from vassals to whom he granted tenancy of a fief, and of the vassals to cultivate the fief and return a portion of its yield to the suzerain. In addition, vassals were obliged to provide the suzerain with *auxilium* and *concilium* (aid and counsel).²⁹ Homosocial relationships between suzerains and vassals established mutual bonds, which, as in the emblematic case of King Arthur and his knights, might extend to friendship, the prerequisites of which were determined by the demands of dynastic masculinity. Mutual bonds among nobles were enhanced by the performance of meritorious deeds, primarily related to war, which constituted the active protection and augmentation of family property. The more successful the noble was in this endeavor, the longer his lineage would flourish. Possessing and exercising the qualities, or “virtues,” of which, according to the *Breviaire des nobles* of Alain Chartier (ca. 1385–ca. 1420), there are 12,³⁰ that increased the prosperity of his house determined the nobility of the warrior. The first nobles, through armed valor, demonstrated these virtues, accumulated merit, and engendered the *noblesse d’épée*.³¹ For the warrior, masculinity, military prowess, and nobility were inseparable because they all required repeated demonstration in order to be maintained. As Matthew Bennett observes:

Military virtues are believed to be inherited from other men, from the father . . . Those who display such virtues are worthy of the group they represent . . . Those who fail to live up to expectations of appropriate military values are no better, and often worse, than the enemy . . . A warrior from a good lineage is expected to embody the qualities of his forefathers. A nobleman was expected to live up to his inheritance and display proper military characteristics.”³²

The noble virtue of arms was deemed masculine and proper to men since it originated with the father who instilled it with dynastic significance by creating a legacy for his sons. They in turn were expected to uphold the dynastic expectations of armed warriors, thus repeatedly confirming the ties among arms, dynasty, and masculinity.

Among the 12 virtues enumerated by Chartier is prowess, the grounding virtue of the

warrior nobility, which needs to be demonstrated frequently with the appropriate *éclat* in tournaments and battle. On this point, Jean de Meung (ca. 1250–ca. 1304) remarks in the *Roman de la rose* “Et cil qui d’autrui gentillece,/Sanz sa valeur, sanz sa proece,/Veult enporter los et renon,/Est ils gentils? Je di que non” (vv. 18759–18762).³³ In pre-modern France, tournaments, which emerged in the late eleventh century as a means of rehearsing and refining the maneuvers of the newly-developed armored cavalry,³⁴ were closely tied to the art of war, particularly the *mêlée*, which mimics large-scale warfare involving two groups of mounted warriors facing each other in combat and capturing opponents who must then be ransomed along with their horses and arms. The only difference between a *mêlée* and a battle is the lack of intent to kill the adversary. Tournaments *à plaisir* employed blunted weapons, but those that were *à outrance* used sharp weapons just as on the battlefield.³⁵ Tournaments might also include jousting, which involved single mounted combat in which opponents attempted to unseat each other with lances.³⁶ As training grounds for young aristocrats being schooled in the practice and codes of warfare, tournaments were a venue where noblemen could test and prove their mettle, valor, and virtues, and form alliances.

As the theater for the performance of noble masculinity, war, as La Roque explains, was the definitive undertaking for the *noblesse d’épée*:

ordinairement elle [la guerre] fait paraître leur vertu avec beaucoup d’éclat et les porte à se distinguer dans toutes les belles occasions. . . . C’est cette espece de noblesse qui s’est formée dans le commencement des fiefs, des surnoms et des armoiries et qui s’est rendue remarquable par les cris de guerre, et par les exploits militaires: l’exercise des armes n’étant alors permis qu’à ceux qui vivaient noblement.³⁷

Since, according to La Roque, nobility is exhibited most brilliantly in military exploits, war was valued as an opportunity for noblemen to prove their masculine valor and merit, as in the anonymous early thirteenth-century *Lancelot-Graal*:

Thus was made known throughout Gaul, which is now called New France, the war that those of the kingdom of Logres wanted to start. The good and bold knights were happy and joyful at this, for they felt they had been at peace too long. But it grieved the mean-spirited and the cowardly, who preferred peace to war.³⁸

The virtuous chevaliers, good and bold, welcome war, where they can exercise prowess and confirm their masculinity among other men. The emblematic example of such an alliance is the Round Table of King Arthur, a table with no head where the king is only *primus inter pares*³⁹ and members have proven their masculine armed merit as a prerequisite for admission. For example, as Bettina Bildhauer observes, in the Arthurian legend, “Daniel comes to court, proves his excellence by jousting, and is immediately welcomed ‘like a very good friend.’”⁴⁰ Respect for one another’s prowess is based on competition in valorous deeds of adventure that constantly reaffirm masculinity. The dynamics of this and similar all-male associations constituted homosociality.

The Homosocial Continuum: Friendship, Homoeroticism, and Sodomy

Chaste Friendship: *Philia* and Non-Sexual Warrior Bonding

“Men were largely defined in the Middle Ages, as well as in many, if not most, other periods, by their relationships with other men—father and son, lord and vassal, uncle and nephew, companions in arms,” notes Marianne Ailes.⁴¹ Although the underlying foundations of homosociality, namely the advancement of dynastic interests through the masculine exercise of arms, were constant in early modern France, the all-male associations that Ailes names were not necessarily homosocially equivalent. Differences among the many types of homosocial structures were determined by the location of a particular type of homosociality within a range of possible non-sexual and sexual relationships among men. Warriors performed their masculinity along a continuum of homosociality across which affiliations among men extended from the non-sexual, which included idealized friendship grounded in Greek philosophy, through the homoerotic, which did not necessarily involve sexual acts, to warrior sodomites, who characteristically amplified aspects of

masculinity, particularly the achievement of brilliant armed heroism.

In pre-modern and early modern France, homosociality and its interdependent networks were predicated on the idea of friendship as a male virtue rooted in the Greek philosophical tradition.⁴² However, Greek thought differentiates between perfect friendship among men, known as *philia* (including paternal love and friendship), and sexual love (encompassing passionate love, being in love, and sexual passion), which was designated as *eros*. These two types of friendship, of which *philia* is considered superior to *eros*, are not mutually exclusive. In *Lysis*, Plato discusses *philia* but cannot account for or define it, although he does assert that it excludes sexual relations.⁴³ In the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*, both of which focus predominantly on *eros*, Plato confirms that in the quest for perfect friendship, sexual relations should be avoided so that the “better aspects of the mind prevail . . . binding that by which evil comes into the soul and setting free that by which goodness comes in.”⁴⁴ Here Plato establishes a binary between the mind and the flesh, privileging the mind, which is able to hamper the influence of evil and encourage good. According to William Cobb, this suggests “that one achieves goodness . . . *arete*, often rendered as ‘virtue’ . . . by sublimation or suppression of the desire for sexual intercourse.”⁴⁵

Proceeding from essentially the same starting point and the same hierarchy, Aristotle, in books 8 and 9 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, develops the notion of *philia* more thoroughly than does Plato. Aristotle divides *philia* into three types based on the motives of their formation: the utilitarian (impermanent, sometimes very brief relationships, such as acquaintances in business transactions), which do not regard the other person, but only what benefit one might have from them; friendships of pleasure (which may also be impermanent since they only involve sharing mutually pleasurable activities, such as drinking or brief youthful love affairs);⁴⁶ and friendship of the good, “the perfect form of friendship, both on account of the time it lasts and because it has all the other good points

in a friendship. In every way each friend—as between friends is only proper—receives from the other the same or like advantages.”⁴⁷ If sexual acts are implicit in the love affairs between youths that Aristotle mentions, and which he makes parallel to pleasurable activities in non-sexual friendships, then they are no more significant than drinking or witty banter among men. Aristotle aligns friendships of mutual pleasure (which might include the sexual), with non-sexual friendships, because both are useful to men; indeed, according to Aristotle, the association usually ends when it is no longer beneficial.⁴⁸ The same is true in brief love affairs, since “sometimes when the lad’s beauty wanes, the friendship wanes also . . . If all they seek is some mutual advantage, they part as soon as the profit goes.”⁴⁹ However, if the friendship is truly good and not grounded only in *eros*, it might lead to pure *philia*, so that even when physical attraction ceases, “many do remain friends if, being alike in character, their intimacy has taught them to love each other’s character.”⁵⁰ The enduring quality of true friendship, which is neither utilitarian (or selfish), nor erotic (or motivated by impermanent passionate love of physical beauty), is what marks its superiority, as it does the high caliber of the men involved, since, “clearly it is only the good who can be friends for love’s sake only.”⁵¹

During the early modern period, the influence of Aristotle’s restriction of perfect friendship to men is evident in “De l’amitié” by Michel de Montaigne (1533–92). Drawing on Aristotle, Montaigne writes of friendship that “à dire vray la suffisance ordinaire des femmes n’est pour respondre à cette conference et communication.” He explains this assertion that women are not usually suited to perfect friendship by legitimizing the binary that associates men with intellect and reason, women with sensual desire:

l’affection envers les femmes, quoy qu’elle naisse de nostre choix, on ne peut, ny la loger en ce rolle. Son feu, je la confesse, est plus actif, plus cuisant et plus aspre. Mais c’est un feu temeraire et volage, ondoyant et divers, feu de fiebvre, subject à accez et remises, et qui ne nous tient qu’à un coing. En l’amitié, c’est une chaleur constante et rassize, toute douceur et

pollisure, qui n'a rien d'aspre et de poignant. Qui plus est, en l'amour, ce n'est qu'un desiré forcené apres ce qui nous fuit. . . . La jouissance le perd, comme ayant la fin corporelle et sujete à sacieté. L'amitié, au rebours, est jouye à mesure qu'elle est désirée, ne s'esleve, se nourrit, ny ne prend accroissance qu'en la jouissance comme estant spirituelle, et l'ame s'affinant pas l'usage.⁵²

Montaigne classifies relationships between men and women differently than those between men. He contrasts “amour,” cast as nothing but a passing “frenzied desire” linked to satiable corporeal pleasure, with “amitié,” which is spiritual, has enduring constancy, and ceaselessly improves itself. In this context, perfect friendship and the perfect entente of two souls can only be achieved between men.⁵³

The notion of mutual love of character among good men as the highest form of friendship also permeates warrior friendships of the Middle Ages. As Ivy Schweitzer observes, “influential discourse of male homosocial bonding arose in the Middle Ages between warrior knights. Emerging as an honor code of the ruling class . . . warrior knighthood . . . privileged martial skills and exalted epic qualities like heroism, loyalty, and male camaraderie.”⁵⁴ The friendships among the chevaliers of the Round Table, which are situated at the non-sexual pole of the homosocial continuum, are prototypes of male homosociality in the Middle Ages. Sexual desire in the works of Chrétien de Troyes (ca. 1135–1185?), for instance, is confined to relations between men and women; his works feature paradigmatic examples of *l'amour courtois*, a tradition in which women are the subjects of men's romantic desire.⁵⁵ Thus Chrétien's *Le chevalier au lion* opens by emphasizing Arthur's nobility, exemplary prowess as models for the chevaliers who practice the art of love,⁵⁶ and the adventures that propel the tale involve a homosocial dynastic duty, namely Yvain's obligation to avenge the defeat of his cousin, Calogrenant, in combat with Esclados, whose magic fountain he attacked. When Yvain succeeds, he marries Laudine (the widow of Esclados) in order to defend her domain and fountain. However, Yvain remains too long at Laudine's château, forsaking his fellow chevaliers,

and thus neglecting his homosocial masculinity:⁵⁷

Mais il avoient la semaine
Trestuit proiié et mis en paine,
De plus qu'i s'en porrent pener,
Què il en peüssent mener
Mon seigneur Yvain avec eux.

“Comment? Seroiz vos or de chix,
Che disoit mesire Gavains,
Qui pour lor femmes valent mains?
Honnis soit de Sainte Marie
Qui pour empirier se marie!⁵⁸ (vv. 2479–2488)

As a gesture of friendship, the chevaliers seek to draw Yvain back into their fold since a man is shamed if, by marrying, he becomes worse (“empirier”) and does not exercise his merits, which can only be accomplished in the armed community of men. This is not to say that women are spurned; indeed, it is partly the desire for their company that motivates the homosocial warrior to seek adventure and glory at this end of the spectrum:

Amender doit de bele dame Qui l'a amie ou a femme, Ne n'est puis drois què ele l'aint Que ses pris et ses lois remaint. Chertes, encore serois iriés De s'amor, se vous empiriés, Que femme a tost s'amor reprise; Ne n'a pas tort s'ele desprise Chelui qui devient de l'empire Sire, qui pour s'amour empire.⁵⁹

Ironically, Yvain must leave Laudine for a time to prove his love, masculinity, and worthiness. The juxtaposition of the noun “empire” with the third person singular conjugation of the verb “empirer” reinforces the notion that a man loses honor by resting on his laurels and remaining with women.

The notion that nobles, and thus kings (the king was the *premier gentilhomme*), must engage in the ritualistic expressions of masculinity continued through the seventeenth century. During the Renaissance, François Ier (1494–1547) josted avidly, and among the notable tournaments in which he participated were (while he was still duc de Valois) at the wedding of Louis XII (1462–1515) and Mary of Tudor (1496–1533) in 1514, and (as king) at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520). The second event was particularly important as a competitive display of armed masculinity between

François Ier and Henry VIII (1491–1547) in which the king of France suffered a wounded eye and perhaps a broken nose jousting against Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter (1496–1538),⁶⁰ but, in an unusually direct competition of strength, the French monarch threw the English king to the ground, winning a match of wrestling.⁶¹ François was no less valiant in the homosocial environment of his army where the king's personal involvement in armed conflict resulted in his victory at the Battle of Marignano (1515), but he was captured, along with several of his foremost noble warriors, at the Battle of Pavia (1531), after which he was held prisoner by Charles V (1500–58). François Ier and his successor, Henri II (1519–59), engaged as homosocial warriors in a non-sexual manner, and both kings had official mistresses, including Françoise de Foix, comtesse de Chateaubriand (1495?–1537) and Anne de Pisseleu d'Heilly, duchesse d'Étampes (1508–80) for François Ier and Diane de Poitiers (1499–1566) for Henri II. An enthusiastic jousting, Henri II, also led his men into battle, but at a tourney celebrating the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), he was mortally wounded by a lance driven into his eye. Braving such danger was an essential aspect of the chevalier's code of virtue and prowess on which masculine warrior standing was predicated.

Ambiguous Intimacy: Homoerotic Relationships?

Interpreting Montaigne: Aristotelian *Philia* and Platonic *Eros*

The chevaliers in Chrétien's romances and the exemplary warrior kings of the French Renaissance who interact with other men in armed contexts seem to remain at the non-sexual pole of the homosocial continuum. However, the language and philosophy of friendship among men in Renaissance France were influenced not only by medieval notions of warrior masculinity, but by Greek philosophy, including Aristotle's notion of *philia* and Plato's views on friendship. This combination of ideas moves beyond the distinctly non-sexual and begins to enter the ambiguous zone of the homoerotic, which problematically exhibits signs of both non-sexual and sexual

friendships. Montaigne's essay, "De l'amitié," in which he describes his relationship with the humanist philosopher Étienne de La Boétie (1530–63) is an emblematic example.⁶² Recalling Plato's theory of souls, in which the original male soul was divided evenly in half,⁶³ Montaigne says of his friendship with La Boétie that:

Au demeurant, ce que nous appellons ordinairement amitié, ce ne sont qu'accointances et familiaritez nouées par quelque occasion ou commodité, par le moyen de laquelle nos ames s'entretiennent. En l'amitié dequoy je parle, elles se meslent et confondent l'une en l'autre, d'un melange si universel, qu'elles effacent et ne retrouvent plus la couture qui les a jointes. Si on me presse de dire pourquoy je l'aymois, je sens que cela ne peut exprimer, qu'en respondant: Par ce que c'estoit luy; par ce que c'estoit moy.⁶⁴

This passage is frequently cited as revealing Montaigne's sodomitical, or at very least homoerotic, desire for his friend,⁶⁵ despite Montaigne's clear distinction between friendship, especially perfect friendship, which is proper to men, and passion, which involves women. The sodomitical or homoerotic interpretation of the essay and many of its supporting arguments are notably based on Plato, and since his writings on friendship between men are primarily erotic, Montaigne's borrowings are also frequently assumed to evidence homoerotic or even sodomitical desire. In describing "la couture qui les a jointes," Montaigne seems to be referring to Plato's notion of the seam along which the original single male soul was supposedly divided. According to Plato, if that seam were repaired, the two equal and complementary souls would reunite, and the longing for this reunion is at the root of all sexual desire. Montaigne claims that his soul was already united with that of La Boétie, and he describes a situation in which "luy" and "moy" are so completely mixed that the Platonian seam can no longer be found. For Montaigne, this oneness, which implies equality, is the defining element of his friendship with La Boétie, and this idea works against a homoerotic reading based on Plato's *eros*, in which there is a prototypical disparity of age and rank between friends, a fundamental inequality that serves as the basis for *paederastia*,⁶⁶ which Montaigne soundly condemns:

Et cet' autre licence Grecque est justement abhorée par nos meurs. Laquelle pourtant, pour avoir, selon leur usage, une si necessaire disparité d'aages et difference d'offices entre les amants, ne respondit non plus assez à la parfaite union et convenance qu'icy nous demandons.⁶⁷

This disapproval of disparity, combined with Montaigne's vaunting of his absolute sameness with La Boétie, recalls Aristotelian *philia* and favors the non-homoerotic interpretation. As David M. Halperin confirms, "although it [this passage] may invoke in the minds of modern readers the formulas of heterosexual romantic love . . . [it] in fact situates avowals of reciprocal love between male friends . . . precisely by carefully removing any hint of subordination on the part of one friend to the other and, thus, any suggestion of hierarchy, the emphasis on the fusion of two souls into one actually distances such a love from erotic passion."⁶⁸ Without the soul's longing for its other half as theorized by Plato, there is no sexual desire and Montaigne's friendship with La Boétie remains within the boundaries of *philia*.

Biblical Warriors: David and Jonathan Through the Seventeenth-Century Lens

In addition to classical sources, biblical texts also serve as a locus for exploring affective relationships among men. The Christian prototype for virtuous warriors is the account of the friendship between Jonathan and King David, which may have been homoerotic or sodomitical,⁶⁹ and which was frequently interpreted as such in seventeenth-century France, as examples that emphasize a homoerotic interpretation confirm. According to 1 Samuel 18:1–3:

et factum est cum conplesset loqui ad Saul anima Ionathan conligata est animae David et dilexit eum Ionathan quasi animam suam tulitque eum Saul in die illa et non concessit ei ut reverteretur in domum patris sui inierunt autem Ionathan et David foedus diligebat enim eum quasi animam suam⁷⁰

[And it came to pass, when he had made an end of speaking with Saul, the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul. And Saul took him that day and would not let him return to his father's house. And David and Jonathan made a covenant, for he loved him as his own soul.⁷¹]

This biblical text contains affirmative signs of an interpretation that extends beyond the non-sexual.

John Boswell observes that the Hebrew term for “covenant,” which Jonathan made with David “for he loved him as his own soul,” is used elsewhere in Hebrew Scripture to indicate a marriage pledge⁷² and that the Mishnah (the first section of the Talmud and the earliest significant transmission of Jewish oral tradition, ca. 200 A.D.) uses the same word to describe the love between David and Jonathan as it does when referring to Amnon’s love for Tamar, which was sexual (2 Samuel 13).⁷³ Such terminological parallels suggest equivalent sexual dimensions, as do several other elements of the David/Jonathan story. Among them is 1 Samuel 19:1: “Jonathan filius Saul diligebat David valde.” [“Jonathan, Saul’s son, delighted much in David.”] According to Susan Ackerman, who provides equivalent expressions describing erotic love between men and women, the Hebrew verb *hapes*, “to delight in,” although it can be used for objects, abstract concepts, and actions, “often figures in important ways in passages concerned with desire and erotic love.”⁷⁴ This supports a homoerotic interpretation reinforced by similar early Christian descriptions of notable close bonds between exemplary warriors, even warrior saints, including Saint Polyeuct and Nearchus, and Saints Serge and Bacchus.⁷⁵

Biblical descriptions of David and Jonathan cast them as laudable warriors with the same virtues summarized by Charny that would also be requisite in pre-modern France, including faith, loyalty, honor, prowess, love, diligence, largesse, and perseverance. In 1 Samuel 17, the boy David is described as single-handedly slaying the giant Goliath, and it was after this victory that he was brought to speak with Saul and met Jonathan, Saul’s eldest son. David repeatedly foils attempts on his life by the jealous Saul (1 Samuel 19–30), whom he tenaciously pursues until the king commits suicide, and Jonathan dies in battle (1 Samuel 31:2). Already established as worthy warriors in a homosocial context, homoerotic elements are engaged in David’s lament on the death of Jonathan (2 Samuel 1:18–27), which draws to a close (1:26) with an important summary of the nature of their

bond: “doleo super te frater mi Ionathan decore nimis et amabilis super amorem mulierum”⁷⁶ [“I grieve for thee, my brother Jonathan: exceedingly beautiful, and amiable to me above the love of women”].⁷⁷ The meaning of this verse is the subject of a perennial debate over the nature of the relationship between David and Jonathan that most likely will never be resolved and need not be undertaken yet again. At the very least, it is safe to proceed from Ackerman’s position that “the relationship of David and Jonathan is presented using language and imagery that are potentially eroticized and even sexualized in nature.”⁷⁸ Any absolute meaning that the statement may contain is not particularly salient in this context; rather, it is more important to determine whether early modern France viewed the relationship as erotic and how this might have been discursively revealed.

A 1567 French translation of the Bible rendered 2 Samuel 1:26–27 as: “Mon frere Jonathan, je suis en angoisse pour l’amour de toy: tu m’as esté for amiable, ton amour m’a esté merueilleux par dessus l’amour des fêmes.”⁷⁹ One element of this verse that supports a homoerotic interpretation is the term “frater”/“frère.” In both versions, David calls Jonathan his brother, and, according to Ackerman, there is a “well-known tendency in ancient Near Eastern literature to use the terms *brother* and *sister* euphemistically to refer to a beloved and/or to the object of one’s sexual desire.”⁸⁰

Ackerman notes that “the same Deuteronomistic corpus in which the David-Jonathan stories are embedded uses the terms *lover* (*’ôhçb*) in 1 Kings 5:15 (English 5:1) and *brother* (*’âb*) in 1 Kings 9:13 to refer to King Hiram of Tyre as a covenant partner of Kings David and Solomon. This suggests that the ancient redactors of the Samuel-Kings tradition, as well as its ancient audience, would likewise have understood the term *brother*, when used in conjunction with the term *love* in v. 26 of David’s lament over Jonathan, to be reference to the two heroes’ covenant fidelity.”⁸¹ It is precisely to this covenant language that Boswell refers when he signals the parallel between the David-Jonathan and the Amnon-Tamar pairs, suggesting that the relationship between David and Jonathan may have

been sodomitical.⁸²

Although it is not possible to know whether the sixteenth-century translator of the Bible in question was aware of the Hebrew conventions observed by Boswell and Ackerman, “frater”/“frère” may be read as impartial terms, and the Latin, from which the French translation was probably made, is somewhat ambiguous concerning the nature of David’s love for Jonathan. “Doleo super te frater mi” [“I grieve for thee, my brother”] is largely neutral (although “frater” may imply erotic love in the contexts mentioned by Ackerman and Boswell), but “je suis en angouisse pour l’amour de toy” [“I am in anguish for love of you”] is likely more articulate of amorous intimacy, recalling conventional locutions of *l’amour courtois*, which abounds with similar tokens of amatory suffering.⁸³ With this in mind, the expression “amabilis super amorem mulierum” [“loveable above the love of women”] is given a more precise meaning in French. “Ton amour m’a esté merueilleux par dessus l’amour des fêmes” [“your love was marvelous to me above the love of women”]. “Super amorem mulierum” is a direct parallel to “par dessus l’amour des fêmes,” but the French version adds the word “merueilleux,” which is not in the Latin. According to the *Thrésor de la langue françoise* (1606) of Jean Nicot (1530–1600), a “chose merveilleuse” is something “qu’on n’a point accoustumé d’ouyr,”⁸⁴ a term rich in possible significance. Most simply, it indicates that David’s relationship with Jonathan was something of which one rarely hears (“qu’on n’a point accoustumé d’ouyr”). If this relationship was “above the love of women” (“par dessus l’amour des fêmes”), and one might assume that love of women would be something heard of, then it would be a type of love that was not as usual as that between men and women, which may refer to an erotic relationship between men, valued more than the love of women because they were cast as inferior to men in Biblical tradition.

One example suggesting that seventeenth-century France may have considered the

and there is no indication that he weeps. Instead, he declares, “filiae Israhel super Saul flete” [“daughter’s of Israel, weep over Saul”], which emphasizes the connection between Saul, who was not a sodomite, with “amorem mulierum” [“the love of women”] and David with love “super amorem mulierum” [“above the love of women”].

Beyond the positioning of David/Jonathan/“above the love of women,” in verses 7–9, Godeau draws from 1 Samuel 18:1–3 and adds a new dimension of intimacy involving desire and pleasure. The Latin “Jonathan et David foedus diligebat enim eum quasi animam suam” [“And Jonathan made a covenant with David because he loved him as himself”] is rendered as “Tu vivois en moy seul, je te donnois la vie,” which conveys the same significance of interconnectedness, but Godeau appends “Nos cœurs n’estoient touchez, que d’une mesme envie,/Et de mesme plaisirs.” This interpolation introduces the notion of desire through the term “envie,” which Nicot illustrates with the example, “avoir envie sur quelque chose, & la desirer.”⁸⁸ “Envie” and “desirer” are closely associated, and what David and Jonathan desire are “plaisirs.” It is difficult to overlook the erotic tinge in the association of desire and pleasure, but it is nearly impossible to do so in light of verses 13–21 where the vocabulary overtly employs conventional poetic formulas from the courtly expression of mens’ desire for women. The corporeal is intimately invoked through “beaux yeux ont de puissantes forces” “[qui] ont ravi sa liberté,” conventional amatory expressions involving eyes and communication with the beloved that lead to another topos characteristic of early-modern courtly love poetry, the allegory of love and captivity. In stereotypical fashion, “beautiful eyes” that can “ravish” (in the sense that Richelet gives the word of “charmer, donner beaucoup de joie et de plaisir”⁸⁹) also bind “their slaves in irons.” But these generalizations do not concern Jonathan directly so much as they establish a charged affective background against which David declares that “Ils ne sont point du prix des chaines qui me lient,/Et le temps ne peut rien sur ma fidelité.” This

declaration again emphasizes how tightly David is bound to Jonathan since it is even stronger than the chains that bind lovers in conventional courtly formulations of love and desire. These conventions, because they are ordinary, are beneath the exceptional, the “merveilleux,” that characterizes the covenant between David and Jonathan. Elaborating the Biblical lament through a paraphrase that establishes emphatic resonance with well-recognized expressions of amorous desire, Godeau places the Biblical lament within the context of early modern homosocial discourse that moves into the homoerotic.⁹⁰ Yet, although the paraphrase relies primarily on standard amorous poetic tropes, it closes ambiguously with a Christian resignation to divine providence in which all that remains of the “faithful friendship” is a “chaste memory.” Assuming that Godeau intended his paraphrase of David’s lament to be interpreted as an expression of amorous grief, the sudden turn to the chaste might reflect a traditional Christian valorization of the love of God over the love of men, of which the former would sustain David in his “mourning that can never end.”

Louis XIII: The Warrior King and Homoeroticism

The ambiguous region of homosociality in which expressions of intense friendship begin to involve sexual elements that may render them homoerotic, and which may suggest sodomy, is found not only philosophical and literary discourse, but also in historical discourse. One of the most notable cases is that of Louis XIII who engaged in acts of war from the beginning of his reign, and whose practices seem to involve both homosociality and homoeroticism. In his role as head of a dynasty and a kingdom, the monarch worked to end the political upheavals that characterized the regency of his mother, Marie de Médicis (1575–1642). This assertion of ruling authority was widely celebrated, including in pamphlets such as *La merveille royale de Louis treizieme, roi de France et de Navarre* (1617),⁹¹ which emphasizes the sovereign’s dynastic warrior role. By banishing the foreign queen regent and assuming his place as head of the state, Louis had restored what was sanctioned as the

right order. That the king's leadership was "natural" and that his blood transmitted the virtues inherent in the head of the House of Bourbon is demonstrated by the account of Jean Héroard (1551–1628), Premier Médecin du Roi, of the first occasion on which the king proved himself in battle. In August 1620, when Louis XIII was almost 19, Héroard writes:

[Le Roy] arrive a Trellasay a dix heures trois quarts, où il avoit donné rendés-vous a ses troupes dans une prairie . . . A une heure s'arme de sa cuirasse et commande de s'armer a touts ceulx de sa troupe. Monte a cheval, a une heure trois quarts, sur l'Armenville, cheval d'Espagne, et part de Trellazé et va pour gagner les barricades et faulxbourgs de Pont de Say. Il le vid et faire la charge avec telle furie et resolutions favorisées du canon a la teste des regiments des gardes et de Picardie, qu'il ne s'est jamais veu de pareil. . . . Il faisoit grand chauld et en a beaucoup souffert. C'est le premier combat qu'il a veu faire; le plus chaud et le plus heureux dont on eust, il avoit long temps, ouï parler.⁹²

According to Héroard, the king, suffering from the extreme heat, lead the charge and acquitted himself so well that his performance overshadowed all previous attacks. In this instance, Louis is represented as blessed with a natural warrior masculinity.

Another defining moment in the reign of Louis XIII that concretized his reputation as a warrior was the siege of La Rochelle (1627–28). A Huguenot stronghold, La Rochelle had been granted extensive independence by the Edict of Nantes (1598) and led into revolt by Henri de Rohan (1579–1638) and Benjamin de Rohan, duc de Soubise (ca. 1580–1652). Louis XIII assailed the city, which surrendered after 14 months on 28 October 1628, earning him further renown. In *Le prince* (1631), Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1595–1654) celebrates the king's reign, including the Siege of La Rochelle, of which he says:

Il n'y a rien de si fort naturellement, ny de si achevé par l'artifice des hommes, qui puisse resister à la presence du Roy. Il n'y a point de grandeur, qui ne s'humilie devant la siéne. Il n'y a point de finesse qui ne soit foible contre sa prudence. Les places qui eussent attendu le canon il y a dix ans, se rendront à la vue de sa livré: Deux lignes signés de sa main, & portés par vn valet de pied, feront obeyr . . . Qu'il commande à qui que ce soit . . .⁹³

According to Balzac, Louis has the greatness ("grandeur") that defines the warrior: strength, prudence, and the ability to command, all of which he deploys at the head of his army. So powerful

is the king that even a note, delivered by a servant, because it comes from his hand, is sufficient to assert his will as head of the house of France. Portraits of Louis XIII in armor, on horseback, with his army, and in triumphal entries abound, and an engraving from 1643 bears the caption, “Ce grand Roy, dont voicy l’adorable visage,/Vainqueur de ce bas Monde au Ciel est remonté./A genoux donc Mortels! que tout luy rende hommage,/Ou redoutez sa foudre, ou louiez sa bonté.” This memorial tribute, twelve years after that of Balzac, appended to a depiction of the king in armor, crowned with laurels, seated on horseback, and holding the commander’s *bâton*, confirms the earlier view of the just, bountiful, and overwhelmingly powerful warrior.



Ill. 1. *Louis XIII, roi de France et de Navarre (1601–43), à cheval et en armure* (Versailles: Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Estampes LP20-8[2]).

The discourse surrounding Louis XIII's army life is unanimously laudatory and was not effected by the king's homosociality extending to the homoerotic. According to contemporary accounts, Louis XIII's company consisted almost exclusively of men. Louis married Anne d'Autriche (1601–66) at the age of fourteen and sired four children by her (two of whom were miscarried); he is not known to have had any mistresses other than Marie d'Hautefort (1616–91) and Louise de Lafayette (1618–65), relationships that are said to have been chaste. According to François-de-Paule de Clermont, marquis de Montglat (1620–75), "Or l'amour du roi n'étoit pas comme celui des autres hommes: car il aimait une fille sans dessein d'en avoir aucune faveur."⁹⁴ In one sense, the king's apparent apathy toward sexual relations with women could be read as an aspect of the austerity and restraint traditionally considered an essential element of warrior virtue. However, there are numerous frequently-cited anecdotes that suggest resistance or even repugnance rather than restraint. One of these concerns an incident that supposedly took place in the queen's chamber, where, according to Montglat, Marie de Hautefort snatched from the king's hand a letter that he had written to Mazarin against her. Hiding it in her bosom, she declared: "Prenez-la tant que vous voudrez à cette heure; car elle le connoissoit trop bien pour croire qu'il voulût toucher en ce lieu-là. Elle ne se trompa point aussi, car il retira ses mains comme du feu."⁹⁵ Although this episode may be apocryphal, its presence in more than one seventeenth-century source accords with Montglat's claim that the king did not desire intimate contact with women. Indeed, even when such contact was necessary to fulfill his dynastic duties, the king is said to have remained unwilling, and historians have written that after four years of marriage his union with the queen had not yet been consummated.⁹⁶ According to Héroard, on 25 January 1619, a tearful Louis was carried to Anne's bed where he forced himself to remain: "A unze heures ou environ, sans qu'il y pensast, M. de L. vient pour le persuader a coucher etc. Il resiste fort et ferme, par effort, jusques aux larmes. Y est

emporté, couché s'esforce."⁹⁷ That Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes (1578–1621) would have been in a position to take such a liberty with the young king stemmed, at least according to Héroard, from their particularly close relationship. Luynes was the king's favorite, his closest advisor, and was alleged essentially to govern the kingdom.⁹⁸

From his earliest childhood, the preference of Louis for the company of men drew attention. Although the gossipy nature of Tallement des Réaux's *Historiettes* preclude their being taken at face value, they provide a much-cited account of the king's earliest affective attachments to men:

Le Roy commença par son cocher Saint-Amour à temoigner de l'affection à quelqu'un. En suite il eut de la bonne volonté pour Haran, valet de chiens. Le grand-prieur de Vendosme, le commandeur de Souvray et Montpellier-la-Force, garçon d'esprit et de cœur, mais laid et rousseau (il mourut depuis aux guerres des Huguenots), furent esloignez l'un après l'autre par la Reine-mère. Enfin M. de Luynes vint . . . Nous parlerons des autres à mesure qu'ils viendront.⁹⁹

The “others” to whom Tallement refers, all of whom he discusses at length, are François de Barradas, Claude de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1606–93), and Henri Coeffier de Ruzé d'Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars (1620–42). In this case, Tallemant's recounting of the king's affections is corroborated by a number of other sources, including Héroard. It is notable that Tallemant's first reference to the king's favorites is to three men who were warriors, and Luynes was a huntsman and Grand Fauconnier de France (hunting was a sport that was almost as homosocial as warring)¹⁰⁰ before he was Connétable de France in charge of the king's armies. Louis was about ten years old when he developed his attachment for Luynes, who was 33. The king moved him into an apartment above his own in the Louvre and took to visiting him at all hours. Despite the assumptions of modern writers, there is no reason to presume that the relationship between Louis XIII and Luynes was sexual, although one cannot exclude the possibility.¹⁰¹ What matters is not the nature of the association, but the manner in which it was represented. Some, such as Tallement, cast it as sodomitical, while others, including Héroard, who was in a better position to know, were not

explicit.¹⁰² This ambiguity characterizes the area on the continuum of homosociality where the non-sexual overlaps with the sodomitical through the homoerotic.

The relationship between Louis XIII and Cinq-Mars appears to have had a strongly homoerotic element. Cinq-Mars rose to the king's attention as a protégé of Richelieu, who believed that if the marquis won the king's favor, he would be able to advance the minister's political agenda and dominate Louis. In 1635, the cardinal arranged for the fifteen-year-old Cinq-Mars to command a company of the king's guard and to accept the very intimate post of Grand Maître de la Garde-Robe (1638). The king continued to shower Cinq-Mars with favors, naming him Premier Écuyer (1639), and finally Grand Écuyer de France (1639), in which capacity he was known as Monsieur le Grand.¹⁰³ Two accounts of this relationship, both drawn from Tallement, are cited (one or both) in every discussion of Louis XIII and Cinq-Mars, and in nearly every study on early modern sodomy.¹⁰⁴ Whether they are true or not, both need to be addressed because of their notoriety and their pervasive use as evidence that the relationship was sodomitical. In the first anecdote, Tallement writes:

Nous avons dit comme le Roy l'aimoit esperdument. Fonterailles dit qu'estant entré une fois à Saint-Germain fort brusquement dans la chambre de Monsieur le Grand, il le surprit comme il se faisoit frotter depuis le piez jusqu'à la teste d'huile de jasmin, et se mettant au lict il luy dit d'une voix peu asseurée: "Cela est plus 'propre.'" Un moment après on heurte, c'est le Roy. Il y a apparence, comme dit le filz de feu l'Huillier, à qui on contoit cela, qu'il s'huisloit pour le combat.¹⁰⁵

Cinq-Mars was well-regarded as a warrior, and had served with great success in the king's army, particularly at the Siege of Arras in 1640 where his exploits were noted by the *Gazette de France*.¹⁰⁶ That the young man was supposedly "oiling himself for combat" takes his reputation as a warrior and displaces it to the bedroom where the analogy between war and lovemaking was a trope.¹⁰⁷ It is also possible that an image of Greek wrestling is intended, a sport practiced in the nude with the participants oiling their bodies. In either case, there is no real evidence in the anecdote to suggest

that the situation was anything but homoerotic.

In Tallement's second relation, he writes:

On m'a dit aussy qu'en je ne sçay quel voyage, le Roy se mit au lict dez sept heures. Il estoit fort négligé; à peine avoit-il une coiffe à son bonnet. Deux grands chiens sautent aussytost sur le lict, le gastent tout, et se mettent à baiser Sa Majesté. Il envoya deshabiller Monsieur le Grand, qui revin paré comme une espousée: "Couche-toy, couche-toy," luy dit-il d'impatience. Il se contenta de chasser les chiens sans faire refaire le lict, et ce mignon n'estoit pas encore dedans, qu'il luy baisoit les mains.¹⁰⁸

Although frequently cited as evidence of a relationship that included sodomy,¹⁰⁹ this quote does not substantiate that assertion. Neither the king's hurrying Cinq-Mars to bed, nor his kissing the young man's hands, nor the term "mignon"¹¹⁰ suggests anything beyond the homoerotic. The expression "paré comme une espousée" has always been translated literally and without explanation. Crompton, for example, does so as "adorned like a bride,"¹¹¹ and the English version of Erlanger's *Cinq-Mars* says that he was "dressed like a young bride."¹¹² However, according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, the expression "parée comme une espousée de village" designates "une personne ajustée & parée ridiculement,"¹¹³ so "parée comme une espousée" might be best translated as "excessively dressed," or even "dressed to kill." It is impossible to know what Cinq-Mars may have been wearing in this situation, but Tallement chose to depict him as dressed in a sexually provocative manner. However, it was also the case that the relationship between Cinq-Mars and the king was seen by many at court as demeaning to Louis, not because it was homoerotic or may have involved sodomy, but because the king seems to have been easily bullied and led by his favorite, and, as Moote observes, "people were ambivalent about a king being a weakling before another man."¹¹⁴ As a warrior monarch, Louis was expected to lead, not to be led. Tallement describes a strangely domestic scene with the king disheveled and a bed thrown into disarray by a pair of affectionate dogs. Since Louis XIII hunted a great deal and was particularly fond of his hounds;¹¹⁵ they may serve as a mediating element of homosociality and the only aspect of the scene that references traditional

warrior masculinity. In a more complex sense, to describe Cinq-Mars as a bride, even sarcastically, may also be a homoerotic confirmation of the king's masculinity; here Cinq-Mars may paradoxically be acting as a surrogate for the queen or a mistress. Since the sexual preference of Louis apparently favors men, he can only comfortably confirm his masculinity in the company of men, which clashes with the biological function of royal sexuality and the erotic function of a mistress. Placing Cinq-Mars in the role of a woman might be an attempt to negotiate the seemingly unresolvable conflict between homoeroticism and the king's dynastic role.

Sodomy and the Warrior: Prowess, Dynasty, and the Status of Sin

The other end of the homosocial continuum is marked by sodomy. In seventeenth-century France, the army, a homosocial environment, also incorporated the sodomitical. Among the ranks were a large number of sodomite conscripts who had been arrested¹¹⁶ and who exchanged a shorter prison stay for military service.¹¹⁷ Paul d'Estrée notes: "Des enrôleurs venaient faire leur choix parmi les 'Simmonets,'¹¹⁸ et les nouvelles recrues devaient être expédiées directement de Bicêtre à leurs régiments respectifs."¹¹⁹ Among other examples, Claude Petit, a sodomite prostitute in his twenties, was sent to the Noailles regiment after five years in Bicêtre;¹²⁰ and Jean-Baptiste Lebel, a procurer of boys, left prison after 3 years to become a grenadier.¹²¹ Another sodomite procurer, La Guillaume, joined the army after a few years in prison,¹²² a case used by Marc-René de Voyer de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson (1652–1721), Lieutenant Général de Police, to denounce sodomites: "Les gens de son caractère ne sont pas moins dangereux à la guerre que dans les villes, et il serait à craindre que, s'il n'est pas bien revenu de ses abominations, ce ne lui fût une occasion de s'y livrer de plus en plus et de corrompre une infinité de jeunes gens."¹²³ Beyond gesturing to the developing notion of identity based on sexual acts ("caractère"), Argenson's comment suggests that the army was not only

an institution that easily incorporated sodomites, but that its homosocial environment might even promote the practice of homoeroticism and sodomy. Indeed, Argenson warns that sending sodomites to the army might encourage the practice of sodomy, which was frequently linked with other crimes, such as procurement and prostitution, as in the cases of Petit, Lebel, and La Guillaume; sodomy, to Argenson, seems part of a larger criminal parcel.

However, Argenson's view on sodomites in the army was only one assessment. According to Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, duchesse d'Orléans, Francois Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvois (1639–91), Louis XIV's Secrétaire d'État à la Guerre, defended and even valorized sodomites in the army:

Louvois, dont les amis se livraient pour la plupart à la sodomie, disait au roi . . . que cela valait mieux pour le service de Sa Majesté que s'ils aimaient les femmes, car lorsqu'il fallait aller à la guerre et entrer en campagne, on ne pouvait les détacher de leur maîtresse . . . Tandis qu'ayant d'autres inclinations,¹²⁴ ils étaient bien aises de quitter les dames et d'entrer avec leurs amants en campagne.¹²⁵

Arguably, Madame reports the views of Louvois correctly, although when she says that most of his friends were sodomites, she may simply be referring to the fact that although not himself a sodomite, most of his friends (perhaps meaning military men) were, and Louvois was also a close friend of Monsieur, which would require him to circulate socially among sodomites.¹²⁶ The argument that the sodomite warrior is the best fit for battle since men who have an *inclination* (which in this context, coupled with the designation "amant," means romantic affection or love)¹²⁷ for other men will gladly go away to war with their lovers rests on philosophical and historical precedent. In the *Symposium* (written sometime after 385 B.C.), Plato theorizes that an army of lovers would mutually encourage each other to bravery;¹²⁸ in 378 Gorgidas (late 4th-early 3rd century B.C.) had already founded the Hierós Lókhos tón Thebón (Sacred Band of Thebes), an elite battalion of the Theban

army comprised of 75 pairs of male lovers that proved the theory by being undefeated until the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 when the division fell to Alexander the Great, every soldier, according to Plutarch, having fought to the death.¹²⁹ The argument that Madame attributes to Louvois, then, represents an ancient Greek model of the exemplary warrior sodomite. This is not surprising in seventeenth-century France, when ancient Greek and Roman personages, frequent subjects of artistic and literary attention, were often portrayed as paragons.¹³⁰ Madame applies this strategy in discussing her cousin, Willem, Prins van Oranje (1650–1702), whom she depicts as a sodomite:

Ce qu'on dit du roi Guillaume n'est que trop vrai; mais tous les héros étaient ainsi: Hercule, Thésée, Alexandre, César, tous étaient ainsi et avaient leurs favoris. Ceux qui, tout en croyant aux saintes Écritures n'en sont pas moins entachés de ce vice-là . . . entre des gens de qualité on en parle ouvertement. . . depuis Sodome et Gomorrhe notre Seigneur Dieu n'a plus puni personne pour ce motif. . .¹³¹

For Madame, all of the ancient Greek and Roman heroes were “ainsi,” that is to say, “stained with this vice”¹³² for which Sodom and Gomorrah were punished.¹³³ Madame also notes that people of quality talk about this “stain” openly and that God doesn't punish anyone for it (she never suggests that he should), implying that, whatever her personal view, sodomy does not in itself detract from the reputation of great warriors. Ineed, according to François Bluche, “Les plus grands chefs de guerre du XVIIe, étrangers (Guillaume III d'Orange, le prince Eugène de Savoie) ou français (Condé, Luxembourg, Vendôme, Villars) ont, comme jadis Jules César, tâté du poil et de la plume.”¹³⁴

The prince de Condé, foremost among Louis XIV's generals, was, in many respects, the last great example of the self-governing noble warrior, primarily because he had an unusual degree of independence from the king. Condé conformed to dynastic conventions: his wife was Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brézé (1620–94), niece of Alphonse Louis du Plessis, cardinal de Richelieu (1582–1646), he had two sons, and he had a longtime mistress, Marthe du Vigeant (1622–65),

although this relationship was purportedly chaste.¹³⁵ As first prince of the blood, Condé wielded a formidable influence over the nobility, his enormous wealth and vast territorial possessions released him from the necessity of paying frequent court to the king. With other nobles, Condé had rebelled against the regency during the Fronde, but he had already won vital battles for the crown, notably at Rocroi in 1643, and in 1672 he was the principal commander in the Dutch War. Dubbed “Le Grand Condé” for his military prowess, he was repeatedly cited as a sodomite. Army commander Jean de Coligny-Saligny (1617–86), at one time a close associate of Condé, declares him a sodomite in his memoirs: “Le b[ougre] qu’il est, et je le maintiens b[ougre] sur les saints Évangiles, que je tiens en main.”¹³⁶ Characterizing Condé as a “bougre,” is an insult, but it is less likely that Coligny-Saligny is condemning sodomy among warriors than he is aiming to demean Condé, with whom he had broken off relations after Condé joined the royal camp during the Fronde. But his slight is ineffective for several reasons: neither Condé nor any of his contemporaries seem to have denied his practice of sodomy,¹³⁷ so the accusation of sodomy would probably have had little impact; there is no record of Louis XIV ever having mentioned disapproval of this aspect of Condé’s character, which suggests that noble military prowess was of greater concern to him than whether an exceptional commander practiced sodomy; and Condé had already been pardoned for his involvement in the Fronde, which constituted the much greater crime of *lèse-majesté*.

As with other notable warrior sodomites of the period, Condé’s sexual practices were apparently unconcealed and well known. In *L’histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (1660) by Roger de Bussy-Rabutin (1618–93), the portrait of Condé attributes a ditty to the prince and his friend, Amaury de Goyon, marquis de La Moussaye (1601–63), supposedly improvised while on campaign during a storm:

Carus amicus Mussaeus,
 Ah! Deus bone! quod tempus!
 Landerirette,
 Imbre sumus perituri,
 Landeriri.

— Securæ sunt nostræ vitæ;
 Sumus enim Sodomitæ,
 Landerirette,
 Igne tantum perituri,
 Landeriri.¹³⁸
 [Dear friend Mussaye,
 Ah! Good God! what weather!
 Landerirette,
 We are in danger of being drowned,
 Landeriri.
 — Our lives are safe,
 Because we are Sodomites,
 Landerirette,
 Only fire can kill us,
 Landeriri.]

Whether or not Condé and Mussaye really invented the verses, the plausibility of the event, its jocular tone, and the laughter embedded in “Landeriri” and “Landerirette,” suggests that neither Condé nor his friends had qualms over or reason to fear speaking about their sodomitical activities. They even jest about the fire that supposedly engulfed Sodom and that could theoretically consume all sodomites in seventeenth-century France.

Above and beyond anecdotal remarks on Condé’s practice of sodomy, official discourse makes subtle references to this warrior as a sodomite. Bossuet’s *Oraison funèbre de très haut et très puissant prince Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé, premier du sang* (1687) is a particularly important example of such discourse, not only because commemorating the dead formally constructs a monumental version of that person’s identity, but because Bossuet notably makes no explicit mention of sodomy.

This oration is characterized by an underlying tension between the nationalistic compulsion to praise Condé as a hero and the bishop's obligation to chastize the prince for his sin, or then to veil it. To alleviate this conflict, Bossuet textually effects a sort of erasure or at least a neutralization of the warrior's transgression by positing a parallel with David, the biblical hero. Because Condé's practice of sodomy seems to have been widely recognized and David's relationship with Jonathan appears to have been considered homoerotic, perhaps even sodomitical, in early modern France, the allusion is implicit and need not be explicated. Instead, Bossuet depicts both men as heroes favored by God, responsible dynastic leaders, and worthy role models. The bishop declares that Condé was "élevé par les armes au comble de la gloire comme un David, comme lui meurt dans son lit en publiant les louanges de Dieu et instruisant sa famille, et laisse tous les cœurs remplis tant de l'éclat de sa vie que de la douceur de sa mort."¹³⁹ Condé's death is likened to David's meritorious death as recounted in the Bible (1 Kings 2:2–11), and both men are depicted as dying in an exemplary state of grace. Bossuet's summary of David's death emphasizes the love of God propagated through dynastic leadership, and Condé, whom Bossuet describes as "Sérieux autant qu'agréable père de famille, dans les douceurs qu'il goûtait avec ses enfants, il ne cessait de leur inspirer les sentiments de la véritable vertu,"¹⁴⁰ is said to have been similar to David. According to Bossuet, Condé's final words were addressed to his son Henri Jules de Bourbon (1643–1709) and to his nephew, François Louis de Bourbon, prince de Conti (1664–1709):¹⁴¹ "les deux princes ouïrent ensemble ce qui ne sortira jamais de leur cœur; et le prince conclut en leur confirmant qu'ils ne seraient jamais ni grands hommes, ni grands princes, ni honnêtes gens, qu'autant qu'ils seraient gens de bien, fidèles à Dieu et au roi. C'est la dernière parole qu'il laissa gravée dans leur mémoire . . ."¹⁴² This final confirmation of Condé's fidelity to God completes his image as an exemplary warrior, head of a noble and faithful house, passing wisdom to his heirs.

Bossuet then draws on David and Condé's admirable religiosity, particularly at the end of their lives when, according to the Bible, during his last days, David praised God and instructed his son Solomon to follow in his ways.¹⁴³ Similarly, Condé the sodomite is now the exemplary subject not only of the king, but of God, worthy of:

[le] beau témoignage qu'il lui rendit en mourant. Averti par son confesseur que, si notre cœur n'était pas encore entièrement selon Dieu, il fallait, en s'adressant à Dieu même, obtenir qu'il nous fit un cœur comme il le voulait, et lui dire avec David ces tendres paroles: ô Dieu! Créez en moi un cœur pur; à ces mots, le prince s'arrête, comme occupé de quelque grande pensée; puis, appelant le saint religieux qui lui avait inspiré ce beau sentiment: je n'ai jamais douté, dit-il, des mystères de la religion, quoi qu'on ait dit.¹⁴⁴

In dying, Condé seeks to be granted a pure heart, just as David is supposed to have been, and he claims never to have doubted in his faith, "no matter what others may have said" ("quoi qu'on ait dit"). Since Condé was known to be a sodomite, the "quoi qu'on ait dit" may refer perhaps not so much to his practice of sodomy, but to any related religious antipathy that others may have assumed must accompany practices that ignored Christian interdictions. Although Catholic proscriptions denounced sodomy as a sin against God, Condé may not have accepted this view, presumably declaring, even on his deathbed, that he had never wavered in his faith. It is impossible to know what Condé's confession may have entailed, but Bossuet, in his official representation of the prince's merit as a Christian hero, expunges all sin from Condé in his final state of grace.

The Civilizing Process

Condé was among the last examples of the independent warrior in the medieval tradition of dynastic masculinity performed in armed homosocial contexts in which the practice of sodomy apparently did not detract from the warrior's reputation. Armed acts, not sexual ones, confirmed masculinity. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, an increased emphasis on courtly civility, which did not privilege the practice of arms, had begun to shift models of homosociality from the

battlefield to the palace and the salon where codes of masculinity were renegotiated. This “civilizing process,” to use Elias’s influential concept, involved three phases: first, by the mid-seventeenth century the influence of court and salon culture largely shifted the locus of homosocial competition from armed combat (which, apart from war, was chiefly retained in a stylized form) to verbal battle.

As Elias observes:

The compulsion to deal peacefully with people, which often means to duel with words rather than with weapons, demands an especially complex self-control because each member of this numerous society is constantly coming into contact with people of different rank and power and has to graduate his behavior accordingly. Courtiers have to know how to adjust their features, their words, and their movements exactly to the people they meet and to the occasions on which they meet them.¹⁴⁵

Because ambition and conflict could no longer be legitimately expressed through armed confrontation, new strategies were developed, and homosociality began to revolve increasingly around the ideal of *bonnêteté*, which does not involve bearing arms and which became the armature for new models of masculinity, although the values of the older armed model persisted, particularly in dueling. Finally, the emphasis on exceptional masculine military prowess, which characterized the warrior sodomite on the battlefield, was replaced by a parallel stress on behavior associated with women and the feminine, what Stanton designates as the “female principle,” based on insinuation and captivation rather than armed conquest.¹⁴⁶ This led to an eventual identification of the sodomite with the *efféminé*, which would be fully solidified in France during the early eighteenth century.

According to Elias, the gradual “courticization of warriors” in France from the eleventh through the eighteenth centuries occurred mainly because of economic factors.¹⁴⁷ During the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries, the consolidation of territory drew an array of people, including knights of lower status, to the courts in search of service. Because feudal princes controlled greater territory, their courts rose above the others in prominence, were the hub of more social interaction, and attracted more people through their prestige and the opportunities that they

afforded. Eventually only members of the royal house were in a position to compete with each other, and this led to the establishment of the king's court as the vortex of prestige and favor with the development of absolutism, a system that did not always favor the noble warrior class, admitting the newer *noblesse de robe* and the bourgeoisie to lucrative government posts. This situation was particularly evident during the reign of Louis XIV.¹⁴⁸

As money gained importance during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, more of it was made, and its value fell, so the ability to acquire money became increasingly useful. This favored groups such as the bourgeoisie, whose identity is based on wealth and whose members defined themselves by their ability to amass it and to acquire certain social and cultural virtues that they believed to be associated with the old nobility. The *noblesse d'épée*, however, was at a disadvantage since class codes almost entirely prevented them from engaging in commerce as a source of income,¹⁴⁹ and the produce of their lands (comprised of rents and revenue from agriculture) was often insufficient for even a modest existence.¹⁵⁰ No longer able to live by traditional means that safeguarded their independence, nobles were compelled to undertake lives as courtiers, which conflicted with traditional notions of social station. Noble identity was based on a distinction from other classes of society, but now one's stature and influence was determined primarily through standing at court where social boundaries began to erode. The homosocial courtier achieved prestige and advancement through a different system of merit than did the warrior. Elias observes:

The court is a kind of stock exchange; as in every "good society," an estimate of the "value" of each individual is continuously being formed. But here his value has its real foundation not in wealth or even the achievements or ability of the individual, but in the favor he enjoys with the king, the influence he has with other mighty ones, his importance in the play of courtly cliques. All this, favor, influence, importance, this whole complex and dangerous game in which physical force and direct affective outbursts are prohibited and a threat to existence, demands of each participant a constant foresight and an exact knowledge of every other, of his position and value in the network of courtly opinion; it exacts precise attunement of his own behavior to this value. Every mistake, every careless step depresses the value of its perpetrator in courtly opinion; it may threaten his whole position at court.¹⁵¹

Among the fundamental differences between the merits of warriors and courtiers, as noted by Elias, is that courtiers must please through a sublimation of physical force and warriors by its overt demonstration tempered by wisdom. A warrior advances the interests of his house through prowess on the battlefield; a courtier does so by pleasing the king, networking, and belonging to court cliques. Warriors also pleased the king by fighting in his service, but few among them proved to have sufficient material resources to forego the courtier's life.¹⁵²



Ill. 2. Adam Frans Ven der Meulen, *Le passage du Rhin par Louis XIV devant Tolhuis le 12 juin 1672* (Versailles: Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon).



Ill. 3. Nicols Langlois, *La prise de la ville et du château de Namur par Louis le Grand commandant des armées en personne le 30 juin 1692*. *Almanach royale* (Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1693).

The shift from the battlefield to the court and salon had a heavy impact on models of homosociality. Whereas armed homosociality in the medieval tradition was largely predicated on competition among equals, homosocial networks at court were structured around the notion of clientage, which, as Kettering observes, “describes the nature of the patron-client relationship, which is unequal, personal, and reciprocal. A patron is expected to give material benefits because he can do so, while a client offers in exchange more intangible assets of loyalty and service.”¹⁵³ This experience, which was based on inequality, was traditionally part of the experience of the bourgeoisie and the *noblesse de robe* rather than the warrior nobility, which, as in the case of Arthur’s chevaliers, was predicated on equality. The transfer in the site and social context of competition was led by kings, who increasingly emphasized their role as beneficent patron in a court setting rather than incarnating warrior masculinity through armed combat. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the dangerous hands-on participation of kings in battle was an important element in their narrative. Among the kings noted for leading their army into battle were Henri II, Henri III (1551–89), Louis IX (1214–70), who led two crusades and was taken captive by the Egyptians in 1250; François Ier, who was captured by Charles V at the Battle of Pavia in 1525; and Louis XIII, who frequently exposed himself to danger while on campaign.¹⁵⁴ Louis XIV, however, although he went to war with his armies, was never in imminent danger of capture or death. Indeed, idealized portraits of the king’s battles, such as *Le passage du Rhin par Louis XIV devant Tolhuis le 12 juin 1672* (Ill. 2) by Adam Frans Van der Meulen (1632–90), invariably show the king heroically mounted on a rearing horse, usually surrounded by soldiers, but they clearly depict the monarch directing the battle far from the heat of combat. The commanding of war from a safe position is emphasized later in the king’s reign, as in *La prise de la ville et du château de Namur par Louis le Grand commandant des armées en personne le 30 juin 1692* (Ill. 3), which portrays the fifty-three-year-old king, walking stick in hand, standing before an

elaborate armchair, no horse anywhere nearby, with the city in the distance, gesturing as a conductor of, rather than participant in, the theater of war. This attitude is emphasized by the engraving's title, which emphasizes the king's personal command rather than any armed exercise.¹⁵⁵ In neither of these images does the king wear armor (although some portraits do show him wearing it), and in the second image he even wears shoes rather than boots, since he is not mounted.¹⁵⁶ On the one hand, this removal of the king from battle might be interpreted as a sign of his increased power since he is no longer obliged to lead his men personally according to the old code of interdependent noble homosocial masculinity; on the other hand, it suggests that during the reign of Louis XIV, less emphasis was placed on the exercise of arms as a masculine signifier. The king's responsibility to advance his dynasty and political policies had largely shifted to the exercise of acumen in delegating power and directing commanders who acted as his agents. This placed a particular premium on warriors such as Condé, whose adherence to the old code of chivalric masculinity still drove them to find glory on the battlefield.

The king's absence from the most dangerous positions in battle and the avoidance of risking his life also affected homosocial activities such as jousting. The predecessors of Louis XIV had risked their lives in war, and they also did so in jousting, which also placed them in mortal danger. In 1514, the future François Ier (while still duc de Valois), along with seven captains, accepted challenges from more than 300 men who presented themselves at the marriage of Louis XII to Mary Tudor. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the "Avant-entrée du roi très chrétien à Paris" (1549) by Pierre de Ronsard (1524–85) portrays an image of the hero inflamed with the desire to prove his strength and virtue as inherent in the ethic of warriors:

Mais qui sont ils ces Chevaliers vaillans
 Qui tiennent bon contre tous assaillans,
 Brulés de gloire, et d'ardeur d'éprouver
 Si un plus fort se pourroit point trouver,
 Soit l'Espagnol aux armes fier et brave,
 Ou cestui-là que la Tamise lave.¹⁵⁷

In the same poem, Ronsard's description of Henri II, who by all accounts was particularly fond of jousting, emphasizes his enthusiasm and bravery:

J'enten desjà les trompettes qui sonnent,
 Et des vainqueurs les louanges resonnent,
 Je voy desjà flamboier les harnois,
 Et les chevaux courans par les tournois
 Leurs opposés bravement mépriser,
 Et jusqu'au ciel les lances se briser. . . .
 Si mon grand Roi de sa lance l'enferre;
 Car le Ciel veut qu'il emporte le pris,
 Et de bien loing passe les mieus appris.¹⁵⁸

Although it is true that the great popularity of jousting in 16th-century France declined dramatically following the death of Henri II in 1559 from the shattered lance of Gabriel de Montgomery (1560?–1635), it was not until the reign of Louis XIV that kings would no longer joust except in a stylized form that symbolically recalled the performance of noble masculinity through the practice of arms.¹⁵⁹ Elias traces this transition from the Renaissance through the seventeenth century:

Francis I was still a knightly king, *le roi chevalier*. He was fond of tournaments and hunting; war for him was a splendid knightly game in which he put his life at stake. . . . The case was still similar with Henri IV who . . . receiving the news that their enemies were preparing for war, offered to settle the matter by personal combat with the enemy leader . . . Louis XIV. . . had his wars fought more and more by generals . . . tournaments too, under Louis XIV, entirely lost their character as personal man-to-man combat. They became a kind of court game.¹⁶⁰

Louis XIV never jeopardized his life by engaging or offering to engage in hand-to-hand combat either in battle or tournament. Yet jousting, so closely bound to the exhibition of warrior masculinity

since the Middle Ages, could not be abandoned any more than warring itself. Instead, the dangerous elements of the practice, such as the king riding against an opponent armed with a lance, were removed, but the semiotic signs of warrior masculinity, such as the skilled handling of horses and the non-violent show of arms, remained. This symbolically preserved the armed homosocial context of masculinity, resulting, not surprisingly, in an increased emphasis on non-armed equestrian skills.

L'instruction du roy en l'exercice de monter à cheval (1625) by Louis XIII's riding master Antoine de Pluvinel (1552–1620), who had also served Charles IX, Henri III, and Henri IV, addresses jousting and includes engravings of the king practicing the sport with Pluvinel, but it deals primarily with the handling of horses, the principles of riding that would develop into modern dressage.¹⁶¹ For Pluvinel, equestrian training would prepare the nobility for war (where kings before Louis XIV still risked their lives), but it was also practiced for pleasure and to engage propriety. Beginning in the sixteenth century, violent jousts were replaced by elegant carousels in which ornately-attired nobles performed intricate choreographed maneuvers on horseback. Notable carousels included one held by Henri III in 1584 that traversed the streets of Paris, Pluvinel's choreographed *Carrousel du roy*, in which Louis XIII took part at the Place Royale to celebrate his engagement to Anne d'Autriche (1612), and Louis XIV performed in the *Grand carrousel du roy* (1662) given in the courtyard of the Tuileries. All of these events were fundamentally homosocial, and only men took part in carousels, which emblemized the shift in the performance of armed masculinity. The civilizing process transformed dangerous royal jousts into harmless equestrian ballets and transported warriors from the battlefield to the court and salons. This shift did not occur without regret, which Elias notes “was a symptom of the increasing transformation of warriors into courtiers. . . .”¹⁶²

Whereas the noble warrior tradition was, as Elis describes it, largely “free and self reliant,”¹⁶³ by the end of the fifteenth century, Louis XI (1423–83) had largely unified France under the crown, although the process was not really complete until the late seventeenth century. With the rise of

central authority, nobles were no longer in a position to wage war against each other or the king, but were now more closely bound to service of the monarch because protecting the interests of the state ultimately favored their own stability and advancement. Nonetheless, under Louis XIII and the young Louis XIV, the centralizing work of Richelieu and Mazarin met with resistance, and the most powerful nobles, including the younger brother of Louis XIII, Gaston d'Orléans (1608–60), and Condé revolted against royal authority, particularly during the Fronde (1648–53), the last great act of defiance by the warrior nobility against being pressed into servitude at court. In this sense, the Fronde was a remnant of medieval privilege in which all warrior nobles, of which the king was not always the strongest, had the right to wage war.¹⁶⁴

Although the armature of the old system remained in the gradation of lineage-based precedence at court, both the relation of the nobility to the crown and of nobles amongst themselves changed. Homosocial chivalry, in which the king had once been *primus inter pares* (first among equals), gave way to a largely homosocial clientage system in which the king was first and unequalled, as declared by Louis XIV's motto, "Nec pluribus impar" ("not unequal to many").¹⁶⁵ As John Hearsey McMillan observes:

while the simulacrum of feudal relationships was preserved, the real ties between the *noblesse d'épée* became increasingly one of clientage rather than feudal obligation. At the base of the social edifice the seigneurial system no longer met the protective and supportive functions it had once fulfilled. At the intermediary levels loyalties became more flexible as power relationships, in terms of clients and patrons, were less firmly linked to traditional landed hierarchies. . . . The clientage system gave free reign to opportunism and expediency . . .¹⁶⁶

Clientage was more flexible than the traditional noble system of warrior honor because it was not restricted to the *noblesse d'épée*. It more easily permitted the social and financial advancement of individuals from other classes, particularly the *noblesse de robe* and the bourgeoisie, since it operated through the non-armed exchange of services rather than the ritual performance of armed masculinity that was legally the prerogative of the warrior class. Sharon Kettering notes:

“Technically, clientage was a bond between men of unequal rank, usually a less affectionate relationship in which a client needed what he received from a patron.”¹⁶⁷ As Kettering observes, clientage was a homosocial system (because it involved networks of men furthering each other’s interests), but it functioned differently than traditional warrior nobility because it did not involve the practice of arms reserved for the *noblesse d’épée* (thus it was open to members of the *noblesse de robe* and bourgeoisie), and it was grounded on the inequality of patron and client, unlike the traditional warrior model in which, as at King Arthur’s Round Table, the members of a homosocial warrior network had proven themselves the worthy equals of one another. The *noblesse d’épée* was thus obliged to adjust to the challenges of a new social system in which the sword was not the weapon with which courtiers fought to advance their interests.

One example of the problematic mutation of warriors into courtiers was the status of dueling. For the *noblesse d’épée*, honor was sustained largely by spilling blood¹⁶⁸ (the material link to dynastic lineage), but courtiers could not wage armed war on each other, even in the once officially-sanctioned practices of tournaments and jousting, so they turned to the alternative of private dueling. Single combat was not new in the early modern period, and it had been widely practiced during the Middle Ages, but with the notable difference that it was legal and public.¹⁶⁹ The ritualistic and codified practices of private dueling (“duels of honor”) did not evolve in France until the sixteenth century when the term first appeared in the vocabulary.¹⁷⁰ That dueling should rise in France at the point when the civilizing process began to be most fully imposed is not coincidental. According to Régis Bénichi, during the reign of Henri IV (who issued the first royal edict against dueling in 1602), between 4,000 and 5,000 gentlemen were killed in more than 10, 000 duels.¹⁷¹ The reign of Louis XIII was also marked by a high number of duels,¹⁷² and in 1624 the king promulgated an edict against the practice.¹⁷³ Elias explains the role of dueling among men of the warrior class:

Membership of the court increasingly entails a pacification, a heightened control of warlike habits and pleasures, which in turn forces each individual courtier to exercise stricter and more permanent self-control as regards aggressive impulses.¹⁷³ Henry IV is still relatively indulgent towards dueling by his nobles. Richelieu and Louis XIV, as the custodians of the monopoly of physical force, are much more severe when their nobles fight in accordance with the old warrior system. Dueling at this time and long after has the character of an enclave that nobles and, later, other classes reserve for themselves within the state—often in defiance of the king or other authorities—as a symbol of individual freedom as understood in the framework of the warrior tradition, that is, the freedom to wound or kill each other if they are so inclined.¹⁷⁴

Louis XIV enforced tighter control over dueling and fully imposed the notion that only the king has the right to declare war, thus declaring that military combat must serve the interests of the state.¹⁷⁵

But the nobility did not easily adapt to or accept this restriction. During the reign of Louis XIV, the homosociality implicit in armed noble practices such as warring and dueling was no longer permitted to function openly and legitimately. Men were prohibited from asserting and confirming their masculinity through arms, either in battles for territory or in public duels of honor. No longer an independent warrior, the nobleman was obliged to advance his dynastic interests by seeking favor at court. This was achieved by interacting with homosocial networks in a milieu where class conflict was added to dynastic competition, which resulted in a new type of courtly battle.

Honnêteté and the Warrior: Masculinity Redefined by the Feminine

The notion of agon, which signifies competition or struggle, is the underlying foundation of all warfare. In the traditional medieval sense of the *noblesse d'épée*, this was discharged through contests of weapons, but at court, where models of sociability prohibited armed encounters, alternative forms of combat needed to be found. As Stanton explains:

The assertion of superiority always entails a component of aggression . . . The power seeker can always find ways of using his dependents as sign-producing objects to affirm his proprietary status. “Free” beings, however, will resist a subjection that offends their sense of personal worth and their own desire to dominate others. It is, therefore, only by veiling the drive for conquest, by sublimating “assertion” into agon, or even into leisurely, playful contest, that the power-seeking subject can hope to captivate the autonomous object.¹⁷⁶

Veiling aggression was a vital aspect of courtly sociability, and the extroverted assertion of armed conquest was transformed into a more subtle, but equally vehement, struggle for domination. The drive for advancement and power characterized the court and salon just as it did feudal dynastic ambitions performed through the exercise of arms. The salient difference between the two models is that the first attaches to overt violence, such as war, jousting, and dueling, but the second succeeds best when it simulates amusement and pleasure. In court society, fierce power struggles donned the guise of sophisticated pleasure, and over the course of the seventeenth century, this strategy shifted the means by which homosocial networks advanced their ambitions and the way in which certain members of those networks, particularly sodomites, related to the notion of masculinity.

The fundamental problem that plagued the homosocial warrior during the civilizing process was how to affirm his masculinity in a court environment that prohibited the practice of arms, a challenge faced by the *noblesse d'épée* as a whole in its struggle to maintain superior status. One link between the old warrior system and the new court system was the central role of homosocial networks, which moved from the battlefield to the palace and the salon where the *noblesse d'épée* was in conflict with the *noblesse de robe* and the bourgeoisie. Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) discusses how the court might best be navigated in *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), which appeared in several French editions as *Le livre du courtisan* from 1537 through 1690. According to Castiglione, his treatise is intended to explain “la forme de courtoisnerie la plus convenable à un gentilhomme vivant à la cour des princes . . . pour acquérir leur faveur et les louanges des autres”¹⁷⁷ Stating that the work is intended as instruction on how to cultivate favor would seem to characterize it as a guidebook for social climbers. However, in his dedication to the volume, Castiglione emphasizes the aesthetic and philosophical goal of the tract, which is to depict the perfect courtier as an impossible utopian goal discussed among aristocrats in a place of the rarest beauty. There is, therefore, an essential internal tension between idealism and practicality in the treatise. It is supposedly intended

for “gentlemen,” and, as Jennifer Richards notes, “Castiglione pays little attention to men of rank lower than the aristocratic Urbino courtiers in the *Courtier*.”¹⁷⁸ However, this focus on men of high station does not mean that Castiglione limits his audience to the aristocrat. Indeed, it would suggest that he does not, particularly since he is constructing a model of perfect behavior that may be followed by men of any class.

Conjuring the perfect courtier, Castiglione draws on paradigms of male homosociality including the Greek notion of *philia*, which concern:

le choix des amis avec lesquels on doit avoir une intime pratique. Car indubitablement la raison veut que ceux qui sont conjoints par une étroite amitié et une compagnie indissoluble, soient également accordés . . . j’estime qu’il y a parmi nous plus d’une paire d’amis dont l’amour est indissoluble et sans tromperie aucune, et fait pour durer jusqu’à la mort avec des volontés accordées¹⁷⁹

Castiglione’s language of perfect friendship is similar to Montaigne’s, emphasizing reason (a “masculine” virtue), Platonic “conjoinedness” so complete that the two friends are inseparable, and medieval tradition with its friendship of equals, such as Yvain and Gauvain¹⁸⁰ in Chrétien’s *Le chevalier au lion*. Castiglione constructs an idealized vision of male friendship in the homosocial environment of the perfect court gathering, where women are present and exert a critical civilizing influence, but where social competition and advancement takes place among men. This model of a cultivated elite gathering was also found in France, where, as Stanton observes, it was “the small, exclusive space that we know as the *salon* and that the *mondains* called *le cabinet*, *le réduit*, *la ruelle*, or *l’alcôve*. Signifiers for the most exiguous and intimate of seventeenth-century rooms, these [verbal] signs served as metaphors for the sanctuary in which a choice group or *cercle* could retire to the pleasure of their own company.”¹⁸¹ The prototype for such a salon was the *chambre bleue* of the Italian-born Catherine de Vivonne, marquise de Rambouillet (1588–1655), which was succeeded after the Fronde by salons such as that of Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), a member of Mme de Rambouillet’s circle. The guiding principle of these salons was the notion of sociability, which

Stanton defines as “a willingness to transcend individual differences for the common pursuit of aesthetic pleasure,”¹⁸² similar to that of Castiglione’s noble interlocutors.

In salon culture, the primary activity of sociability was conversation, which prized the same qualities of captivating, natural ease embodied in the notion of *sprezzatura*.¹⁸³ Erica Harth observes that “salon conversation purports to range improvisationally over a wide variety of topics and to allow for the unconstrained play of the participant’s minds.”¹⁸⁴ Above and beyond this function of conversation as a site of social and intellectual interplay, the seventeenth century also accorded it an essential developmental influence. Blaise Pascal (1623–62), for example, advances: “On se forme l’esprit et le sentiment par les conversations. On se gâte l’esprit et le sentiment par les conversations. Ainsi les bonnes ou les mauvaises le forment ou le gâtent.”¹⁸⁵ Despite the profound impact that salon conversation theoretically had on forming the mind and the emotions, its presence was fleeting and only survives in literary works influenced by salon culture, such as Mme de Scudéry’s *Clélie* (1654–61), which revolves largely around conversation, and poems such as the “Défense de ‘car’” by Vincent Voiture (1598–1648), the depiction of a linguistic salon debate over the word “car,” and his “Stances écrites de la main gauche, sur un feuillet des mêmes tablettes, qui regardoient un miroir mis au dedans de la couverture,” both of which aim to captivate through impressive linguistic display.¹⁸⁶ Such virtuosity was not deployed for its own sake, and, as Lewis C. Seifert observes, “while performing the playful heroics of salon-bound chivalry, they [men] displayed the verbal/viril prowess expected of them.”¹⁸⁷ This new mode of performing masculinity through verbal rather than armed dexterity was a defining aspect of court and salon homosociality.

The notion of captivating through artful, seemingly nonchalant conversation anchored the *art de plaire*, which, as Stanton’s definition of sociability indicates, was the grounding principle that guided the salons. This environment fostered and supported the ideal of *bonnêteté*, which the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* defines as “Bienséance . . . civilité . . . Maniere d’agir obligeante &

officieuse.”¹⁸⁸ Civility, one of the unifying elements of sociability, operated on a system of exchange. According to the moralist Pierre Nicole (1625–95), “nous aimons ceux qui nous aiment, ou nous aimons ou nous faignons aussi d’aimer les autres, afin d’attirer leur affection. C’est le fondement de la civilité humaine.”¹⁸⁹ In other words, civility is a self-renewing exchange that grounds human society. Civility attaches *bonnêteté* to clientage (in which the *art de plaire* is directed at serving the interests of the one who is in a position to garner and bestow favor), and *bonnêteté* is also fundamentally homosocial, a system by which men can navigate social networks and advance their interests.

In 1630, *L’bonneste homme ou L’art de plaire à la cour* by Nicolas Faret (1596–1646) shifted Castiglione’s philosophical patrician theories rooted in salon culture to a strategy of *arrivisme* closely associated with the court, where members of the bourgeoisie and the new nobility were able to rise through their adeptness at captivating, appealing, and building alliances. Faret’s treatise is predicated on a homosocial readership by being addressed to men, and it advises them how to progress at court, just as in Sedgwick’s most basic definition of homosociality: “men promoting the interests of men.” As Seifert observes, although the social interaction of men with women (which he designates as “heterosocial”) has an overwhelming influence on *bonnêteté*, the process nevertheless remains largely among men: “Amongst themselves, men seemingly reproduce the heterosocial dynamic necessary for the blossoming of *bonnêteté*.”¹⁹⁰ As I will show, men theoretically improved themselves through their social interactions with women, from whom they learned the *art de plaire*, but, as Seifert posits, that art was then deployed in a homosocial context from which women are almost entirely absent.¹⁹¹ In terms of performing masculinity at court, it was not necessary for men to overcome women, but to compete with each other, just as they had once done in armed battle.

Faret sets out to explain how those not favored with noble birth or *grâce* can rise at court through the *art de plaire* and a careful self-construction grounded in strategies of captivation. He

claims that nobility of birth is essential for ideal *bonnêteté*, as is the possession of *grâce*, an incommunicable God-given “je ne sais quoi” that is “comme un petit rayon de Divinité, qui se voit en tous qui sont nays pour plaire dans le monde.”¹⁹² Indeed, this ray of divinity is closely associated with “la Noblesse qui comme une belle lumière esclaire toutes leurs actions.”¹⁹³ But nobility alone is no guarantee of perfection, and since Faret’s manual is intended for the socially ambitious (he himself was of the bourgeoisie), he aims to explain how to rise without the advantage of birth.

According to the large body of work that delineates *bonnêteté*, there are several ways to captivate. Some, such as being physically beautiful or possessing the asset of *grâce*, are to be had only at birth, but beauty, although of great assistance in captivating and deploying the *art de plaire*, is worth less than those cultivated abilities that signify one’s merit by his having perfected them. The moralist Jean de La Bruyère (1645–96) enumerates some of the courtier’s most valuable protean abilities, which he also condemns:

Un homme qui connaît la cour est maître de son geste, de ses yeux et de son visage; il est profond, impénétrable; il dissimule les mauvais offices, sourit à ses ennemis, contraint son humeur, déguise ses passions, dément son cœur, parle, agit contre ses sentiments.¹⁹⁴

La Bruyère, just as Faret, is commenting on the male courtier and his strategies for advancing in a homosocial court context, particularly regarding how he handles his opponents. These critical comments are also applicable to Faret’s *bonnête homme*, who, having mastered the *art de plaire*, advances through dissimulating ambition, narcissism, power, and passions. As Stanton observes, this is the cliché of *bonnêteté*: “The *bonnête homme*, polite, modest, natural, reflects such expressed values of the age of Louis XIV as reasonableness, discretion, decorum.”¹⁹⁵

There are several strains of *bonnêteté*,¹⁹⁶ and the behavior traits enumerated by Stanton have different significance in each. They may be tools of deception as reproved by La Bruyère, or, as in the case of the *homme de bien* (a designation that by the mid-seventeenth century had heavier moral than social implications),¹⁹⁷ they may be sincere. According to La Bruyère, the *homme de bien* is “celui

qui n'est ni un saint ni un [faux] dévot, et qui s'est borné à n'avoir que la vertu,"¹⁹⁸ a man who morally follows the "juste milieu." As Tibor Klaniczay observes, this was an early meaning of *honnête homme*:

l'homme modéré qui cherche en tout le juste milieu . . . qui sait qu'il faut être sage, se plier aux exigences et accepter les faiblesses de sa propre nature. L'aspect moral et l'aspect mondain du concept de l'honnête homme sont inséparables dans la pensée de tous ceux qui écrivent sur la civilité au XVIe siècle. Mais au cours du XVIIe siècle le terme "honnête homme" tendra à perdre sa première signification d'homme de bien, d'homme vertueux, pour désigner simplement un homme agréable en société. Ainsi verrons-nous un développement social intéressant: le sens aristocratique et mondain va désormais coexister avec le sens moral et bourgeois.¹⁹⁹

Outward signs of *honnêteté* may reveal the virtues of aesthetic or ideal *honnêteté*, or they may mask *arrivisme* (Maurice Magendie classifies these respectively as aristocratic and bourgeois *honnêteté*),²⁰⁰ and this might depend on the social ambitions or station of the individual, but according to François de La Rochefoucauld (1613–80), "Le vrai honnête homme est celui qui ne se pique de rien."²⁰¹ In other words, the *honnête homme*, unlike the armed homosocial warrior, does not succeed by being noticed for brilliant deeds, but by maintaining a composed exterior, never betraying his passions, ambitions, and opinions. Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré (1607–84),²⁰² whose strain of *honnêteté* represents a *mondain* aesthetic constituting a philosophical ideal,²⁰³ emphasizes the necessity of flexibility: "Il faut traiter les gens selon leur esprit, et s'accomoder à leur goust."²⁰⁴ The protean ability of constantly accommodating oneself to changing situations and interlocutors was a hallmark of *honnêteté*, the strategic goals of which are similar to clientage in seeking to advance by pleasing or captivating others. As clientage was fundamentally homosocial, so too was *honnêteté*, which Faret constructs as a masculine virtue, much as *philia* had been primarily masculine for Montaigne, Castiglione, and the Greeks. Although clientage may have assumed the guise of *philia*, the ideal for Plato, Aristotle, and Montaigne, there is a notable difference between *philia*, which is given freely without the expectation of a return, and Faret's model of *honnêteté*, which seeks a reward.

The underlying theoretical premise of Faret's treatise is that the nobility, because of its *grâce* and breeding, has an advantage over the rest of society that must be overcome if one is to advance. However, in the context of the civilizing process, at court and in the salons, the *noblesse d'épée* was not necessarily born with an advantage. There were different models of sociability, and the old warrior nobility was often as unversed as the bourgeoisie in codes of court and salon comportment. Mme de Rambouillet allegedly created a salon because of her dissatisfaction with the court,²⁰⁵ which she cast as full of brutish and uncouth nobles. The possible truth underlying this point of view is suggested by treatises on civility, such as the anonymous *Bienséance de la conversation entre les hommes* (1618), written for nobles, which advises: "ne pas hurler en baillant, ne pas regarder dans son mouchoir, ne pas arroser de salive le visage de l'interlocuteur, ne pas se préparer en présence d'autrui à satisfaire les besoins intimes."²⁰⁶ These were far from the required delicacies of knowing that one must never knock on a door at court, but scratch with the little finger of the left hand, grown long for this purpose, or that in town one should strike a single blow of the knocker on the door of a lady of quality.²⁰⁷

As new battlefields of masculinity, the court and salons were sites where different models of homosociality were in confrontation. The newly-"domesticated" warrior nobility would have to be educated alongside the bourgeoisie and *noblesse de robe*; the warrior was obliged to relearn how to perform masculinity. But whereas the bourgeoisie and *noblesse de robe* were typically eager to learn the subtleties of etiquette, the warrior class might resist and not submit to new values.²⁰⁸ Court sociability was cast as opposing the principles of the old nobility, an antinomy that influenced the mechanisms of homosocial competition. The clientage-based model of *honnêteté* typical of the court required that the armed violence of the warrior be redirected according to the demands of courtly civility. Intense competition still existed, but the new modes of sociability were said to involve duels with words rather than arms. War and dueling were now effected through metaphorical substitutes

for armed combat, but the sublimation of violent passions beneath the veneer of *bonnêteté* did not soften the warring drive for advancement and masculine honor. As Seifert observes, this development “underscores just how much the military hero can indeed provide a model of assertiveness and domination for the *bonnête homme* so long as those qualities are expressed by refined seduction.”²⁰⁹ The seduction deployed by the *bonnête homme* was socially as deadly as the armed violence of the warrior. Although the *bonnête homme* did not seek to imprison an opponent physically, he nonetheless contrived to take his foe captive through verbal warfare. The substantial shift in strategies from the warring traditionally practiced by the old nobility to the seduction of *bonnêteté* does not indicate any decline in the desire to prove superiority or to gain victory. The section of Faret’s manual entitled “De l’action qui est l’âme des paroles” designates words as sure ammunition:

afin de vaincre deux sens tout à la fois, et d’assiéger également les esprits par les yeux et par les oreilles, il faut prendre garde exactement que le ton de la voix n’aye rien ny de rude, ny d’aigre, ny de trop éclatant, ny de trop foible: au contraire, qu’il soit doux, clair, distinct, plein et net, en sorte qu’il penetre facilement jusques dans l’ame sans trouver aucune resistance à l’entrée.²¹⁰

Faret’s vocabulary of war, which includes terms such as “vaincre,” “assiéger,” “penetre,” “resistance à l’entrée” is more than metaphorical, and his advice on how to manipulate the voice as a weapon is similar to that of a general planning a siege. Eyes and ears, rather than gates and bridges, are the targets of the new courtly arms, and battle must no longer be physically painful, but seduce by its artful tone.

Although bloodless, the warfare of *bonnêteté* inflicts suffering through deceptively pleasurable captivation. As Nicole declares, “L’éloquence ne doit pas seulement causer un sentiment de plaisir; mais elle doit laisser le dard dans le cœur.”²¹¹ This agonistic bent is inextricably related to the conversational context. Although the Greek term “agon” signifies the notion of struggle and competition in a general sense, it also designates verbal debate in Greek theater.²¹² The verbal function of agon is significant, because during the seventeenth century in France, when armed combat assumed ever-more “civilized” forms, masculine warriors were obliged to vanquish their

opponents in verbal, not armed, battle.²¹³ One illustration of the correlation is the *Journée des madrigaux* by Valentin Conrart (1603–75), which purports to record a competitive exchange of madrigals, cast as an armed tournament, a duel, in the *chambre bleue*. When Polyandre²¹⁴ takes up the pen, “La fureur le saisit, il mit la main aux armes,”²¹⁵ so the quill is his weapon. The site of the exchange is called an “arena” (“Polyandre et Acante rentrèrent deux fois dans la lice”²¹⁶), and the event is called cast as combat: “On donna à Polyandre l’honneur de ce combat, car pour Acante, il n’estoit que trop content de l’honneur d’avoir combattu.”²¹⁷ In this encounter between men, winning the verbal contest and holding one’s own therein is a matter of masculine honor, just as armed battle had been for the warrior nobility. Afterwards, the lady for whose pleasure the exchange has supposedly taken place rewards the combatants:

Cependant, l’incomparable Sapho, qui sembloit ne devoir que juger des coups, y donner le prix avec le reste des dames, sentit je ne sçay quelle émotion dans son courage qui ne luy permit pas d’en demeurer là, et descendant du théâtre pour se mesler parmi les combattants, leur fit bientost voir que sy elle n’eust pas mieux aymé distribuer les couronnes, il n’y en avoit point qu’elle ne pût faiblement remporter, car en moins de rien elle escrivit ce madrigal.²¹⁸

The men win prizes accorded by women, but Conrart suggests that unlike the practice of arms, which is proper to men, verbal competition is open to women, who may easily vanquish men in this arena, just as Sapho/Rambouillet does in improvising a madrigal after she has declared a victor in the “duel.”

The Perils of Sociability: Homosociality, the Feminine, and the Effeminate

The consequence of women in salon and court culture further complicates the situation of the warrior noble who must now compete not only with men from classes other than his own, but must also mind the role of women.²¹⁹ The influence of women encouraged men seeking to succeed at court to develop a command of the *art de plaire* and to assimilate certain characteristics of sociability that were stereotypically cast as feminine, both of which helped to redefine notions of the homosocial masculine.

In the salons and at court women had a greater scope of influence over sociability and *bonnêteté* than they had experienced in armed warrior culture, which had been more exclusively homosocial. Elias notes: “Women, considered as social groups, have far greater power at court than any other formation in this society,”²²⁰ and this is confirmed by Méré’s *De la conversation*, which asserts that women are a civilizing force: “n’est-on jamais tout-à-fait honneste homme . . . que les Dames ne s’en soient mêlées.”²²¹ Because they are so influential in making an *honnête homme*, Faret had instructed earlier “Qu’il faut respecter les femmes,” partly because “en usurpant cette autorité qu’elles prennent sur les hommes, elles reparent en quelque façon le défaut naturel de leur peu de force.”²²² Women, according to Faret, have strengths other than the physical ones supposedly natural to men. The sociability elaborated by women, which encompasses the mechanisms through which homosocial *bonnêteté* proceeds, required qualities other than the armed skill upon which success had been predicated among warriors.

The strategy of deploying the *art de plaire* rather than violent armed conquest in order to achieve one’s ends is the vital turning point in the civilizing process and in the nature of homosociality. Violence identified with the masculine warrior has a long history extending to antiquity, and the qualities associated with the *art de plaire* (including captivation and seduction) have an equally long history of identification with the feminine. Emblematic examples include Cleopatra, Circe, and Armide, all of whom manipulated seduction to conquer their enemies. Méré names Cleopatra and Helen of Troy as perfectly versed in this art.²²³ He claims of Helen:

Si son esprit m’eust eu des charmes
Ce peuple n’eust jamais voulu,
Contre le droit des gens d’un pouvoir absolu,
Pour la garder prendre les armes.²²⁴

For Méré, Troy was destroyed over Helen’s wit (“esprit”), not her beauty. Likewise he declares that Cleopatra “n’etoit pas si belle,” and that her physical attributes were not what seduced Caesar: “ce

fut par ses manieres delicates qu'elle tint Cesar trois ou quatre ans comme enchanté.”²²⁵

Traditionally, women hold men captive through enchantment, usually with a strong erotic element, as in the cases of Cleopatra, Helen, Armide, and Circe. According to Stanton: “In the aristocratic system of seduction, aggression, usually associated with masculinity, yields to the proverbial, circuitous, serpentine insinuation of the female.”²²⁶ This, essentially, is the *art de plaire*; in the old warrior system, cast as masculine, men had dominated each other through force of arms, but in the new system, men needed to deploy strategies of seduction that were cast as feminine.

Deploying sexualized strategies of captivation was problematic in the homosocial context of *honnêteté*, particularly for the sodomite. In armed warfare, where masculinity was asserted through the brilliant practice of arms, sexuality had no role in how men literally took other men captive, so sodomites and non-sodomites could be considered equally masculine. However, *honnêteté*, because it revolves around “feminine” strategies of captivation, complicates homosocial competition by introducing the possibility of sexual desire into what was previously the non-sexual homosocial sphere of battle. A man might engage techniques of seduction cast as feminine and remain on the masculine side of the masculine/feminine binary if he does not wholly assume the classic romantic role of the enchantress, and thus of a woman. However, the sodomite, who might desire his opponent sexually, may be cast as unmasculine since he seeks not only to captivate, but to seduce men sexually, just as a woman might. Whether or not the sodomite also seeks to seduce women is irrelevant since in this context it is a common factor among non-sodomites and many sodomites, and thus holds no real bearing on constructing masculinity. It is the desire or non-desire for men enacted through “feminine” seduction that is most salient. This is a precarious and critical moment in the performance of masculinity, which becomes increasingly determined by the object of sexual desire.

As Gretchen Elizabeth Smith observes, “masculinity for courtiers was renegotiated [during the 1660s and 70s] using feminine standards of conduct.”²²⁷ Women, who led salons, had a guiding role in the civilizing process since it was their influence that nourished the development of *honnêteté*. According to Méré, this role was natural for women, whom he views as blessed with more *grâce* than men:

J’ai mesme pris garde en beaucoup de lieux, et parmi toute sorte de conditions, qu’ordinairement les hommes n’ont pas tant de grace à ce qu’ils font que les femmes, et qu’elles ne connoissent plus finement qu’eux à bien faire les choses; soit que l’avantage de plaire leur soit plus naturel, ou que sentant que c’est-là leur fort, elles s’en fassent dès leur enfance comme un métier.²²⁸

If, as Méré contends, captivating is most natural for women, then men who would captivate might be considered as following their example. As Smith notes: “Thus, the male noble was encouraged to emulate women in order to achieve their greatest natural gift: the art of pleasing others.”²²⁹ By deploying the *art de plaire*, coded as feminine, men were practicing what was seen as a woman’s “profession” (“métier”), a perilous performance in terms of masculinity. On the one hand, an *honnête homme* who was adept at appealing to women might be designated a *galant*, which, according to Stanton, “delineated the notion of a ladies’ man. *Galant* suggested an elegant, well-dressed man, and particularly in the salons, *un amant*.”²³⁰ The *galant homme*, successfully captivates and pleases, but beyond this, he also loves women romantically. Furetière summarizes the defining qualities of the *galant homme* in his *Dictionnaire universel* as “homme honneste, civil;” second, “GALANT se dit aussi d’un homme qui a l’air de la Cour, les manieres agreables, qui tâche à plaire, & particulièrement au beau sexe;” and third, “Amant qui se donne tout entier au service d’une maîtresse.”²³¹ According to Furetière, the *galant homme* seeks especially to captivate women, which is what Méré suggests for the *honnête homme*, and he also has women lovers.²³² But the *galant homme* may even carry his practice of seduction beyond decency to become a dangerous womanizer, and in Furetière’s fourth and fifth

definitions of the *galant*, “il est habile, adroit, dangereux” and “entretient une femme ou une fille, avec laquelle il a quelque commerce illicite,”²³³ which points to improper romantic or sexual relations.²³⁴

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when, according to Elias, the civilizing process was almost complete, the romantic or sexual conquest of women could be linked to masculinity. The salon and court were full of women who had their own attributes of status, such as beauty, wealth, or political influence. Appealing to such women, men flaunted their own power since the most prized women supposedly sought the most powerful men. Transitional figures such as François Ier, Henri II, and Henri IV were masculine both in the old warrior sense and in the nascent courtly pattern, proving skill at both armed warfare and the romantic conquest of women. Louis XIV no longer needed to prove great skill at arms (his commanding officers were theoretically metonymical reflections of his own might), but his masculinity was still confirmed by the acquisition of women.

This shift in modes of masculinity, which now left behind armed prowess in favor of romantic and social exploits, undermined the masculine status of sodomites. The old codes of armed homosociality valorized masculinity through the practice of armed virtues deemed proper to men, which had enabled the warrior sodomite to prove his masculinity through military achievement, as the examples of Louis XIII and Condé confirm. But these means were absent from salon and court cultures where the *art de plaire* dominated. The *galant homme* remained masculine because he assimilated codes of sociability while also engaging in romantic or sexual relations with women. Nevertheless, there was a dangerously fine line between excelling in sociability and imitating women. Castiglione had already addressed this pitfall when his count, speaking to an interlocutor whose face he compares with that of the perfect courtier, warns:

votre visage est agréable et plaît à chacun, bien que ses traits ne soient pas fort délicats, mais il tient du viril, et de plus il est gracieux . . . Je veux que l'aspect de notre Courtisan soit de cette sorte et non pas mou et féminin comme beaucoup s'efforcent de l'avoir, qui non seulement se crêpent les cheveux et s'épilent les sourcils, mais se fardent de toutes les manières qu'emploient les femmes . . . et il semble que dans leur façon de marcher, de se tenir, et dans chacun de leurs autres gestes, ils sont si tendres et alanguis que leurs membres sont sur le point de se détacher l'un d'avec l'autre . . . Ceux-là, puisque la nature ne les a pas faits femmes, comme ils semblent désirer le paraître et l'être, ne devraient pas être estimés comme peuvent l'être des femmes de bien, mais chassés comme des putains publiques, non seulement des cours des grands seigneurs, mais aussi de la compagnie de tous les gentilshommes.²³⁵

In a tropistic binary, virility (proper to the masculine courtier and the “gracious” man) is pitted against the soft, tender, languishing, and artificial, which are cast as weaknesses, unvirile, and proper to women. Faret, who follows Castiglione closely, also notes that men’s conversation should not be “languid” (which signifies a lack of vigor²³⁶): “Celle des hommes est plus vigoureuse et plus libre;”²³⁷ overfastidiousness is also unvirile: “un homme trop ajusté est plus mal qu’un autre trop negligé. Cette sorte d’estude n’est bien seante qu’entre les femmes;”²³⁸ and a man trying to captivate women must, at all costs, remain masculine, natural, and unaffected: “l’on voit souvent tel paraistre plus agreable aux yeux d’une troupe de Dames, tout halé qu’il est, et tout couvert de sueur et de poussiere au retour de la guerre ou de la chasse, que ces hommes de cire, qui n’osent jamais se montrer au Soleil, ny s’y approcher trop pres du feu, de peur de se fondre.”²³⁹ The “soft” qualities against which Castiglione and Faret warn are stereotypically attributed to women and cast as weaknesses in men.

According to the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, “Qui tient de la foiblesse de la Femme” is “efféminé,”²⁴⁰ and qualities such as softness, tenderness, languor, and overfastidiousness in dress are cast as feminine by Castiglione and Faret. The binary opposing the “strong” masculine and the “weak” feminine is, in the case of homosocial salon masculinity, more complex than the stereotype would lead one to believe. “Strong” masculinity harks back not only to physical strength, but to the moral virtues associated with the chevalier, and although men may remain masculine while deploying

the “feminine” *art de plaire* and its strategies of seduction and captivation, they are obliged to maintain their masculinity by not adopting the style of dress, tone of voice, or comportment of women. The unmasculine, Castiglione declares, adopt “toutes les manières qu’emploient les femmes,” and they wish not only to appear as women, but really to be women (“désirer le paraître et l’être”). Those men fall into the snare against which Castiglione and Faret warn and are labeled *efféminés*, a pejorative designation because it is a denigration of the masculine, and masculinity is what homosocial *honnêteté* seeks to assert. Such men, according to Castiglione, violate conventions of masculinity (Castiglione emphasizes that such behavior is against nature, harking back to the old topos of “crimen contra natura”), are the equivalent of prostitutes (who profane the “feminine” virtues of chastity and humility), and should be cast out from decent company. Randolph Trumbach notes a similar link between effeminate men and prostitutes, both of whom transgress gender norms, and he links this to a change in gender performance by sodomites that were evolving at least by the 1690s in England:

But it was a series of arrests in 1707 and 1709 that suddenly revealed the existence of the new style of sodomite, whose role must have been in formation during the previous decade. . . . The new effeminate sodomite was labeled a “he whore,” when whore referred primarily to a married woman who was unfaithful to her husband. They called themselves mollies, which was the term first applied to female prostitutes. The sodomite was no longer a rake but a species of outcast woman of the lowest standing.”²⁴¹

According to Trumbach, the rake was not effeminate, but he engaged in sexual acts with women and men for pleasure.²⁴² There was apparently no equivalent term for such men in France,²⁴³ but an emblematic example is Armand de Gramont, comte de Guiche (1637–73), who is said to have had sexual relations first with Monsieur, and then with Monsieur’s first wife, Henriette-Anne d’Angleterre (1644–70).²⁴⁴ This model of the masculine sodomite was increasingly untenable during the late seventeenth century when sodomy became linked with effeminacy, and, according to Trumbach, “by then an adult effeminate male was likely to be taken to be an exclusive sodomite.”²⁴⁵

In other words, by the end of the seventeenth century, effeminacy had become an indicator of sodomy.

The principal difference between the old and new style of sodomite is predicated on the acquisition and performance of effeminacy by the turn of the eighteenth century. Dirk Jaap Noordam discusses a development in the Netherlands between 1690 and 1725, parallel to that in England, when sodomites began adopting comportment coded as feminine,²⁴⁶ and Michel Rey notices a similar development in France during the same period. The performative dimension of effeminacy is crucial because when the sodomite performed masculinity in an armed homosocial environment, there was no need to invoke sexuality since he was performing as a man. However, when a sodomite performed effeminacy, he appeared to abandon masculinity. The long tradition of religious texts associating the sodomite with men who were akin to women in their desire for other men is emblematic of the harsh aspersion that might be cast on such men.²⁴⁷ Whereas the warrior sodomite had amplified armed prowess to a heroic degree, the effeminate sodomite amplified “feminine” sociability to the point of imitating and thus appearing as a woman. Trumbach notes that in England one performative element of this behavior was the adoption of women’s names and forms of greeting among sodomites.²⁴⁸ According to Rey, the same was true in France, where, for example, in 1706, a certain Bertauld, who was said to head gatherings of sodomites in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, was called the “Mother in charge of novices,”²⁴⁹ and in the Marais: “Some members [of sodomite gatherings] with napkins on their heads imitate women and mince about like them. Any new young man in their midst is called the bride (*Mariée*).”²⁵⁰ Although the second group appears to be imitating women in the general sense, referring to the leader of a group of sodomites as “Mother in charge of novices” raises the irony of “reverse” sex and religious roles of women in convents, who were often of noble birth. Rey also notes another instance: “The others approached us,

embracing us and saying, Hello, *Mesdames*. Baron arranged his hair with a woman's headdress which was black, like the hairdo of women at court.²⁵¹ In this case, it is court women who provide the model for imitation, and Rey explains the class- and gender-related implications: "The word *Mesdames*, reserved at this time for women of status (*femmes de condition*), like the allusion to court dress, shows that within this group femininity, refinement, and aristocracy were closely linked to the drama of homosexual intrigue.²⁵² This intermingling of terms reappears in the use of certain nicknames: *Madame de Nemours*, *Duchesse Duras*, *Baronne aux Épingles*."²⁵³ Effeminacy and the imitation of noblewomen, including cross-dressing,²⁵⁴ became linked with sodomite gatherings among all classes, and, according to Rey, "The effeminacy and the politeness associated with these assemblies appear to extend into the streets in the course of the century. Certain members [of sodomitical groups] wore rouge and powder, colored ribbons,²⁵⁵ curtsied in a feminine matter and greeted one another as 'Madame,'"²⁵⁶ and this "seems to have been the characteristic identity defined by these homosexual assemblies."²⁵⁷

In France, the notion of the sodomite *efféminé* was largely in place by the end of the seventeenth century when the warrior nobility, which permitted sodomy within a homosocial framework, had shifted its codes of masculinity, previously affirmed principally through the heroic practice of arms, to new modes of civility grounded in salon and court culture and conventions of sociability significantly shaped by women. With the loss of legally-condoned contexts for armed homosociality, the warrior sodomite no longer had a prestigious setting in which to confirm his masculinity.²⁵⁸ With the rising importance of salons and the royal court, the *art de plaire*, largely cast as feminine, replaced warrior merit as the most potent means of advancement, and the masculine sodomite became an anachronism. Henceforth, sodomy was associated almost exclusively with the degraded *efféminé*.

Notes

1. James W. Messerschmidt, *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory* (New York: Rowland & Littlefield, 1993), 80–81.
2. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 221.
3. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 221.
4. Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 42.
5. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 136.
6. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 17.
7. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 17.
8. Although a well-regulated standing army did not exist in France before the reign of Louis XIV, Charles VIII established permanent bodies of royal troupes with the Grand Ordonnance of 1445, and, before the final imposition of centralized royal government under Louis XIII, all great nobles had the prerogative to assemble warring forces. As I will show, the shift from noble armies to the national royal army and its dynastic implications had important affects on the tenability of the notion of the warrior sodomite. To speak of service in the army does not necessarily refer to the king's standing army of the seventeenth century, but may also refer to any of its noble or royal precursors. On the development of the French army, see John Albert Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army (1610–1715)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
9. Jean Lipman-Blumen, "Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions," *Signs* 1.3 (spring, 1976): 16.
10. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 4.
11. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men*, 1–2.
12. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men*, 21–27.
13. For a discussion of the terms "homosexual" and "sodomite" and their respective implications for the notion of sexual identity, see the introduction to part 1.
14. Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3.
15. The commonly-employed division of the nobility between the *nobless de robe* and the *noblesse d'épée* is a deceptive simplification of the possible degrees of nobility in France and their relation to the warrior tradition. In summary, the true *noblesse d'épée* was also *noblesse de race* (also called *noblesse d'extraction* or *noblesse ancienne*), but the latter designation is entirely less distinguished since it only required four generations of ancestry, and the original ancestor might have been ennobled by holding a high office (*noblesse de chancellerie*) or by *lettres patentes* (*noblesse de lettres*), and thus may not have earned his title by the sword. When Louis XIV ordered a verification of noble titles in 1666–74, he only required nobility since 1560. To distinguish the traditional nobility fully, the designation *noblesse chevaleresque* could be used for nobility predating the year 1400 or *noblesse immémoriale* if the family were even older, such as the house of Rochecouart, which was second to the house of Bourbon in antiquity, dates from 886, and whose mottos is "Ante mare undae" ["Before the sea, the waves"]. The *noblesse de robe*, conferred by holding offices such as *maître de requêtes* or the presidency of a parlement, was only officially sanctioned in 1600, and it had no attachment to medieval or armed tradition. See Philippe Du Puy de Clinchamps, *La noblesse*, 5th ed. (Paris: L'Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux, 1996); Nicolas Viton de Saint-Allais, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la noblesse de France* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1816); and Alain Texier, *Qu'est-ce que la noblesse?* (Paris: Tallandier, 1988).

16. Sharon Kettering, "Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France," *French History* 6.2 (1992): 139.
17. Jean-François Solnon, *La cour de France* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1987), 17.
18. Jean-François Solnon, *La cour de France*, 21.
19. Norbert Elias, *Power & Civility*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 258–70.
20. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art: A Study of the Honnête Homme and the Dandy in Seventeenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 189.
21. In seventeenth-century terms, the notions of "masculine" and "feminine" are to be fundamentally understood, according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, as "Appartenant au masle" and "Qui appartient à la femme, Qui est propre & particulier à la femme." *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* 2 vols. (Paris: Coignard, 1694), 1:443, 2:31. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* refer to this edition. The masculine/feminine binary traditionally associates that which is hard, active, and bellicose with the masculine, and that which is soft, passive, and amorous with the feminine. This cliché opposition is not of interest in itself, but what is of import is how the civilizing process, which required warriors to perform their masculinity within the context of a civility grounded in "feminine" qualities such as grace, elegance, and captivation, affected notions of masculinity and shaped its renegotiation in salons and at court.
22. Gilles André La Roque de La Lontière, *Traité de la noblesse*, ed. Henri-Melchior de Langle, Jean-Louis de Tréouret de Kerstrat, and Charles d'Hozier (Paris: Mémoires et Documents, 1994), 79.
23. Traditionally, women's *gloire* was associated with the domestic and virtuous, courageous fidelity to dynastic interests. On occasion, women asserted agency through public acts linked with masculine *gloire*: bearing arms, and warring. Such strategies are especially evident during and just after the Fronde. Louis XIV's first cousin, Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier (1627–93) engaged in armed rebellion against the crown and wrote: "Par-dessus tous les autres, j'aime les gens de guerre et à les ouïr parler de leur métier; et, quoique j'aie dit que je ne parle de rien que je ne sache et qui ne me convienne, j'avoue que je parle volontiers de la guerre; je me sens fort brave; j'ai beaucoup de courage et d'ambition, mais Dieu me l'a si hautement bornée par la qualité dont il m'a fait naître, que ce qui seroit défaut en un autre est maintenir ses œuvres en moy." Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Portraits littéraires* (Paris: Séguier, 2000), 25. Catherine de La Guette (1613–ca. 1680) not only took up arms, but dressed as a man. See Catherine de La Guette, *Mémoires de madame de La Guette écrits par elle-même*, ed. Micheline Cuénin (Paris: Mercure de France, 2003). Another armed woman, Alberte-Barbe d'Ernecourt, dame de Saint-Balmon (1607–60), on horseback and dressed as a man, led the defense of her lands in Lorraine from the Austrians while her husband fought in the army. See Jean-Marie de Vernon and Jean-Marie Du Cernot, *L'Amazone chrestienne, ou les Aventures de Mme de S. Balmon* (Paris: G. Méturas, 1678). An emblematic literary character is the eponymous heroine in Madeleine de Scudéry's (1607–1701) *Clélie*, who crosses the Tiber on horseback to escape captivity by Prosenna and frees her fellow hostages. Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clélie*, 10 vols. (Paris: A. Courbé, 1654–60; reprint, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1973).
24. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1:524.
25. Among other nobles who were particularly cognizant of the nature of *gloire* in constructing a reputation was Jean-François Paul de Gondi, cardinal de Retz (1613–79), one of the principle motivators of the Fronde. His memoirs reveal a preoccupation with reputation and public image. André Bertière notes: "La présence insistante des considérations de gloire est très apparente dans tous ses écrits. . . . lui-même et tous ceux qui reçoivent son approbation sont poussés, on l'a dit, par la volonté de s'élever au dessus du commun . . ." André Bertière, *Le Cardinal de Retz mémorialiste* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), 369.

26. The principle of agnatic succession in France was drawn from Salic Law, a legal custom written during the late sixth century regarding property succession for the Salian Franks. It was appropriated and reinterpreted by the Valois monarchy during the 15th century to prevent inheritance through the female line. On Salic Law, see Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 245–65, 345–50; Philippe Contamine, “‘Le Royaume de France ne peut tomber en fille’: Fondement, formulation et implication d’une théorie politique à la fin du Moyen Âge,” *Perspectives médiévales* 13 (1987): 67–81; Katherine Crawford, *Perilous Performances: Gender and Regency in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Katherine Fischer Drew, *The Laws of the Salian Franks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 28–55; Ralph E. Giesey, “The Juristic Basis of Dynastic Right to the French Throne,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 51.5 (1961): 3–47; Sarah Hanley, *Les droits des femmes et la loi salique* (Paris: Indigo & Côté-Femmes, 1994); Craig Taylor, “The Salic Law and the Valois Succession to the French crown,” *French History* 15 (2001): 358–77; and Craig Taylor, “The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defense of Women in the Late Middle Ages,” *French Historical Studies* 29 (Fall 2006): 543–64

27. According to John Quentin Colborne Mackrell’s *The Attack on “Feudalism” in Eighteenth-Century France* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1973), 5, the term “féodalité” can be found as early as 1515, and Marc Bloch’s *La société féodale*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Michel, 1939–40; reprint, 1998), 1:xvii, notes that it was primarily a legal term. The 1694 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* includes the adverb “féodalement,” but the noun, “féodalité” does not appear until the edition of 1762, although the adjective “féodal” is included in Richelet’s *Dictionnaire français* (1680), the noun and the adjective in Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel* (1690), and the 1752 supplement of the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* contains both. In the 18th century, Henri de Boulanvilliers (*Histoire de l’ancien gouvernement de France*, 1727) and Montesquieu (*L’esprit des lois*, 1748) both use the term “féodal” in support of an argument for the rights of nobles in opposition to the king. In modern scholarship, the meaning and validity of the term “feudalism” is highly debated. A classic and still very influential view of feudalism defined by the exchange of land for military service was described by Ganshof in *Qu’est-ce que la féodalité?* In *La société féodale*, Bloch developed the theory that symbiotic feudal structures existed not only between suzerains and vassals, but also between suzerains and peasants. Elizabeth A.R. Brown rejected the term “feudalism” as anachronistic in “The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe,” *American Historical Review* 79 (1974): 1065–88. Other significant work on feudalism includes Philippe Contamine, *La noblesse au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976); Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave & Noble: Chivalry & Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998); and Jérôme Baschet, *La civilisation féodale: De l’an mil à la colonisation de l’Amérique*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Flammarion, 2006).

28. Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham, *Aelfric’s Lives of Saints: Being a Set of Sermons on Saints’ Days Formerly Observed by the English Church*, 4 vols. (London: Early English Text Society, 1881–1900).

29. In 843, Charles II (823–77) formally requested that he and his nobles agree to be bound by this agreement. See Pierre Riché, *Les Carolingiens: Une famille qui fit l’Europe* (Paris: Hachette, 1983), 189. Perhaps the best-known literary example of *concilium* is the Round Table of King Arthur, first mentioned by Wace (ca. 1115–83) in the *Roman de Brut* (ca. 1150–55). There the barons around Arthur’s table are his vassals, but they are also noble chevaliers with vassals of their own who may be nobles or peasants. On the one hand, this division of land and rights, known as subinfeudation (by which process great lords held land from the king and in turn had their own vassals so that most

suzerains were also vassals) was symptomatic of the absence of strong central government during the Middle Ages and characterizes feudalism, which essentially stands in opposition to hereditary absolute monarchy. Ironically, subinfeudation and feudalism were necessary for kings to have any possibility of controlling lands that, without adequate military strength, they could not directly supervise. In this context, kings could only claim to reign and attempted to do so through interrelations with the great nobles. See Norbert Elias, “On the Sociogenesis of Feudalism” and “The Distribution of Power Ratios Within the Unit of Rule: Their Significance for the Central Authority--The Formation of the ‘Royal Mechanism’” in *Power and Civility*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 57–65, 161–201.

30. Alain Chartier, *Breviaire des nobles* (s.l.: s.n.), n.p. According to Chartier, the twelve virtues that the chevalier must cultivate are “foy,” “loyaulté,” “honneur,” “droiture,” “proesse,” “amour,” “courtoisie,” “diligence,” “nettete,” “largesse,” and “perserverance.”

31. During the Middle Ages, nobility was first performed as a profession and was closely tied to the practice of virtue. One could live nobly without being a noble, and a noble might not live nobly. Nobility, as François de l’Alouëte defines it in his *Traité des nobles et des vertus dont ils sont formés* (Paris: Chez Robert le Manier, 1577) is a profession that one exercises, not something automatically inherited. By the sixteenth century, the notion of nobility as a profession and earned had greatly declined, and during the seventeenth century, nobility, for the most part, was linked to inherited titles (along with the intangible essence of grace that purportedly revealed nobility as divinely sanctioned). Henceforth, titles, rather than the profession of noble virtue, were the principal identifier of station. On the shifting notion of nobility, see Ellery Schalk, *From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

32. Matthew Bennett, “Military Masculinity in England and Northern France (c.1050–c.1225)” in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 75–6.

33. Jean de Meung, *Le roman de la rose* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1992), 974.

34. On the origins of the term *tournoi* and its relation to mounted military exercises, see Tim Zotz, “Jousts in the Middle Ages” in *War and Games*, ed. Tim Cornell and Thomas B. Allen (San Marino, R.S.M.: Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress; Woodbridge, England and Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2002), 93.

35. Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 165.

36. On the mechanics of tournaments, see Steven Muhlberger, *Jousts and Tournaments: Charny and the Rules for Chivalric Sport in Fourteenth-Century France* (Union City, Calif.: The Chivalry Bookshelf, 2002), 19–35. Bennett observes: “The events were clearly demonstrations of masculine prowess.” Matthew Bennett, “Military Masculinity in England and Northern France,” 78. Kaeuper observes that a “passionate belief in tournament as the ideal sport unquestionably figures as one line in the creed spoken by those who worshiped at the high altar of prowess.” *Chivalry and Violence*, 165.

37. La Roque, *Traité de la noblesse*, 42.

38. *Lancelot*, trans. William W. Kibler and Carleton W. Carroll in *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, 10 vols., ed. Norris J. Lacey (New York: Garland Publishing, 2010), 5:340.

39. Bettina Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 152.

40. Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood*, 153.

41. Marianne J. Ailes, “The Medieval Male Couple and the Language of Homosociality” in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 214.

42. In the Western tradition based on ancient Greek philosophy, friendship is cast as a male virtue. Montaigne, for example, explicitly states that the ancients, upon whom he bases his theory of friendship, barred women from attaining *philia* in perfection. For a brief summary of Montaigne's restriction of perfect friendship to men of comparable standing, see Lillian Federman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998), 65. However, although Montaigne may theoretically bar most sixteenth-century women from attaining the degree of *philia* available to men, he actually only claims that women are not "ordinarily" capable of it. Montaigne makes an exception for Marie de Gournay (1565–1645), whom he describes as his "fille d'alliance" and "capable des plus belles choses, et entre autres de la perfection de cette tres-saincte amitié où nous ne lisons point que son sexe ait pu monter encores." Michel de Montaigne, "De la præsumption" in *Les essais*, ed. Pierre Villey (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), 661. This is an open-ended statement asserting that women have not "yet" achieved the highest level of friendship, not that they are incapable of it. In the seventeenth century, this topos continued despite evident friendships among *salonnières* and novels by women, such as Scudéry's *Clélie*, in which friendships among women play an important role.

43. Plato, *Lysis*, in *Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias*, trans. Walter Rangeley Maitland Lamb (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), particularly chapter 5.

44. Plato, *The Phaedrus* in *The Symposium and the Phaedrus: Plato's Erotic Dialogues*, trans. and ed. William S. Cobb (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 112.

45. Platon, *The Phaedrus*, 155.

46. Aristotle, *Ethics*, trans. James Alexander Kerr Thomson (London: Penguin, 1965), 234–35.

47. Aristotle, *Ethics*, 234.

48. Aristotle, *Ethics*, 234.

49. Aristotle, *Ethics*, 234.

50. Aristotle, *Ethics*, 235.

51. Aristotle, *Ethics*, 235.

52. Michel de Montaigne, "De l'amitié" in *Les essais*, 185–86.

53. This is not to say that there were no examples of *philia* among women, and Aristotle himself does not disallow it, although his discussion of friendship is almost exclusively devoted to men. Louise Labé (ca. 1524–66), for example, exhorts women to solidarity in the preface to her collection of poetry (1555), the publication of which, as she makes clear, was meant as a challenge to men who seek to exclude women from equality. See Louis Labé, *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Françoise Charpentier (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), 93–95. Likewise, Madeleine Neveu Des Roches (ca. 1520–87) and her daughter Catherine Fredonnoit Des Roches (1542–87) argued for women's literary authority, particularly in poetry, and for the equal exchange of virtuous friendship among men and women. For example, in her *Bergerie*, a pastoral drama, Catherine depicts such friendships in which women are as free as men. See Madeleine Neveu Des Roches and Catherine Fredonnoit Des Roches, *Les secondes œuvres*, ed. Anne R. Larsen (Genève: Droz, 1998). On women, friendship, and sexuality, see Lillian Federman, *Surpassing the love of Men*.

54. Ivy Schweitzer, *Perfecting Friendship: Politics and Affiliation in Early American Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 45.

55. Strictly speaking, *l'amour courtois* as a theoretical institution and practice is grounded in desire between men and women. The codification of *l'amour courtois* is contained in the late twelfth-century *De amore* by Andreas Capellanus, which clearly regards opposite-sex relationships. The tradition did allow for a certain ambiguity in its poetry, and there are many examples of writings that function

equally well in a same-sex context. Some scholars believe that homoeroticism is a pervasive element in *l'amour courtois*, and David F. Greenberg mentions a "homoeroticism that lies just under the surface of the literature of *amour courtois*." David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 261. Sedgwick's theory of triangulation, in which two men assert their homoerotic desire for each other through the proxy of competition for a woman, can also be applied to *l'amour courtois*, although I disagree with the accuracy of that interpretation.

56. "Li boins roys Artus de Bretagne,/La qui proeche nous ensengne/Que nous soions preus et courtois" (vv.1–3); "Et par lui sont ramenteü/Li boin chevalier esleü/Qui en amour se travaillierent" (vv. 39–41). Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier au lion*, ed. David F. Hult (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1994), 50.

57. The trope of warriors in danger of losing their masculine status by abandoning homosocial comradeship and/or dynastic duties entirely for the company of women is ancient. Emblematic examples include Ulysses (or more properly his men) and Circe, Aeneas and Dido, Renaud and Armide. In the end, all these men are recuperated by the concerted effort of their homosocial groups.

58. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier au lion*, 202, 204.

59. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier au lion*, 204.

60. Desmond Seward: *Prince of the Renaissance* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1973), 84–85.

61. André Castelot, *François Ier* (Genève: Éditions de Crémille, 1996), 100.

62. Étienne La Boétie was a judge, humanist philosopher, and friend of Montaigne, whom he met when they were both counselors in the Parlement de Bordeaux in 1559. Montaigne originally intended to include La Boétie's essay, "Discours de la servitude volontaire" at the center of the first book of his own essays but considered the Protestant associations of La Boétie's text to warrant its replacement by his sonnets. These, too, he deemed inappropriate and removed.

63. According to Plato, "the primeval man was round, his back and sides forming a circle; and he had four hands and four feet, one head with two faces, looking opposite ways, set on a round neck and precisely alike; also four ears, two privy members, and the remainder to correspond. . . . Zeus . . . spoke and cut men in two Plato, *The Symposium in The Symposium and the Phaedrus*, trans. William S. Cobb (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 29–30.

64. Montaigne, *De l'amitié*, 188.

65. See, for example, Jeff Maston, "My Two Dads: Collaboration and Reproduction of Beaumont and Fletcher" in *Queering the Renaissance*, ed. Jonathan Goldberg, 280–309; and Marc D. Schachter, "The Friendship Which Possesses the Soul: Montaigne Loves La Boétie" in *Homosexuality in French History and Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Merrick and Michael Sibal (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2001), 5–21.

66. On pederasty in ancient Greece, see William A. Percy, *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

67. Montaigne, "De l'amitié," 187.

68. David M. Halperin, *How to do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 120.

69. Some, including Robert A.J. Gagnon in *The Bible and Homosexual Practice. Texts and Hermeneutics* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), 146–54; and Markus Zehnder in "Observations on the Relationship Between David and Jonathan and the Debate on Homosexuality," *Westminster Theological Journal* 69 (spring 2007): 127–74, argue that the relationship was a non-erotic friendship. Those finding ample evidence for a homoerotic or "homosexual" interpretation include Susan Ackerman, *When Heroes Love: The Ambiguity of Eros in the Stories of Gilgamesh and David* (New York & Chichester:

Columbia University Press, 2005); Thomas Marland Horner, *Jonathan Loved David: Homosexuality in Biblical Times* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978); John Boswell, *Same-sex Unions in Premodern Europe* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); and Jean-Fabrice Nardelli, *Homosexuality and Liminality in the Gilgameš and Samuel* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 2007), *Le motif de la paire d'amis héroïque à prolongements homophiles: Perspectives odysseennes et proche orientales*, (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 2004), and "Orientalisme et homophilie héroïque: Autour de deux couples d'amis," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 22 (2003): 1–29.

70. *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pontificis maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1868.), 273.

71. *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate Diligently Compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and Other Editions in Divers Languages. The Old Testament First Published by the English College at Douay, A.D. 1609, and the New Testament First Published by the English College at Rheims, A.D. 1582*, ed. Richard Challoner (1899; reprint, Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1971), 303–04.

72. John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions*, 137.

73. John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions*, 136.

74. Susan Ackermann, *When Heroes Love*, 176.

75. See John Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions*, 141–42 and 154.

76. *Biblia sacra*, 288

77. *The Holy Bible*, 820.

78. Susan Ackermann, *When Heroes Love*, 177.

79. *La Bible qui est toute la Sainte écriture contenant le vieil et le nouveau Testament, autrement la vieille et la nouvelle Alliance*, 3 vols. (Genève: François Estienne, 1567), 1:130.

80. Susan Ackerman, *When Heroes Love*, 190.

81. Susan Ackerman, *When Heroes Love*, 190.

82. Other ancient traditions characteristically employ the term "brother" among men to indicate "lover" in a romantic sense. Petronius's *Satyricon*, which was written in the late first century, A.D., frequently refers to Giton as "brother" in this context. Petronius, *Satyricon*, trans. Eric Herbert Warmington (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969). The *Epigrammata* of Martial, including 2.4, 7.24, and 10.65 uses "brother" in the same manner. Martial, *Epigrammata*, 3 vols., trans. David Roy Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). The same use is also found in poem 100 of Catullus. Catullus, *Works*, trans. Francis Warre Cornish (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988). Likewise, according to Keith Hopkins, in the Mediterranean, "From the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. . . . it became usual for commoner husbands to call their wives 'sister' when they were in fact not siblings." Keith Hopkins, "Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980): 311.

83. On the vocabulary of *l'amour courtois*, see Glynnis M. Cropp, *Le vocabulaire courtois des troubadours de l'époque classique* (Genève: Droz, 1975).

84. Jean Nicot, *Trésor de la langue françoise tant ancienne que moderne* (Paris: David Douceur, 1606; reprint, Paris: A. & J. Picard et Cie., 1960), 404.

85. According to Yves Giraud, "Il a d'ailleurs écrit des poésies badines dignes d'un Scarron, des vers bachiques qu'on attribuerait à Saint-Amant, et les plus ingénieuses des galanteries." See Yves Giraud, "Nain de Julie et homme de Dieu: Pour un portrait d'Antoine Godeau" in *Antoine Godeau: De la galanterie à la sainteté*, ed. Yves Giraud (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), 13.

86. David's entire lament extends from 2 Samuel 1:18 through 1:27 in the Bible, but only 1:25–27 address Jonathan alone.

87. Antoine Godeau, "Paraphrase sur la plainte de David sur la mort de Saül et de Jonathas" in *Ceuvres chrestiennes d'Antoine Godeau, évêque de Grasse* (Paris: Chez Jean Camusat, 1639), 72–73.

88. Jean Nicot, *Tbresor de la langue françoise*, 241.

89. Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois*, 264.

90. Other early modern homoerotic interpretations of the tale of David and Jonathan include three *tragédies saintes* by Louis Des Masures (1515–74) (*David combattant*, *David fugitif*, and *David triomphant*, all published in 1587), and particularly the tragédie en musique, *David et Jonathas* (1688) with a libretto by François de Paule Bretonneau (1660–1741) and music by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1733), which was meant to be performed along with the Latin tragedy *Saül* by Pierre Chamillart (1664–1733). Bretonneau’s libretto clearly casts David and Jonathan as lovers, and there are direct parallels, including vocabulary, dramatic structure, and rhetorical approaches, between this work and the librettos of Philippe Quinault (1635–88) for the tragédies en musique of Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–87), all of which deal with love between men and women.

91. Sieur de M.M., *La merveille royale de Louis treizieme, roi de France et de Navarre* (Paris: Joseph Guerreau, 1617).

92. Jean Héroard, *Journal d’Héroard*, 2 vols., ed. Madelaine Foisil (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 2:2705.

93. Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, *Le prince* (Paris: T. Du Bray, P.-R. Rocolet, C. Sonnius, 1631), 41–2.

94. François-de-Paule de Clermont, marquis de Montglat, *Mémoires de François de Paule de Clermont, marquis de Montglat*, 2 vols., ed. Claude-Bernard Petitot (Paris: Foucault, 1825–26), 1:238. Tallement des Réaux writes in similar terms: “Ses amour estoient d’estranges amours; il n’avoit rien d’un amoureux que la jalousie. Il entretenoit Mme de Hautefort de chevaux, de chiens, d’oiseaux et d’autres choses semblables.” Gédéon Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*, 2 vols., ed. Antoine Adam (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 1:338. The gossipy nature of Tallement’s work precludes it being taken at face value, and it must be approached critically with the support of corroborating sources.

95. François-de-Paule de Clermont, marquis de Montglat, *Mémoires*, 1:239. Tallement also mentions the incident (*Historiettes*, 1:338), but he claims that the king retrieved the letter, although only from a safe distance and with a pair of fire pincers.

96. See, for example, A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 84–85.

97. Jean Héroard, *Journal d’Héroard*, 2:2591.

98. On the role of Luynes as favorite and the extent of his political influence, see A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII*, 100–06.

99. Gédéon Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*, 1:334.

100. William E. Burgwinkle notes: “hunting together with other boys formed an important part of the apprenticeship undergone by aristocratic youths in knightly training. Hunting served as a substitute for war but also as a ritualistic bonding experience in which co-operation and loyalty were nurtured.” *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature: France and England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 229.

101. See Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 336; Marc Daniel, *Hommes du Gand Siècle*, 21; Didier Godard, *Le Goût de Monsieur*, 109–10, 114; and Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome*, 130. Daniel claims that Héroard made frequent references to Louis playing in Héroard’s bed, but gives no citations. He also says that Héroard makes such a reference on 5 November 1615, but there is no such mention on that date in the *Journal*.

102. As the king’s physician, Héroard needed to protect Louis, and his own position depended on how well he did this. It would not have been in his interest to hide anything that might be considered a danger to the king’s well-being. Given the straightforward manner in which Héroard

discusses the most intimate details of his patient's sexuality, including masturbation, nocturnal emissions, and sexual education (with an explicit record of scatological and bawdy humor), it is probable that if Louis were engaging in sodomy with Luynes, and if this left any indication on the boy's body, which it likely would, then the physician would have noted it, just as Louis XIV's *premier valet de chambre*, Pierre de La Porte, noted a mark on the young king that he believed may have resulted from a sodomy attempt by Mazarin. (For a discussion of the incident with Louis XIV see part 2, chapter 2). It is, however, impossible to know for certain whether Héroard would have hesitated over mentioning sodomy, despite his forthrightness about other details (which would mitigate an interpretation that the relationship with Luynes was not sexual), or whether he would have been particularly likely to mention it if he believed that it would adversely affect the king's health (in which case his silence on the matter would support the position that sodomy was not involved).

103. According to Philippe Erlanger, the meteoric ascent of Cinq-Mars was the result of the king's passion and the favorite's effrontery in ever pressing Louis for higher official stature. His ultimate position as Grand Écuyer (the tenant of this office was known as "Monsieur le Grand") was an exceptional sign of favor since it had been sought without success by Richelieu for his own brother-in-law, Urbain de Maillé, marquis de Brézé (1597–1650). For Cinq-Mars, Louis negotiated the resignation of Roger de Saint-Lary, duc de Bellegarde (1563–1646) from the post. See Philippe Erlanger, *Cinq-Mars ou la passion et la fatalité* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1962), 63–69. Erlanger mistakenly refers to Brézé as Richelieu's nephew, but he had, in fact married the cardinal's younger sister, Nicole du Plessis-Richelieu (1587–1635).

104. See, for example, Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 338–39; Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 122–23; Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome*, 134; and Claude Pasteur, *Le beau vice ou Les homosexuels à la cour de France* (Paris: Balland, 1999), 50–51.

105. Gédéon Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*, 1:346. Adam's editorial note indicates that the son of "L'Huillier" was the poet Claude-Emmanuel Luillier (1626–86), known as Chapelle, illegitimate son of François Luillier (ca. 1652–1701), Maître des Comptes of Louis XIII.

106. In the issue of 8 August 1640, only a few days after the siege, the *Gazette de France* reports, "Lors que nos Volontaires appelez de ce costé-là par le bruit des canonnades y accourent. Ils estoient conduits, comme vous avez sceu, par le Grand Escuyer de France: lequel ayant deamndé au Roy pour une des plus signalées faveurs dont il lui plaist l'honorer, celle de se trouver à cette occasion, & l'ayant obtenuë, s'y porta de si bonne grace, qu'il n'y avoit celui qui le voyant affronter les escadrons ennemis, mne le jugeast digne héritier des titres comme des vertus des ce genereux Mareschal, qui mesmes en mourant a fait redouter en qualité de General les armes du Roy dans l'Alemagne." *Gazette de France* 99 (August 1640): 537.

107. The stereotyped topos of love as war extends at least back to the Middle Ages and the tradition of *l'amour courtois*. See Glynnis M. Cropp, *Le vocabulaire courtois des troubadours de l'époque classique*. This notion is also discussed by Peter Burke in *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 142.

108. Gédéon Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*, 1:346–47.

109. See, for example, Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 338; Maurice Daniel, *Hommes du Grand Siècle*, 23; Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 122–23; and Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome*, 134.

110. According to Nicolas Le Roux, the term "mignon," which first appeared in French during the thirteenth century and gained currency during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was "utilisé pour désigner des jeunes gens qui évoluent dans l'entourage des rois ou des grands seigneurs. Leur

définition en tant que *mignons* repose sur la dépendance par rapport à un patron socialement et politiquement supérieur. . . . Il n'est pas employé de façon péjorative, mais tout au contraire dans un sens laudatif." During the reign of Henri III, the term assumed a pejorative cast in designating his favorites. The king's relations with his *mignons* probably did not involve sodomy, although some are arguably homoerotic. Labeling Cinq-Mars a *mignon* is equally ambiguous. On the evolution of the term, see Nicolas Le Roux, *La faveur du roi* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2000), 263–270.

111. Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 338.

112. Philippe Erlanger, *The King's Minion*, trans. Gilles and Heather Cremonesi (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971), 56.

113. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*, 1:399.

114. A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII*, 283.

115. See Katharine MacDonogh, *Reigning Cats and Dogs* (London: Fourth Estate, 1999), 27, 31, 139.

116. The imprisoned sodomites were not necessarily in custody for the sexual practices. Theft and prostitution were among the offences for which they had been jailed. As I discuss in part 2, chapter 1, the criminal prosecution of sodomites was usually predicated on their having committed a crime other than sodomy, although sodomy, because it was officially an offense punishable by death, was still cited, sometimes in precedence to the crime that instigated an arrest.

117. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 225.

118. Pierre Simonet was responsible for the surveillance of morals in Paris. He was under the jurisdiction of Marc-René de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson (1652–1721), Louis XIV's lieutenant of police. Sodomites arrested on morals charges were sometimes called "Simmonets." See Michel Rey, "Police and Sodomy in Eighteenth-Century Paris: From Sin to Disorder," *Journal of Homosexuality* 16 (1988): 129–46.

119. Paul d'Estrées, *Les infâmes sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Gougy, 1922; reprint, Lille: Cahiers GKC, 1994), 24.

120. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 224.

121. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 224.

122. Didier Godard, *Le goût de Monsieur*, 224.

123. Cited in Maurice Lever, *Les bûchers de Sodome*, 230.

124. *Inclination* does not constitute sexual identity. The significance of this term, is addressed in part 2, chapter 2.

125. Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, duchesse d'Orléans, *Mémoires*, cited in Jean-Pierre Roederer, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la société polie en France* in *Œuvres*, 8 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1853–69), 2:355.

126. For an overview of Monsieur's association with Louvois, see Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army Under Louis XIV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 45–46.

127. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* defines "inclination" as "Affection, amour. Avoir de l'inclination pour quelqu'un." (1:308) A full discussion of *inclination* is provided in part 2, chapter 2.

128. According to Phaedrus in Plato's *Symposium*: "And if there were only some way of contriving that a state or an army should be made up of lovers and their loves, they would be the very best governors of their own city, abstaining from all dishonor, and emulating one another in honor; and when fighting at each other's side, although a mere handful, they would overcome the world. For what lover would not choose rather to be seen by all mankind than by his beloved, either when abandoning his post or throwing away his arms? He would be ready to die a thousand deaths rather than endure this. Or who would desert his beloved or fail him in the hour of danger?" Plato, *Symposium and Phaedrus*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York: Dover Publications 1993), 7.

129. On the Sacred Band, see Plutarch, “Pelopidas” in *Lives*, 11 vols., ed. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 5:341–433; Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 69–74; and James G. DeVoto, “The Theban Sacred Band,” *The Ancient World* 23.2 (1992): 3–19. Although Plato does not mention the Sacred Band of Thebes by name, he is likely to have known of it and been influenced in his theory by its precedent.

130. On imitation of the ancients in seventeenth-century France, see Bernard de Fontenelle, *Digression sur les anciens et les modernes* in *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955); and Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes*, 4 vols. (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1682–97; reprint, Genève: Minkoff, 1971). See also Joan DeJean, *Ancients Against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin de Siècle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); and Robert J. Nelson, “The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns” in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. Denis Hollier and R. Howard Bloch (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 365.

131. Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, duchesse d’Orléans, *Lettres de la princesse palatine*, ed. Olivier Amiel (Paris: Mercure de France, 1999), 311.

132. Madame’s reference to sodomy as a “vice” should not necessarily be interpreted as a condemnation. Sodomy was commonly designated the “vice italien” (see my introduction to part 1 for a discussion of this expression), and the euphemism does not essentially imply a moral judgment. For Madame, referring to heroes being “stained” with this “vice” is also not likely to be a reproach. Although these terms may be a nod to official religious views on sodomy, humor and sarcasm permeate Madame’s letters, and if she believes that sodomy is not a crime, then referring to it as a vice and a stain may well be done tongue-in-cheek, particularly since she describes it as inherent in all the great heroes of antiquity.

133. There is a long tradition associating the greatest Greek and Roman heroes, among whom are those mentioned by Madame, with sodomy. There is a large corpus of literature on this subject. For a useful overview and bibliographical references, see Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization*, 1–31, 49–110.

134. François Bluche, “Vice ultramontain” in *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle*, ed. François Bluche (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 1589. The expression “du poil et de la plume” was originally a hunting term, and according to the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, it designates a hound that chases all sorts of quarry (2:265). In a sexual context, it refers to those who have relations with men and women.

135. See Mark Bannister, *Condé in Context: Ideological Change in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 67, 70; and Claude Dulong, *L’amour au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette 1969), 114. For Condé to have been married, have a mistress, and engage in sexual acts with men was not unusual during the early modern period before the polarizing identities of “homosexual” and “heterosexual” had been imposed. When Condé was cast as a sodomite, it was because he supposedly engaged in sodomy, which had no bearing on his dynastic or amorous relations with women. On the imposition of the heteronormative imperative, see the introduction to part 1.

136. Jean de Coligny-Saligny, *Mémoires du comte de Coligny-Saligny* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1841), xlix–xlx.

137. Mark See Bannister, *Condé in Context*, 66.

138. Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, *L’histoire amoureuse des Gaules, suivie des romans historico-satiriques du XVIIe siècle*, 4 vols., ed. Paul Boiteau and Charles-Louis Livet (Paris: P. Jannet, 1856–76), 1:199.

139. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de très haut et très puissant prince Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé, premier prince du Sang* in *Sermons et oraisons funèbres*, ed. Michel Crépu (Paris: Seuil, 1997), 444.

140. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de très haut et très puissant prince Louis de Bourbon*, 307.

141. The prince de Conti had been involved in the Versailles *confrérie* scandal (see part 1, chapter 1), and it is significant that Condé, the sodomite uncle, exhorts his nephew, guilty of the same sexual

transgression, to follow his duty to God and the king, without mentioning sodomy, prohibited by Church and state. At no point in the eulogy does Bossuet suggest that Condé confessed sodomy as a sin or sought absolution for it, nor does he imply that Condé warned his nephew against sodomy. Indeed, although Bossuet never explicitly pardons Condé for his transgression of Church strictures, neither does he condemn him for it. Rather, Bossuet neutralizes the significance of sodomy by invoking the preeminent performance of warrior virtues.

142. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de très haut et très puissant prince Louis de Bourbon*, 312–13.

143. 3 Kings 2:1–4. *The Holy Bible*, 351–52.

144. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de très haut et très puissant prince Louis de Bourbon*, 456.

145. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Japhcott (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 240.

146. On the female principle and *honnêteté*, see Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 121–22, 136, 139, and 224.

147. Norbert Elias, *Power & Civility*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 258–70.

148. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83) is Among the foremost examples of the bourgeoisie attaining leading roles at the court of Louis XIV. Born into a family of merchants in Reims, he rose to the posts of Ministre d'État (1661–83), Surintendant des Bâtiments Royaux, Arts et Manufactures (1664), Contrôleur Général des Finances (1665), and Secrétaire d'État, Chargé de la Maison du Roi, de la Ville de Paris, du Clergé et de la Marine (1669).

149. Nobles who engaged in commerce were subject to derogation (*dérogance*), the loss of title and nobility. See Davis Bitton, “The Rule of Dérogance” in *The French Nobility in Crisis (1560–1640)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 64–76. According to Michael L. Bush in *Rich Noble, Poor Noble* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 86–87, among European countries, France had the greatest restriction on permissible occupations for the nobility. Regional considerations influenced the circumstances under which nobles were permitted to engage in commerce. In Marseille, for example, nearly all noble families issued from maritime commercial backgrounds. See Valérie Pietri, “Vraie et fausse noblesse: L'identité nobiliaire provençale à l'épreuve des réformations (1656–1718),” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 66 (2003), <http://cdlm.revues.org/117> (28 August 2013). The Code Michaud of 1629 allowed maritime commerce. See Davis Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis*, 70. The legal profession resulted in derogation in some provinces, but not in Provence and the Dauphiné, and according to the declaration of 1669, glass making on a large scale was also permitted. See Jean Brissaud, *A History of French Public Law*, trans. James W. Garner (South Hackensack: Rothman Reprints, 1969), 300.

150. Not only were nobles restricted in commerce, but in the working of their own land, where, from 1407 to 1720, they were permitted to have no more than four plows. See Jean Brissaud, *A History of French Public Law*, 300. Although such limited production may have sufficed at home, and even then with difficulty, it was not adequate for survival in the capital. Traditionally the nobility, when in Paris, still fed themselves from their own land, and according to Orest Ranum, “Their foodstuffs and water were not procured from common sources. Monks and the *gens de bien*, the men of property, ‘imported’ these products from their farms in the country to consume them in the capital.” Orest Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 26.

151. Norbert Elias, *Power & Civility*, 271–272.

152. Because of their exceptional value as warriors, Condé and Vendôme were among the rare few that could withdraw to their estates as they pleased without risking their noble livelihood or the

stigma of being banished from court. For a noble to be in a position to leave or attend court as he wished was unusual since without attendance and favor there most courtiers were left in great financial distress, and banishment from court was a severe social and economic chastisement. When Condé and Vendôme served the king, they did so not so much because they needed his favor to maintain their status (Condé in particular commanded considerable wealth and influence), but as chivalric duty to the suzerain and because their accumulated merit would advance family interests. The pardon that Louis XIV accorded Condé after his rebellion during the Fronde suggests that the monarch needed to keep the kingdom's second family at peace with the Bourbons, that he wanted Condé's military abilities to work for rather than against the crown, and that he believed in Condé's future loyalty. That Condé and Vendôme were widely recognized as sodomites was apparently of no interest to Louis XIV, and they were among the last two of the masculine warrior sodomites in the old style.

153. Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*, 4.

154. On the involvement of Louis XIII with the army, see A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII*, 239–55.

155. In another almanac engraving, “Capitulation de la ville de Mons assiégée le 26 mars et prise le 8 avril 1691 par l’armée du Roy commandée par sa Majesté,” the king is shown seated, presumably writing an order, with the battle in the distance. In a painting of the Siege of Mons by Sauveur Le Conte (1659–94) (Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. MV2079) and Jean-Baptiste Martin, l’Ancien (1659–1735) (Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. MV2061), the king is shown mounted, but far removed from the battle, apparently directing with his *bâton*.

156. See Jacques Ruppert, *Le costume: Louis XIV–Louis XV* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), 16–17.

157. Pierre de Ronsard, “Avant-entrée du roi très chrétien à Paris” in *Œuvres complètes*, 2 vols., ed. Albert Cohen (Paris: Gallimard, 1950), 684.

158. Pierre de Ronsard, “Avant-entrée du roi très chrétien à Paris,” 684.

159. Braden K. Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince* (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University), 4.

160. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, 148–49.

161. These exercises were already part of the preparations for war, and mounted maneuvers such as the *piaf dans les pîlars*, in which the horse leapt into the air while thrusting out his rear hooves, had practical applications in battle.

162. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, 216. Nostalgic depictions of the Middle Ages and their jousts were frequent tropes in seventeenth-century France. Among others, Honoré D’Urfé’s (1568–1625) *Astrée* (1607–27), and fairy tales such as “L’enchanteur” (1697) by Charlotte-Rose Caumont de La Force (1650–1724) include episodes involving chevaliers and jousting. The last three tragédies en musique by Lully and Quinault, *Amadis* (1684), *Roland* (1685), and *Armide* (1686) are all settings of medieval lore. In 1664, Louis XIV appeared under the guise of the chevalier Roger in the fête, *Les plaisirs de l’Île Enchantée* at Versailles.

163. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, 216.

164. On the Fronde, see Hubert Carrier, *Le labyrinthe de l’état: Essai sur le débat politique en France au temps de la Fronde (1648–1653)* (Paris: Champion, 2004); Orest Ranum, *The Fronde: A French Revolution (1648–1652)* (New York: Norton, 1993); and Geoffroy R. Treasure, *Mazarin: The Crisis of Absolutism in France* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

165. For Louis XIV’s account of how he adopted this motto, see his *Mémoires pour l’instruction du Dauphin* in *Œuvres*, 6 vols. (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1806), 1:196–97.

166. John Hearsey McMillan Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Tayer and Francis, 1979), 16.

167. Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*, 15.
168. See Stuart Carroll, *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 159.
169. During the Middle Ages, duels had first been juridical events (trial by combat) in which divine intervention was invoked to prove which party was just, and the loser was executed. (Those being tried could hire proxies to be their champions and were executed if their proxy lost.) By the ninth century, the “duel of chivalry,” which was held in an elaborate public setting, likewise determined the outcome of private disputes, although without the execution of the loser. See Robert Baldick, *The Duel*, chapter 1 (“The Judicial Duel”), 11–21, chapter 2 (“The Duel of Chivalry”), and chapter 3 (“The Duel of Honor”), 31–48.
170. François Billacois *Le duel dans la société française des XVI^e–XVII^e siècles: Essai de psychosociologie historique* (Paris: Éditions de l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 14–16.
171. Régis Bénichi, “Le Duel et le blasphème à Paris au temps de Louis XIII” (Diplôme d’Études Supérieures, Université Paris--Sorbonne, 1957), 173 cited in François Billacois, *Le duel dans la société française*, 115–16.
172. Robert Baldick, *The Duel: A History* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1965), 55.
173. François Billacois, *Le duel dans la société française*, 269. An emblematic literary example of dueling despite the sovereign’s disapproval is that between Rodrigue and Don Gomès in *Le Cid* (1636) by Pierre Corneille (1606–84).
174. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, 239–40. The notion of individuals expounding a great deal of energy to suppress warring impulses in favor of civilizing social structures is also found in Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), 69–70.
175. Louis XIV did not succeed in seeking to eradicate dueling. He issued ten edicts against it, and the edict of 1679 imposed the death penalty, loss of all property, and forfeiture of nobility for anyone participating in a duel as a combatant or auxiliary; those killed in duels were to be denied a Christian burial. None of these threats ended the practice, and Louis was even said to have privately expressed admiration for highly accomplished duelists. See Nick Evangelista, *The Encyclopedia of the Sword* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995), 195–96.
176. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 62–64.
177. Baldassare Castiglione, *Le livre du courtesan*, trans. Gabriel Chappuis, ed. Alain Pons (Paris: Éditions Gérard Lebovici, 1987), 18. This is the second French edition (1580) of Castiglione’s book, which is generally considered to be the best French version of the text. I have chosen to use this text rather than the original Italian because its vocabulary and context are embedded in the experience of the French *noblesse d’épée* during the early modern period.
178. Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 35.
179. Baldassare Castiglione, *Le livre du courtesan*, 143–45.
180. When Yvain has stayed too long with Laudine, it is Gawain who summons him back to the company of the chevaliers. According to Edward Joe Johnson’s *Once There Were Two True Friends, or Idealized Male Friendship in French Narrative from the Middle Ages Through the Enlightenment* (Birmingham, Ala.: Summa Publications, 2003), “Gauvain is the nephew of King Arthur while Yvain is himself heir to a throne. Yet they are not truly equals as Gauvain alone is wealthy.” (53) Although there may be reasons to argue for the inequality of Yvain and Gauvain, I would counter that wealth is not among them, particularly in the Arthurian context where equality among the chevaliers of the Round Table is based on prowess, not wealth.
181. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 81.

182. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 26.
183. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 26.
184. Erica Harth, *Cartesian Women: Versions and Subversions of Rational Discourse in the Old Regime* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 40–41.
185. Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*, ed. Louis Lafuma (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962), 319.
186. On Voiture's poetry, see Sophie Rollin, *Le style de Vincent Voiture: Une esthétique galante* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006).
187. Lewis C. Seifert, "L'homme de ruelle chez les dames: Civility and Masculinity in the Salon" in *Classical Unities: Place, Time, Action--Actes du 32e Congrès Annuel de la North American Society for Seventeenth-Century French Literature, Tulane University (13–15 avril 2000)* (Tübingen: Narr, 2001), 107–08.
188. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1:570.
189. Pierre Nicole, *De la civilité chrétienne* in *Choix des petits traités de morale*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy (Paris: Techener, 1857), 446.
190. Lewis C. Seifert, *Manning the Margins: Masculinity and Writing in Seventeenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 52.
191. On the interactions of *honnêteté* with and possible implications for homo- and heterosociality (which he extends to homo- and heterosociality and homosocial eroticism in Sedgwick's sense), see Lewis Seifert, *Manning the Margins*, 21–56.
192. Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme ou L'art de plaire à la cour* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1925; reprint, Genève: Slatkine, 1970), 18–19.
193. Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme*, 10.
194. Jean de La Bruyère, "De la Cour" in *Les caractères*, ed. Antoine Adam (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), 157.
195. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 7.
196. For a discussion of different strains of *honnêteté*, see Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, particularly 47–53.
197. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 50.
198. Jean de La Bruyère, "Des jugements" in *Les caractères*, 288.
199. Tibor Klaniczay, *L'époque de la Renaissance (1400–1600)*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), 4:460.
200. Maurice Magendie, *La politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France de 1600 à 1660*, 2 vols. (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925; reprint, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970).
201. François de La Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*, ed. Jacques Truchet (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1977), 62.
202. Méré's approach to *honnêteté* is radically different from that of Faret. Whereas Faret's *honnêteté* is bourgeois and arriviste, Méré constructs an aristocratic version of the *honnête homme* that is perhaps more similar to the courtier of Castiglione.
203. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 11.
204. Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré, "Quatrième conversation" in *Les conversations*, ed. Charles H. Boudhours (Paris: Klincksieck, 2008), 53.
205. Joan DeJean, "The Salons, Preciosity, and the Sphere of Women's Influence" in *A New History of French Literature*, 198.
206. Anonymous, *Bienséance de la conversation entre les hommes*, cited in Maurice Magendie, *La politesse mondaine*, 160–61.
207. Warren H. Lewis, *The Splendid Century: Life in the France of Louis XIV* (New York: Morrow, 1974), 41.

208. François Billacois, *Le duel dans la société française*, 203.
209. Lewis Seifert, *Manning the Margins*, 39.
210. Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme*, 93–94.
211. Pierre Nicole, *Pensées* in Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1861), 409.
212. See Peter D. Arnott, *Public and Performance in the Greek Theatre* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 105–23. For a study on the origins and development of agon, see Mihai Spariosu, *God of Many Names: Play, Poetry, and Power in Hellenic Thought from Homer to Aristotle* (New York: Routledge, 1991).
213. Conversation was not the only means by which intense competition in salons and at courts was effected, but it was the one most sanctioned as brilliant, just as feats of arms were on the battlefield. However, elaborate dress does parallel verbal panegyrics such as Voiture's. Showy dress was perceived as garish, obviously arriviste, in poor taste, and contrary to the signifiers of *bonnêteté*. One succeeded most in dress by the quality, modesty, and cleanliness of one's clothing and person, a point stressed by Faret: "il faut encore ajouter l'habit et la composition du Corps mesme . . . ou du moins qui n'ait rien qui d'abord rebute les yeux . . . Pour estre bien, il ne faut rien porter de particulier ny d'extravagant, et faut que les habits soient assortis et bien entendus." Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme*, 91.
214. One of the conceits of Rambouillet's *chambre bleue* was the use of code names by members of the coterie. Polyandre was the poet Jean-François Sarasin (1614–54), Acante was Paul Pellisson Fontanier (1624–93), and Sapho was Mme de Rambouillet. See Charles Henry Conrad Wright, *A History of French Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1912), 281.
215. Valentin Conrart, *La journée des madrigaux*, ed. Émile Colombey and Émile Laurent (Paris: Aubry, 1856), 23.
216. Valentin Conrart, *La journée des madrigaux*, 34.
217. Valentin Conrart, *La journée des madrigaux*, 37.
218. Valentin Conrart, *La journée des madrigaux*, 29.
219. Women were also implicitly involved in making salons a site of advancement for the bourgeoisie and *noblesse de robe*. As Carolyn Lougee has shown in *Le Paradis des Femmes: Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), roughly half the women who attended salons were not from the *noblesse d'épée*. Indeed, that class, due to financial pressures, was increasingly obliged to admit through marriage members of the wealthy bourgeoisie and *noblesse de robe*.
220. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, 243.
221. Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré, "Première conversation" in *Les conversations*, 18.
222. Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme*, 95.
223. Méré names no parallel examples among ancient men. Indeed, he faults Socrates for being too much of a philosopher and Caesar for not being satisfied with the role of noble conqueror. See Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré, "Discours V: Le commerce du monde" in *Œuvres complètes*, 3:140–41.
224. Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré, "Discours des agréments" in *Œuvres complètes*, 2:46.
225. Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré, "Discours des agréments" in *Œuvres complètes*, 2:46.
226. Domna C. Stanton: *The Aristocrat as Art*, 121.
227. Gretchen Elizabeth Smith, *The Performance of Male Nobility in Molière's Comédies-Ballets: Staging the Courtier* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 101.
228. Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré, "Première conversation" in *Les conversations*, 18.
229. Gretchen Elizabeth Smith, *The Performance of Male Nobility in Molière's Comédies-Ballets*, 101.
230. Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 51.

231. Antoine Furetière. *Dictionnaire universel*, 3 vols. (A. and R. Leers: 's-Gravenhage, 1690), 2:s.v. "galant."
232. In Méré's *mondain* form of *bonnêteté*, "honnête homme" and "galant homme" are synonymous. See Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art*, 51–52.
233. Antoine Furetière. *Dictionnaire universel*, 2:s.v. "galant."
234. The literary culmination of the seducer who deploys the *art de plaire* against women is the vicomte de Valmont in *Les liaisons dangereuses* (1782) by Cholderlos de Laclos (1641–183) .
235. Baldassare Castiglione, *Le livre du courtisan*, 46.
236. One of the definitions of "languir" in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* is "sans vigueur." *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1:629.
237. Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme*, 89.
238. Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme*, 89.
239. Nicolas Faret, *L'honneste homme*, 93.
240. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1:443.
241. Randolph Trumbach, "Gender and the Homosexual Role in Modern Western Culture: The 18th and 19th Centuries Compared" in *Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality?*, ed. Dennis Altman (Amsterdam: Dekker/Schorer, 1989), 157.
242. Randolph Trumbach, "The Birth of the Queen" in *Hidden from the History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr. (New York: NAL Books, 1989), 130–33.
243. The rake is often conflated with the *roué*, for example by David M. Halperin (*How to do the History of Homosexuality*, 114), but the French term is anachronistic in this context for the seventeenth century. Neither the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*, nor Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois* defines a *roué* as anything other than a man who has been broken on the wheel. It appears not to have assumed sexual connotations until the regency (1715–23) of Philippe d'Orléans (1674–1723), who was Monsieur's son.
244. Denis Labau, *Guy-Armand de Gramont, comte de Guiche: Un Franc gaulois à la cour du roi-soleil (1637–1673)* (Monenh: Pyrémonde, 2005).
245. Randolph Trumbach, "The Birth of the Queen," 134. One aspect of this theory that Trumbach does not explicitly address is the role of dynastic obligation, probably because it was not largely effected by the changing nature of the sodomite. Nobles and commoners alike would still have been obliged to marry and to sire heirs just as they had prior to the late seventeenth century. The implication of Trumbach's argument is that beyond the burden of parentage, sodomites now engaged in sexual acts almost exclusively with other men, unlike the rake who also had sexual relations with women.
246. Dirk Jaap Noordam, "Sodomites in the Rural Areas of the Republic in the Early Modern Period" in *Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality? Conference Papers: History* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and Schorerstichting, 1987), 97–109.
247. The depiction of sodomites in religious texts is discussed in part 1, chapter 1.
248. Randolph Trumbach, "The Birth of the Queen," 137–38.
249. Michel Rey, "Parisian Homosexuals Create a Lifestyle (1700–1750): The Police Archives" in *Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality During the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert P. Maccubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 186.
250. Michel Rey, "Parisian Homosexuals Create a Lifestyle," 186.
251. Michel Rey, "Parisian Homosexuals Create a Lifestyle," 186–87.
252. Rey's use of the term "homosexual" stems from his anachronistic approach assuming an

underlying homosexual identity during the eighteenth century as many would also argue for the modern period. The designation “drama of homosexual intrigue” is, in my view, unnecessarily theatrical, and although it would be inappropriate to skew Rey’s meaning, for the context in which I am quoting him and for the material that he cites, it might best be understood simply as “gathering of effeminate sodomites.”

253. Michel Rey, “Parisian Homosexuals Create a Lifestyle,” 186–87. I have been unable to locate further information on the significance of the individual titles “Madame de Nemours,” “Duchesse Duras” (both of which are real titles of noblewomen), and “Baronne aux Épingles,” although “épingle,” (“pin”) may be a euphemism for an erect penis.

254. Cross-dressing, however, does not necessarily signify sodomy. François Timoléon, abbé de Choisy (1644–1724), for example, who was perhaps the most notorious cross-dresser of the seventeenth century, was not a sodomite, but seduced women while *en travesti*. For a discussion of cross-dressing, including the abbé de Choisy, see part 2, chapter 2.

255. This does not imply cross-dressing but adopting elements of dress associated with women. Both men and women wore powder, wigs, jewels, and colored ribbons, so the *efféminé* would have chosen items such as rouge, which was worn principally at court, and most notably by women. Describing Monsieur as an *efféminé*, Saint-Simon mentions: “On l’accusait de mettre imperceptiblement du rouge.” Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 8 vols., ed. Yves Coirault (Paris: Gallimard, 1983–88), 2:216.

256. Michel Rey, “Parisian Homosexuals Create a Lifestyle,” 187.

257. Michel Rey, “Parisian Homosexuals Create a Lifestyle,” 179.

258. Although the heroic context in which sodomite warrior nobles were able to assert masculinity was largely lost by the end of the century, clandestine groups, such as those mentioned by Rey and the Versailles *confrérie* discussed by Bussy-Rabutin (which I address in part 1, chapter 1), began to develop, and along with them the beginning of a sodomite subculture during the eighteenth century. See Jeffrey Merrick, “Sodomitical Inclinations in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris,” *Eighteenth Century Studies* 30.3 (Spring 1997): 289–95. However, the Versailles *confrérie* and the groups described by Rey are not comparable. The *confrérie*, which might even be characterized as a secret society, had, according to Bussy-Rabutin, a strict hierarchy led by four “grands-mâtres” and written statutes dictating the requirements for admission and terms of membership. See Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, “La France devenue italienne,” 2:302–03. This group was apparently devoted to the masculine and involved no mimicking of women or appropriation of the feminine. Indeed, its members allegedly despised women. Such an emphasis on the masculine alone is characteristic for 1678, when the *confrérie* was supposed to have been formed, since the model of the *efféminé* was still evolving alongside and distinguished from the masculine homosocial courtier. Rey’s groups, however, are from the very end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Tied to newer notions of the sodomite, they embrace the effeminate and seemingly revel in abandoning all notions of the masculine.

PART II

INTRODUCTION

Strategies of Representation: Public and Private Depictions of Monsieur

Philippe de France, duc d'Orléans (1640–1701), known as “Monsieur” after the death of his uncle, Gaston d'Orléans (1608–60), was the only brother of Louis XIV. Widely acknowledged as a sodomite by his contemporaries, modern writers have cast Monsieur in largely negative terms tending to emphasize three alleged attributes: he was disadvantaged, even victimized for political ends; he was weak; and he was overtly debauched. According to Philippe Erlanger, “Les contemporains de Monsieur ont tracé de lui des portraits souvent satiriques, toujours malveillants. . . . une nature faible . . . livrée à une corruption systématique; celui d’un fils de roi sacrifié à la raison d’État . . . ses mœurs scandaleuses, sa vie pompeuse et humiliée.”¹ In a similar vein, Nancy Nichols Barker asserts: “the prince was perceived as a threat to the throne and was deliberately thrust into the background. . . . he was the perpetual loser in a lifelong civil rivalry.”² And Christian Bouyer likewise posits: “Politiquement marginalisé, le prince s’engouffre avec fougue dans un monde du clinquant. . . . de mesquineries, de débauches et de turpitudes . . . [une] vocation de réhabilitation . . . est impossible, tant la balance des jugements et des appréciations récurrents distingue un lot d’éléments peu valorisants.”³ These deprecations profess to rely on historical proof. Erlanger and Bouyer judge that contemporary evidence weighs decidedly against Monsieur, and Barker claims that her biography is the first “to make extensive use of archives and other manuscript sources.”⁴ Such concurring descriptions of Monsieur, which rest on seventeenth-century documentation, suggest the existence of a uniform discourse. However, a broad look at seventeenth-century sources reveals a prismatic, non-homogenous portrait of the prince, the mutable gradations of which, along with tensions among the texts, divulge the ideologies of their authors.

Although it is possible to select evidence from a variety of historical sources to provide a “stable” image of Monsieur, it is also true that seventeenth-century accounts vary significantly in the nature of their remarks. For example, in his foreword to *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France, duc d’Anjou, frère unique du Roy* (1655), the Sieur Révérend,⁵ Philippe’s almoner and preceptor, declares favorably of the fifteen-year-old: “Il semble que la sagesse et la prudence l’ayent instruit . . . Il ayme également l’estude et les sçavants, son entretien est toujours serieux, et ses occupations honnestes; Jamais une sale parole n’est sortie de sa bouche . . .”⁶ Révérend lauds Monsieur’s serious learnedness and *bonnêteté*, but in 1701 after Monsieur’s death, a street song mocked: “Philippe est mort la bouteille à la main./Le Proverbe est fort incertain/Qui dit que l’homme meurt comme il vit d’ordinaire;/Il nous montre bien le contraire,/Car s’il fust mort comme il avoit vécu,/Il seroit mort le vit au cu [sic].”⁷ According to this characterization, the prince was not the upright subject described by Révérend, but a debauched drunkard. That same year, Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1675–1755) wrote that Monsieur had “tant [de] défauts destitués de tous vertus”⁸ shortly after mentioning that “avec beaucoup de valeur [il] avait gagné la bataille de Cassel.”⁹ Although Saint-Simon agrees with the satirical chanson in describing Monsieur as bereft of virtue, he also accords him the status of valiant warrior. In 1658, when Philippe was 18, his first cousin, Anne Marie Louise d’Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier (1627–93) noted his gallantry in her *Divers Portraits* and compared him to Henri IV (known as “le vert galant” and generally considered a womanizer¹⁰): “il est aussi galant qu’il étoit, il a autant d’amour pour les dames,”¹¹ but six years later, Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette (1634–94) contradicts Montpensier in her biographical *Histoire de Madame Henriette d’Angleterre, première femme de Philippe de France, duc d’Orléans* (1664–70; published 1720): “Le miracle d’enflammer le cœur de ce prince n’étoit réservé a aucune femme du monde.”¹²

The contradictory views in these citations seem to provide a fractured and even self-conflicting image of Philippe de France, as virtuous, debauched, heroic, worthless, a lover of women, and immune to the amorous love of women, but they are drawn from texts of differing natures written over the course of Monsieur's lifetime. Révérend's work is an intentionally-published panegyric addressed to the prime minister, Jules Mazarin (1602–61); the street song is anonymous and perhaps drawn from popular culture; Saint-Simon's comments are taken from his posthumously-published memoirs; Montpensier's description constitutes a literary portrait published during her lifetime by Jean Regnaud de Segrais (1624–1701); and La Fayette's comment is drawn from a biography published after her death, but which may have circulated long before.¹³ As these examples suggest, there is no single consistent discourse on Monsieur, but rather a multiplicity of discourses that change over time. Furthermore, each of these types of discourse has its own characteristics that influence the ways in which they may be interpreted. The next two chapters of my study explore seventeenth-century discourse on Monsieur casting him as a warrior and an *efféminé*. These categories, as I have shown in part 1, chapter 2, have significant implications regarding seventeenth-century French depictions of sodomites, and I will now examine how they interact with descriptions of Monsieur. These chapters explore a variety of contrasting writings on Monsieur, the analysis of which draws on three principle notions: the public, the private, and the official, terms that warrant examination.

Jeff Weintraub's description of the interrelatedness between the public and the private provides a useful framework for approaching the seventeenth century: "The public/private distinction . . . is not unitary, but protean, not a single paired opposition, but a complex family of them, neither mutually reducible nor wholly unrelated."¹⁴ The notion of a protean gamut for the semantic of the public and private provides possibilities for interpreting the widely varying accounts

of Monsieur and reveals the permutable nature of these two spheres in depictions of the prince in which notions of public and private are not fixed. This mutability is an element of the flexible explanation by Anthony Giddens: “The public/private opposition . . . concerns what is kept concealed from and what is more openly revealed to others.”¹⁵ This definition allows for a fluctuation in the relative meanings of “public” and “private” at a moment when modern usages concerning that which should be hidden or revealed had not yet fully developed. Indeed, activities that today are considered to be the most private and thus properly hidden might have visible functions serving public purposes during the late Renaissance and early modern period.

An emblematic example is defecation, which has been viewed as private, particularly since the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁶ As Norbert Elias observes, it was during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that defecation began to be increasingly coded as something that should be concealed,¹⁷ thus treatises on civility, including *Il Galateo* (1558; first French translation 1562¹⁸) by Giovanni Della Casa (1503–56) and the *Nouveau traité de la civilité* (1672) of Antoine de Courtin (1622–85), emphasize that defecation should be private.¹⁹ Emily E. Thompson observes that during the sixteenth century, “men and women in France associated defecation with dishonor,”²⁰ something not willingly made public. Coding defecation as private would avoid the public performance of dishonor and confirm it as a shameful act by marking it as that which should not be seen. Nevertheless, there are notable examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries involving the semi-public use of the *chaise percée* [closestool]. In these cases, being admitted to the presence of someone using the *chaise percée* was a sign of privilege and not dishonorable for the one seated. For example, Henri III received visitors while seated on his *chaise percée*;²¹ Louis XIV;²² his cousin, Louis Joseph, duc de Vendôme (1654–1712); his grandson, Louis, duc de Bourgogne (1682–1712);²³ and the duc de Bourgogne’s wife, Marie-Adélaïde de Savoie, duchesse de Bourgogne

(1685–1712)²⁴ all held audiences on theirs. Lucien Bély notes that the *brevet d'affaires* (the *chaise percée* was also called a *chaise d'affaires*²⁵), which granted permission to enter the chamber of Louis XIV when he was seated on his *chaise percée*, was extremely rare; there were only seven in 1693 and five in 1712.²⁶ The scarcity of these *brevets* suggests that they were a mark of particular favor, or, as Elias remarks: “In France, as late as the seventeenth century, kings and great lords receive specially favored inferiors on occasions on which, a German saying was later to run, even the emperor should be alone.”²⁷ In this sense, receiving an inferior while seated on a *chaise percée* marked the confidence with which the subaltern was invested.²⁸

As demonstrated by the *chaise percée*, an activity coded as private might be intentionally exposed to endow it with special meaning, in this case an articulation of privilege based on intermingling the conventions that defined the public and private spheres. Such intermingling is a notable aspect of seventeenth-century writings on Monsieur. Few sources are entirely public or private in the modern sense, that is, unquestionably intended to be either fully and openly disclosed or unequivocally concealed from the view of all but the individual who created them. They frequently deploy elements of both, and the sources that I will discuss in the following two chapters gravitate more or less toward the public or private rather than always being strictly classifiable as one or the other. For the moment they serve as a general illustration of the interplay between the public and the private that depended on the social or political strategy particular to each source.

The first example, Révérend’s *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France*, fulfills a royally-authorized²⁹ public role in promulgating princely representation, but also engages more private aspects of court relations in France and abroad. As a published work, it is public since the published is, by definition public, it could circulate widely,³⁰ and it was sold openly at the entrance of the Palais de Justice by André Soubron, Libraire Ordinaire de la Reine,³¹ which also implies that the work

pleased Anne d'Autriche.³² The volume contains anecdotes intended to reveal the purported virtues of the young prince, engendering respect and appreciation. Although the panegyric nature of the work is overtly public, it also has a thinly-veiled private dimension in being dedicated³³ by an important member of Philippe's household (his almoner and preceptor) to Mazarin, who was prime minister, a close confidant of the queen, and had been responsible for Révérend's appointment.³⁴ The work was also intended to circulate internationally among royalty, broadcasting Philippe's merits, and there are copies with dedications to Christina, queen of Sweden (1626–89), Marie-Louise, queen of Poland (1612–67), and Afonso, infante of Portugal, later Afonso VI (1643–83).³⁵

Also in the public sphere, although in a different register than Révérend's volume, is the anonymous satirical chanson, "Philippe est mort, la bouteille à la main." The text never appeared in print and is only preserved in a collection of similar texts, known as the *Chansonnier Maurepas*,³⁶ assembled by Pierre Clairambault (1651–1740). How broadly the song circulated, whether it expressed a widely-held opinion, and what the intentions or motivations of its author(s) were in mocking the dead prince are unknown. The anonymity of a street song may reflect the unimportance of the author or the incognito of a courtier, and indeed, several authors represented in the *Chansonnier Maurepas* have been identified among the foremost members of the court, where some of these songs circulated.³⁷ Whatever its origins, the chanson belongs to a public oral tradition. Because of the uncertainty associated with sources such as this, they are perhaps most useful for the study of Monsieur when considered within the context of other satirical songs about notable sodomites, of which there are several hundred examples,³⁸ revealing more about attitudes toward sodomy and sodomites than about the person being mocked.³⁹

Writings that provide information regarding Monsieur exemplify several genres, including the memoir and portrait, that fall within an equivocal region between the public and the private

where shifting notions of history are deployed.⁴⁰ In the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1694), the primary definition of “histoire” is “Narration des choses digne de mémoire,”⁴¹ and several types of history are listed, among which are “histoire générale” and “histoire particulière”⁴² designations that outwardly conform to the notions of public and private. But rather than being distinct entities, there is a complex interconnectedness between them. As Faith E. Beasley observes: “‘general history’ in seventeenth-century France is a broad view of events that is devoted uniquely to occurrences in the public sector . . . the emphasis is placed on recounting treaties, wars, and other acts of sovereignty.”⁴³ This definition stresses events such as wars, which are public, but it also refers to “acts of sovereignty” or of government, which includes these official acts of the state. For example, the *Précis historique des campagnes de Louis XIV depuis 1672 jusqu’en 1678* by Jean Racine (1639–99) is an example of “histoire générale” that has the official standing of being written by a historiographer⁴⁴ appointed by the monarch to establish the state version of French history sanctioned by the ruler.⁴⁵ However, not all official discourse is public. Indeed, much of it, such as the *lettre de cachet* (which was among the most direct acts of royal sovereignty during the Ancien Régime⁴⁶), the negotiations of treaties, or correspondence between ambassadors and their governments (including that of Venetian ambassadors Alvise Contarini and Antonio di Nicolo Foscarini on Monsieur), is secret, yet promulgated by representatives of the state in an official, although hidden, capacity. Secret (private) official discourse may contain information that reveals aspects of “official,” “public” events that the state keeps hidden.

The conjunctions of public and private that characterize “official” discourse can also be found in what is unofficial and not sponsored or otherwise approved by the state, such as memoirs. According to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, “mémoire” is a key element of “histoire” (“history”), and: “*Memoires*, au pluriel sign. Relations de faits, ou d’évenements particuliers pour

servir à l'Histoire. *Memoires de la Reine Marguerite*.”⁴⁷ Unlike the delineation of “histoire,” this definition for “mémoires” does not apparently distinguish between “histoire générale” and “histoire particulière,” but instead says that accounts of private events (“evenements particuliers”) contribute to history in a general sense. Since history by definition chooses which events are “worthy of memory,” the separation between general and private history might also imply that these two forms may have different criteria for deciding which events to record and how to depict them. The example cited by the *Dictionnaire*, the memoirs of “la Reine Marguerite,” suggests that memoirs can provide a view of history that differs from official accounts. Marguerite de Valois (1553–1615)⁴⁸ was the controversial first wife of Henri IV, and her memoirs (published posthumously in 1628) record a version of history that does not always accord with “official” accounts.⁴⁹ The assertion by the *Dictionnaire* that memoirs “serve” history (which is capitalized, perhaps signifying history on a grander, more universal scale) might also be interpreted to suggest that memoirs (a type of “histoire particulière”) complement official “histoire générale” with information that was considered worthy of recording by one author, but not by official history.

As in the case of the memoirs of Marguerite de Valois, the self-contradictory remarks on Monsieur in the memoirs of Saint-Simon, and the conflicts among many of Saint-Simon’s comments and those found in Montpensier’s literary portrait of Monsieur, frequent conflicts among state-sanctioned discourse and private accounts raises questions regarding the notion of historical and authorial veracity. Versions of history endorsed by the state are ideological, propagandistic documents, and in this sense not different from descriptions in memoirs, which are written from a personal perspective that often records unconfirmable events. Martine Watson Brownley calls such writings “a volatile mixture of public and private elements, of objective and subjective components,”⁵⁰ despite her presumption of a separation between an objective public and subjective

private, which she devalues for its purported bias. Erica Harth, however, privileges the private, observing: “Memoirs were usually written by an active if not leading participant in the events they describe,”⁵¹ and this presumably lends their accounts a degree of veracity (although it is necessarily particular to one person’s viewpoint), a presumption supported by the *Dictionnaire universel* of Antoine Furetière (1619–88): “Mémoires pl. se dit des Livres d’Historiens, écrits par ceux qui ont eu part aux affaires ou qui ont été témoins oculaires”⁵² The indeterminacy regarding veracity, which, in any case, is rarely absolute, characterizes the separation of the public from the private, and it is often impossible to ascribe authorial veracity or subjectivity purely to any text.

Although official “histoire générale” is public, it does not follow that unofficial “histoire particulière” is intended to be private. For example, most seventeenth-century French memoirs, including those of Saint-Simon, were not published during their author’s lifetime, but this does not mean that they were intended to remain unread; the private in this sense is not that which is kept hidden, and it may be executed with certain publics in mind or openly published. For example, Montpensier’s memoirs were not published until 1723, but, according to Beasley, the text reveals that she did have an audience in mind and left the possibility open whether her writing would be read during or after her lifetime.⁵³ The same may be posited for the memoirs of Saint-Simon, which, harshly criticizing the king and Monsieur, among others, contribute to history and interact with official historical discourse. Another posthumously-published work, La Fayette’s *Histoire de Madame Henriette d’Angleterre*, which, contrary to official discourse, attributes effeminacy to Monsieur, was not published until 1720. Nevertheless, several manuscript copies circulated during La Fayette’s lifetime, and the preface reveals that she meant the work to appear in print⁵⁴ and thus to contribute her own views to history, often contesting official accounts. Beasley emphasizes La Fayette’s historical vantage point as a validating element of the biography: “She establishes her position as the most

privileged of historians because . . . she can combine the qualities of author, narrator, eyewitness, historian, and informed friend. She uses the preface to list her credentials as a ‘particular’ historian.”⁵⁵ As a friend of Madame, La Fayette presumably also knew something of Monsieur her husband, yet her characterization of his heart as immune to amorous passion for women is at odds with the portrait written by Montpensier six years earlier, which compares Philippe’s *galanterie* with that of Henri IV. Biographies and literary portraits are similar to memoirs in that they often circulated among a particular social circle and were not necessarily published, thus they may have comparable interactions with official discourse.

The interest of these sources on Monsieur, which span the permutable spheres of official and unofficial, private and public, lies not in their veracity, but in the tensions or accords among them. As the examples drawn from Révérend, popular culture, Saint-Simon, Montpensier, and La Fayette suggest, there are widely varying accounts of Monsieur over the course of his lifetime and afterwards. This multiplicity of discourses, concurrent and often contradictory, frequently changing over time, makes it difficult to focus on any particular aspect of the prince. However, two principle categories of discourse, one positive, depicting Monsieur as a warrior, and one negative, casting him as effeminate, may effectively be isolated and examined. The next chapter explores official, state-sanctioned discourse (including royally-commissioned historical accounts and portraiture) and unofficial discourse, both public and private (including Révérend’s text and the memoirs of César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, Monsieur’s governor), depicting Monsieur as a virtuous warrior hero, *fils de France*, head of the cadet branch of the house of Bourbon, loyal to Louis XIV as sovereign and dynastic chief. This discourse is constant in its praise of Monsieur, although it also reflects an evolution in his warrior image from active hero to historicized dynastic supporter, and this transformation takes place throughout the course of his life. Although no official public discourse

casts Monsieur as an *effeminé* (to do so would have been to portray him as an unworthy member of the ruling dynasty and thus reflect poorly on France, the monarchy, and its constructed image of universal superiority), some private official discourse, such as letters from the Venetian ambassadors Contarini and Foscarini to their government, and a broad spectrum of public and private unofficial discourse, including *ballets de cour*, the memoirs of Françoise de Motteville (1621–89, dame d’honneur of Anne d’Autriche), Montpensier, and Saint-Simon undermines public official discourse by depicting Monsieur as lacking in masculine virtues and effeminate. This is the image that has generally shaped modern writings on Monsieur; my final chapter explores the strategies of this negative discourse on Monsieur and the ways in which it conflicts with official representations. Ultimately the elaboration of positive or negative discourse on Monsieur reveals perhaps less about the prince than it does about the motivations and intentions of its authors.

Notes

1. Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur: Frère de Louis XIV* (Paris: Hachette, 1953; reprint Paris: Perrin, 1981), 13–14.
2. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King: Philippe, Duke of Orleans* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), xiv.
3. Christian Bouyer, *Le duc d'Orléans, frère de Louis XIV* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2003), 10–11.
4. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, xiv.
5. According to the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the “Sieur Révérend” is Dominique Révérend (1648–1734), but either there must be a misattribution or an error in dates since this would have made the author only seven years old at the time of the work’s publication. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, makes no attribution of a first name or biographical dates.
6. Sieur Révérend, *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France, duc d'Anjou, frère unique du Roy* (Paris: André Soubron, 1655), [n.p.].
7. Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, *Recueil dit de Maurepas: Pièces libres, chansons, épigrammes, et autres vers satiriques sur divers personnages des siècles de Louis XIV et Louis XV, accompagnés de remarques curieuses du temps*, 6 vols. in 3 (Leiden: s.n., 1865), 3:171.
8. Louis Rouvroy de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 8 vols., ed. Yves Coirault (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), 3:14.
9. Louis Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 3:14.
10. On traditional French views of Henri IV, see the introduction to Vincent J. Pitts, *Henri IV of France: His Reign and Age* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
11. Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Portraits littéraires*, ed. Christian Bouyer (Paris: Séguier, 2000), 61.
12. Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, *Vie de la princesse d'Angleterre*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Hipp (Genève: Droz, 1967), 28.
13. On the *Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre*, see Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory: Women's Fictions and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990) 129–161.
14. Jeff Weintraub, “The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction” in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Dichotomy*, ed. Jeff Weintraub, and Krishan Kumar (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1.
15. Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 151.
16. On the development of modern attitudes regarding defecation, see David Inglis, “Sewers and Sensibilities: The Bourgeois Fecal Experience in the Nineteenth Century” in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500*, ed. Alexander Cowen and Jill Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 105–30.
17. See Norbert Elias, “Changes in Attitude Toward the Natural Functions” in *The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 129–42.
18. Della Casa’s treatise was first translated into French by Jean de Du Peyrat in 1562, and, according to the Catalogue Collectif de France, there were at least six more editions of this translation (1598, 1609, 1615, 1666, 1668, and 1671) before the end of the seventeenth century. Elias mentions Della Casa’s treatise in his discussion of bodily functions in *The History of Manners*, 131 and 139.

19. According to Courtin, “la nature ayant voulu cacher certaines parties de notre corps et certaines actions, le consentement et l’usage s’accordent réellement à les tenir cachées pour garder l’honnêteté. Que celui-là passerait pour le plus déshonnête du monde, qui découvrirait publiquement ce qui ne se doit point découvrir . . .” Although Courtin does not explicitly name defecation, which in itself may be a sign of its private nature (which is also “déshonnête” in that it must be hidden to guard *honnêteté*), it might be inferred to be included among the acts that nature supposedly prescribes as private. It may also be included among the “actions dont la nature ne se cache point, et qui nous sont cependant communes avec les animaux, comme cracher, tousser, éternuer, manger, boire, etc. . . le consentement de l’honnêteté veut aussi que, puisque l’on ne peut pas se dispenser de ces actions qui soit naturellement indispensables, on les fasse le plus honnêtement, c’est-à-dire le moins approchant des bêtes qu’il est possible.” Antoine de Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, ed. Marie-Claire Grassi (Saint-Étienne: Presses Universitaires de Saint-Étienne, 1998), 64–65.

20. Emily E. Thompson, “Community, Commodities, and Commodes in the French *Nouvelle*” in *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology*, ed. Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 56.

21. Henri III was assassinated on his *chaise percée*. The *procès-verbal* written on 1 August 1589, the day of the fatal attack on the king by the monk, Jacques Clément (1567–89) records the details of the event. See Mathieu Mercier, “La représentation de l’assassinat d’Henri III à l’aube de l’absolutisme monarchique: De l’exposition du corps soumis à la violence théophanique à l’escamotage d’une victime embarrassante” in *Corps sanglants, souffrants et macabres (XVIe–XVIIe siècle)*, ed. Charlotte Bouteille-Meister and Kjerstin Aukrust (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2010), 316.

22. See Lucien Bély, *Louis XIV: Le plus grand roi du monde* (Paris: J.-P. Gisserot, 2005), 167.

23. Louis Joseph, duc de Vendôme, was a *maréchal de France*, one of Louis XIV’s most distinguished military commanders, and the great-grandson of Henri IV through that king’s mistress, Gabrielle d’Estrées (1571–99). There is no recent or scholarly biography of Vendôme, but see, among others, Jean-François Solnon, *La cour de France* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1987). Louis, duc de Bourgogne was the father of Louis XV. There has been only one book-length biographical study on him since 1904. See Sabine Bonnet-Melchior, *Louis et Marie-Adélaïde de Bourgogne: La vertu et la grâce* (Paris: R. Laffont, 2002). On the use of the *chaise percée* by the ducs de Vendôme and Bourgogne, see Véronique Bodin and Hans Peter Duerr, *Nudité et pudeur: Le mythe du processus de civilisation* (Paris: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1998), 202.

24. Philippe Beaussant, *Le Roi-Soleil se lève aussi* (Paris: France-Loisirs, 2004), 77.

25. According to the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*: “Chaise est aussi un siège où l’on se met pour faire les necessitez naturelles. On l’appelle chez les Princes, Chaise d’affaires.” *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Coignard, 1694), 1:159.

26. Lucien Bély, *Louis XIV*, 167.

27. Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners*, 138.

28. Véronique Bodin and Hans Peter Duerr take a different approach and suggest that the practice of receiving while seated on a *chaise percée* was an assertion of social condescension “destinée à montrer à son hôte le peu de cas que l’on faisait de lui. Cette façon de signifier son mépris à quelqu’un est bien le preuve que, normalement, il était humiliant d’être vu assis sur sa chaise percée.” See Bodin and Duerr, *Nudité et pudeur*, 202.

29. In *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Henry Phillips notes that the *privilege du roi* was “the official and superior seal of approval for publication.” (270) On the development and historical significance of the *privilege*, see Elizabeth Armstrong *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System (1498–1526)* (Cambridge and New York:

Cambridge University Press, 1990) and Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société en France au XVIIe siècle (1598–1701)*, 2 vols. (Genève: Droz, 1969).

30. On the circulation of printed books in seventeenth-century France, see Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société en France au XVIIe siècle (1598–1701)*, particularly 1:296–330 and 2:597.

31. Révérend, *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France*, title page. The designation “ordinaire” was a privilege granted to various court functionaries, and the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* includes, among other definitions of “ordinaire”: “des Officiers de la Maison du Roy.” (2:156) Beyond his official designation as a member of the queen regent’s household, Soubran’s location at the entry to the Palais de Justice is also significant. Although the frequently rebellious Parlement de Paris was housed at the Palais du Justice (which was built on the site of the palace of Saint Louis), this was also where the king could, by holding a *lite de justice*, compel the Parlement to register a royal edict. As such, it was an important symbol of royal authority. On the *lit de justice*, see Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

32. Révérend’s volume was published shortly after the Fronde, a period when publishing was increasingly regulated by the state. As Libraire Ordinaire de la Reine, it is likely that Soubran would benefit from the propaganda-related aspects of selling a work praising the duc d’Anjou. On the role of propaganda and the regulation of the book trade, see Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, 2:570–596.

33. On dedications as affirmations of loyalty and obedience, see Roger Chartier, “Princely Patronage and the Economy of Dedication” in his *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 29. On the rhetoric of seventeenth-century dedications and prefaces within the context of clientage and patronage, see Wolfgang Leiner, *Der Widmungsbrief in der französischen Literatur (1580–1715)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1965).

34. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 25.

35. These copies, along with details of their bindings, are listed in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The copies with dedications to foreign monarchs and princes were likely meant for presentation, since, according to the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, they are richly bound and, in the case of that for the infante of Portugal, carry the arms of the dedicatee. The copy dedicated to the queen of Poland bears the arms of Orléans. The queen had close ties to the house of Orléans and had been intended to marry Gaston d’Orléans before Louis XIII opposed the marriage. See David Parott, “A ‘Prince Sovereign’ and the French Crown” in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnbild Hatton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 180.

36. On the *Chansonnier Maurepas*, see Lewis C. Seifert, “Masculinity and Satire of ‘Sodomites’ in France (1660–1715)” in Jeffrey Merrick and Michael Sibal, *Homosexuality in French History and Culture* (New York: Haworth Press, 2001), 37–52.

37. Lewis C. Seifert, *Manning the Margins: Masculinity and Writing in Seventeenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 159.

38. Lewis C. Seifert, *Manning the Margins*, 283.

39. On discursive strategies in seventeenth-century satires on sodomites, see Lewis C. Seifert, “Masculinity and Satires of ‘Sodomites’ (1660–1715).”

40. For a discussion of shifting meanings of “histoire” in seventeenth-century France, see Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, particularly chapter 1, “Perspectives on History in Seventeenth-Century France,” 10–71.

41. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1:565.
42. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1:565.
43. Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, 12–13.
44. On Racine and history, particularly in relation to Port-Royal, see Elaine Limbrick, “Racine: The Historian in the Text” in *Racine et/ou le classicisme: Actes du colloque conjointement organisé par la North American Society for Seventeenth Century French Literature et la Société Racine--University of California, Santa Barbara (14–16 octobre 1999)*, ed. Ronald W. Tobin (Tübingen: Narr, 2001), 129–205. Also see Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, 16–17.
45. On royal historiography, see Blandine Barret-Kriegel, *Les historiens et la monarchie*, 4 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988); and Roger Chartier, “Historiography in the Age of Absolutism” in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. Denis Hollier and R. Howard Bloch (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 345–350.
46. The *lettre de cachet* was a sealed order from the king commanding arrest or exile and which could not be appealed. See Brian Eugene Strayer, *Lettres de Cachet and Social Control in the Ancien Régime (1659–1789)* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992).
47. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 2:38.
48. Marguerite de Valois was known as Marguerite de France or la reine Marguerite. Her appellation “la reine Margot” was not applied until the nineteenth century following the novel *La reine Margot* (1845) by Alexandre Dumas (1802–70). In a 1610 map of Paris by Matthäus Merian (1593–1650), the *hôtel* built for Marguerite de Valois on the rue de Seine is labeled “L’Hostel de la Reyne Marguerite.” Matthäus Merian, *Le plan de la ville, cité, université et fauxbourgs de Paris, avec la description de son antiquité et singularités* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, RESERVEFOL-QB-201[22]).
49. On the memoirs of Marguerite de Valois, see Patricia Francis Cholakian, *Women and the Politics of Self-Representation in Seventeenth-Century France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 45–62. Also see Éliane Viennot, *Marguerite de Valois: La reine Margot* (Paris: Perrin, 2005).
50. Martine Watson Brownley, “The Stylistic Development of the Early English Memoir” in *Style: Essays on Renaissance and Restoration Literature and Culture in Memory of Harriet Hawkins* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 145.
51. Erica Harth, *Ideology and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 132.
52. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universelle* (s-Gravenhage: A. & R. Leers, 1690), s.v. “mémoire.”
53. Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, 88.
54. Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, 130.
55. Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, 136.

CHAPTER 1

Monsieur: The Impossible Warrior**“Frère Unique du Roy”: Absolutism and Dynasticism**

The life of Philippe de France, duc d'Orléans has been cast as a futile competition with his brother, Louis XIV. In the only English-language biography of Monsieur, Nancy Nichols Barker declares: “To Philippe fell the role of perpetual loser.”¹ However, Philippe’s relationship with Louis involves far more than an alleged personal competition, for which evidence is entirely lacking, and must be considered within the context of dynastic representation that framed their existence. A useful introduction to Philippe’s complex relationship with the Bourbon monarchy is an engraving from before 1660,² the caption of which reads: “Philippe[sic] de France, frere unique du roy, duc d’Anjou” (Ill. 4). This inscription identifies Monsieur first as a son of France,³ next as the king’s brother (“frere unique du roi,” a moniker by which he was habitually known throughout his life, declares Philippe’s elevated station while articulating his secondary familial role), and finally as duc d’Anjou, which gestures to his eventual position as head of his own family.⁴ Philippe appears in armor on horseback holding the *bâton* of a *maréchal de France*,⁵ emphasizing a commanding military role. In the medieval tradition of noble masculinity, Monsieur appears as a warrior, but his distance from the battle suggests that he does not actively command, a prerogative that belongs to his brother.



Ill. 4. *Philippe de France, frère unique du roy, duc d'Anjou* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie).

Monsieur's warrior status as a *filz de France* operates within the system of sovereignty that defined his duties and privileges in relation to those of the king and other nobles. The nature of royal sovereignty is defined by Cardin Le Bret (1558–1665), a jurist and Conseiller Ordinaire du Roy en Ses Conseils d'État et Privés,⁶ in *De la souveraineté du roy* (1632), a treatise on the French monarchy in which he affirms the divine origin of “perfect” (meaning indivisible) sovereignty: “on ne doit attribuer le nom & la qualité d'une souveraineté parfaite . . . qu'à celles qui ne dependent que de Dieu seul, & qui ne sont subjectes qu'à ses loix.”⁷ Sovereignty, according to Le Bret, is: “seule autorité . . . le Roy est seul Souverain dans son Royaume . . . la souveraineté n'est non plus

divisible, que le point en la Geometrie.”⁸ The same principle of sovereignty was articulated in other sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century tracts on monarchy,⁹ including *L’assemblée des notables de France, faite par le Roy en sa ville de Roüen* (1617) by Hugues Picardet (1561–1641), Procureur Général au Parlement de Bourgogne, which asserts: “La monarchie qui est d’un seul, se fait cognoistre en la personne de nos Rois, Monarques souverains, absolus . . . entierement absolus . . . et ont tousjours commandé selon leurs propres volonte.”¹⁰ In this context, the term “absolu” is linked to the idea of sovereignty, one’s own volition (“propre volonté”), and dictionaries such as the *Thrésor de la langue françoise* (1606) of Jean Nicot (1530?–1600?) and the *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611) of Randle Cotgrave (d.1634?) give “absolute” as a synonym for “perfect” (meaning indivisible).¹¹

The seventeenth-century notion of “absolute” monarchy differs from the stereotypical modern view of “absolutism,” which, according to Nicholas Henshall, did not appear until 1823 when the diplomat and politician, Jean-Guillaume Hyde de Neuville (1776–1857) invented it as a pejorative designation for governments that, differing from France at the time, were without parliaments and constitutions:¹² “It was coined to identify contemporary and not historical issues. But it stuck and was projected back to the *ancien régime*. . . . The concept of ‘absolutism’ perpetuates an early nineteenth-century attempt to label as despotic the absolute monarchies of the early modern period.”¹³ The authoritarian implications embedded in Hyde de Neuville’s formulation of absolutism do not reflect the early modern monarchical practice with which it became associated. For sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political theorists, absolute sovereignty did not imply despotism, tyranny or unjust rule,¹⁴ and although sovereignty was supposedly exercised by the king alone (which is what made it “absolute” in early modern terms), it was not unlimited, but functioned within the parameters of established legal, ethical, and religious restrictions.¹⁵ Nevertheless, as Peter H. Wilson observes, the nineteenth-century notion of absolutism displaced the seventeenth-century meaning of

absolute sovereignty: “Absolutism acquired the definition of being intrinsically despotic, autocratic, bureaucratic”¹⁶ The image of a domineering absolutism is the framework within which Darryl

Dee summarizes the typical depiction of Louis XIV as the quintessential autocrat:

A traditional interpretation of absolutism casts Louis XIV as . . . reducing to obedience the various relics of autonomy left over from the Middle Ages: overly mighty noble lineages, semi-independent peripheral provinces, city-states, the great corps of privileged officers, and the unruly popular classes. The way was then clear for the Sun King to establish the foundations of the modern French state by monopolizing administrative power, military force, and sovereign authority in the hands of the monarchy.¹⁷

Wilson describes a more balanced system of Bourbon government:

Louis XIV and his successors were not despotic since they continued to respect the corporate rights of privileged social groups and even, on occasion, extended them. Nor were they autocratic, since despite their centralization of executive authority they still relied on consultation and consent in the practical exercise of power. Finally, the French state was far from bureaucratic as its administrative infrastructure remained rooted in local, regional, and national networks¹⁸

Views of absolutism that emphasize the deployment of a crushing royal sovereignty against independent or partly independent social groups (such as the high nobility) and political structures (including provincial authorities) also generally assert that this was largely achieved through the crown’s victory in the two civil wars collectively known as the Fronde (1648–53). In this view, rebellious nobles and the Parlement de Paris are said to have been definitively submitted to royal dominion, which was confirmed through the imposition of the Versailles system in which the nobility, no longer able to support itself on family estates, was compelled to depend on royal largesse for survival.¹⁹ Barker includes Monsieur in this group: “The king’s pensions and gifts to his brother . . . were entirely consonant with his method of domesticating the greater nobility in general, Louis wanted his great nobles and his brother to live extravagantly so that they would reflect his glory as the Sun King. The key to his success was his ability to reduce them to financial dependence on him at the same time.”²⁰ Although, as Nichols observes, Monsieur was financially almost entirely

dependent on the king before 1693 (when he received the Montpensier inheritance),²¹ the old theory of Louis XIV's alleged "domestication" of his nobles, including Monsieur, through absolutist politics of finance and favor is not a truism.²² Although over the course of the seventeenth century, Henri IV (1553–1610), Louis XIII (1601–43), Armand Jean du Plessis, cardinal duc de Richelieu (1585–1642), Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–61), and Louis XIV strengthened royal authority, theories such as those of Le Bret were propagandistic rather than descriptive,²³ and neither the theory nor the practice of monarchy in seventeenth-century France accords with the stereotypical modern notion of absolutism.

Summarizing recent views on the reign of Louis XIV, Guy Rowlands notes: "The basic consensus that has emerged among Anglo-Saxon historians of France rejects the traditional depictions of Louis XIV's 'personal rule' as the expression of an authoritarian, bureaucratic, and centralizing regime."²⁴ Without the old bulwark of despotic absolutism, the Fronde and Versailles are also necessarily resituated within a less monolithic framework.²⁵ It is arguably the case that for much of the seventeenth century, houses such as those of Orléans, Condé, Lorraine, and Guise retained a significant degree of wealth and influence that made them valuable allies, rather than dependents, of the monarchy.²⁶ Referring to the work of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jean-François Fitou,²⁷ Dee emphasizes the unstable aspect of court politics: "far from being a 'golden ghetto' that imprisoned . . . the aristocracy, Versailles was an important locus of power in which noble factions vied for control of the state."²⁸ In the contentious court, armed rivalries among noble families, including the Bourbons, were transferred from the battlefield and sublimated to new forms of war enacted through verbal duels, contests of aggrandizement, the display of wealth, and influence directed through social networks.

The notion of dynasty is critical to examining Monsieur's relationship with his brother and

the monarchy since Philippe played a double role as the second eldest prince of the house of Bourbon and, eventually, head of the house of Orléans. As the junior branch of the Bourbon family, the Orléans were first in succession if the direct line should fail, and, as in the case of Gaston d'Orléans, there was always the possibility that they might seek, or at least be perceived as seeking, to control or even usurp the throne. If the interests of the Orléans dynasty were not to conflict with those of the monarchy (that is, the senior Bourbon branch), then they needed to be advanced through careful cooperation rather than conflict with the king. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, France was a dynastic state in which, as Rowlands explains, dynasticism meant “the upholding of particular family interests. . . . The *end goal* in all this was to strengthen the hold of the Bourbon dynasty on the realm and to enhance its prestige on the international stage.”²⁹ This continuing enterprise included the assertion of dynastic preeminence in France and abroad.³⁰ During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Bourbons established and solidified their claim to legitimate inherited sovereignty, and Rowlands explains that during the reign of Louis XIV, “the grip of the ruling dynasty, and its collateral branches, [which included the house of Orléans], was strengthened against other *grandes familles* . . . [Louis XIV had] an awareness . . . that the strength of the regime and the future of his dynasty depended on the goodwill of the propertied elites.”³¹ In other words, the solidification of Bourbon legitimacy was not achieved by trampling the interests of other houses, but through interdynastic negotiation, which included managing Orléans interests.

The emblematic example of disruptive intradynastic rivalry (which might also be cast as interdynastic, a clash between two houses, that of Bourbon and its junior branch of Orléans) was the challenge of Gaston d'Orléans to the authority of his brother, Louis XIII, through treasonous alliance with Spain,³² and to his nephew, Louis XIV, during the Fronde, which also drew members of the Condé, Conti, Bouillon, Turenne, Chevreuse, and Longueville dynasties, among others, into

conflict with the senior Bourbon branch. After the Fronde, Louis XIV's frequent efforts to validate his dynastic command resulted partly from the existence of his younger brother who might follow Gaston's dissident example.

However, unlike Louis, Philippe was obliged to fulfill the obligations of two potentially conflicting dynastic roles. According to convention, as the younger son of a royal house, Monsieur was expected to exercise arms in the service of his king, brother, and dynasty; as heir presumptive³³ before the birth of the dauphin in 1661, Monsieur also needed to prove himself capable of assuming leadership, although never seeking to do so. When Philippe was granted the appanage of Orléans in 1661 after the death of his uncle the year before, he then took up responsibilities as the head of his own dynasty,³⁴ the interests of which he necessarily sought to protect and to advance. Whereas Louis XIV overtly deployed a warrior image, Monsieur needed to establish his warrior standing without in any way becoming a rival to his brother. Monsieur's relation to warring comprised four stages that fluctuated according to his changing dynastic status and the ways in which the acting head of state (Anne d'Autriche, Mazarin, Louis XIV) designated him as most useful to the house of Bourbon. This chapter explores the four-part evolution of Monsieur's relation to warring as depicted in official and public discourse, including emblematic examples of visual art and literary texts: from promising young warrior prince to active hero, and finally cast as a historical dynastic supporter. During the first phase (1640–72), engravings, laudatory texts, and the memoirs of Monsieur's governor, César de Choiseuil Du Plessis-Praslin (1602–78), cast him as a budding warrior prince able to accomplish valiant exploits. This promise began to be fulfilled during the second phase, which corresponds to the Dutch War (1672–78), but Monsieur's demonstration of armed prowess arguably detracted or distracted from Louis XIV's preeminent role as dynastic hero. Thus the third phase (1678–1701), revealed in royally-commissioned art, the memoirs of Louis XIV, and the marital alliances of

Monsieur's children, redefined Philippe's dynastic duties so that his associations with warring were represented as past events and his dynastic service henceforth consisted of assisting the king's sovereign ambitions through politically-motivated Orléans marriages. Finally, after Monsieur's death in 1701, when there was no longer a possibility of dynastic divisiveness, eulogizing poetry, funeral orations, and biographical accounts once again emphasized Monsieur's warrior accomplishments as exemplary dynastic service, willing efforts to increase the king's *gloire* rather than his own.

Phase I: Representing the Future Warrior Prince (1640–72)

From the time of his birth, visual and verbal discourse about Philippe de France began elaborating his image as a warrior. Perhaps the earliest example, “La joie renouvelée par l'heureuse naissance d'un second fils de France,” was published in the *Gazette de France* just after the prince was born on 21 September 1640. The *Gazette* was an important source of officially-sanctioned views that promoted the monarchy.³⁵ Thus its depiction of the dynastic relationship between Philippe and Louis presumably reflects how the monarchy intended the princes to be viewed in France and in other countries where the publication circulated.³⁶ The *Gazette* announces Philippe having been conceived at a time of military victory and celebration:³⁷

La prospérité continuelle des armes du Roy, & la benediction de laquelle Dieu a favorisé tous les desseins de Sa Majesté depuis la naissance de Monseigneur le Daufin: Les Princes & Etats de nostre Hemisphere à peine avoient-ils achevé d'adorer son Soleil levant, & l'année suivante fermoit à l'ordinaire les conquestes du Roy par les réjouissances de la Cour, quand sa Majesté conçeut l'esperance d'un nouveau fruit Royal.³⁸

The newborn is described as “un tres-beau Prince, qui a le teint fort blanc, le poil noir, les membres extrêmement bien faits & à une grande vigueur,”³⁹ and the infant's beauty accords with his lively strength,⁴⁰ presumably presaging his future warrior activities, which are invoked when the *Gazette* casts Philippe and Louis as “jeunes aiglons,”⁴¹ declaring them to be: “deux Princes comme autant de colonnes qui assurent nos conquestes: voire qui nous promettent mieux que la devise de nos

voisins de les estendre plus outre. Non, rien ne semble desormais impossible à la France apres ce double gage du Ciel”⁴² The two princes will protect the conquests of their father and extend the borders of France. No apparent distinction is made between them; there is no suggestion that the “columns” differ in height or strength. And yet although referring to young eagles invokes the image of budding warriors,⁴³ the eagle was also regarded as the king of birds and the symbol of Jupiter, who is said to have assumed its form on many occasions.⁴⁴ French kings were often depicted as Jupiter,⁴⁵ but in absolutist monarchical theory, there can only be a single king and dynastic head. In 1640 that station belonged to Louis XIII, and there could be no certainty that the two-year-old dauphin would survive to adulthood and become monarch.⁴⁶ Either young prince might one day succeed to the dynastic role of Jupiter-king, and thus they are both cast as rising eagles. However, as the boys grew, particularly after the death of Louis XIII, their particular dynastic roles were increasingly distinguished as required by the theory of undivided sovereignty.

Portraits contributed significantly to the developing image of Monsieur as a warrior, and although paintings, because they did not circulate and were expensive to copy, had a limited audience, their impact was increased through engraved reproductions. An engraving from 1643 by Jean Couvay (b.1622) (Ill. 5), after an earlier painting by Justus Van Egmont (1601–74),⁴⁷ depicts the three-year-old Philippe with dynastic and warrior attributes. Egmont invokes a commanding Bourbon military role: the prince is cloaked in ermine (a symbol of his royal station), wears the Ordre du Saint-Esprit (the highest order of French chivalry, accorded to kings’ sons at birth⁴⁸), and holds the *maréchal’s bâton*. These features, similar to the description of Philippe in the *Gazette de France* three years earlier, include no markers that distinguish him dynastically from Louis. However, the situation had changed when Couvay produced his engraving⁴⁹ since Louis XIV’s new station as



Ill. 5. Jean Couvay after Justus Van Egmont, *Duci Andegauensi, unico regis fratri* (Versailles: Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon).

king of France and head of the house of Bourbon favored clear differentiation from his brother's new role as heir presumptive. Couvay's framing of Egmont's image attenuates the royal and military attributes in the original portrait. At the top of the frame that Couvay adds to Egmont's image, the crown is not that of a *filis de France*,⁵⁰ and the caption reads "Duci Andegauensi, unico regis fratri" ("Duc d'Anjou, only brother of the king"). This identification emphasizes subordinate status to Louis; it implies that Philippe is dependant on Louis since the title of duc d'Anjou was granted to Philippe rather than inherited,⁵¹ and without this title he is identifiable only as the king's brother.

Couvay's frame and caption create a dialogue with Egmont's portrait, but the intelligibility of the engraving is effected by the Latin captions and symbols (zodiacal figures and trees) in the corners. These would be understood only by the educated and affluent upper classes who would need to recognize the dynastic roles of Louis and Philippe, including the boundaries between them, as the new reign began.⁵²



Ill. 6. *Anne d'Autriche, reine de France et de Navarre en 1615, régente du Royaume en 1643* (Versailles: Château de Versailles).

Dynastic and military hierarchies are clear in an anonymous engraving from 1643 depicting Anne d'Autriche and her sons (Ill. 6). The focus of the image is the royal scepter held by the five-year-old Louis XIV, his hand, and thus his authority, supported by that of his mother, the regent.

The scepter points to a representation of the Battle of Rocroi (outside the window, “Rocroy” is written just above the scepter’s tip), which was a resounding victory for the duc d’Enghien (later to be the prince de Condé) on 19 May 1643, five days after the death of Louis XIII.⁵³ Although Louis XIV did not command the battle, it was nonetheless won in his service, and thus under the crown’s authority. This notion would become increasingly important when the new king went to war himself, and victories, including those of Philippe, would officially be depicted as belonging to Louis.

Barker, without offering any supporting evidence, casts a pitying view of Monsieur’s inclusion in this portrait: “Off to one side on the left of the queen and ignored by her stands Philippe. Wearing a dress decorated with a single ribbon, he reaches out to touch his mother’s skirt as if to remind her that he too is a member of the family.”⁵⁴ This interpretation does not take into account the dynastic significance of the figures and the symbolic language of their representation. As dynastic head and king at the time of a great military victory, Louis (or more precisely, the royal authority with which the scepter is invested) is necessarily the center of the image, and Anne, as regent, takes part in the victory. The laurel wreath that she holds may refer not only to Rocroi, but to her own triumph as the mother of two princes, and thus it seems unwarranted to assert that she ignores her second son. Commenting on Philippe wearing a dress seems to draw on the stereotypical modern trope that it casts him as feminine or effeminate, and thus weak, but he wears a dress because he was not yet of an age to wear breeches.⁵⁵ And the “single ribbon,” to which Barker refers as if it were a poor ornament, is a declaration of chivalric masculinity and exalted station: the *cordon bleu* of the Ordre du Saint-Esprit, a distinction that Monsieur wears throughout his life in most of his portraits. Barker also fails to mention the significance of the dog at Philippe’s side that symbolizes fidelity and obedience, both of which are attributes of his dynastic duties.⁵⁶ If the image were intended to focus only on the kingly authority of Louis, then Anne and Philippe need not have been

included, but their presence completes the family image of dynasty that was being elaborated during this period. Louis is enthroned as dynastic head, temporarily guided by his mother; Philippe, rather than being marginalized, is included in his role as the loyal second *filz de France*. This dynastic order and its significance is confirmed by Louis himself in a letter that he wrote to his brother on 1 July 1647, which ends: “croyez-moi toujours votre affectionné frère et bon petit papa, Louis,”⁵⁷ thus showing that Louis appears to have recognized the patriarchal and kingly authority that he was entitled to wield over Philippe. According to the Venetian ambassador, Alvisé Contarini (1601–84): “Dans ses rapports avec le duc d’Anjou son frère, âgé de trois ans, il veut être respecté et obéi. Il sait et il connaît qu’il est roi et il veut être tenu pour tel.”⁵⁸

If the young Louis XIV was fully aware of his dynastic mastery over and responsibility toward Philippe, there is also ample evidence that Monsieur was imbued with a sense of mutual respect and responsibility. The theme of obedience recurs in the writings of those responsible for his education, including Philippe’s governor, César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin (1602–75), who declares:

Les frères des rois ne sauroient avoir assez de grandeur d’âme, des sentiments trop nobles et des vues trop élevées; mais tout cela doit être subordonné à ce qu’ils doivent à leurs souverains, car pour être leurs frères ils ne laissent pas d’être leurs sujets, quoique la nature oblige les rois à en faire une très-grande différence; et quand les uns et les autres sont dans ces sentimens réciproques, les rois ne voient jamais leur autorité blessée, et leurs frères sont toujours dans la grandeur et l’élévation qui est due à leur naissance.⁵⁹

According to Plessis-Praslin, Monsieur’s wisest course of conduct is to glory in his service to the king, who would (if the brothers were in the reciprocal accord attributed to them in official discourse) reward him for such deference. As a *maréchal de France*⁶⁰ who had fought on the side of the crown during the Fronde, it is likely that Plessis-Praslin sought to instill Philippe with a sense of obedience and loyalty to Louis, reminding him of his subordinate station as a subject of the king.

Plessis-Praslin delineates a difficult role for Philippe to play since he asserts that kings’

brothers can never have enough greatness of soul, noble sentiments, or high ambitions, yet these must all be subordinate to those of the sovereign whose subjects they are. The *Sieur Révérend*,⁶¹ Philippe's almoner and preceptor, makes similar remarks in *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France, duc d'Anjou, frère unique du Roy* (1655), a volume of collected anecdotes intended to reveal the merits of the young prince:

puisque d'un courage digne de l'auguste nom qu'il porte, il jette de nouveaux fondemens de sa grandeur sur sa propre vertu pour n'en être redevable qu'à elle-seule, et s'élevant par son mérite au dessus de sa Royale naissance, il n'affecte aujourd'huy d'autre rang que celui que luy-mesme se donne. Mais quand je considère aujourd'huy que toutes ces belles qualités qu'il possède sont inseparables du fils de la plus sage et la plus vertueuse Reyne du monde, et de Frere Unique du plus grand Roy qui fut jamais, je me voy contraint de le comparer à luy mesme, puis que l'on ne peut trouver son pareil.⁶²

Courage is among the fundamental virtues of a warrior, and, according to Révérend, Philippe's courage, although worthy of a *fils de France*, also allows him to be self-reliant beyond his royal birth. Furthermore, although such merit is to be expected, given the greatness of his parents and brother, Révérend nonetheless concludes that Philippe has no equal and can only be compared with himself. Anne, Mazarin, and Louis are often depicted reminding the prince of his exalted place in the dynastic hierarchy. Révérend records such an instance:

Un jour que la Reyne voulant faire connoître à ce jeune Prince le respect et la soumission qu'il devoit rendre continuellement au Roy son frere estant son Cadet, puisque son bon-heur despendoit de luy seul: Il repartit judicieusement, qu'il n'auroit jamais de peine à luy rendre ses respects, et luy donner dans les occasions toutes les marques d'une entiere obeysance, puis qu'il estoit son sujet; Mais qu'il ayroit mieux toutesfois, estre à ce prix, Cadet de sa maison, que l'ainé d'une autre quelque grande et illustre qu'elle fust. La sage response de ce toutes les grandeurs et les richesses de la terre, s'il n'est considéré de son Roy, puisque l'honneur de ses bonnes graces est le plus grand thresor du monde, et comme son cœur luy avoit suggeré cette repartie plustost que son esprit: On a sujet d'esperer que ses actions ne desmentiront jamais ses paroles.⁶³

This anecdote (which cannot be proven or disproven) casts Monsieur as maintaining an attitude of respect, extreme complaisance, even idolatry for his brother, which is broadcast widely in this published document. Furthermore, Philippe's purported claim that his happiness depends on Louis

alone also intimates an understanding that unhappiness will be the result of non-deference.

According to Révérend, Philippe is aware that second place in the house of Bourbon outweighs any other station available to him and that there is every reason to expect him to maintain this attitude since his response to Anne was not an intellectual confection, but a sincere profession of obedience.

Révérend goes so far as to recount an exchange during which the eight-year-old Philippe reveals a full awareness of his dynastic position and strength in relation to Louis:

Le Roy luy dit une fois en riant qu'il n'auroit point d'autre bien que celui qu'il luy feroit: Il répondit avec respect qu'il ne tiendrait qu'à luy qu'il ne fust Roy, puis qu'il manqueroit toujours de force plutost que de courage pour conquerir un Royaume. Comme la belle ambition de ce Prince est aussi grande que sa naissance, et que son esprit et son courage sont de la mesure de tous les deux, il a sujet d'esperer le succes de ses hautes entreprises, s'il est appuyé de la faveur et des bonnes graces du Roy son frere, comme un moyen necessaire à couronner tous ses illustres desseins.⁶⁴

Révérend's interpretation of Philippe's alleged response to his brother's remark carefully asserts that although the prince may have ample warrior courage and intelligence, his ambitions will succeed only in so far as they are supported by Louis. But Philippe's response may also be interpreted as carrying a barb. It is only his lack of "force," which may imply military strength, that keeps Philippe from conquering a kingdom, perhaps even France.

Although propagandistic discourse emphasizes Philippe's acceptance of his position vis-à-vis Louis and the monarchy, a number of accounts also reveal that he expected to be treated with respect by the king and that he was brave enough to remind his brother of this when necessary. The memoirs of Daniel de Cosnac (1627–1708), bishop of Valence and Philippe's chaplain, record one such incident that took place in 1658: "Monsieur mangeant de la bouillie, dans la chambre de la reine, le roi lui en frota le visage. Cette raillerie le piqua si vivement, qu'il jeta sur le roi tout ce qui lui en restoit. Cette action, quoique inconsidérée, me paroissant partir d'un bon cœur, qui ne peut souffrir d'injures . . ."⁶⁵ As described by Cosnac, this incident, provoked unjustly by Louis, was

more aggressive than the insult described by Révérend because it included a physical element, and thus Philippe's reaction was more severe. Cosnac's is only one account among several that depict Monsieur reacting in self defense to a slight from Louis.⁶⁶ According to Montpensier's version of this particular incident,⁶⁷ Philippe withdrew to his chamber and stayed there alone for the rest of the day, but not in a fit of anger or sulking: "Ce qu'il me conta après avec beaucoup de douleur et de ressentiment de la manière dont le roi l'avoit traité."⁶⁸ Montpensier recounts Monsieur's suffering from mistreatment rather than aggression, rebellion, or an act of defiance; Philippe reminding his brother that he deserved to be treated honorably in exchange for acquiescing to dynastic expectations. According to Révérend, Plessis-Praslin, Cosnac, and Montpensier, Monsieur accepted the constant reminders of his dynastic duties with good grace (so long as his dignity was respected) and was pleased to serve and find happiness in his brother's *gloire*.

Although portraits of the young Monsieur depict him with military attributes, little information survives regarding his education as a warrior, which seems to have taken place largely on battlefields. The Siege of Stenay (1654)⁶⁹ was among the earliest of such occasions, and although the fourteen-year-old prince did not view the battle with Louis, Plessis-Praslin brought Monsieur to the site afterward and reports: "[il] ne perdoit aucuns momens de faire observer à ce prince pourquoi chaque chose avoit été faite, soit par les Espagnols pour le siège, soit par les François pour le faire lever."⁷⁰ In 1655 when the army was preparing for battle, Mazarin sometimes brought Louis to Vincennes to view the maneuvers, and Philippe also went, accompanied by Plessis-Praslin,⁷¹ although he was left behind at La Fère with Anne when Louis went on campaign that year. Plessis-Praslin considered this to be a lost opportunity for Philippe:

car bien que ce jeune prince n'eût pas quinze ans, son gouverneur eût bien souhaité qu'il eût suivi le roi en cet expédition, ou il pouvoit, sans beaucoup de risque, commencer à connoître quantité de choses que ceux de son rang ne doivent pas ignorer. . . . toutes les fois qu'il venoit des nouvelles de ce qui se faisoit à l'armée, le maréchal Du Plessis les redisoit à ce jeune prince, en l'informant sur chaque action comme il falloit, pour l'instruire de la manière qu'elles s'étoient faites et qu'elles se doivent faire.⁷²

As a *maréchal de France*, Plessis-Praslin would presumably have been a competent judge of Philippe's aptitude for military schooling, and he emphasizes that even at the age of 15, a prince of his rank should know the art of war. Philippe was present at the Siege of Montmédy (1657), where, according to Plessis-Praslin, his comportment was exemplary:

Le maréchal eût bien souhaité qu'on lui eût permis de mener ce prince à la guerre, bien qu'il fût assez jeune; il profita même d'une petite occasion d'éprouver son cœur au siège de Montmédy, où le Roi étoit allé, et Monsieur avec lui. Cela donna lieu à son gouverneur de l'approcher de la place, d'où l'on tira plusieurs coups de canon et de mousquet au milieu desquels il demeura toujours intrépide. Il fit même si bonne mine, et soutint ce premier péril de si bonne grâce, que le maréchal Du Plessis en fit dès ce jour-là un très bon jugement, et avec raison.⁷³

Plessis-Praslin depicts Monsieur's bravery as evidence of his suitability for warring and possible future heroics, thus confirming his masculinity. This image of Monsieur was also widely broadcast, including in an engraving by Jean Frosne (ca. 1630–after 1676) from ca. 1660, the year in which Philippe became duc d'Orléans and married Henriette d'Angleterre (1644–70). Frosne depicts the prince in armor above the caption, "Philippe duc d'Orléans, d'abord duc d'Anjou," which delineates his new dynastic position. This is further emphasized by the accompanying verses, which recall Plessis-Praslin's account of Monsieur's demeanor at Montmédy: "Mars et l'Amour dispute l'avantage,/De regner sur ce jeune cœur:/Mais si nous en croyons son genereux Courage,/Mars de l'Amour sera vainqueur [sic]."⁷⁴ "Masculine" war and "feminine" love are set in opposition, but combining "vainqueur" and "cœur" as a single word suggests that Monsieur will make war in the interests of his recent marriage, and thus of his dynastic duties, conquering in military and amorous

exploits. Printed images and texts such as this prepared the ground for the success of Philippe de France in performing noble masculinity through the practice of arms.

Discourse elaborating the image of a heroic Monsieur must have been disseminated internationally since Cosnac recounts that shortly before the War of Devolution (1667–68),⁷⁵ the Neapolitan abbé Laudati (a member of the Carafa family) and Louis de Saint-Severin, a noble of the same kingdom, offered Monsieur the throne there in exchange for his armed support in a planned revolt against the Spanish vice-regency: “Ceux de Naples demandoient que Monsieur vînt en personne avec six mille hommes de pied et deux mille chevaux, dix vaisseaux armés”⁷⁶ According to Cosnac, the Neapolitans sought Monsieur’s aid on land and sea, so they must have supposed him to be capable of such command, or at least counted on the possibility that Louis would lend him sufficient forces and skilled advisors. However, Louis rejected the plan, apparently on the grounds that he was preparing for war in Flanders.⁷⁷ It also appears that Philippe had no wish to rule. Cosnac remarks that Monsieur spoke of it to Louis only once, “très-légèrement,”⁷⁸ and that even before then he had refused, claiming to be afraid of the volcano and earthquakes in Naples.⁷⁹ Had Monsieur aspired to reign, he would presumably have spoken of the matter more seriously to his brother, or have been unhappy when Louis declined to pursue it, but Cosnac recounts: “Il m’annonça la nouvelle de ce refus, non-seulement avec tranquillité mais avec autant de joie que s’il fût sorti de quelque mauvais pas, d’où j’ai compris qu’il avoit grand’peur d’être roi.”⁸⁰ If, as Cosnac claims, Monsieur was afraid of being king, or at least had no desire to rule, then, at least at this juncture, there was little reason for Louis to be concerned that he would follow in the seditious footsteps of his uncle.⁸¹ Although, according to convention, the young warrior prince should have been stirred to pursue a throne being offered to him, his refusal reflects an expressed preference for being second prince in the royal hierarchy rather than the head of his own reigning house.

Monsieur confirmed his capacity for warring when he was permitted to follow the king into the Spanish Netherlands during the War of Devolution,⁸² although he was not given a command. According to Cosnac, Monsieur nonetheless displayed notable valor by being the first to join the troops in the newly-opened trench at the Siege of Tournai (June 1667):

En arrivant à la queue de la tranchée, tous les officiers des gardes le suivirent et dirent qu'ils n'avoient jamais vu un prince si honnête, plus caressant, ni plus intrépide, marchant avec une assurance qui leur faisoit honte. Je leur dis qu'assurément Monsieur n'étoit pas connu; mais que son cœur, son esprit, sa bonté se feroient bientôt connoître, et que, s'ils en étoient satisfaits dans ces commencements, j'osois leur dire qu'ils le seroient encore davantage, lorsqu'ils le verroient un jour à leur tête commander les armées de Sa Majesté . . . Quelques jours après, le roi fut à la tranchée . . . Après cela, j'étois fort satisfait de la fermeté que Monsieur avoit fit paroître. Comme il avoit été le premier à la tranchée, qu'il avoit fait des largesses aux soldats, loué et caressé les officiers, on parla beaucoup plus de lui que du roi étant bien traité, il sembloit aussi que chacun eût intérêt à le faire valoir.⁸³

Cosnac emphasizes that even the officers were admittedly shamed by Monsieur's self-assured courage, but that this would pale beside the heroics that he expected of the prince when he eventually led the king's troops. However, it was perhaps unwise for Monsieur to earn such praise for himself. Indeed, according to Cosnac, Monsieur rather than Louis was the focus of attention on this occasion, enlarging his court, gaining notable popularity among all ranks, and making him the center of a group, which might position Monsieur for direct comparison with the king, perhaps not to the monarch's advantage.

Although there is no evidence to suggest that Philippe sought popularity in order to challenge Louis, for him to be praised more than the king violated the imperative that Louis always remain the dynastic focus, particularly on campaign were he aimed to perform the role of supreme warrior, and especially during this war, which he ostensibly fought on behalf of his wife in a dynastic conflict with the Spanish Habsburgs. The possibility that the king took offence at Monsieur's successful visit to the trench is implied by Cosnac, according to whom Louis snubbed Philippe shortly thereafter at the Siege of Courtrai (July 1667):

Dès la première nuit, le roi fit lui-même reconnaissance de la place; Monsieur le suivit. . . . Ce même jour, Monsieur étant chez le roi, Sa Majesté, en sa présence, appela dans la tente où il tenoit son conseil, MM. de Turenne, de Bellefond, de Duras et d'Humières et laissa Monsieur avec la foule des courtisans et plusieurs officiers dans une autre tente. Cette espèce de mépris le piqua vivement. Il se retira dans sa chambre. Je l'y suivis. Il me fit ses plaintes, et je pris la liberté de lui dire "La plus honnête façon de vous fâcher, c'est d'aller dans la tranchée; au retour, dire à Sa Majesté, que voyant qu'elle n'avoit besoin de vous dans son conseil, vous avez été dans un lieu où vous avez cru que vous lui seriez plus utile, et où peut-être il y auroit quelque chose à exécuter . . . il s'en alla dans la tranchée . . . Il revint de la tranchée, et trouva assez heureusement l'occasion de dire au roi tout ce qu'il avoit résolu, et cela fit un si bon effet, que depuis, dans tous les conseils qui furent tenus pendant le siège de Douai, Monsieur y fut toujours appelé.⁸⁴

For Louis to call a council of his generals without including his brother may not have been intended as an insult, nor was the king's later inclusion of Monsieur in such gatherings necessarily a reward for a second show of bravery. Indeed, if the king perceived the act as potentially spotlighting Philippe again at his expense, then the possibility could be avoided by keeping him closer at hand. This might particularly have been the case if Monsieur's insistence on being as useful as possible was interpreted by Louis as a cover for seeking popularity in the trenches, and thus, from the king's perspective, a veiled challenge. However, Cosnac insists that this was not the case: "[Monsieur] avoit des sentimens très-élevés dès sa tendre jeunesse, que l'on n'en sauroit douter en connoissant toutes les belles actions qu'il a faites et le soin particulier qu'il a pris de plaire au Roi, son frère."⁸⁵ Given Monsieur's reaction to possibly ruling Naples, it is unlikely that he would have wanted to rule France and improbable that he sought to confront Louis.⁸⁶

Phase II: Monsieur at War (1672–77)

The Dutch War (1672–78) was a testing ground for Monsieur's skill at arms, his usefulness in the army, and a turning point in his military involvement.⁸⁷ As he prepared for battle, the king gave explicit orders regarding Monsieur's authority: "Le roi voulant régler comment se gouverneront ceux qui commandent ses armées, quand différens corps se joindront, entend: Qu'en sa présence ou en son absence, Monsieur, étant la première personne après lui, quand le corps commandera M. le

Prince, joindra, il prenne le mot de Monsieur”⁸⁸ “Monsieur le Prince” was the first prince of the blood, the prince de Condé, counted among France’s greatest warriors. Investing Monsieur with authority second only to his own, the king signals three fundamental aspects of his brother’s warrior identity: as second adult *fils de France* (the dauphin had been born in 1661), Monsieur, by dynastic right, has authority over the leaders of other houses, including Condé; he trusts that Philippe is worthy of such authority and able to work under the advisement of the *maréchal de Turenne* (1611–75), whom he designated as Monsieur’s second-in-command;⁸⁹ all of which implies that Philippe is accountable directly to Louis for whatever takes place under his supervision. Although there is a clear distinction between the roles of the king and Monsieur, it is also the case that the cadet could effectively replace the senior in his absence. This possible interchangeability would not be significant so long as Louis remained the central heroic figure. However, as Monsieur’s warrior identity developed, it could conflict with the imperative that the king always be the focal point of dynastic representation. An emblematic depiction of the brothers’ relative roles is found in an almanac⁹⁰ published in 1672, *La glorieuse réception faite à Madame par leurs Majestés* (Ill. 7), which commemorates the arrival in France of Monsieur’s second wife, Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, *princesse palatine* (1652–1722), in 1671. The title of the image signals Madame and “leurs majestés,” but neither Madame nor Monsieur is the chief figure; instead, Louis XIV, stands on a dais at the center with the queen beside him. Several steps below on the left Monsieur holds a crown while portraits of his future wife are presented to him on the right (Monsieur’s meeting with Madame and their marriage are depicted in small images below the calendar). A striking aspect of the engraving is that all of the non-allegorical figures wear seventeenth-century dress, except the king and Monsieur, who appear in Roman armor, and thus as dynastic warriors with the king in command. Dynasty, not Monsieur’s marriage in itself, is the subject.



Ill. 7. *La glorieuse réception faite à Madame par leurs Majestés* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, Collection Rothschild).

During the Dutch War, the king entrusted Monsieur on many occasions with laying siege to strategic targets. Among Monsieur's most important early victories was the Siege of Zutphen (21–24 June 1672), a city notable for its strong defenses. Monsieur's officers included his favorite, Philippe, chevalier de Lorraine (1643–1702), and both are reported to have performed heroically.⁹¹ According to Paul Pellisson-Fontanier (1624–93), *Historiographe du Roi*, who followed the king during the Dutch War in order to document events as they occurred:⁹² “Le Roy a témoigné une extrême

satisfaction de tout ce que Monsieur a fait à Zutphen, et même de la relation qu'il en a envoyée, il disoit que M. le Prince n'en pourroit pas rendre un meilleur compte. On a eu toutes les peines du monde à empêcher Monsieur de passer les nuits à la tranchée, & d'y être à tout heure."⁹³ If, as Pelisson-Fontanier asserts, Louis compared Monsieur favorably with Condé (and the report that he attempted to pass nights in the dangerous trenches enhances his evolving image of masculine warrior), even going so far as to cast Philippe's report as superior to any that Condé could write, then this suggests that Louis saw Monsieur in a strong supporting role, perhaps above that of Condé, a renowned hero, who, although of outstanding service, was not of the central Bourbon line.⁹⁴

According to the king, he continued to be pleased with Monsieur's success at arms in 1673 when Philippe led a diversionary attack on Wick while Louis attacked Maastricht:

En même temps que nous emportâmes la demi-lune, la fausse attaque de Wick réussit mieux qu'on n'osoit espérer. Mon frère ayant commandé qu'on attaquât, suivant ce que je l'avois ordonné, le régiment d'Anjou qui étoit commandé pour cela, s'avança à l'entrée de la nuit. Les gens détachés entrèrent dans la contrescarpe, passèrent la fossé de la demi-lune, montèrent et s'en rendirent maîtres. . . . Mon frère donna très-bien les ordres nécessaires. Le jour étant venu, il commanda, suivant ce que je lui avois dit . . .⁹⁵

Philippe had not been ordered to conquer Wick, and when Louis remarks that the diversion had succeeded better than had been hoped (according to the *Gazette de France*, Monsieur's forces reached the walls and only the lack of ladders prevented them from taking the fortress⁹⁶), he may be intimating that Monsieur had been overzealous in his attack. Nevertheless, Louis is also careful to take credit for the victory himself, remarking three times that Monsieur was only following his orders. It is not clear whether Louis was concerned about further similar incidents, but whatever the reason, in 1674, Monsieur appeared only briefly and without a command in Franche-Comté, and in 1675 he did not join the army at all. Although this may be due to Madame's almost fatal illness in 1674 and to political complications among Condé, Turenne, and Louvois in 1675,⁹⁷ there is no

certain explanation. It cannot be ruled out that Louis wished to remove Philippe from the battlefield for a time in order to attenuate possible distraction from his own *gloire*.

Monsieur gladly returned to arms in 1676, and he wrote to Madeleine de Souvré, marquise de Sablé (1598–1678) on 4 May from the Siege of Bouchain, “Je ne vous manderai aucune nouvelle de guerre. Je vous dirai seulement que je me porte mieux que je n’ai jamais fait.”⁹⁸ Monsieur’s enthusiasm carried the siege, according to Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619–83), Contrôleur Général des Finances and Secrétaire d’État, who was with the army at Heurtebise:

Cependant le siege de Bouchain s’avançoit, la contrescarpe avoit esté emportée la nuit du 9 au 10, et les ordres que le Roy avoit donnés à Monsieur de faire attaquer les assiégés avec vigueur furent si bien suivis par Son Altesse Royale qu’on emporta le 2, en plein jour, deux ouvrages à cornes et unedemy-lune; après quoy on attacha le mineur endroits du corps de la place. Les assiégés se voyant si vivement pressés demandèrent à capituler le 12 au matin”⁹⁹

As in previous campaigns, Monsieur is praised, not for his own initiative, but for following the king’s orders so well that success was achieved. This may have been particularly important at the Siege of Bouchain since it took place just after the twenty-four-hour standoff between Louis XIV and Willem, Prins van Oranje (1650–1702) where Monsieur had been called to command the army’s left wing with Louis on the right.¹⁰⁰ However, as Pelisson-Fontanier recounts, Turenne, unbeknownst to Monsieur, had dissuaded the king from battle: “Monsieur, qui arriva avec la joye de croire se trouver à une bataille, n’ayant rien su de ce qui s’étoit passé le matin, dont il fut autant fâché que surpris, chacun se trouvant à son poste, mais la personne du Roi faisoit trembler”¹⁰¹ On this occasion, despite the rare opportunity to defeat and perhaps capture the *stadhouder*, the risk to the king’s life was deemed too great, yet Monsieur was angered at losing an opportunity to do battle. In a dynastic context, the king’s decision not to fight might be cast as cowardice rather than caution, particularly since Henri IV and Louis XIII had both risked their lives riding into battle at the head of their troops, and even more so since Philippe was eager to engage in combat. However, the incident

could also be depicted as demonstrating the king's superior abilities as a warrior, judged not only by his valorous commands, but also by his prudence in choosing battles.

The turning point in the Dutch War and in Monsieur's military career occurred the following year when Philippe accomplished what Louis had decided not, or perhaps failed, to do: defeat Willem van Oranje in battle. Louis sent Philippe to lay siege to Saint-Omer, but they learned that Oranje was moving close to nearby Cassel. Reinforcements were sent to Monsieur, and he prepared to attack,¹⁰² as he wrote to Sablé:

Mais dans le vray j'ay eu assez d'occupation depuis que je suis icy: celles que j'ay la permission de faire attaquer la place et que le Roy m'envoie vingt bataillons et soixante escadrons qui me mettent en estat d'attendre avec joye les ennemys s'ils veulent venir au secours de Saint-Omer, ce que je n'aurois pu faire avant cela, ce qui eut esté pour moy une chose très désagréable; de plus, le Roy m'assure en me mandant les troupes qu'il fait marcher vers moy, que c'est autant pour ma satisfaction et ma gloire personnelle que pour la sienne et celle de son Estat.¹⁰³

According to Monsieur, Louis sent troops not only so that Philippe could carry out his orders, but so that he might seek his own *gloire* as much as the king's. This was perhaps the only time that Monsieur had been given full freedom to prove his valor at arms, encouraged by the brother that he had always sought to please, and there is ample evidence that his success exceeded all expectations. Pelisson-Fontanier reports that on 11 April 1677, aided by two *maréchaux*, François-Henri de Montmorency Bouteville, duc de Piney (known as Luxembourg, 1628–95) on his left and Louis de Crevant, marquis d'Humières (1628–94) on his right: "Monsieur en personne mena dix fois nos gens à la charge. Il eut un cheval tué sous lui, un coup de mousquet dans ses armes."¹⁰⁴ Unlike Louis, who had stood away from battle at Heurtebise (arguably protecting his person in the interest of the state), Monsieur risked his own life, and, according to Pelisson-Fontanier, the king's immediate reaction to his brother's victory was genuinely congratulatory: "Le Roi n'a pas seulement temoigné une joye sensible de cette prospérité; mais une tendresse extrême pour Monsieur, & nous lui avons oui dire

deux fois de l'abondance du cœur: *Que sur son honneur il en étoit plus aise pour son frère que pour lui-même.*"¹⁰⁵ In this case, the king's "tendresse" may have a paternal cast since, according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, "tendresse" is "Sensibilité à l'amitié ou à l'amour. *La tendresse d'un pere pour ses enfants,*"¹⁰⁶ and his apparently heartfelt declaration suggests that he was indeed proud of Monsieur's victory. It is remarkable, given previous indications by Louis that he was responsible for Philippe's military successes, that the king implicitly credits his brother as the author of his own victory. Pelisson-Fontanier's account is corroborated by Louis himself, who wrote to Condé: "Mon cousin, c'est avec justice que vous me félicitez de la bataille de Cassel, Si je l'avois gagnée en personne, je ne serois pas plus touché, soit pour la grandeur de l'action, ou pour l'importance de la conjuncture, sur-tout pour l'honneur de mon frère . . ." "¹⁰⁷ In congratulating the king, leader of the house, kingdom, and army, Condé follows the appropriate dynastic protocol, but again Louis explicitly credits Philippe.

Although his exceptional bravery and commanding ability had won an important battle for France, Monsieur obediently layed his victory at the king's feet. The *Mercurie galant* provides detailed accounts of the battle from more than one witness, laudatory poems, and congratulatory letters, including one from François-Honorat de Beauvilliers, duc de Saint-Aignan (1607–87) to which Monsieur replied on 18 April:

Mon Cousin, Vous croirez facilement la joye que je reçois par l'assurance que vous me donnez de celle que vous avez recuë de l'heureux succes qu'eut Dimanche dernier l'Armée que le Roy m'a fait l'honneur de me confier, puis que cela a causé un moment de plaisir au Roy & l'a obligé de me donner en cette occasion des marques de sa tendresse, quoy que je fusse celuy qui avoit le moins de part au bonheur de ses Armes."¹⁰⁸

In his response to Saint-Aignan, Monsieur seems most proud not of his armed accomplishment, but of pleasing the king and of the "tendresse" that Louis showed him. Philippe's decorous self-

effacement situates the battle within the larger context of the king's military success, in which he claims only a very small part.

Although Monsieur's warrior virtue at Cassel was complemented with modesty following the victory that he offered to Louis, Parisian reactions to his conquest seem to have unwittingly worked against Philippe. Monsieur's success at Cassel was officially recognized in Paris on 20 April by a *Te Deum* at the Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris, and the Palais-Royal, his Paris residence, was illuminated in celebration.¹⁰⁹ Among an outpouring of laudatory texts, Monsieur was cast as Achilles in the poem, *À Madame sur les victoires et sur le retour de Monsieur* in the *Mercurie galant*,¹¹⁰ and the same publication printed a sonnet attributed to Isaac de Benserade (1613–91) and entitled “Au Roy,” which concludes:

Un Frere genereux, par ton exemple instruit,
Cherche tes Ennemis, les combat, les détruit,
Et vient mettre à tes pieds sa brillante Victoire:

De l'encens qu'il mérite il n'est point satisfait,
Il veut qu'on te le donne, & sa plus grande gloire,
Est que tu sois loué de tout ce qu'il a fait.¹¹¹

Although this poem overtly seconds Monsieur's declarations that his victory belongs to the king, the assertion that Philippe is a “frère généreux” implies that he is humble by choice. Such an impression would have been aggravated by Monsieur's ebullient reception in Paris, suggesting that his *gloire* posed a distraction from the king's, splitting the dynastic focal point. According to Charles-Auguste, marquis de La Fare (1644–1712), captain of Monsieur's bodyguard, “[le roi] ne fut pas trop content de ce que les peuples sur son chemin crioient, *Vive le Roi et Monsieur qui a gagné la bataille.*”¹¹² Cries of “vive le roi” were usual following a successful military campaign, but placing Louis and his brother on equal footing and articulating the truth that it was Monsieur, not the king, who had won the

battle seems to have been a negative turning point in his military career. Philippe had done too well and broken Révérend's prescription that his accomplishments must never surpass those of Louis.¹¹³

Phase III: Monsieur as Historical Warrior (1678–1701)

After the Battle of Cassel, Louis XIV never again assigned Monsieur a military command. La Fare attributes this to jealousy, claiming that Louis “retourna glorieusement à Versailles, non sans mal au cœur de ce que Monsieur avoit par-dessus lui une bataille gagnée,”¹¹⁴ and modern biographers have also consistently taken this position. Philippe Erlanger, for example, claims of Louis, “Loin d’honorer son frère, il le punit de sa victoire.”¹¹⁵ Barker purports that the king’s felicitations were hypocritical in light of what she views as signs of the monarch’s envy: “Louis’s subsequent actions belie his public affirmations of pleasure and satisfaction with his brother’s performance. Rather than continuing to avail himself of Philippe’s talents and abetting his military career, he removed him from command and in effect terminated his military service.”¹¹⁶ Although it is possible that Louis begrudged Philippe his triumph, spite does not necessarily explain his decision to remove Monsieur from a commanding role in the army, particularly if he recognized Monsieur’s military prowess. Indeed, there is strong evidence that Louis XIV, even when he had been affronted, was capable of judging the value of a warrior objectively and turning him to royal service, as when he entrusted the former *frondeur*, Condé, who had been declared guilty of *lèse-majesté* in 1652,¹¹⁷ with capturing the Franche-Comté in 1668 during the War of Devolution¹¹⁸ and assigned him leading roles of command during the Dutch War.¹¹⁹

One possible reason for Louis XIV’s putative displeasure with Monsieur’s victory at Cassel is suggested by the chronicler, Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayolo (1648–1713):

Bisognava veder la gioia dei Parigini per queste vittorie di Monsieur; a Parigi gli si voleva un gran bene, mentre a Corte si sarebbe preferito che avesse perduto la battaglia. Si diceva che il Re avrebbe dato volentieri dieci milioni pur di aver passato il Reno di persona, aver dato battaglia a Urtebise, nei pressi di Cassel, poiché finora aveva unicamente posto assedi.¹²⁰

[You had to see the joy of the Parisians for these victories of Monsieur; in Paris he was well loved, but at Court it would have been preferred that he had lost the battle. It was said that the king would have willingly given ten million to have crossed the Rhine himself, or to have given battle at Hurtebise, near Cassel, since he had only led sieges.]

Beyond the implication that Louis was envious of his brother's success, Visconti portrays the king and Monsieur as representing opposing camps, one loved by Paris, the other by the court, and there was historical precedent for strife between the king and the capital. On 12 May 1588, Henri de Lorraine, duc de Guise (1550–88), took Paris in the *Journée des Barricades*, forcing Henri III to withdraw to Blois the next day.¹²¹ Gaston d'Orléans was involved in a number of conspiracies against the crown, and during the Fronde, when Louis XIV had to flee Paris, he was among those who led the city's rebellion.¹²² In turn, Paris was besieged more than once by the king's army.¹²³ Considering this background, Philippe's reported popularity in a city of questionable loyalty lends credence to Luxembourg's assessment of the king's reaction to Monsieur's victory at Cassel. Erlanger observes: "Le Parisiens, éternellement frondeurs, avaient compris aussitôt le sens de l'événement. Leurs folles acclamations, leur délire marquaient leur préférence et contenaient une flèche à l'adresse du souverain. Dans le silence de toute opposition, dans le concert des louanges excessives, une discordance aussi légère que celle-là produisait un bruit intolérable."¹²⁴ From this perspective, even though Louis may have been annoyed by the honors accorded Philippe, he may also have perceived his brother's warrior prestige as inviting the fabrication of an icon on which a previously-rebellious Paris might fix aspirations to overturn the senior Bourbon branch as monarchs.

The potential Parisian insurgence inferred by Visconti presumably draws on historical precedent rather than any intent of Monsieur, and there is no evidence that Philippe ever considered armed opposition to the king.¹²⁵ Indeed, only a year before the Battle of Cassel, the Venetian ambassador, Alvise Contarini (1601–84), had written that Monsieur sought only to “second the good pleasure of the king,”¹²⁶ and in 1683, Contarini’s successor, Antonio di Nicolo Foscari (1570–1622), reported that Monsieur was “formed by long habit to a resigned subordination to the absolute will of the king.”¹²⁷ A key element in these remarks is that Monsieur habitually strove to please his brother, a characteristic that might provide insight into Monsieur’s military zeal. Indeed, the discursive construction and material performance of Monsieur’s identity as a warrior hinged on his demonstrated compliance with his brother’s monarchical and dynastic objectives, which were to solidify the central authority of the crown, expand French territory through war and diplomacy, strengthen French commerce, and establish a strong line of legitimate succession. All of these ambitions were theoretically grounded on the king’s volition, an “absolute will” noted by Foscari.¹²⁸

For Monsieur, enacting the warrior role with superlative virtuosity was problematic since it necessarily set his performance in comparison not only with that of his brother, but with *rex Gallie*, thus creating conflict with the representation of dynastic and monarchic authority. The motto of Louis XIV was “*nec pluribus impar*” (“not unequal to many”), which appeared as early as 1658.¹²⁹ François Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvois (1639–91), Secrétaire d’État de la Guerre, is credited with interpreting the slogan to mean “*seul contre tous*,”¹³⁰ and Louis explains his own understanding of the device:

Ceux qui me voyoient gouverner avec assez de facilité et sans être embarrassé de rien, dans ce nombre de soins que le royauté exige, me persuadèrent d’ajouter le globe de la terre, et pour ame *nec pluribus impar*. par où ils entendoient ce qui flattoit agréablement l’ambition d’un jeune roi, que, suffisant seul à tant de choses, je suffirois sans doute encore à gouverner

d'autres empires comme le soleil à éclairer d'autres mondes, s'ils étoient également exposés à ses rayons.¹³¹

The king's elucidation of his motto¹³² reveals an interpretation that emphasizes a claim to autonomy in governing others. An emblematic example of Louis XIV depicted as a warrior king is found in the



Ill. 8. Charles Le Brun, *Le roi gouverne par lui-même*, 1661 (Versailles: Château de Versailles).

central panel of the ceiling of the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles (1679–84), labeled *Le roi gouverne par lui-même*, 1661 (Ill. 8),¹³³ which is the first panel in the ceiling's narrative, and in which Charles Le Brun (1619–90), Premier Peintre du Roi, memorialized the beginning of the monarch's personal reign following the death of Mazarin in 1661. Louis XIV is shown as a Roman hero surrounded by beneficent Olympian gods, Victory, Glory, the pleasures at his feet, to the left a personification of

the Seine and her bounty, and France with her fleur-de-lys-encrusted shield crushing Discord in the shadows.¹³⁴ In this image, Louis XIV is portrayed as an unchallenged warrior with the approbation of heaven, France, and the virtues, the quintessential embodiment of absolute sovereignty, and this image does not admit Monsieur or any other member of the dynasty.

Le Brun's image of Louis XIV and the descriptions of perfect sovereignty by theorists such as Le Bret and Picardet may be approached through Louis Marin's theory of representation: "Représenter est alors montrer, intensifier, redoubler une présence. . . . Du même coup, la représentation constitue son sujet."¹³⁵ As described by Marin, images are not fixed and do not reflect a subject; rather they are ongoing acts of construction that function partly through a process of enhancement (which might also be cast as exaggeration), such as the allegorical glorification of Louis XIV as an absolute warrior monarch, that functions through time. Marin explains: "[le] sujet d'absolu pouvoir—le monarque absolu—sera produit comme effet de la représentation narrative, effet de récit d'histoire où est construit, dans le présent . . . le mémorial de la mémoire du roi, qui accomplit le temps dans un passé qui est un présent éternisé."¹³⁶ Thus, through representation, a subject, such as an absolute monarch, is continuously constructed in a process of memorialization, a key element of which, according to Marin, is an emphasis on the subject's centralized singularity: "Tout se passe comme si un sujet produisait les représentations, les idées qu'il a des choses; tout se passe comme s'il n'y avait du monde, de la réalité, que pour et par un sujet, centre de ce monde."¹³⁷ In Le Brun's depiction of Louis XIV, the king alone is the focal point of a representational process that constructs the monarch, but which appears to be a projection of the ruler's own view of himself as the legitimate center of sovereignty.

Although self-centeredness, and even egomania have frequently been attributed to Louis XIV,¹³⁸ including in reference to the deployment of solar imagery at Versailles, Peter Burke advises

caution: “Viewed out of context, the image of Louis XIV as a sacred, invincible monarch may well appear to be a case of megalomania,”¹³⁹ and he casts this aspect of Louis’s persona within the broader field of monarchical representation:¹⁴⁰

image-making . . . was and should be taken seriously, in the sense that it responded to psychological needs. The term “ideology,” if it is used at all, is redefined to refer to the power of symbols over everyone, whether they are conscious of this power or not. According to this view, the praises of a king are homage to a role, not the flattery of an individual. A centralized state needs a symbol of centrality. The ruler and his court, often seen as an image of the cosmos, are a sacred or an “exemplary” center for the rest of the state.¹⁴¹

Burke’s cosmic reference is applicable to the solar and terrestrial imagery deployed through the “*nec pluribus impar*” device that symbolically situates Louis as the polestar of the state, just as the sun among the planets.

Evidence, which none of Monsieur’s biographers have yet addressed, suggests that following the Battle of Cassel, Philippe made an overt effort to ensure that Louis was aware of his desire to please him and to advance the king’s *gloire*. From 10 to 15 October 1678, a year after the battle, Monsieur entertained the king at Saint-Cloud¹⁴² where he was eager to unveil the completed Galerie d’Apollon (Ill. 9), and according to the *Mercure galant*, “[Son Altesse] en demeura si satisfaite, qu’elle souhaita impatientement la venüe de Leurs Majestez.”¹⁴³ One reason why Monsieur may have been so avid to display the paintings of Pierre Mignard (1612–95) that decorated the ceiling of the gallery might have been that they were dedicated to Louis, depicted as Apollo in the ceiling’s central panel, *Le triomphe du soleil*.¹⁴⁴ This idolatry of a younger brother (Monsieur’s second wife declares that he indeed idolized Louis¹⁴⁵) memorialized the king as the center of Bourbon dynasticism.¹⁴⁶ At the unveiling, Louis is reported to have remarked to Madame, after a long silence: “Je souhaite fort, Madame, que les peintures de ma galerie de Versailles répondent à la beauté de celles-ci.”¹⁴⁷ This remark has frequently been cast as evidence of competition between Louis and Philippe¹⁴⁸ since



Ill. 9. Pierre Mignard, Galerie d'Apollon, Château de Saint-Cloud (colorized nineteenth-century photograph).

Versailles was still under construction (Le Brun's paintings in the Galerie des Glaces would not be completed until 1684), and Louis was supposedly worried about being outdone, a situation that was allegedly aggravated by the artistic rivalry between Mignard and Le Brun.¹⁴⁹ However, given the timing and the amplitude of Monsieur's gesture of esteem, it seems impossible to attribute him with intradynastic competitiveness.

The construction of Louis XIV's mythical persona is strikingly apparent on the ceiling of the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles (the designs of which were elaborated in 1678–79¹⁵⁰), a representation of the first eighteen years of his reign.¹⁵¹ Among the principal objectives of Le Brun's

ceiling ensemble was to assert the image of Louis XIV as absolute warrior monarch vested with sole authority as king and head of the house of Bourbon, elevating the dynasty and kingdom above all others. Moments in the Dutch War are depicted in several panels, but Monsieur's role is almost completely effaced in favor of representing the king's absolute warrior sovereignty. In the *Résolution prise de faire la guerre aux Hollondais, 1671*, which is second in the narrative order, Louis XIV is depicted between Minerva (showing war's horrors, including envy and the dying) and Mars (gesturing to images of victory and fame), behind the king stands Justice, and beneath his feet are trophies bearing the names of cities captured during the War of Devolution.¹⁵² Of Le Brun's thirty-



Ill. 10. Charles Le Brun, *Le roi donne ses ordres pour attaquer en même temps quatre des plus fortes places de la Hollande, 1672* (Versailles: Château de Versailles).

six panels, thirty-five depict Louis XIV in settings that are entirely allegorical and in which his is the only portrait of a real person. The single exception is *Le roi donne ses ordres pour attaquer en même temps quatre des plus fortes places de la Hollande, 1672* (Ill. 10). Standing on a dais before a map with deities above and behind him, Louis appears at the center of the image, and as Claude Nivelon, a student of Le Brun, observed ca. 1698: “Monsieur est sur la même ligne que Sa Majesté, M^r le Prince sur le second degré avec cette distinction qu’il a le pied gauche levé et posé sur le premier pour marquer son rang, étant du sang royal et M^r de Turenne à la gauche du roi est seulement sur le même degré que ce prince.”¹⁵³ Le Brun depicted the dynastic and military order in which Louis, as chief and unequaled hero, commands Monsieur and Condé, his highest-ranking warriors of Bourbon blood with Monsieur in the foremost position. However, Le Brun faced a delicate situation in this panel since recalling Monsieur’s presence in the Dutch war might also invoke Cassel, which would be inappropriate in a panegyric to Louis since Monsieur had been so widely credited for the victory. Le Brun attenuates this possibility by providing the names of “quatre des plus fortes places” on partially-rolled maps: “Wessel” (Wesel), “Burich” (Büderich), Orsoy, and “Rimberg” (Rheinberg). Cassel is not mentioned, which effectively erases Monsieur’s only independent triumph from this royally-sanctioned version of history.

Still, a victory the magnitude of Cassel cannot be expunged from general history, which records events absent from official history.¹⁵⁴ Among the commemorations of the battle depicting Monsieur in combat are a painting by Adam Frans Van der Meulen (1632–90),¹⁵⁵ a tapestry attributed to Martin des Batailles,¹⁵⁶ and there are at least two almanacs from 1678.¹⁵⁷ An engraving by Joseph Parrocel (1646–1704), which bears the caption “La Memorable bataille de Cassel fut gagnée par l’armée de France, commandée par Monsieur frere Unique du Roy. Contre les troupes Hollandaises et espagnoles, commandée par le Prince d’Orange, le 11 avril 1677,”¹⁵⁸ accords



Ill. 11. Pierre Mignard, *Portrait équestre de Louis XIV devant Cassel* (Versailles: Château de Versailles).

the command wholly to Monsieur. In portraits of the king, however, Cassel is either effaced, as in the Galerie des Glaces, or appropriated by Louis, as in a painting by Mignard, who would succeed

Le Brun as Premier Peintre du Roi in 1690 (Ill. 11) Mignard depicts very little of the battle in the distance, but Louis is depicted mounted, wielding the commanding *bâton* as Victory crowns him with laurel.

Monsieur willingly gave his victory at Cassel in tribute to Louis, who readily appropriated the leading role in the battle. Attributing this move to jealousy or egomania is an oversimplification of the political imperative that the king be unanimously recognized as the sole symbolic and acting cynosure of androcentric sovereignty, which mirrored the necessity for a parallel enactment of paternal authority in his own family.¹⁵⁹ Traditional strategies of dynastic advancement in France were grounded on a system of allegiance to a single male family head, and, as Rowlands notes, the dynastic state was characterized by “the explicit link between public activity and family interest.”¹⁶⁰ Monsieur’s obedience and affirmation of secondary status in relation to Louis XIV were critical in confirming the king’s dynastic preeminence and forestalling possible sedition, as the king explains in his memoirs:

Car il faut convenir qu’il n’est rien de plus utile au bien public, rien de plus nécessaire à la grandeur de l’Etat, rien de plus avantageux à tous les membres de la famille royale, que la liaison qu’ils conservent avec celui qui en est le chef. Je pourrois vous faire connoître cette vérité, en vous faisant observer qu’alors les factieux voyant ces princes trop engagés, n’osent plus tenter de les séduire, et que, craignant de voir avorter ou même de voir punir leurs criminelles entreprises, ils sont forcés à demeurer dans le silence; que les mécontents ne se pouvant rallier en aucun lieu, sont contraints de digérer leur chagrin dans leurs maisons particulières, et que les étrangers, privés du secours des intelligences qui seules ont pu leur donner quelque’avantage dans cet état, sont plus retenus dans leurs desseins.¹⁶¹

According to Louis, the subordination of the royal family in the interests of their dynastic leader assures the loyalty of its members. It also discourages the factitious within the kingdom and foreign enemies from attempting to attract them to opposing interests, as in 1631, for example, when Gaston d’Orléans had signed a treaty with Spain against France.¹⁶²

For the rest of his life, Philippe's service to dynastic ambitions operated through exemplary instances of obedience outside of military service, particularly through the marriages of his children. As Barker observes of Louis XIV: "neither he nor his kingdom could do without the offspring of that brother in the conduct of foreign policy and in his arrangements for the future. They were among the most precious resources of the state."¹⁶³ The first of these marriages, that of Marie-Louise (1662–89), Monsieur's eldest daughter from his first marriage, to Carlos II (1661–1700) of Spain in 1679, just after the Dutch War, was an effort to further the claims of Louis to Spanish territory.¹⁶⁴ Carlos was physically and mentally infirm to the point that he was able to do little governing, which left the possibility that his queen would be able to influence Spanish policy in favor of France. Despite her protests,¹⁶⁵ both Monsieur and Madame were honored by the match with Spain.¹⁶⁶ According to Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626–96), Louis XIV publicly signaled to his niece the importance of her marriage, warning as she departed for Spain: "Madame, je souhaite vous dire adieu pour jamais, ce seroit le plus grand malheur qui vous pût arriver que de revoir la France."¹⁶⁷ Daughters were also bound by dynastic responsibility, and marriage was the usual route by which their obligations were accomplished. In 1684, Monsieur's next eldest daughter, Anne-Marie (1669–1728), also from his first marriage, was wed to Vittorio Amedeo II, duca di Savoia (1666–1732) in an effort to gain Savoia as a stable ally. In 1698, Élisabeth-Charlotte (1676–1744) married, Léopold, duc de Lorraine (1679–1729) in order to bring his territory (which had been returned by France according to the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697)¹⁶⁸ more firmly under French influence.

The marriage of Monsieur's only son, Philippe, duc de Chartres (1674–1723) to Françoise Marie de Bourbon, known as Mlle de Blois (1677–1749), a legitimized¹⁶⁹ daughter of Louis XIV and Françoise Athénaïs de Rochechouart de Mortemart de Montespan (1641–1707), was problematic. By

all accounts, the match with the king's bastard daughter was not welcomed by Monsieur or Madame, both of whom were particularly sensitive to issues of station; as Saint-Simon wrote of Monsieur: "il aimait l'ordre des rangs, des préférences, des distinctions; il les faisait garder tant qu'il pouvait, et il en donnait l'exemple."¹⁷⁰ Monsieur's son would one day be head of his house, and for him to marry a bastard was dishonorable. According to Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1675–1755),¹⁷¹ Madame had sworn her son to reject the marriage, but he was compelled to agree to it since the king had already imposed acceptance on Monsieur with what he said was "cette majesté effrayante si naturelle au roi."¹⁷² Madame recounted to Sophie, Prinzessin von der Pfalz (1630–1714) that she was constrained to acquiesce when Monsieur came to her for a final decision: "Madame, j'ai une commission pour vous de la part du roi, qui ne vous sera pas trop agréable, et vous devez lui rendre réponse à ce soir vous-même, c'est que le roi vous mande que lui et moi et mon fils étant d'accord du mariage de mademoiselle de Blois avec mon fils, que vous ne serez pas la lâche que vous y opposerez."¹⁷³ As Madame recognized in her letter of response to Louis: "Quand Votre Majesté et Monsieur me parlerez en maître comme vous faites, je ne puis qu'obéir."¹⁷⁴ The marriage of the duc de Chartres, which outraged Madame and arguably humiliated Monsieur, was a confirmation of Louis XIV's dynastic agenda, and as such was most likely not intended to demean Philippe, but to reinforce the authority of the king's lineage while confirming the obedience of the Orléans.

Phase IV: Restoring Monsieur's Warrior Image (1701)

Early official discourse trumpeted Monsieur's promise as a warrior, which caused no dynastic conflict since such promise had yet to be fulfilled and it was still possible that Philippe would one day become king. Once Louis had assumed the role of dynastic focal point, Monsieur was increasingly obliged to assume a subservient role, and his eventual armed exploits were almost entirely effaced, cast as depending only on the command of the king. Although Monsieur's warrior

identity had proven untenable during his lifetime, after his death on 9 June 1701, it was restored in eulogizing discourse through the dynastic necessity that a *filz de France* incarnate the noble warrior virtues of his house. Since dynastic divisiveness was no longer possible, Monsieur could officially be praised as a consummate warrior, although obligatory references to his fraternal loyalty were necessarily included. Among the many texts that were published at the time of Monsieur's death, three from 1701 are emblematic examples of discourse that restores Monsieur's heroic status: *Sur la mort de Philippe de France, duc d'Orléans*, the author of which signs only A.J.D. De la Compagnie de Jésus, an unsigned *Abrégé de la vie et des actions héroïques de très-haut et très-puissant prince Philippe de France, frère unique du roy, duc d'Orléans, de Valois, de Nemours, de Chartres et de Montpensier*, and the *Oraison funèbre de très-haut et très-puissant prince Monseigneur Philippe fils de France, frère unique du roy, duc d'Orléans* by François de Clermont-Tonnerre, bishop of Langres (1629–1701).

Sur la mort de Philippe de France, duc d'Orléans is a panegyric poem to Monsieur spoken by three personages: la Gloire, l'Éloquence, and l'Histoire. The purpose of their conversation is declared in the opening address by la Gloire: "Nous, qui pouvons tout sur les temps,/Le ferons vivre dans l'histoire,/Graverons ses exploits au temple de Memoire,/et sauverons son nom de l'injure des ans."¹⁷⁵ The trope of engraving heroes names in the temple of Memory so that they will not be effaced by time ("l'injure du temps") is common in seventeenth-century poetry praising heroes and kings, including Louis XIV.¹⁷⁶ Raising Philippe de France to this level of commemoration, the intention is expressed of officially inscribing his exploits so that they will not be forgotten or misremembered. This undertaking is accomplished by l'Histoire, who proclaims:

Je le peindray dans mes Ecrits
 Obligeant, genereux, affable,
 Et ne voulant paroître redoutable
 Qu'à nos seuls ennemis.
 On le verra dans les medailles
 De Saint-Omer foudroyer les ramparts;
 A Cassel gagner des batailles;
 Par tout mépriser les hazards.
 Enfin de retour à Versailles
 Se croire plus heureux d'obéir à son Roy,
 Que de donner ailleurs la loy.¹⁷⁷

These verses encapsulate Monsieur's life and conduct. At court he appears amiable and benevolent, but he is a conquering warrior against the enemies of France, and his deeds are recorded in medals as official history.¹⁷⁸ L'Éloquence confirms Monsieur's warrior might:

Par moy l'on verra Guerrier,
 Couronné tour à tour d'olive & de laurier,
 Meriter que LOUIS luy prête son Tonnerre,
 Et d'un Frere offensé venger les interêts:
 Ou goûter en Heros les doux fruits de la Paix¹⁷⁹

The close ties between the king's command and Monsieur's obedience are maintained, but Monsieur is also cast as mighty enough to assume command for the king and attack his enemies, a claim that had not been openly asserted since early discourse before Monsieur had momentarily eclipsed his brother as dynastic hero.

Monsieur's warrior persona is also the principal subject of the *Abrégé de la vie et des actions héroïques de très-haut et très-puissant prince Philippe de France, frère unique du roy, duc d'Orléans, de Valois, de Nemours, de Chartres et de Montpensier*. A eulogizing genre for important historical personages, the *abrégé* typically emphasizes what official history would cast as their most worthy achievements.¹⁸⁰

Monsieur's *abrégé* comprises a brief biography, and of its twelve pages, five are devoted to his military exploits, particularly the Battle of Cassel.¹⁸¹ The account emphasizes his warrior prowess:

[Il] ordonna sur le midy de passer un ruisseau qui separoit les deux armées, & de commencer le combat. Il fut long & opiniâtre, les ennemis se défendirent avec chaleur, Monsieur s'expose beaucoup, & menant plusieurs fois à la charge, des escadrons qu'il rallioit, il reçût deux coups dans ses armes. . . . les ennemis furent contraints de plier de tous côtez, & laissant plus de 6000 morts sur le champ de bataille, 3000 prisonniers¹⁸²

Emphasizing Monsieur's command, tenacity, and courage, despite being struck twice, the *abrégé* also remarks: "Il y eut fort peu de Français tuez dans cette fameuse bataille,"¹⁸³ which completes the image of Monsieur the great warrior as one who is also wise in battle, sparing of his men's lives, fearless for his own. Beyond recalling Monsieur's deeds on the battlefield, the *abrégé* also describes the acclaim that he received among the people:

On chanta le *Te Deum* dans toutes les Villes de France, & toutes celles de l'appanage de Monsieur se distinguèrent, en témoignant leur joie extrême du succès des armes du Roy, & de la gloire que s'étoit acquise son Altesse Royale.¹⁸⁴

Although during his lifetime it had been problematic for Monsieur to be celebrated as a hero after Cassel, after his death, the glorification of Monsieur's feats at arms could be declared in official discourse without risking dynastic divisiveness.

Perhaps the most overt declarations of Monsieur's warrior prowess are found in Clermont-Tonnerre's *Oraison funèbre de très-haut et très-puissant prince Monseigneur Philippe fils de France, frère unique du roy, duc d'Orléans*. This is among the most official eulogizing publications on Monsieur because it was first spoken during his obsequies at the Cathédrale Royale de Saint-Denis, the royal necropolis, a rich site of dynastic tradition.¹⁸⁵ The warrior theme is advanced just before the beginning of the oration:

Tui tecum in omnibus ubicunque ambulasti, interfeci universos inimicos tuos a facie tua; fecique tibi nomen grande, juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terra.

*Je ne vous ay jamais abandonné, je vous ay rendu victorieux de tous vos ennemis toutes les fois qu'ils ont paru devant vous; & je vous ay fait un grand nom parmy les plus grands Princes de la terre.*¹⁸⁶

The notion that Monsieur's role of vanquisher was divinely ordained (an image most typically reserved for the king) recurs throughout the oration emphasizing the *éclat* with which his heroism was publicly manifested:

Mais penetrons plus avant dans les desseins de la bonté de Dieu sur ce Prince; il ne s'est pas contenté de le conduire par des voyes cachées aux yeux des hommes, il a voulu que son nom se répandît de toutes parts, qu'il fût aussi craint & estimé parmy les ennemis de l'Etat . . . Les projets les plus difficiles, les enterprises les plus perilleuses ne servoient qu'à relever sa gloire; en un mot, tout réussissoit entre les mains de ce Prince parce qu'il étoit toujours conduit par la main de Dieu.¹⁸⁷

Although official examples of dynastic representation, notably the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, attribute Monsieur's armed success against the enemies of France to the command of the king, Clermont-Tonnerre attributes it only to God and emphasizes Philippe's *gloire* as his own.

After recounting Monsieur's armed audacity and successes during the Dutch War, Clermont-Tonnerre finishes his summary of the prince's military career with an extended account of the Battle of Cassel, emphasizing Monsieur's command:

Il [Willem van Oranje] voit Monsieur dans une situation où il ne peut combattre qu'avec un desavantage considerable . . . MONSIEUR informé de ses démarches, assemble le Conseil de Guerre; les Generaux les plus intrepides doutent si l'on doit donner un combat aussi inégal . . . la valeur même de Monsieur les arrête; ils sçavent que ce Prince sera toujours ou le peril sera le plus grand . . . MONSIEUR seul prend sur luy le succès du combat . . . les soldats animez par son exemple ne connoissent plus de peril . . . ils redoublent leurs efforts, par l'envie qu'ils ont de marquer leur amour pour Monsieur, en répandant leur sang pour sa gloire . . . MONSIEUR, present par tout . . . répandant la terreur . . . [les] troupes fugitives laissent à Monsieur pour monument de sa gloire le champ de bataille . . . en un mot, toutes les marques de la victoire la plus complete & la plus glorieuse.¹⁸⁸

In this account of the battle, there is no question of the king. The soldiers' exceptional fighting is cast as inspired by love for Philippe, not Louis, Monsieur's *gloire* is repeatedly mentioned, and this is the theme with which the bishop concludes his acclamation of Philippe's warrior prowess:

nous pouvons dire icy dans la Chaire de verité, où nous ne louerions pas si hautement les actions militaires de Monsieur si elles n'étoient en quelque maniere sanctifiées par la protection continuelle que Dieu luy a donné; que sa gloire est entiere . . .¹⁸⁹

Emphasizing that he speaks *ex cathedra* (the *chaire* is not only the pulpit but the bishop's seat in his cathedral¹⁹⁰) and with the authority of truth, Clermont-Tonnerre concludes that the *gloire* of Monsieur's military triumphs is entirely his own, due only to the favor of God.

As an emblematic example of official history, Clermont-Tonnerre's oration elaborates a portrait of Philippe as a virtuous warrior *fils de France*. Although during his lifetime Monsieur's warrior persona was incompatible with his brother's dynastic strategies, after his death, the image of Monsieur the warrior was finally able to be fully established without challenging Louis. In 1719, when Philippe and Louis were both dead, Madame wrote: "Le roi n'était pas aussi brave que Monsieur"¹⁹¹ Although the possibility exists that Louis removed his brother from armed service out of jealousy, available evidence suggests strongly that it was for reasons of dynastic propriety and their underlying political implications that Louis chose to limit Philippe's military progress. After Monsieur's death, however, official discourse was able to celebrate the heroic Philippe de France in conformity with ancient dynastic dictates of warrior masculinity.

Notes

1. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King: Philippe, Duke of Orleans* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 30.
2. The print is undated, but Philippe did not assume the title duc d'Orléans until after the death of his uncle, Gaston d'Orléans in 1660.
3. *Enfants de France* are the children of kings. See Ézéchiel Spanheim, *Relation de la cour de France*, ed. Émile Bourgeois (Paris: Mercure de France, 1973), 70. Spanheim also provides definitions of royal ranks on 76, 80, 81, 87, 100–05, 313–14, and 323–27. According to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (Paris: Coignard, 1694), “On appelle en France Les Enfants du Roy, *Les enfants de France*.” (1:368)
4. In 1661, the apanage of Orléans reverted to the crown and was granted to Philippe, which is why the dynasty that he established was that of Orléans rather than Anjou. On apanages, note 51.
5. Depicting Monsieur holding the *maréchal's bâton* is ambiguous and probably an honorary distinction accorded to a *fils de France*. Other portraits of Monsieur, such as the engraving of him as a child after 1643 by Jean Couvay (b.1622) after Justus Van Egmont (1601–74) (Versailles: Château de Versailles, LP31-7[1]) and portraits of the prince in armor as an adult, including a painting by the school of Pierre Mignard (1612–95) (Versailles: Château de Versailles, MV2161), one attributed to Antoine Mathieu, le père (1631–73) (Versailles: Château de Versailles, MV6039), and one attributed to Michel Corneille, l'aîné (1642–1708) (Versailles: Château de Versailles, MV2082) also show him with the *bâton*. Gaston d'Orléans carries the *bâton* in several portraits, including an anonymous painting of him as Mars by the French school (Versailles: Château de Versailles, MV3442) and an equestrian portrait attributed to Claude Deruet (1588–1660) (Blois: Château de Blois, Musée des Beaux-Arts). However, of the 32 *maréchaux* named by Louis XIII and the 54 named by Louis XIV, neither Gaston nor Philippe were officially accorded the distinction. See Geneviève Maze-Sencier, *Dictionnaire des maréchaux de France: Du Moyen Age à nos jours* (Paris: Perrin, 1988). In an engraving (ca. 1627) of Louis XIII and Gaston d'Orléans by Abraham Bosse (1602–76), *Les forces de la France* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, Collection Rothschild, 5096LR), the brothers are shown on horseback before the army, side by side, but only the king holds the *bâton*. Gaston holds a swagger stick, which is also a symbol of authority, but it is below and behind him, far removed from the king's raised *bâton*. A similar engraving of Louis XIV and Monsieur published as an almanac in 1674, *L'orgueil terrassé par la prise de Maestricht* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Réserve QB-201 [171]-FT 5 [Hennin, 4717]) depicts the king holding a *bâton*, and Monsieur holds what appears to be a much less substantial swagger stick or a riding crop, which is almost entirely hidden.
6. Le Bret was closely associated with Richelieu and is considered one of the principal theorists of monarchy in seventeenth-century France. See Vittor Ivo Comparato, *Cardin Le Bret: Royauté et ordre nel pensiero di un consigliere del '600* (Firenze: Olschki, 1969); Gilbert Picot, *Cardin Le Bret (1558–1655) et la doctrine de la souveraineté* (Nancy: Société d'Impressions Typographiques, 1948); and Ralph E. Gieseey, Lanny Haldy, and James Millhorn, “Cardin Le Bret and Lese Majesty,” *Law and History Review* 4.1 (Spring, 1986): 23–54.
7. Cardin Le Bret, *De la souveraineté du roy* in *Les œuvres de Messire C. Le Bret* (Paris: Toussaint Du Bray, 1643), 5.
8. Cardin Le Bret, *De la souveraineté du roy*, 34. He also explains why the authority of other monarchs are not “perfect,” either because they pay tribute to more powerful rulers, as do the kings of Naples, Sicily, and Aragon (5), or because, as in the case of the kings of Denmark (6), sovereignty is divided

between them and other governing bodies. Le Bret is also careful to assert that kings of France do not cede any of their temporal authority to the pope (6–8), a notion known as Gallicanism, which, although notably articulated during the reign of Louis XIV in the *Déclaration du clergé de France* (1682), is found as early as the reign of Philippe IV (1268–1314). See Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism & Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004); Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI^e siècle: Essai sur la vision gallicane du monde* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002); William James Bouwsma, “Gallicanism and the Nature of Christendom” in William James Bouwsma *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 308–24; and Aimé Georges Martimort, *Le gallicanisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973).

9. Notable late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century treatises on monarchy include *Les six livres de la république* (1576) by the jurist and philosopher, Jean Bodin (1530–96) and writings by the jurist and political theorist, Charles Loyseau (1564–1627), including the *Traité des seigneuries* (1608) and the *Traité des ordres et simples dignités* (1610).

10. Hugues Picardet, *L’assemblée des notables de France, faite par le Roy en sa ville de Rouën* (Lyon: Nicolas Jullieron, 1617), 5–6.

11. Jean Nicot, *Thrésor de la langue françoise* (Paris: David Douceur, 1690; reprint, Paris: A. & J. Picard & Cie, 1960), 458; Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611), s.v. “parfait.”

12. See Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London and New York: Longman, 1992), 208. It is significant that the term “absolutism” emerged during the reign of Louis XVIII (1755–1824) because his government had a constitution and a bicameral parliament established by the Charte de 1814, elements that were deemed progressive and thus distinguished his reign from those of earlier rulers. See Philip Mansel, *Louis XVIII* (Paris: Pygmalion, 1981), 194–200.

13. Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism*, 209–210.

14. According to Bodin, “toute monarchie est seigneuriale, ou royale, ou tyrannique . . . la monarchie royale, ou legitime, est celle où les sujets obeissent aux loix du Monarque, & le Monarque aux loix de la nature, demeurant la liberté naturelle, & propriété des biens aux sujets. La Monarchie seigneuriale, est celle où le Prince est fait Seigneur des biens, & des personnes, par le droit des armes, & de bonne guerre, gouvernant ses sujets come le pere de famille ses esclaves. La Monarchie tyrannique est où le Monarque mesprisant les loix de nature, abuse des personnes libres, comme d’esclaves, et des biens des sujets comme des siens.” Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la République*, 6 vols., ed. Christiane Fremont, Marie-Dominique Couzinet, and Henri Rochais (Lyon: G. Cartier, 1593; reprint, Paris: Fayard, 1986), 2:353–54.

15. Herbert H. Rowen observes: “We must keep in mind, too, that there is no such beast as *unlimited* political power, royal or not; it is always fenced in, even if the bounds are only approximate and customary. Absolute monarchy acknowledged many more fundamental laws than those made explicit in the work of political theorists. The structure of society and property as well as the moral universe of traditional Christianity were all outside the proper field of action of royal power. The absolute rulers claimed *not* the power to do anything but only *all* legitimate political power; they claimed exclusive sovereignty.” Herbert H. Rowen, “Louis XIV and Absolutism” in *Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship*, ed. John C. Rule (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970), 312. See Stephen Holms, *Passions and Constraint: On the Theory of Liberal Democracy* chapter 4, “The Constitution of Sovereignty According to Bodin” (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 100–133.

16. Peter H. Wilson, *Absolutism in Central Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 3.

17. Darryl Dee, *Expansion and Crisis in Louis XIV's France* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2009), 6.
18. Peter H. Wilson, *Absolutism in Central Europe*, 3.
19. For traditional views on the Versailles system and the role of the nobility at court, see Warren Hamilton Lewis, *The Splendid Century*, 7–8, 39–41; and Jacques Levron, *La vie quotidienne à la cour de Versailles au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1965), 26. For a detailed sociological analysis, see Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969; reprint, 1983).
20. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 175–76.
21. See Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 175–98 for a detailed account of Monsieur's finances.
22. The notion of authoritarian absolutism has been contested for some time, beginning notably in the late 1960s. Emphasizing the lack of evidence for its verity as a seventeenth-century theory, Henshall warns that before the nineteenth century, “the existence of a theory of ‘absolutism’ is doubtful . . . [because of] the failure of French monarchical ideas to add up to anything of the sort. The features usually associated with it are missing—overemphasis on state power and neglect of the people's rights and privileges.” Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism*, 144. For an overview of newer approaches to absolutism, see Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army Under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest (1661–1701)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2–9. Rowlands attributes the first revisionist work on absolutism to Roger Mettam's Ph.D. dissertation, “The Role of the Higher Aristocracy in France under Louis XIV, with Special Reference to the ‘Faction of the Duke of Burgundy’ and the Provincial Governors” (Cambridge University, 1967). Also see, among others, William Biek, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Darryl Dee, *Expansion and Crisis in Louis XIV's France*; Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism*; Michael S. Kimmel, *Absolutism and its Discontents: State and Society in Seventeenth-Century France And England* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1988); Roger Mettam, *Power and Faction in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); Roger Mettam, *Government and Society in Louis XIV's France*; and Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility (1400–1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
23. Le Bret was closely associated with Richelieu and is considered to be one of the principal theorists of absolute monarchy in seventeenth-century France. See Vittor Ivo Comparato, *Cardin Le Bret*; Gilbert Picot, *Cardin Le Bret (1558–1655) et la doctrine de la souveraineté* (Nancy: Société d'Impressions Typographiques, 1948); and Ralph E. Giesey, Lanny Haldy, and James Millhorn, “Cardin Le Bret and Lese Majesty.” According to Roger Mettam: “To the politically conscious members of seventeenth-century French society, the term *la monarchie absolue*, whether applied to the theory or to the practice of government, did not describe the system as it was presently constituted. It was rather a direction in which the royal ministers were hoping to proceed.” Roger Mettam, *Power and Faction in Louis XIV's France*, 37.
24. Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and Army Under Louis XIV*, 2.
25. Regarding the purported imposition of absolute sovereignty after the Fronde, Albert N. Hamscher explains: “the conclusions of hostilities failed to ensure a clear path for the unchallenged assertion of royal authority. . . . in the following decades . . . the defeat of the Fronde did not give the monarchy *carte blanche* to embark on a program of radical innovation or to run roughshod over its recent foes. . . . triumph was extremely tenuous . . .” Albert N. Hamscher, *The Parliament of Paris After the Fronde (1653–1673)* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), xx.

26. See Jonathan Spangler, *The Society of Princes: The Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in Seventeenth-Century France* (Farnham, England and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2009).

27. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jean-François Fitou, *Saint-Simon, ou le système de la cour* (Paris: Fayard, 1997).

28. Darryl Dee, *Expansion and Crisis in Louis XIV's France*, 6.

29. Guy Rolands, *The Dynastic State and the Army Under Louis XIV*, 10.

30. The reign of the first Bourbon king of France, the Protestant Henri IV (1553–1610), was strongly contested by the Ligue Catholique, in which the house of Guise played a leading role. The king, although he had acceded to the throne in 1589, was not able to take control of Paris until 1594 after he had permanently renounced Protestantism in 1593. The reign of Louis XIII (1601–43) was also plagued by religious strife and rebellion, including during his minority when Henri, duc de Rohan (1579–1638) led a Huguenot rebellion in 1620. Although revolts such as these are most frequently cast as fundamentally religious (and indeed specific acts such as the attempts on the life of Henri IV by Pierre Barrière in 1593, Jean Châtel in 1594, and the king's assassination by François Ravallac in 1610 were acts of religious fanaticism), dynastic competition is at their core. See, among others, Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politic, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Yves-Marie Bercé, *La naissance dramatique de l'absolutisme (1598–1661)* (Paris: Seuil, 1992); Philippe Delorme, *Henri IV* (Paris: L'Archipel, 2010); and Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, *Louis XIII: The Making of a King* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). Recasting “absolutism” within the context of the seventeenth-century meaning of “absolu,” Herbert H. Rowen explains the relationship between absolute sovereignty and dynastic monarchy: “the absolute monarch was also the ‘complete dynast.’ Absolutism historically was the consequence of *dynastic* monarchy. It came about when the hereditary king was able to enforce the claim to sole legitimate ownership of the sovereign power . . . to the exclusion of all other claimants to participate in the sovereignty by right, especially right of inheritance.” Herbert H. Rowen, “Louis XIV and Absolutism” in *Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship*, 314.

31. Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and Army Under Louis XIV*, 11–12.

32. In 1626, Gaston d'Orléans plotted with Spain in an attempt to take the throne from his brother, and in 1632–34, he was also in revolt against the king, assisted by Spain. See Christian Bouyer, *Gaston d'Orléans: Le frère rebelle de Louis XIII* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2007), 42–53, 76–95.

33. An heir presumptive is one who is expected to inherit, but who can be displaced by the birth of a nearer relative. An heir apparent cannot be displaced from inheriting without changing the laws of succession. See Bryan A. Garner, *A Dictionary of Modern Legal Usage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 400.

34. During the reign of Louis XIV, there were two branches of the house of Orléans. Gaston d'Orléans had only one son, Jean Gaston, duc de Valois (1650–52), who died at the age of two, and thus did not establish an Orléans dynasty, but his daughters represented branches of this line: Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier (1627–93), Marguerite Louise d'Orléans, granduchessa di Toscana (1645–1721), Élisabeth d'Orléans, duchesse de Guise (1646–96), and Françoise Madeleine d'Orléans, duchessa di Savoia. The appanage of Orléans reverted to the crown, and Louis XIV granted it to Monsieur in 1661. Philippe founded the modern house of Orléans.

35. The *Gazette de France*, of which the first issue appeared in 1631, was the first weekly periodical in France and played an important role in the governmental control of news during the seventeenth century. See Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVIIe siècle: La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); and Charles-Henri Depezay, “Between the French *Gazette* and Dutch French Language Newspapers” in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of*

Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe, ed. Brendan Maurice Dooley (Farnham, Surrey, England and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2010), 179–92. In 1639, an English observer noted: “The *Gazette* is an admirable way [of disseminating information], and the French make a wondrous good use of it in giving what impressions they think good to their subjects.” William Douglas Hamilton and Sophia Crawford Lomas, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I (1625–1649) Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty’s Public Record Office*, 23 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858–97), 14:234.

36. On the *Gazette de France*, see Stéphane Haffemayer, *L’information dans la France du XVIIIe siècle: La Gazette de Renaudot, de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: H. Champion, 2002); Gilles Feyel, *La Gazette en province à travers ses réimpressions (1631–1752)* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland Universiteits Pers, 1982); and Sonja Schultheiss-Heinz, *Politik in der europäischen Publizistik: Eine historische Inhaltsanalyse von Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2004).

37. French military successes in late 1639 included the defeat of the Spanish at Hesdin, La Rota, and Chieri. See David Parrott, *Richelieu’s Army: War, Government, and Society in France (1624–1642)* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). According to seventeenth-century medical theory, which held that environment strongly influenced children at the time of conception and in the womb, the victorious environment in which Philippe was conceived would influence his personality. See Ambroise Paré, *Des monstres, des prodiges, des voyages*, ed. Patrice Bousset (Paris: Livre Club du Libraire, 1964), 200.

38. “La joie renouvelée par l’heureuse naissance d’un second fils de France,” *Gazette de France* 122 (September 1640): 673.

39. *Gazette de France* 122 (September 1640): 674.

40. According to Cotgrave, strength and liveliness are synonyms for “vigueur.” Randle Cotgrave, *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, s.v. “vigueur.”

41. *Gazette de France* 122 (September 1640): 675.

42. *Gazette de France* 122 (September 1640): 675.

43. The eagle was the symbol of Rome, and beginning with the general, Gaius Marius (157–13 B.C.), each legion of the Roman army carried an eagle insignia. See Flavio Conti, *A Profile of Ancient Rome* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), 210.

44. See Lucia Impelluso and Stefano Zuffi, *Gods and Heroes in Art* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), particularly 139 and 144.

45. Louis XIV, for example, was depicted as a boy Jupiter in *Louis XIV en Jupiter vainqueur de la Fronde* (ca. 1654), attributed to Charles Poerson, le père (1609–67) (Versailles: Château de Versailles, MV8073).

46. On child mortality during the seventeenth century, see Jacques Dupâquier, Alfred Sauvy, and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire de la population française*, 4 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), 2:223–25.

47. The engraving’s date of 1643 (the painting would have necessarily predated it) is provided by the catalogue of the Agence Photographique de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux. Egmont was a Flemish portrait painter and tapestry designer who was a member of the Rubens atelier. In Paris he helped install the cycle of paintings commissioned from Rubens by Marie de Médicis for the Palais du Luxembourg. He was among the founding members of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, and painted portraits of several members of the royal family, including Louis XIV and Monsieur, most of which survive only in engravings. See J. Wilhelm, “Portraits peints à Paris par Juste d’Egmont,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1987): 25–44. According to Wilhelm (31), the painting dates from 1643 and the engraving from 1647, but, since he provides no

documentation for these dates, the Réunion des Musées Nationaux is presumably the more accurate authority. The framing elements are not part of Egmont's earlier portrait, but it is reasonable to assume that Couvay's engraving reproduces all of its significant details without adding or removing any notable aspects since this seems to be the case in his other engravings of known paintings, including works by Poussin. See Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Poussin: Critical Catalogue* (London: Phaidon, 1966), 31.

48. See Hervé Pinoteau, *Études sur les ordres de chevalerie du roi de France, et tout spécialement sur les ordres de Saint-Michel et du Saint-Esprit* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1995).

49. Although it is not known when during the year the engraving was executed, it may have been made after the death of Louis XIII in May 1643. A very similar engraving by Jeremias Falck (ca. 1610–77) of Louis XIV, also after a painting by Egmont, depicts Louis and Philippe with the same details of clothing and chivalric and royal attributes. The paintings were made before the death of the king and are almost identical, but Falck's engraving bears the caption, "Ludovico XIV, Franciæ et Navarræ Regi Christianissimo," and was thus made after the death of Louis XIII. Given the striking similarities of the two prints, it is possible that Couvay's engraving of Monsieur was made at about the same time. For a catalogue raisonné of Falck's works, see J.C. Block, *Jeremias Falck: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Danzig: G. Ehrke, 1890).

50. The crown of a *fils de France* is open and circled by fleurs de lys. On French crowns, see Michel Pastoureau and Jean Hubert, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1993); and Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: Symbols and Meaning* (London: Tiger, 1976). This may be an engraving error, particularly since the crown of acanthus leaves alternating with pearls en tiercefeuille is that of a marquis. Among Monsieur's titles, he was marquis de Coucy et de Folembray, and marquis de Mézières, but not until 1672 (when Louis XIV added Coucy and Folembray to his appanage) and 1693 when Mézières came to him as part of his inheritance from the duchesse de Montpensier. The heraldic error might be Couvay's own or that of another engraver who may have been responsible for the portrait's border. As in painters' studios, it was not unusual for students or assistants to complete parts of an engraving. See, among others, Sophie Join-Lambert and Maxime Préaud, *Abraham Bosse: Savant graveur* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France and Tours: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004). Since the original portrait is unknown, it is not possible to tell what Egmont originally painted, but a by him of Philippe from 1654, the year of Louis XIV's coronation, depicts the prince in his ceremonial robes accompanied by the crown of a *fils de France* (Innsbruck: Schloss Ambras, Inv.2763).

51. On apanages, see André-Marie-Jean-Jacques Dupin: *Traité des Apanages avec les lois sur la liste civile et la dotation de la couronne* (Paris: Joubert, 1835); L.-A. Maffert: *Les apanages en France du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: A. Rousseau, 1900), Georges Piquart, *Législation apanagère française sous l'Ancien régime* (Nancy: R. Vagner, 1903). Louis-François Du Vaucel: *Essai sur les apanages ou Mémoire historique de leur établissement*. s.l: s.n., 1780.

52. Latin was a fundamental element in seventeenth-century noble and bourgeois education. See Brian Sandberg, *Warrior Pursuits: Noble Culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 66; and Françoise Waquet, *Latin, or, The Empire of the Sign: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, trans. John Howe (London: Verso, 2001), 210.

53. The Battle of Rocroi marked the end of Spanish military eminence and the rise of French armed supremacy. See John Albert Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV (1667–1774)* (London: Longmann, 1999), 10.

54. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 12.

55. Boys, including Louis XIV, wore skirts while in the care of women and were not “désenjuonnés” (“breeched”) until they were placed under the tutelage of men. Barker herself explains this (12), so it is odd that she emphasizes Philippe’s attire in this image.

56. Hope B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York and London: Continuum, 2006), 139. In an engraving by Pierre Daret (ca. 1632–77) of Anne and her two sons (Versailles: Château de Versailles, LP29-3[1]), both boys wear dresses, Louis holds the scepter with the crown on his lap, and Philippe is again depicted with a similar leaping dog. In another anonymous portrait from ca. 1643 (Versailles: Château de Versailles, MV3370), Louis and Philippe, looked over by their governess, Françoise de Souvray, marquise de Lansac (1583-1657) are painted seated together (again both in dresses) on a throne with the Bourbon arms, royal crown, and a sun directly above the king’s head, clearly indicating his dynastic station. Louis places his arm around Philippe in a protective gesture, and there is a dog seated by the king, suggesting that in this instance, it is Louis who, as dynastic head, is obligated faithfully to protect his brother.

57. Marie Dubois, *Fragments des mémoires inédits de Dubois, gentilhomme servant du roi, valet de chambre de Louis XIII et de Louis XIV*, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, 2e série, 4 (Paris: J.B. Du Moulin, 1847–48), 17.

58. Alvisé Contarini, cited in Lionel Henri Carré, *L’enfance et la première jeunesse de Louis XIV (1638–1661)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1944), 27.

59. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, *Mémoires des divers emplois et des principales actions du Maréchal du Plessis* in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de France*, ed. Joseph-François Michaud and Jean-Joseph-François Poujoulat (Paris: L’Éditeur du Commentaire du Code Civil, 1839), 3e série, 7:402.

60. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin had been named a *maréchal de France* in 1645. See Geneviève Maze-Sencier, ed., *Dictionnaire des maréchaux de France: Du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Perrin, 1988), 359.

61. On Révérend, see the introduction to part 2.

62. Sieur Révérend, *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France, duc d’Anjou, frère unique du Roy* (Paris: André Soubbron, 1655), [n.p.].

63. Sieur Révérend, *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France*, A–3.

64. Sieur Révérend, *Les dits notables de Monsieur Philippe de France*, 18–19.

65. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires de Daniel de Cosnac*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1852), 1:271–72.

66. A similar incident, but involving a physical altercation between Philippe and Louis is discussed in part 2, chapter 2, note 155.

67. Montpensier’s version of the incident is more dramatic than Cosnac’s, and she depicts Philippe showing the bouillon to Louis who ordered him not to eat it (the incident took place during Lent), Monsieur says that he will, Louis dares him to do so, and, while trying to take the bowl from him, splashes a few drops on Philippe’s hair, to which Monsieur responds by throwing the bowl in the king’s face. See Anne Marie Louise d’Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Mémoires de Mlle de Montpensier, petite-fille de Henri IV*, ed. Adolphe Cheruel (Paris: Charpentier, 1858), 2:220. In the second version of his memoirs, Cosnac also reports the incident differently, with a violent conclusion for Philippe: “Le roi voulu prendre un poëlon de bouillie: Monsieur en tenoit la manche et avant que les gouverneurs eussent fait finir ce tiraillement, Monsieur fit mine de vouloir frapper le roi. La reine, avertie, vint faire fouetter Monsieur . . .” See Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 2:207. Whatever the precise details of the altercation may have been, they all have the common element that Monsieur became angered when Louis tried to take something from him in a manner that

Philippe apparently considered to unjust. As described by Barker (relying on Montpensier's account), Philippe's reaction was an "adolescent rebellion" that ended in a shamed withdrawal. Barker's problematic psychoanalytic approach attributes Philippe with, among other issues, an identity crisis and an Œdipal complex, and she characterizes several incidents as "adolescent rebellion." See Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 47, 49–56.

68. Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Mémoires*, 2:221.

69. The Siege of Stenay was part of the Franco-Spanish war in which Condé fought against France. See Jonathan I. Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries, and the Struggle for World Supremacy (1585–1713)* (London: Hambledon Press, 1997), 135; and Mark Bannister, *Condé in Context: Ideological Change in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 112–13.

70. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, *Mémoires*, 440.

71. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, *Mémoires*, 441.

72. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, *Mémoires*, 441–42.

73. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, *Mémoires*, 442.

74. Jean Frosne, *Philippe, duc d'Orléans, d'abord duc d'Anjou* (Versailles: Châteaux de Versailles, LP31-4(3)).

75. It is likely that the exchange between Monsieur and the Neapolitan ambassadors took place in 1666 or 1667 since it occurred just before the War of Devolution, and Cosnac mentions the king being obliged to go to war in Flanders. In 1666, Louis XIV was bound by a treaty of 1662 to aid the Dutch in their war against England, and in 1667 the War of Devolution began.

76. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:334.

77. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:337.

78. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:336.

79. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:334.

80. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:336.

81. There had apparently been other possibilities for Monsieur to reign abroad. François de Motteville (1621?–89), *dame d'honneur* of Anne d'Autriche mentions that as early as 1646, when Baltasar Carlos, heir of the queen's brother, Felipe IV, died, Anne would have been pleased to see her younger son as king of Spain. Françoise de Motteville, *Mémoires de Mme de Motteville sur Anne d'Autriche et sa cour*, 4 vols., ed. François-Marie Riaux, (Paris: Charpentier, 1855), 1:294. Mazarin refers to the possibility of Monsieur as Holy Roman Emperor. See *Lettres du cardinal Mazarin pendant son ministère*, 9 vols., ed. Adolphe Chéruel and Georges d'Avenel (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872–1906), 8:140–41

82. Following the death of Felipe IV, Louis XIV pressed his claim to large portions of the Spanish Netherlands on the grounds that although his wife, Marie-Thérèse (daughter of Felipe IV) had renounced her claim to inherit when she married the king of France, her dowery remained unpaid and therefore nullified the renunciation. See John Albert Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV (1667–1714)* (London: Longman, 1999), 105.

83. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:343.

84. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:345–46.

85. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:440.

86. Apparently Monsieur did not consider himself ready to take command in any context, and in a letter to Madeleine de Souvré, marquise de Sablé (1598–1678) dated 23 August 1667 from the Siege of Lille, he hesitates to analyze the maneuvers: "Mais je ne m'aperçois pas que je m'étends trop sur la guerre. Car y étant encore novice, il ne faut pas parler des choses sans bien les savoir." Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1882), 395.

87. The Dutch War (1672–78) sought to continue the appropriation of the Spanish Netherlands which, as in the War of Devolution, Louis XIV claimed in the name of the queen. Holland was also proving a formidable trading rival, and Louis was affronted by the satirical medals and other propaganda aimed at him by the Dutch. See John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV (1667–1714)* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 109–59.

88. Louis XIV, *Mémoires et pièces militaires* in *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 4 vols., ed. Philippe-Henri Grimoard and Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1806), 3:124.

89. Turenne was Monsieur's second-in-command. See Louis XIV, *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 3:123.

90. On almanacs and their socio-political function, see Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Droz, 1986) and Geneviève Bollême, *Les almanachs populaires aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Essai d'histoire sociale* (Paris: Mouton, 1969).

91. For a full account of the Siege of Zutphen, see the *Gazette de France* (14 July 1672).

92. François Léopold Marcou, *Étude sur la vie et les œuvres de Pellisson* (Paris: Didier et Durand, 1859), 278–84. In his capacity as Historiographe du Roi, Pellisson-Fontanier's accounts are an example of official history, the notion of which is discussed in my introduction to part 2.

93. Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, *Lettres historiques*, 3 vols. (Paris: Didot, 1729; reprint, Genève: Slatkine, 1971), 1:203.

94. The first prince de Condé was Louis de Bourbon (1530–69), uncle of Henri IV.

95. Louis XIV, *Mémoires et pièces militaires* in *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 3:370–71.

96. *Gazette de France* 82 (24 June 1673): 633–34.

97. For speculations on reasons for why Monsieur may have been absent from the campaigns of 1674 and 1675, including Madame's illness, tensions in the army command, or a possible undocumented argument between Louis and Monsieur, see Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 154–57.

98. Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*, 395.

99. Jean Baptiste Colbert, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, ed. Pierre Clément, 7 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861–73), 6:462.

100. Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, *Lettres historiques*, 3:57.

101. Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, *Lettres historiques*, 3:72.

102. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 159–60.

103. Édouard de Barthélémy, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé* (Paris: Dentu, 1865), 260.

104. Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, *Lettres historiques*, 3:232.

105. Paul Pellisson-Fontanier, *Lettres historiques*, 3:233.

106. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 2:537.

107. Louis XIV, *Mémoires et pièces militaires* in *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 4:117.

108. *Le nouveau Mercure galant* 2 (April 1677): 100–01.

109. See Christian Bouyer, *Louis XIV et la famille royale* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2009), 262.

110. *Le nouveau Mercure galant*, 3 (May 1677), 30–31

111. *Le nouveau Mercure galant*, 2 (April 1677): 103.

112. Charles-Auguste de La Fare, *Mémoires et réflexions du marquis de La Fare sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis XIV*, ed. Émile Raunié (Paris: Charpentier, 1884), 176.

113. Indeed, although Louis may not have been pleased by Philippe's success, Luxembourg expected that Monsieur would continue his feats of arms. On 16 April 1677, four days after the Battle of Cassel, Luxembourg wrote to Sablé: "Monsieur a gagné une des plus complètes batailles qui se soient données de nos jours. Un si avantageux succès ne luy inspirera pas le besoin de ne pas faire autre chose, et je crois qu'il vaudroit mieux pour Madame d'avoir épousé un procureur qu'un

homme comme celui-là qui ne songe qu'à la guerre, et qui oublie une bataille le lendemain qu'il l'a gagnée." Cited in Édouard de Barthélemy, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé*, 237.

114. Charles-Auguste de La Fare, *Mémoires et réflexions*, 176.

115. Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur: Frère de Louis XIV* (Paris: Hachette, 1953; reprint, Paris: Perrin, 1981), 196.

116. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 163.

117. Mark Bannister, *Condé in Context: Ideological Change in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 136.

118. The War of Devolution (1667–68) resulted from Louis XIV's claims to the Spanish Netherlands and the Franche-Comté, which belonged to Spain, in the name of his wife, Marie-Thérèse. On the War of Devolution, see Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992; reprint 2003), 71–74.

119. John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 108.

120. Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayolo, *Memorie d'un avventuriero alla corte di Luigi XIV* (Roma: Capriotti, 1945), 125.

121. On 23 December, Guise was assassinated at Blois, where he had been called to meet with the king. His brother, Louis II de Guise, cardinal de Lorraine (1555–88) was killed the following day. On the Journée des Barricades, see, among others, Stuart Carroll, "The Revolt of Paris, 1588: Aristocratic Insurgency and the Mobilization of Popular Support," *French Historical Studies* 23.2 (spring 2000): 301–37; and Denis Richet, "Les Barricades à Paris, le 12 Mai 1588," *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations* 45 (1990): 383–91. On the assassinations at Blois, see Martine Tissier de Mallerai and Jacqueline Melet-Sanson, eds., *La tragédie de Blois: Quatre siècles de polémique autour de l'assassinat du duc de Guise* (Blois: Ville de Blois, Conservation du Château et des Musées, 1988).

122. For a recent study, see Christian Bouyer, *Gaston d'Orléans: Le frère rebelle de Louis XIII* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2007).

123. On the Fronde, see, among others, Orest A. Ranum *The Fronde: A French Revolution* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993); Michel Pernot, *La Fronde* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1994); and Roger Duchêne and Pierre Ronzeaud, eds., *La Fronde en questions: Actes du dix-huitième Colloque du Centre Méridional de Rencontres sur le XVIIème Siècle (Marseille 28–29, Cassis 30–31 janvier 1988)* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1989). Traditionally, the humiliations suffered by Louis XIV during the Fronde have been posited as a deciding factor in his decision to move the court to Versailles. See, for example, Jacques Levron, *La vie quotidienne à la cour de Versailles au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1965); Warren Hamilton Lewis, *The Splendid Century: Life in the France of Louis XIV* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1957), 8; and, more recently, Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 154. However, this assertion has been challenged. See, for example, Jean-François Solnon, *La cour de France* (Paris: Fayard, 1978), 308.

124. Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur: Frère de Louis XIV*, 194.

125. The only time that Monsieur seems to have been actively surrounded by a cabal seeking his reign was in 1658 when the king's life was threatened by an illness that was probably typhoid. However, the eighteen-year-old prince seems not to have had any role in the plot and was distressed over the possible death of his brother. See Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 49–56.

126. Cited in Hugh Stokes, *A Prince of Pleasure: Phillip of France and His Court (1640–1701)* (New York: Brentano's, 1913), 351.

127. Cited in Hugh Stokes, *A Prince of Pleasure*, 352.

128. For recent studies of these aspects of Louis XIV's reign, see, among others, Bernard Vonglis, *La monarchie absolue française: Définition, datation, analyse d'un régime politique controversé* (Paris:

L'Harmattan, 2006); James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, second edition (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Lucien Bély, *Louis XIV: Le plus grand roi du monde* (Paris: J.-P. Gisserot, 2005); John Jeter Hurt, *Louis XIV and the Parlements: The Assertion of Royal Authority* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003); Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army Under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest (1661–1701)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*.

129. L. Lange, “La Grotte de Thétis et le premier Versailles de Louis XIV,” *Art de France* 1 (1967): 147.

130. François-Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvois, *Testament politique de François-Michel Le Tellier marquis de Louvois* (Cologne: Chez le Politique, 1695), 331. According to the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the work is attributed to the novelist, journalist, pamphleteer, and memorialist, Gatien Courtilz de Sandras (1644–1712).

131. Louis XIV, *Mémoires historiques et politiques* in *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 1:196–97.

132. Although the pervasive use of solar imagery by Louis XIV has led to a close association with the solar emblem, it was not his alone and had been employed by others before him, including Louis XIII, Henri IV, Henri II, and François Ier. See Alison Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem: A Study in Diversity* (Genève, Droz: 2000); Françoise Bardon, *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1974); and Louis Eugène Georges Hauteœur, *Louis XIV: Roi Soleil* (Paris: Plon, 1953).

133. *Le roi gouverne par lui-même* is an eighteenth-century title. The original caption was “INTER PACIS/ET FORTUNÆ/FLORENTIS/ILLECEBRAS” (“Amid the seductions of peace and flourishing fortune, he is inflamed by the love of glory”). See Florence Vuilleumier Laurens and Pierre Laurens, “La découverte et le déchiffrement des inscriptions latines de la Galerie des glaces à Versailles” in *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot*, vol. 86 (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2007), 141. Other inscriptions were also commissioned by Louis XIV, including one from François Charpentier (1620–1702) published in the *Mercure galant* (January 1685): “Louis le Grand dans la fleur de la jeunesse, prend en main le timon de l’État, et renonçant au repos et aux plaisirs, se donne tout entier à l’amour de la véritable gloire”; and another from Nicolas Boileau and Jean Racine in 1686, “Le Roy prend lui-même la conduite de ses États, et se donne tout entier aux affaires. 1661,” which replaced Charpentier’s inscription. See Florence Vuilleumier Laurens and Pierre Laurens, “La découverte et le déchiffrement des inscriptions latines de la Galerie des glaces à Versailles,” 141; and Nicolas Boileau, “Discours sur le style des inscriptions” in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Françoise Escal (Paris: Gallimard). For a detailed history of the inscriptions in the Galerie des Glaces, see Florence Vuilleumier Laurens and Pierre Laurens, “Les inscriptions de la Galerie des Glaces” in *La Galerie des glaces: Histoire et restauration*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Pierre Coppey (Paris: Fatou, 2007), [404–09].

134. For a full analysis, see Lydia Beauvais, “Histoire allégorisée des dix-huit premières années du règne de Louis XIV” in *La Galerie des glaces*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, Pierre Coppey, 216–217.

135. Louis Marin, *Le portrait du roi* (Paris: Éditions du Minuit, 1981), 10.

136. Louis Marin, *Le portrait du roi*, 13.

137. Louis Marin, *Le portrait du roi*, 10.

138. Daniel Royot, for example, declares in *Divided Loyalties in a Doomed Empire: The French in the West—From New France to the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007): “All over Europe, Louis XIV was known as the King of War, an egomaniac whose ambition always remained to gain glory through victories on the battlefield.” (110)

139. Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 13.

140. Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 61–70.
141. Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 11.
142. The Château de Saint-Cloud no longer exists, having been destroyed during the Siege of Paris on 13 October 1870 and razed in 1871. See Florence Austin Montenay, *Saint-Cloud: Une vie de château* (Genève: Vögele, 2005).
143. *Mercur galant* (October 1678): 330.
144. For a detailed description of the ceiling of the Galerie d'Apollon written by Monsieur's almoner, see Laurent de Morelet, *Traité de morale pour l'éducation des princes, tiré des peintures de la galerie de S. Clou* (Paris: J.-B. Nego, 1689). For a discussion of Morelet's volume, see Olivier Leplatre "Ekphrasis et politique: Le Traité de morale pour l'éducation des princes, tiré des peintures de la galerie de Saint-Cloud de l'abbé Laurent Morelet" in *Discours, politique et genres littéraires*, ed. Sabine Gruffat (Lyon: Université Jean Moulin-Lyon 3; Genève : Droz, 2008), 273–99.
145. Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, duchesse d'Orléans, *Correspondance complète de la duchesse d'Orléans*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. Gustave Brunet (Paris: Charpentier, 1855), 1:25.
146. Other manifestations of dynastic devotion at Saint-Cloud included the well-known 1670 painting of the royal family in mythological guise (again depicting Louis as Apollo) by Jean Nocret (1617–72), which has long been displayed in the Salon de l'Œil de Bœuf at Versailles (MV2157), but which originally hung in Madame's antechamber at Saint-Cloud. See Héléne Sueur, *Saint-Cloud: Le domaine national* (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, 1998), 9.
147. See Jacques Thuillier, "Charles Le Brun et la Galerie des glaces" in *La Galerie des glaces*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Pierre Coppey, 24–25.
148. Jacques Thuillier, "Charles Le Brun et la Galerie des glaces" in *La Galerie des glaces*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Pierre Coppey, 25.
149. Jennifer Montagu asserts the Louis XIV "sought to get the most out of his Premier Peintre by provoking and fostering his rivalry with Mignard." *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 46.
150. Jacques Thuillier, "Charles Le Brun et la Galerie des glaces" in *La Galerie des glaces*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Pierre Coppey, 24.
151. The authority of these images was confirmed by their placement at the heart of the king's residence, which, because it was open to visitors of all stations and used for the most illustrious receptions, served the didactic purpose of broadcasting the official history of Louis XIV to France and the world. See, among others, Béatrix Saule, "La Galerie des glaces pendant le règne de Louis XIV: De l'ordinaire à l'extraordinaire" in *La Galerie des glaces*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Pierre Coppey, 54–73.
152. For a full analysis, see Lydia Beauvais, "Histoire allégorisée des dix-huit premières années du règne de Louis XIV" in *La Galerie des glaces*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, Pierre Coppey, 220–22.
153. Claude Nivelon, *Vie de Charles Le Brun et description détaillée de ses ouvrages*, ed. Lorenzo Pericolo (Genève: Droz, 2004), 505. Also see Lydia Beauvais, "Histoire allégorisée des dix-huit premières années du règne de Louis XIV" in *La Galerie des glaces*, ed. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, Pierre Coppey, 228–29.
154. For a discussion of "histoire générale," see the introduction to the part 2.
155. Adam Frans Van der Meulen, *La bataille de mont Cassel en Artois remportée par le duc d'Orléans, frère de Louis XIV, sur l'armée de Hollande, le 11 avril 1677* (Versailles: Château de Versailles, MV5851).
156. Martin des Batailles, *Tenture des conquêtes de Louis XIV: La bataille de Cassel* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, LAB1138).

157. *La victoire remportée par l'armée du roy, à la bataille donnée près de Cassel, commandé par Monsieur, frère unique de Sa Majesté* (Paris: Bonnart, 1678); and *Glorieuse bataille donnée prez Montcassel à trois lieues de St Omer remportée par l'Armée du Roy* (Paris: Montcornet, 1678).
158. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Michel Hennin: Estampes relatives à l'histoire de France, tome 55, pièce 4921.
159. See Aurélie Du Crest, *Modèle familial et pouvoir monarchique: XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires d'Aix-Marseille, 2002).
160. Guy Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army Under Louis XIV*, 16. Also see Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).
161. Louis XIV, *Mémoires historiques et politiques in Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 2:57.
162. See Christian Bouyer, *Gaston d'Orléans*, 76–84; and A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 228.
163. Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 209.
164. Marthe Bassenne, *La vie tragique d'une reine d'Espagne: Marie Louise de Bourbon-Orléans, nièce de Louis XIV* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1939), 20–21.
165. Marthe Bassenne, *La vie tragique d'une reine d'Espagne*, 21–22.
166. Sophie, Herzogin von Hannover, *Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie nachmals Kurfürsten von Hannover*, ed. Adolp Köcher (Leipzig: Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven 4, 1979), 120.
167. Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, 3 vols., ed. Roger Duchêne (Paris: Gallimard, 1972–78), 2:688.
168. John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 262.
169. Louis XIV had legitimized his children by Louise de La Vallière (1644–1710) and Mme de Montespan before marrying them into the highest ranks of the royal bloodline. Mme de Montespan's children were legitimated in 1673.
170. Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 8 vols., ed. Yves Coirault (Paris: Gallimard, 1983–96), 3:13.
171. For Saint-Simon's account of the engagement agreement, see Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 3:32–38. Also see, among others, Marthe-Marguerite de Vilette de Murçay, comtesse de Caylus, *Souvenirs*, ed. Alexandre Petitot and Claude-Bernard Petitot (Paris: Foucault, 1828), 509; and Philippe de Courcillon, marquis de Dangeau, *Journal*, 19 vols., ed. Eudoxe Soulié (Paris: Didot, 1854–60), 4:6–8.
172. Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 3:35.
173. Although the letter is in German, Madame quotes Monsieur in French. Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière, duchesse d'Orléans, *Die Briefe der Liselotte*, ed. Margarethe Westphal (Ebenhausen: Langewiesche-Brandt, 1958), 109.
174. "Briefwechsel zwischen Elisabeth Charlotte von Orleans und Christian Wemicke" (2 nov. 1715) in *Romanische Forschungen* 5 (1890): 297. By marrying Monsieur's daughters to foreign sovereigns, Louis XIV extended the reach of his influence abroad, but marrying his bastards into collateral branches of the Bourbon line reveals the king's concern with ensuring that all of his children be considered legitimate, not only through the legal declaration of their legitimacy, but by full integration into royal houses. He followed the same procedure with his legitimized sons for whom he also sought to ensure political authority, such as when he named Louis-Auguste de Bourbon, duc du Maine (1670–1736), a son of Montespan, who had married Ann Louise Bénédicte de Bourbon (1676–1753), daughter of Henri Jules de Bourbon-Condé (1643–1709), as regent for his great-grandson (Louis XV). Although that provision of the will was overturned after the king's

death, it nonetheless exposes the degree to which Louis XIV sought to consolidate political influence and dynastic authority in the hands of his direct descendants.

175. A.J.D., *Sur la mort de Philippe de France, duc d'Orléans* (s.l.: s.n., 1701), 1.

176. In the libretto of *Armide* (1686) by Philippe Quinault (1635–88) for Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–87), the prologue concludes with a chorus led by la Gloire and la Sagesse beginning with the lines “Que dans le temple de Memoire son nom soit pour jamais gravé . . .” Philippe Quinault, *Livrets d'opéra*, 2 vols. ed. Buford Norman (Toulouse: Société de Littératures Classiques, 1999), 2:253.

177. A.J.D., *Sur la mort de Philippe de France, duc d'Orléans*, 3.

178. Medals in seventeenth-century France were among the most notable forms of commemoration and image building. See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 1992. They also served a didactic function, teaching officially-sanctioned versions of history. See Alison Saunders, *The Seventeenth-Century French Emblem*, 109–60.

179. A.J.D., *Sur la mort de Philippe de France, duc d'Orléans*, 3.

180. The *abrégé* is also frequently not signed. See, for example, the *Abrégé de la vie et des actions héroïques du roi Louis XIII... et des choses plus mémorables arrivées sous son règne*, the *Abrégé de la vie et des actions glorieuses de la Reine Marie de Médicis, femme du Roy Henri le Grand*, and the *Abrégé de la vie et des actions glorieuses de l'éminentissime Cardinal Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu et de Fronsac*, none of which are signed.

181. *Abrégé de la vie et des actions héroïques de très-haut et très-puissant prince Philippe de France, frère unique du roy, duc d'Orléans, de Valois, de Nemours, de Chartres et de Montpensier* (Paris: Moreau, 1701), 6–10.

182. *Abrégé de la vie et des actions héroïques de très-haut et très-puissant prince Philippe de France*, 8.

183. *Abrégé de la vie et des actions héroïques de très-haut et très-puissant prince Philippe de France*, 9.

184. *Abrégé de la vie et des actions héroïques de très-haut et très-puissant prince Philippe de France*, 10.

185. Saint-Denis was the royal patron saint beginning in the seventh century. In 1120 he was named the protector of France, and the royal regalia (including the crowns and Main de Justice) were kept at the Cathédrale Royale de Saint-Denis. As Bernard Guenée remarks: “L’historiographie dionysienne était par tradition royale et nationale.” “Les ‘Grandes Chroniques de France’” in *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols., ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 1:740.

186. François de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Oraison funèbre de très-haut et très-puissant prince Monseigneur Philippe fils de France, frère unique du roy, duc d'Orléans* (Paris: Rollard, 1701), 3.

187. François de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Oraison funèbre de très-haut et très-puissant prince Monseigneur Philippe fils de France*, 5.

188. François de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Oraison funèbre de très-haut et très-puissant prince Monseigneur Philippe fils de France*, 15–16.

189. François de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Oraison funèbre de très-haut et très-puissant prince Monseigneur Philippe fils de France*, 18.

190. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1:159.

191. Charlotte Élisabeth de Bavière d'Orléans, *Correspondance complète*, 1:96.

CHAPTER 2

Manipulating *Inclination*: Philippe d'Orléans as *Efféminé***Warrior or *Efféminé*? Cultivating Contrasting *Inclinations***

Monsieur's performance of warrior masculinity was short-lived, little commemorated, and officially attributed to the command of Louis XIV. A more enduring image of the prince inverts his warrior identity, which emphasized masculine virtues such as valor, independence, and physical strength, charging him instead with vices stereotypically attributed to women, thus casting him as effeminate.¹ The emblematic disparaging portrait of Monsieur was penned by Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1675–1755) shortly after the prince's death in 1701:

Monsieur, qui avec beaucoup de valeur avait gagné la bataille de Cassel, et qui en avait toujours montré une fort naturelle en tous les sièges où il s'était trouvé, n'avait que les mauvaises qualités des femmes. . . . Personne de si mou, de corps et d'esprit, de plus faible, de plus timide, de plus trompé, de plus gouverné, ni de plus méprisé par ses favoris, et très souvent de plus malmené par eux. Tracassier et incapable de garder aucun secret, aussi pour s'amuser, et redisant des uns aux autres. Avec tant de défauts destitués de toutes vertus, un goût abominable que ses dons et les fortunes qu'il fit à ceux qu'il avoit pris en fantaisie avoient rendu public avec le plus grand scandale, et qui n'avoit point de bornes pour le nombre ni pour les temps.²

Although Saint-Simon mentions Monsieur's valor at Cassel, he does so only in passing (but by doing so he reveals that it is possible to have more than one natural tendency or *inclination*) and emphasizes negative qualities that had long been cast as feminine, including physical and mental weakness, argumentativeness, garrulousness, suspicion, and gossipiness,³ which he links with sodomy ("un goût abominable"). Warrior prowess does not accord with physical and mental weakness, so Saint-Simon's description of Monsieur may seem self-contradictory in attributing to the prince qualities that are apparently incompatible. However, this posthumous portrait covers Monsieur's entire life and conflates two images (warrior and *efféminé*) that were elaborated during different periods according to dynastic demands imposed by senior members of his family: Anne d'Autriche (in

collaboration with Mazarin) and Louis XIV. Saint-Simon was born only two years before the Battle of Cassel and did not know Monsieur the warrior, so his reference to the prince as a hero is brief, and he provides a more detailed description of Monsieur the *efféminé*, with whom he was acquainted. Many accounts of Monsieur's youth, including those of Daniel de Cosnac (1627–1708), bishop of Valence and Philippe's chaplain; and Philippe's governor, César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin (1602–75), emphasize his masculine warrior qualities, but this identity was not the only persona that he assumed early in life, and, while he was training for and excelling in the art of war, there was already concurrent discourse casting him as effeminate. Sodomy and effeminacy were not generally viewed as interdependent in early modern France, although they had become increasingly linked as stereotypes by the turn of the eighteenth century.⁴ Monsieur's gender performance appears to have succeeded equally in the roles of masculine warrior, *efféminé*, and even in the role of effeminate warrior. Still more important is the notion that a person could have more than a single tendency (*inclination*), as Monsieur did for cross-dressing and warring practices, and that such predispositions were manipulable, including by others for their own ends.

This chapter discusses the ways in which Anne d'Autriche, Mazarin, and Louis XIV may have exploited *inclination* in Monsieur to cultivate a performance of dynastic submission. Just as Monsieur overtly dedicated his warrior victories to the king's *gloire* rather than to his own, he accepted sometimes humiliating enactments of effeminacy as a sign of his submission to Louis. Monsieur's *inclination* for effeminacy was encouraged and strengthened at the same time as his *inclination* for masculine armed prowess, but as the dynastic usefulness of his warrior image declined, Monsieur's *inclination* for effeminacy became more dominant in his performance of gender. I will explore Monsieur's identity as *efféminé* first through a discussion of the seventeenth-century notion of *inclination*. Then I examine early accounts of his purported effeminacy, including the memoirs of

Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier (1627–93); Françoise de Motteville (1621?–89), *dame d'honneur* of Anne d'Autriche; the abbé François Timoléon de Choisy (1644–1724), and in political satire during the Fronde. Finally, I will analyze Monsieur's staged roles in *ballets de cour* and the *Grand carrousel du roy* (1662), in which gender performance, including cross-dressing and effeminacy associated with the Orient, contributed to his enactment of symbolic dynastic subservience.

Inclination: Humors, Passions, and Volonté

Although the notion of sexual identity did not exist in early modern France, at least not in the sense established during the nineteenth century, it would be inaccurate to suggest, as Michel Foucault seems to do, that early modern people engaged freely in all sexual acts.⁵ Foucault does not discuss tendencies that might induce someone to engage in certain sexual acts rather than others, but which do not constitute an identity. During the seventeenth century, such impulses were designated by the notion of *inclination*. According to Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (1690):

INCLINATION, se dit figurément des choses spirituelles des affections de l'âme et signifie alors une pente ou disposition naturelle à faire quelque chose. Les uns ont de l'*inclination* aux armes; les autres à l'étude; les uns à la vertu, les autres à la desbauche. On ne réussit jamais bien en une chose, quand on force son *inclination*.⁶

As defined by Furetière, the four principal characteristics of *inclination* are that it is a natural leaning or disposition, linked to the affections of the *âme* (soul or mind),⁷ tends toward being manifested in acts, and is powerful enough that efforts to force it are unsuccessful.

In seventeenth-century French thought, the concept of the natural, as “of nature,” is complex,⁸ as Furetière suggests. He provides twenty-seven entries for “nature” and associated terms, including one that is closely related to his definition of *inclination*: “Il y a des hommes de toutes *natures*, les uns gais, les autres melancoliques.”⁹ Just as animals may be cast as identified with emblematic temperaments, “Le Lion est de *nature* billieuse & colérique,”¹⁰ the *natures* of particular

people are viewed as conforming to a dominant characteristic, such as gaiety or melancholy, which are joined to *inclinations* for certain activities, such as warring or studying. However, as François de La Rochefoucauld (1613–80) explains, this does not mean that temperaments are fixed: “Nous nous apercevons des emportements et des mouvements extraordinaires de nos humeurs et de notre tempérament, comme de la violence de la colère; mais personne quasi ne s’aperçoit que ces humeurs ont un cours ordinaire et réglé, qui meut et tourne doucement notre volonté à des actions différentes.”¹¹ In other words, there is an underlying “ordinary course” (corresponding to Furetière’s “nature”) that guides actions, and is stronger than tastes or preferences and less subject to change: “Il est aussi ordinaire de voir changer les goûts qu’il est extraordinaire de voir changer les inclinations.”¹² Furthermore, this “ordinary course” guides *volonté*, which La Rochefoucauld casts as dependant on the “ordinary course,” but which can be deployed in opposition to *inclination*.

Furetière’s “ordinary regulated course” was thought to be determined by dispositions of the body and the *âme*. His choice of gaiety and melancholy as examples of natural temperaments and his mention of the humors and of anger draws on theories of the passions as related to corporeal equilibrium and states of the *âme*. According to seventeenth-century medical theory based on Galen (129 or 131–201 or 216), the body contains four essential humors (blood, black bile, yellow bile, and phlegm) that regulate the “ordinary course” of a person’s dominant temperament (choleric, melancholic, sanguine, or phlegmatic), as Erec R. Koch explains:

The humors—blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile—circulated in the body as material elements asserting physical properties . . . but they also were the sources of psychic temperaments depending on the proportion of their presence in the body. Thus, abundance of blood led to a sanguine disposition, phlegm to a phlegmatic disposition, black bile to a melancholic disposition, and yellow bile to a choleric disposition. It is the unique combination of those humors that created the signature individuality of humans [and animals], of their characters and temperaments.¹³

Psychic temperaments and dispositions are linked to the passions, such as anger.¹⁴ The lion's alleged disposition to anger would be explained by the predominance of yellow bile in his physical composition, hence Furetière's description of the lion's nature as "billieuse et colérique" and his assertion: "Les bilieux sont sujets à la colère."¹⁵

Although medical theory explained the causes of the passions as physical, Furetière defines them as incorporeal "affections de l'âme"¹⁶ (Koch's "psychic temperaments"), a designation that he also applies to *inclination*. In *Les passions de l'âme* (1649), René Descartes (1596–1650) describes the complex connections between the body and the *âme* when he defines the passions as "des perceptions ou des sentiments, ou des émotions de l'âme, qu'on rapporte particulièrement à elle, et qui sont causées, entretenues et fortifiées par quelque mouvement des esprits."¹⁷ Descartes describes the "esprits" as "un vent très-subtil qu'on nomme les esprits animaux," which are material, produced in the brain, and move in reflexive response to exterior stimuli¹⁸ to cause the passions, which Descartes says are particular to the *âme*. The action of the animal spirits on the *âme* are, for Descartes, the source of *inclination*, as he explains in his discussion of esteem and contempt:

Et l'estime, en tant qu'elle est une passion, est une inclination qu'a l'âme à se représenter la valeur de la chose estimée, laquelle inclination est causée par un mouvement particulier des esprits tellement conduits dans le cerveau qu'ils fortifient les impressions qui servent à ce sujet; comme, au contraire, la passion du mépris est une inclination qu'a l'âme à considérer la bassesse ou petitesse de ce qu'elle méprise, causée par le mouvement des esprits qui fortifient l'idée de cette petitesse.¹⁹

In the Cartesian system, *inclination* is proper to the immaterial *âme*, but it is caused by the movement of the material spirits²⁰ and tends to manifest physically.²¹ The physical acts that reveal the passions are, according to Galen, the result of the humors' fluctuations. These are activated by the "volatile atoms" of the spirits, but *inclination*, "sympathies," and "antipathies"²² are non-corporeal. However, as Furetière asserts, "sympathies" and "antipathies" ensue from the balance among the humors,²³

and thus they are variable, since this balance may change, and are therefore more mutable than *inclination*.

Although the *âme* has *inclinations*, which are caused by the animal spirits (according to Descartes), or the humors (according to Galenic theory), they are only a “pente ou disposition naturelle,” and there is no imperative to follow or act on them, a point observed by the jurist and political philosopher, Jean Bodin (1530–96): “Vray est que les esprits, & meurs des personnes, suyvent bien souvent les humeurs, comme dict Galen . . . mais cela n’eft point necessaire, & n’y a qu’une inclination naturelle, & non pas necessité.”²⁴ The notion of *volonté* designates the attribute of the *âme* that can potentially resist or overcome *inclination*, which is defined in the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* under the main entry “vouloir”: “Volonté . . . Faculté, puissance par laquelle on veut. L’entendement²⁵ éclaire la volonté, quand la volonté est préoccupé par la passion . . . les volontez sont libres.”²⁶ Thus, although Descartes says that the spirits guide *volonté* to actions, he also explains that actions are not necessarily dominated by the passions since *volonté* can cause the body to refrain from actions that the passions incite:

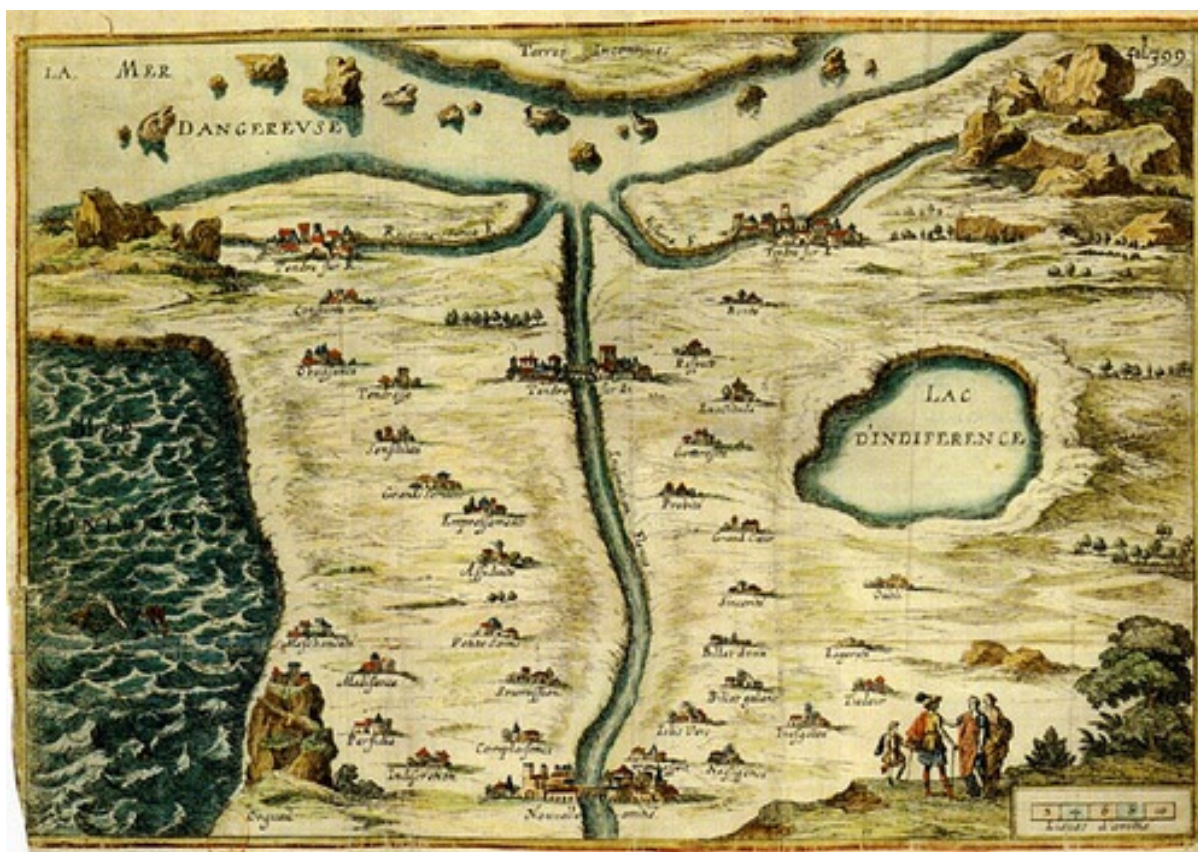
Et comme l’âme, en se rendant fort attentive à quelque autre chose, peut s’empêcher d’ouïr un petit bruit ou de sentir une petite douleur, mais ne peut s’empêcher en même façon d’ouïr le tonnerre ou de sentir le feu qui brûle la main, ainsi elle peut aisément surmonter les moindres passions, mais non pas les plus violentes et les plus fortes, sinon après que l’émotion du sang et des esprits est apaisée. Le plus que la volonté puisse faire pendant que cette émotion est en sa vigueur, c’est de ne pas consentir à ses effets et de retenir plusieurs des mouvements auxquelles elle dispose le corps. Par exemple, si la colère fait lever la main pour frapper, la volonté peut ordinairement la retenir; si la peur incite les gens à fuir, la volonté peut les arrêter, et ainsi des autres.²⁷

“Émotion” (which is derived from “mouvoir”) is the movement of the humors, the spirits, and the *âme*,²⁸ and this movement, although it can manifest physically, can also be surmounted, or at least be resisted by *volonté* to the extent of influencing acts. However, although Descartes emphasizes the mechanism by which *volonté* might block the passions’ impulse, this process is not always successful,

as Koch observes, since it places *volonté* and the passions in opposition: “the body itself can impede happiness; that is, reason and the will alone do not suffice against the power of the body, or rather the forces that act on it . . . the action of forces at work on the body may make it indisposed, or rather they may counteract by force any action of the will.”²⁹ Although it is possible for passions or *inclination* to be stronger than *volonté*, the ability “not to consent” to acts that they provoke is one of its most significant aspects, as Rebecca M. Wilkin explains, approaching the notion of *volonté* as a self-empowering ability to assent: “Free will . . . is the only thing that truly belongs to us; it is, therefore, the only thing that we can legitimately expect to control. . . . we can always claim to have willed our assent to whatever it is that happens to us . . .”³⁰ Assenting or not to acts incited by the passions or *inclination* necessarily carries moral implications by revealing whether a person is willing or able to resist (through *volonté*) impulses that may have negative consequences.

The emblematic seventeenth-century literary formulation of *inclination* is found in the first volume of the novel *Clélie* (1654–60) by Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), where it is closely linked with the desirable notions of *amitié* and *tendresse*. The power of *tendresse* goes beyond that of friendship, but does not extend to love, as Célère makes clear when he says of Clélie: “elle n’avait jamais eu d’amour et qu’elle n’aurait jamais dans le cœur que de la tendresse.”³¹ The ways to travel from *amitié* to *tendresse* are illustrated by the “Carte de Tendre” (Ill. 12) in which there are three rivers, Inclination, Reconnaissance, and Estime, each of which has its own city of Tendre. Reconnaissance and Estime run in the extreme north, and one arrives at Tendre-sur-Estime and Tendre-sur-Reconnaissance by arduous journeys over land with many stops along the way. The path is not certain and may lead to the Mer d’Inimitié or to the Lac d’Indifférence where *amitié* founders. But the third river, Inclination, is, as Célère explains, a sure route leading directly from Nouvelle Amitié to Tendresse-sur-Inclination: “la tendresse qui naist par inclination, n’a besoin de rien autre chose pour

estre ce qu'elle est; Clélie, comme vous le voyez, Madame, n'a mis nul Village, le long des bords de cette Riviere, qui va si viste, qu'on n'a que faire de logement le long de ses Rives, pour aller de Nouvelle Amitié à Tendre."³² The swift, strong current of Inclination leads quickly to Tendre-sur-Inclination, which is closer to Nouvelle Amitié than either Tendre-sur-Reconnaissance or Tendre-sur-Estime, and there are no stops or false routes along the way.



Ill. 12. François Chauveau, “La carte de Tendre” in Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clélie* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1654).

Although Scudéry’s formulation of *inclination* is mainly positive, the “Carte de Tendre” also illustrates that in relation to *amitié* and *tendresse*, *inclination* carries a strong element of danger since following it past Tendresse-sur-Inclination leads to the Mer Dangereuse: “la Rivière d’Inclination se jette dans une Mer qu’on appelle la Mer dangereuse; parce qu’il est assez dangereux . . . d’aller un

peu au delà des dernières Bornes de l'amitié."³³ Beyond the Mer Dangereuse lie the Terres Inconnues, probably including romantic love, which is absent from the map, but among the potential destinations beyond *tendresse*. In Scudéry's *Tendre*, romantic love is cast as leading to unhappiness, and it is therefore best avoided, as Jean-Michel Pelous explains: "Dans l'univers tendre, il n'y a pas d'amants heureux; sitôt qu'il se sont engagés dans l'aventure amoureuse les persécutions commencent."³⁴ Although the Carte de *Tendre* does not necessarily preclude the possibility of happy romantic love, it does emphasize that what lies beyond *tendresse* is dangerous and unknown. And yet, not seeking to travel beyond *Tendresse* does not necessarily suffice to withstand the pull of *Inclination*'s current; only the deployment of *volonté* makes it possible to bridle the passions and to resist *inclination*.

The assertion of *volonté* against the potentially dangerous current of *inclination* is a fundamental theme in *La princesse de Clèves* (1678) by Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette (1634–93) and is articulated by the mother of Mme de Clèves on her deathbed:

Il faut nous quitter, ma fille, lui dit-elle, en lui tendant la main; le péril où je vous laisse, et le besoin que vous avez de moi, augmentent le déplaisir que j'ai de vous quitter. Vous avez de l'inclination pour monsieur de Nemours; je ne vous demande point de me l'avouer . . . Il y a déjà longtemps que je me suis aperçue de cette inclination . . . vous êtes sur le bord du précipice: il faut de grands efforts et de grandes violences pour vous retenir. Songez ce que vous devez à votre mari; songez ce que vous vous devez à vous-même, et pensez que vous allez perdre cette réputation que vous vous êtes acquise, et que je vous ai tant souhaitée. Ayez de la force et du courage . . . ne craignez point de prendre des partis trop rudes et trop difficiles, quelque affreux qu'ils vous paraissent d'abord; ils seront plus doux dans les suites que les malheurs d'une galanterie.³⁵

As described by La Fayette, *inclination* draws Mme de Clèves to the edge of a perilous precipice, incites her to violate marital and personal duties, and must be resisted at all costs. Although La Fayette never defines *volonté* as the opposition to *inclination*, the notion accords with phrases such as "efforts et de grandes violences" that designate resisting its current.³⁶ However, challenging *inclination*

does not necessarily make it easy to overcome, just as a struggling swimmer, if lacking sufficient strength, may be swept off by a river's current. Mme de Clèves realizes that *inclination* carries her away in spite of herself: "Je suis vaincue et surmontée par une inclination qui m'entraîne malgré moi."³⁷ Recognizing the exigency of her situation and the demands of duty to herself, Mme de Clèves exerts *volonté* by withdrawing from court to spend half of each year in a "maison religieuse" and the other half on her estate.³⁸ Traditional interpretations of *La princesse de Clèves* cast the heroine as fleeing the court in order to quell her amorous passion, but La Fayette never suggests that passion was destroyed, only that it was eventually extinguished after many years: "Enfin, des années entières s'étant passées, le temps et l'absence ralentirent sa douleur et éteignirent sa passion."³⁹ Although La Fayette does not explicitly state that *inclination* was extinguished with passion, she suggests this possibility in the strategic plan of the duc de Nemours: "J'ai dû respecter la douleur de madame de Clèves; mais je la respecte trop longtemps, et je lui donne le loisir d'éteindre l'inclination qu'elle a pour moi."⁴⁰ Thus, *volonté*, although unable to create *inclination*, can help to extinguish it, but only through sustained effort. In the case of Mme de Clèves, the ability to remain true to her chosen course in opposition to *inclination* is what reveals the strength, as Domna C. Stanton observes: "The Princesse de Clèves' heroism is defined by her capacity to uphold a decision dictated by reason and conscience."⁴¹ The ability to impose *volonté* against the current of *inclination* is a vital defense against dangerous *inclinations*, such as that of Mme de Clèves for the duc de Nemours. However, it is also possible not to resist *inclinations*, even when they are cast as negative. Monsieur appears to have been encouraged to follow his *inclinations* for cross-dressing and effeminacy, both of which were considered disgraceful.

Cross-Dressing and Effeminacy

Outside of the dramatic arts⁴² and literature,⁴³ cross-dressing by men in seventeenth-century France was viewed as a violation of masculine gender codes and linked with effeminacy, as Lewis C. Seifert observes: “Outside the realm of fiction, cross-dressing by men was condemned by ecclesiastical observers as a sign of inherent femininity or effeminacy, and the period’s general presumption about the perfection of the male body rendered the donning of female clothing by men an incomprehensible rejection of their ‘natural’ superiority.”⁴⁴ The Church’s condemnation of cross-dressing, confirmed in 1522 by Pope Adrian VI (1459–1523),⁴⁵ drew its authority from biblical proscriptions, just as it did for dictates against sodomy.⁴⁶ According to Deuteronomy 22:5: “Non indueter mulier veste virili, nec vir utetur vesti fœmineâ: abominabilis enim apud Deum est qui facit hæc.”⁴⁷ [“A woman shall not be clothed with man’s apparel, neither shall a man use woman’s apparel: for he that doth these things is abominable before God.”⁴⁸] This is the Bible’s only injunction against cross-dressing, which it declares an “abomination,” just as it does of sexual acts between men in Leviticus 18:22.

Although the Bible does not explain why cross-dressing is abominable, early biblical theorists emphasize, as they do of sodomy, that it confuses the “natural order.” This is the view of Philo (30? B.C.–40? A.D.)⁴⁹ in *On the Virtues*:

So earnestly does the law desire to train and exercise the soul to manly courage that it lays down rules even about the kind of garment which should be worn. It strictly forbids a man to assume a woman’s garb, in order that no trace, no merest shadow of the female should attach to him to spoil his masculinity. For as it always follows nature, its will is to lay down rules suitable and consistent . . . the true man should maintain his masculinity, particularly in his clothes, which as he always wears them by day and night ought to have nothing to suggest unmanliness. In the same way he [God] trained the woman to decency of adornment and forbade her to assume the dress of a man, with the further object of guarding against the mannish-woman as much as the womanish-man. He knew that as in buildings, if one of the foundation stones is removed, the rest will not remain as it were.⁵⁰

In Philo's notion of the natural order, masculinity and femininity are distinct and clothing is one of their most fundamental signifiers. A man will "spoil his masculinity" by cross-dressing, which opposes "manly courage" by being "womanish." Indeed, Philo declares that violating divinely-prescribed gender roles leads to the collapse of the natural order of which they are a constituent element. In *The Special Laws*, Philo warns not only against men cultivating refinements of coiffures, cosmetics, and perfumes, which are proper to women, but, above all, against the "disease of effemination," which he identifies with pederasty:

another evil, which has ramped its way into the cities, namely pederasty.⁵¹ In former days the very mention of it was a great disgrace . . . the passive partners, who habituate themselves to endure the disease of effemination let both body and soul run to waste, and leave no ember of their male sex-nature to smoulder. Mark how conspicuously they braid and adorn the hair of their heads, and how they scrub and paint their faces with cosmetics and pigments and the like, and smother themselves with fragrant unguents. . . . In fact the transformation of the male nature to the female is practiced by them as an art and does not raise a blush. These persons are rightly judged worthy of death by those who obey the law which ordains that the man-woman who debases the sterling coin of nature should perish unavenged, suffered not to live for a day or even an hour, as a disgrace to himself, his house, his native land and the whole human race. And the lover of such may be assured that he is subject to the same penalty. He pursues an unnatural pleasure . . . he sees no harm in becoming a tutor and instructor in the grievous vices of unmanliness and effeminacy . . .⁵²

For Philo, the passive sodomite, who is "used as a woman," in biblical terms, engages in acts that debase and violate nature, and he should be put to death.

Although *The Special Laws* does not explicitly name cross-dressing, the use of cosmetics and other elements of feminine elegance and beauty are aspects of transvestism that could render the seventeenth-century courtier suspect of effeminacy.⁵³ Philo's unequivocal condemnation of men who display signs of femininity was considered authoritative among religious moralists in seventeenth-century France.⁵⁴ The Franciscan Jacques Olivier decries cross-dressing in his *Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes* (1617):

Philon Juif, au traicté qu'il a faict de la force, & du courage, dict que Dieu desirant que l'homme se monstrast courageux & magnanime en ses actions, en ses comportements & en ses vestements, il luy defendit estroitement, comme nous voyons au Deuteronomie, 22 que jamais il ne portast les habits de femmes, *vir non vietur veste feminea, nec mulier veste virili*, c'est une chose abominable devant Dieu (dit Moÿse) que les hommes portent des habits de femmes, & les femmes ceux de l'homme, sur quoy ce docte Hebreu dit que Dieu defend les habits de femme à l'homme, pour monstrer qu'il ne doit avoir rien de feminin, mais qu'il se doit monstrer masle en toutes ses actions, jusques à ses habits . . .⁵⁵

According to Olivier's reading of Philo and Deuteronomy, manly courage and magnanimity (two qualities of the warrior) do not accord with the clothing of women; they are an abomination in God's eyes and prohibited. Thus a man who appears in women's clothing must be lacking in virtues such as courage and must have something "feminine" about him. This is also the view of the Jansenist Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (1613–84), almoner of the Abbaye de Port-Royal-des-Champs in Paris, as he interprets Deuteronomy:

Dieu défend aux hommes et aux femmes de changer d'habits, et de se vêtir d'une manière différente de leur sexe, pour empêcher le scandale, et les desordres qui en peuvent naître. La naturelle aux femmes; et l'homme aussi en prenant l'habit qui convient à l'autre sexe, donne lieu de craindre qu'il n'en ait et la molesse et l'esprit: ci qui est un renversement de la nature abominable aux yeux de Dieu.⁵⁶

Sacy agrees with Philo and Olivier that clothing reveals the wearer's true nature and claims that order can only be maintained when men and women dress according to the norms of their sex. When a man wears women's clothing, he suggests that he also has their physical and mental weakness. The stereotype of the weak man is scandalous, contrary to nature, and bears directly on accounts of Monsieur's cross-dressing, which are linked with effeminacy.

“Pour Le Rendre Efféminé”: Monsieur's Cross-Dressing

Among the best-known accounts of Monsieur's childhood cross-dressing is that of the abbé de Choisy, whose mother was among the queen's intimates. Although Choisy does not indicate when his cross-dressing with Monsieur supposedly took place, it would logically have been around or after 1647 when Philippe was seven years old, the approximate age at which boys were

“désenjuponnés” (“breeched”). Choisy describes the process of Monsieur’s cross-dressing and mentions that the young prince enjoyed it, which presumably reflects his *inclination*.⁵⁷

On m’habillait en fille toutes les fois que le petit Monsieur venait au logis, et il y venait au moins deux ou trois fois la semaine. J’avais les oreilles percées, des diamants, des mouches et toutes les autres petites afféteries auxquelles on s’accoutume fort aisément et dont on se défait fort difficilement. Monsieur qui aimait aussi tout cela me faisait toujours cent amitiés. Dès qu’il arrivait, suivi des nièces du Cardinal de Mazarin et de quelques filles de la Reine, on le mettait à sa toilette, on le coiffait. Il avait un corps pour conserver sa taille (ce corps était en broderie). On lui ôtait son justaucorps pour lui mettre des manteaux de femme et des jupes. Et tout cela, dit-on, par ordre du cardinal qui voulait le rendre efféminé de peur qu’il ne fit de la peine au Roi, comme Gaston avait fait à Louis XIII.⁵⁸

According to Choisy, Monsieur’s early cross-dressing practices took place only among women, with the exception of Choisy, who were apparently “unmanning” the young prince. Choisy explicitly mentions the removal of the boy’s (masculine) *justaucorps* (fitted knee-length jacket⁵⁹) in exchange for women’s skirts, *manteau* (overskirt⁶⁰), bodice, and coiffure. For Choisy, this process was an attempt by Mazarin to render Monsieur effeminate (“le rendre efféminé”), a remarkable accusation. Just as Philo does, Sacy suggests that cross-dressing induces effeminacy. However, seventeenth-century views on the effeminate and on sodomy usually indicate that *inclinations* are inborn and cannot be taught. Anne d’Autriche supposedly declared to Louis XIV’s *premier valet de chambre*, Pierre de La Porte (1603–80), that Mazarin: “n’aimoit pas les femmes; qu’il étoit d’un pays à avoir des inclinations d’une toute autre nature.”⁶¹ In this context, Choisy’s remark might be interpreted to mean that Mazarin’s strategy attempted to encourage an *inclination* for cross-dressing and effeminacy, but it might also mean that the cardinal was attempting to inculcate something that was not already there. Choisy’s assertion that Mazarin meant to “le rendre efféminé” suggests that he did not already have this quality. Furetière defines “rendre” as “Faire devenir; acquérir quelque qualité nouvelle; changer d’état.”⁶² Thus, in Monsieur’s case, instilling effeminacy through cross-dressing might also induce in him an *inclination* for sodomy.

In the biblically-grounded theories of Philo, Olivier, and Sacy, cross-dressing and its attendant effeminacy are symptomatic of sodomitical abomination, a reversal of the natural order.⁶³ Seeking to render effeminate or to sodomize was the equivalent of seeking to dominate, a role that was attributed to Mazarin in satirical pamphlets during the Fronde, including in an anonymous chanson from 1648 addressed to the young Louis XIV:

Sire, vous n'êtes qu'un enfant,
L'on vous dérobe impunément,
Le larron baise votre mère,
Lère là, lère lanlaire.
Même on dit qu'il a protesté
De baiser Votre Majesté
Aussi bien que son petit frère,
Lère là, lère lanlaire.⁶⁴

The chanson's indiscriminate use of the verb "baiser" does not distinguish between Anne and her sons, so in the queen regent's case, the accusation may not refer to sodomy, although other satirical texts do explicitly accuse her of being sodomized by Mazarin.⁶⁵ However, the binary power implication of active/passive (male/female) is clear. Although the chanson asserts that Mazarin sodomizes the queen (thus dominating her sexually), it also remarks that he claimed ("il a protesté"⁶⁶) to have sodomized Louis and Philippe (in this case "baiser" is a synonym for "sodomiser"). *La Mazarinade* (1651) by Paul Scarron (1610–60) is more outspoken in its accusations regarding Mazarin's purported sodomizing for political ends:

Sergent à verge de Sodome
Exploittant par tout le Royaume,
...
Bougre Sodomisant l'Etat,
Et bougre du plus haut Karat,
Investissant le monde en pouppe
C'est à dire baisant en crouppe
Bougre à chèvres, bougre à garçons,
Bougre de toutes façons . . ."⁶⁷

According to Scarron, Mazarin exploits the state by bugging it, and the barely-veiled presumption is that he sodomizes Louis, who is the state's symbolic embodiment.⁶⁸ In June 1652, La Porte recounts an attempt to sodomize Louis while the boy was in the cardinal's care.⁶⁹ La Porte reported the incident to the queen carefully: "je ne lui nommai pas l'auteur de la chose, n'en ayant pas de certitude"⁷⁰ Although it may be argued that La Porte's insinuation would have been clear to Anne, particularly in light of his claim that she alluded to Mazarin being a sodomite, there were other members of the cardinal's entourage, including his nephew, Philippe-Julien Mancini-Mazarini, duc de Nevers (1641–1707), to whom the cardinal supposedly referred as his *bardache* (passive sodomite⁷¹), who might have been involved. Three years after the cardinal's death, La Porte wrote to Anne in an attempt to justify himself, reminding her not only of how difficult it had been for him to inform her of the attempt to sodomize Louis, but that the resulting physical marks on the king's body had been witnessed by others, including Alexandre Bontemps (1626–1701), another of the monarch's *premiers valets de chambre* beginning in 1659: "comme nous le désabillions, l'attentat manuel qu'on venoit de commettre sur sa personne parut si visiblement, que Bontemps, le père, et Moreau le virent comme moi."⁷² La Porte also urges the queen to ask her son for the accurate account that he would be able to provide:

Je n'ai qu'une seule chose à dire à Votre Majesté, c'est que le Roi sait la vérité; si elle a pour agréable de lui en parler lorsqu'il fera ses dévotions, je ne crois pas qu'une si belle ame aille contre la vérité en une chose où il y va de sa conscience.⁷³

La Porte followed his letter to Anne with one to Louis, exhorting him to reveal the truth about the incident,⁷⁴ and it is unlikely that he would have written such letters and named witnesses if the attempt to sodomize Louis had not taken place.

The event reported by La Porte accords with the notion that attempts to force *inclination* are unsuccessful. The venture to sodomize Louis had failed because he was not willing to be "used as a

woman.” His negative reaction must have been decisive enough that the undertaking was not repeated (or at least there is no evidence that it was), and Louis was never cast as effeminate. However, according to Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayolo (1648–1713), Mazarin and his nephew were responsible for the successful initiation of Philippe into sodomy: “Mi è stato assicurato che era stato il duca di Nevers a corrompere per primo *Monsieur*.” [“I was assured that the duc de Nevers was the first to corrupt Monsieur”]⁷⁵ The notion that Monsieur could be “corrupted” is similar to Choisy’s accusation that Mazarin sought to “rendre Monsieur efféminé.” According to Furetière, “corrompre” means “Alterer la nature de quelque chose en l’empirant,”⁷⁶ and changing Monsieur’s “masculine” nature to an “effeminate” one by inflecting *inclination* is an example of this process. Such remarks suggest that sodomy (the “corrupt” act) might be taught, and that an *inclination* for sodomy might be inculcated, as La Porte had insinuated of Mazarin’s attempt on Louis. Although there is no evidence to prove Visconti’s accusation against Nevers or that Mazarin had instructed his nephew to “corrupt” Monsieur, Visconti also notes that Anne mistrusted Nevers: “Infatti, la Regina madre aveva allontanato *Monsieur* dal duca di Nevers, accusato di aver importato in Francia dall’Italia il peccato della sodomia.” [“In fact, the Queen mother had kept *Monsieur* away from the duc de Nevers, accused of having imported the sin of sodomy to France from Italy.”]⁷⁷ Sodomy had been practiced in France long before the seventeenth century, but more important than Visconti’s remark on its national origin, he attributes to Anne an unwillingness for her son to be exposed to the practice. If this is so, then it attests that *inclination* was believed to be something that might be heightened by degrees or through repetition. It would appear that although Anne did not object to Monsieur cross-dressing with Choisy in the company of women, she did not wish to advance his *inclination* for the feminine and effeminacy to the point of

sodomy, which is why she was wary of Nevers. This suggests that although often linked, effeminacy and sodomy were not inseparable.

For Mazarin and Anne to encourage Monsieur's *inclination* for effeminacy in an effort to solidify dynastic authority does not accord with public and propagandistic discourse, such as the birth announcement in the *Gazette de France*, that emphasizes Philippe's warrior identity as a "jeune aiglon" and "twin pillar" of Louis.⁷⁸ Even in private, according to Montpensier's memoirs, Mazarin denied that he and Anne condoned Philippe's *inclination* for cross-dressing. Montpensier recounts that during the Dunkirk campaign (1658) of the Franco-Spanish War, Mazarin claimed that he and Anne were distraught over Monsieur neglecting the masculine pursuit of arms (for which he also showed an *inclination*) in favor of cross-dressing:

"La Reine et moi sommes au désespoir de voir qu'il ne s'amuse qu'à faire faire des habits à Mademoiselle de Gourdon;⁷⁹ qu'il ne songe qu'à s'ajuster comme une fille, et qu'il ne fait point les exercices que font d'ordinaire les gens de son âge, et qu'il s'accoutume à une délicatesse qui ne convient point à un homme." Je lui répondis: "Je croyais que l'on était bien aise de cette conduite, et que l'on ne souhaitoit point qu'il menât une autre vie." M. le cardinal me dit: "Au contraire, la Reine et moi souhaitons passionément qu'il demande d'aller à l'armée."⁸⁰

This exchange between Montpensier and the cardinal corroborates Choisy's account regarding Monsieur's enjoyment of cross-dressing. Mazarin's claim that he and Anne were distressed about Philippe's *inclination* for transvestism, through which he was becoming accustomed to unmanly "delicatesse," runs counter to Choisy's assertion that the cardinal and the queen encouraged it, a view shared by Montpensier. In light of seventeenth-century notions of the effeminate, the natural order, and the masculine attributes proper to a *fils de France*, promoting Philippe's *inclinations* for cross-dressing and effeminacy would have been cast as corruption. Given the unstable position of Mazarin and Anne during the Fronde, the cardinal's insistence that they wished Monsieur to be with the army attempts to counter damaging reports of the way in which Philippe was being raised, which

might also lead to speculation regarding Mazarin's own relationship with Louis and Anne. However, it was not Monsieur who had made the decision to remain away from battle, according to Plessis-Praslin: "Enfin la campagne de Dunkerque se commença, et le cardinal voulut que le maréchal Du Plessis laissât Monsieur auprès de la Reine sa mère à Calais."⁸¹ Plessis-Praslin's assertion that Mazarin kept Philippe with the queen (and her ladies) further corroborates the many accounts of the cardinal and the regent encouraging Monsieur's *inclination* for non-warring activities among women, which would stereotypically have been linked with effeminacy.

As Montpensier's conversation with Mazarin suggests, Monsieur's cross-dressing was a delicate topic when it entered the public arena, particularly since associations among cross-dressing, effeminacy, and sodomy impinged on dynastic and social order, as Montpensier reveals in her account of a ball in 1658 at which Monsieur cross-dressed:

Nous ne parlâmes ni ne nous démasquâmes point. Le comte de Guiche y était qui fit semblant de ne nous pas reconnaître; aussi il tirailla fort Monsieur et en dansant lui donna de coups de pied au cul. Cette familiarité me parut assez grande. Je n'en dis mot, parce que je savois bien que cela n'eût pas plu à Monsieur, qui trouvait tout bon du comte de Guiche. Manicamp, son bon ami, y étoit aussi, qui fit mille plaisanteries que j'eusse trouvées fort mauvaises si j'avois été Monsieur. . . . Quand je fus le lendemain chez la Reine, elle me dit: "Vous fûtes bien heureuse hier de n'avoir pas eu des coups de pied au cul; j'ai ouï dire que l'on en a donné à des gens qui étoient avec vous. . . . cela néanmoins est public." Il est vrai que tout ce qu'il y avoit au bal en fut si scandalisé, et cela fit si grand bruit dans la ville, que la Reine, qui n'aimoit pas le comte de Guiche, fut bien aise d'avoir occasion de faire connoître à Monsieur que c'étoit un homme qui lui manquoit de respect, et que l'on se moquoit de lui de le souffrir. Tout cela ne faisoit d'autre effet sur l'esprit de Monsieur que de l'affliger de voir que la Reine n'aimoit pas le comte de Guiche.⁸²

According to Montpensier, Monsieur readily accepted excessive verbal and physical affronts from Bernard de Longueval, marquis de Manicamp (d.1684) and Antoine de Gramont, comte de Guiche (1637–73), both of whom were sodomites and favorites of Monsieur.⁸³ Philippe's mask was no disguise, which Montpensier emphasizes when she mentions that Guiche only pretended not to recognize him. As described by Anne, the scandal that spread beyond the court and into the city was

not that Monsieur was dressed as a woman (which again suggests that his *inclination* for that activity was common knowledge), but that he had accepted abuse from those beneath his station. If Anne had agreed to encourage her younger son's *inclination* for effeminacy through cross-dressing as a private matter (that is, in contrast to the publicly-disseminated dynastic discourse broadcasting his masculine dynastic role), she seems to have balked at the notion that his social inferiors might take advantage of Philippe's *inclination* to humiliate him in public. The queen rebuked Monsieur for accepting disrespect, not for cross-dressing. Accepting domination from two other sodomites, particularly while dressed as a woman, was the equivalent of "allowing himself to be used as a woman," which cast Monsieur as shamefully effeminate.

Anne supposedly referred to Philippe as "ma petite fille,"⁸⁴ Montpensier comments that the queen said he resembled her (Montpensier) when he cross-dressed,⁸⁵ and Motteville reports: "Monsieur n'avait pas besoin dans l'âme qui parût le tourmenter. Au lieu d'aimer la beauté des dames . . . Les plus dangereuses par leurs charmes vivait avec lui aussi modestement que s'il eût été lui-même une dame."⁸⁶ These remarks add credence to the suggestion that Monsieur's guardians and their circle viewed him somewhat as a girl. But if Mazarin and Anne did cultivate Philippe's *inclination* for cross-dressing with the motives attributed by Choisy, then it would have been a dangerous process to set in motion, ultimately difficult to control, and, particularly during a period of political turmoil, it might impugn the integrity of the entire dynasty, especially if Monsieur were to become king.

Although private activities encouraging Philippe's *inclination* for the feminine and dynastic discourse that emphasized his *inclination* for warring may appear to conflict, they reveal the precarious status that the prince was obliged to negotiate in relation to his brother throughout the 1650s. Louis married Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche (1638–83) in 1660, but until his first son was born

the following year, the possibility always existed that Philippe would be king. Thus it would be politically unwise and dynastically damaging to undermine the public image of Monsieur as a strong heir to his brother. However, this does not necessarily mean that private measures to encourage Philippe's *inclinations* for cross-dressing and effeminacy (along with a presumably-attendant passivity) were not taken to assure his acceptance of second place in the dynastic order, a sensitive issue during the Fronde when Bourbon legitimacy was under attack. Public discourse needed to emphasize the strength of the ruling house to which Philippe's masculine warrior image contributed. At the same time, this image required tempering to avoid the possibility of Monsieur following the rebellious path of his uncle, Gaston, and this might be achieved privately by cultivating Philippe's *inclination* for the feminine and effeminacy. To this end, in staged spectacles Monsieur performed and broadcast the acknowledgment of his subservient dynastic role, not only by cross-dressing, but by engaging nationalist and historical representations of the "masculine" West and the "effeminate" Orient.

Staging the Sodomite: *Travesti*, Warriors, and the Orient in Court Performances

In seventeenth-century France, theatrical performances by members of the nobility, including the reigning dynasty, were an integral part of court life. Foremost among such spectacles were the *ballet de cour* and the *carrousel* (a descendent of the medieval joust⁸⁷) both of which were venues for publically-enacted dynastic discourse on Monsieur's performance of gender. The *ballet de cour* was a preeminent locus where the monarchy, through carefully-choreographed staging that combined movement and text in a ritualistic spectacle, elaborated a self-portrait that was disseminated beyond the court in written accounts and printed editions of the *livrets*.⁸⁸ As Victor Fournel observes:

Pour qui savait lire et voir, c'était le véritable baromètre de la Cour, qui donnait les indications décisives sur les variations des courants de la faveur. C'est dans ces *vers* que les bruits fondés prenaient de la consistance, et que les nouvelles prématurées étaient démenties: l'authenticité d'une ordonnance royale n'était pas mieux établie.⁸⁹

Ballet de cour was a genre elaborated by and for the nobility. Allegorical messages revealing aspects of court politics and favor through royally-sanctioned performance were at its heart.

As the most important symbols of the Bourbon dynasty, Louis and Philippe began dancing on stage at an early age. Philippe first performed in 1651, when he danced the role of “une fille” in the *Ballet du roy des festes de Bacchus*, which was given twice before the court (2 and 4 May). Monsieur’s *travesti* role emphasizes his double *inclination* for the masculine (confirming his role as heir) and the feminine (gesturing to a stereotyped passivity):

J'estois un fort joly garçon,
 Et j'avois toute la façon
 Qu'on voit aux Royales personnes
 Qui touchent de près les Couronnes,
 Quand à force de m'attacher
 Au beau sexe qui m'est si cher,
 En m'habillant comme il s'habille
 Je suis enfin devenu fille.
 Un si merveilleux changement
 Sert de preuve comme l'Amant
 Dont l'ame est beaucoup enflammée
 Se transforme en la chose aymée;
 Mais je sens bien que je ne puis
 Servir ce sexe quand j'en suis,
 Et je commence à recoignoistre
 Pour l'aymer qu'il n'en faut pas estre;
 C'est pourquoy je serois d'avis
 De reprendre avec mes habits
 Celuy-là dont j'estois n'aguerre,
 J'ay beaucoup de choses à faire
 Que j'en seray bien mieux à point,
 On ne peut donner à mon pourpoint
 Ce qu'on ne seroit pas si duppe
 D'accorder à mon corps de juppe:
 Sans y faire tant de façon
 Je veux redevenir garçon,
 Et que plus d'une fille m'ayme
 Avecque ce defaut-là mesme.⁹⁰

According to these verses, Monsieur’s first interest lies in attaching himself to women, a remark that recalls Mazarin’s remark on his pleasure in dressing them and Choisy’s discussion of his cross-

dressing in their company. However, neither of those instances places Monsieur's biological sex in doubt, which is not the case with these verses. Indeed, Monsieur declares that he dresses as a girl so often that he finally becomes one, and his explanation of this metamorphosis mirrors the cross-dressing of Céladon in the celebrated pastoral novel, *Astrée* (1602–27) by Honoré d'Urfé (1568–1625). As Leonard Hinds explains, Céladon's *travesti* allows him to approach the beloved, Astrée, in whose guise he eventually appears: "Céladon, the hero of d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, comes to embody the Neoplatonist notion of the lover who dies to be reborn as the beloved, and he does so by cross-dressing as a woman and later disguising himself as his love object, Astrée."⁹¹ In a Neoplatonist sense of rebirth, Monsieur declares, "Je suis enfin devenu fille." But this necessarily deprives him of a masculinity performed through sexual acts with women, just as Hinds observes of Céladon: "[he] is unable to engage in sexual intercourse because to do so would reveal his true identity and interrupt his intimacy with Astrée. D'Urfé thus literalizes an abstract principle to push it to an extreme in the characterization of a subject caught between his own desire and the impossibility of satisfying it."⁹² In an analogous vein, Monsieur remarks that he cannot satisfy women sexually since he now seems to be one of them: "Mais je sens bien que je ne puis/Servir ce sexe quand j'en suis." Faced with this conundrum, he expresses the wish to become a boy again, although this transformation is not shown in the ballet. For Monsieur to be depicted as remaining a girl may accord with Choisy's claim that Mazarin sought to make the prince effeminate through cross-dressing, and thus theoretically of no threat to Louis. However, in a text with dynastic ends, such as a *ballet de cour*, it would be harmful to degrade the second *fils de France*. Thus, even though Monsieur appears to be a girl, just after he expresses the desire to become a boy again, the prince warns that clothing can be deceptive as a material signifier of gender: "On ne peut donner à mon pourpoint/Ce qu'on ne seroit pas si duppe/D'accorder à mon corps de juppe." Indeed, the final two

verses, “Et que plus d’une fille m’ayme/Avecque ce defaut-là mesme,” suggest that even when Monsieur appears as a girl, he is not entirely viewed as one, and this turns on the question of the “défaut.” Although religious and moralizing texts cast cross-dressing by men as a fault because it is linked with effeminacy and thus the degradation of masculinity, Choisy observes, just as Monsieur does, that cross-dressing does not necessarily make men undesirable to women, because, he claims, traces of masculinity remain: “mais quoi-qu’elle [Mlle de Brancas⁹³] fut fort belle, les Filles de la Reine m’aimoient mieux qu’elle; sans doute parce que malgré les cornettes & les jupes, elles sentoient en moi quelque chose de masculin.”⁹⁴ One of the unusual aspects of Choisy’s memoirs is that he recounts his adventures of seducing women while he was dressed as one, emphasizing that cross-dressing does not necessarily negate masculinity, nor even entirely conceal it. If a man is not effeminate, the “quelque chose de masculin” presumably remains no matter what guise he assumes.

When Monsieur danced as a girl in the *Ballet du roy des festes de Bacchus*, neither he nor Louis had begun their careers as warriors or married and sired heirs. Thus, while it was necessary to emphasize the king’s masculinity in dynastic discourse, it was still possible that Monsieur would one day be king. Philippe could be cast as less masculine than Louis in accordance with dynastic hierarchy, but he, as the second *fils de France* and heir to the throne, could not be depicted as wholly effeminate. However, once the king had married in 1660, and especially after the birth of the dauphin in 1661, Monsieur was more emphatically obliged to display obeisance to Louis, a subordinate role that could invoke elements of effeminacy through references to sodomy. The most overt performance of such a role by Monsieur was in the *Carrousel du roy* (1662), an exceptionally lavish equestrian event on a fantastic scale with 1,299 participants and nearly 15,000 spectators.⁹⁵ Although officially honoring the dauphin’s birth the previous year, the carrousel, as Ina Baghdiantz

McCabe observes, broadcast a greater allegorical message declaring the preeminence of Louis XIV and his dynasty:

the gathering of all the great noblemen of France around him had great domestic significance after the civil war that had nearly dethroned his father. Louis was the center of the carrousel . . . and the nobles of France were not only recognizing his rule but the succession of his son to the throne of France. . . . The carrousel of 1662 was unprecedented in the number of participants . . . Louis demanded the participation of all the major noblemen of his kingdom. . . .⁹⁶

The end of the Franco-Spanish War (1635–59), also known as the Spanish Fronde, confirmed the victory of Louis XIV over his rebellious cousin, Condé,⁹⁷ and, along with the birth of the dauphin, cemented the king's position as dynastic head and legitimate monarch, suzerain of all princes, including Monsieur.

In the carrousel's commemorative volume, the introductory dedication to the dauphin by Charles Perrault (1628–1703) emphasizes the king's heroic role: “on Vous representera ce grand Prince tantôt à la teste de ses Armées, où son incroyable suffisance, en l'art de commander donne de la terreur à ses plus fiers Ennemis, & de l'admiration à ses plus experimentez Capitaines”⁹⁸ Perrault casts the self-sufficient commander king as dreaded by his foes, admired by his allies, the supreme warrior monarch, and in the carrousel his empire assumes the allegorical guise of Rome, foremost among historical Western empires. Following the mounted quadrille by Louis and his entourage, noblemen representing four other ancient empires performed tributary quadrilles: in descending precedence, two of the most redoubtable Oriental empires, Persia (Monsieur) and the Ottoman Empire (Condé), and two regions represented as empires, the Indies (the duc d'Enghien) and America (the duc de Guise).⁹⁹ The staging of armed prowess evokes an intensely masculine atmosphere since all of the participants are men involved in the symbolic enactment of warrior valiance. However, the traditional homosocial military environment was also frequently cast as favoring sodomite social networks,¹⁰⁰ and it is striking that each of the three leading empires

depicted (Rome, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire) was also associated with sodomy and/or effeminacy. The three foremost warriors in the carrousel embody what seventeenth-century France regarded as a scope of masculine stances involving the conjuncture of warring and sodomitical practices. This range comprises Louis XIV, the heroic non-sodomite; Condé the ferocious masculine sodomite;¹⁰¹ and Monsieur, the effeminate sodomite. And yet these three roles, however sodomitical or not, all featured the warrior and were compatible with armed heroism.

In each quadrille of the carrousel, a leading warrior and ten accompanying chevaliers are assigned a device and a motto, all of which depend on the sun, the system that Louis XIV began to use as his personal symbol beginning with this carrousel, as he explains in his memoirs:

Ce fut là que je commençai à prendre la devise que j'ai toujours gardée depuis, et que vous voyez en tant de lieux. . . . On choisit pour corps le soleil, qui, dans les règles de cet art, est le plus noble de tous, et qui par la qualité d'unique, par l'éclat qui l'entourne, par la lumière qu'il communique aux autres astres qui lui composent comme une espèce de cour . . . assurément la plus vive et la plus belle image d'un grand monarque.¹⁰²

The notion of heavenly bodies as the sun's court is fundamental to all of the other devices in the carrousel, which it dominates by the motto, "Ut vidi vici" (Ill. 13), translated in the commemorative volume as "Aussi-tôt que j'ay vu j'ay vaincu." Perrault explains how this motto symbolically links Louis XIV to Julius Caesar:

Il seroit mal-aisé de trouver un Corps de Devise qui convient mieux au Roy que celui du Soleil, veu le nombre presque infiny de convenances illustres qui se rencontrent entre ce Grand Prince, & ce bel Astre; mais sans doute qu'une des plus remarquables, & qui est touchée par cette Devise, est que le Soleil n'a qu'à se faire voir pour dissiper les tenebres, ainsi que ce Grand Monarque n'a besoin que de sa presence pour vaincre ses ennemis. Ce qui est heureusement exprimé par ces mots, UT VIDI, VICI, qui font allusion à ce mot de Jules Cesar, *veni, vidi, vici*.¹⁰³

Ill. 13–18. Claude Cheauveau, illustrations from Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bagues faites par le roy et par les princes et seigneurs en l'année 1662*.



Ill. 13. The king's device.



Ill. 14. *Le Roy en empereur romain*.



Ill. 15. *Le prince de Condé, empereur des Turcs*.



Ill. 16. Condé's device.



Ill. 17. *Monsieur, roi de Perse*.



Ill. 18. Monsieur's device.

Not surprisingly, the conquering king is posited as a living Caesar (Ill. 14), yet Rome and the revered Julius Caesar were also associated with sodomy. Richelet's definition of "sodomite" in his *Dictionnaire françois* declares: "Les Anciens Romains étoient un peu sodomites,"¹⁰⁴ and his definition for "bardache" states: "César étoit le bardache de Nicomède."¹⁰⁵ Caesar was also cast as a sodomite in some ancient sources, including Suetonius.¹⁰⁶ However, the image of the masculine warrior took precedence over that of the sodomite¹⁰⁷ in depictions of the Roman Empire as an exemplar of heroic military glory, and associations with sodomy were typically ignored altogether.¹⁰⁸ This would have been the case especially when associating Louis XIV with Caesar to highlight the king as a conquering masculine warrior and dynastic leader.

In the carrousel, Condé appeared as the emperor of the Turks (Ill. 15), a role that emphasized three principal elements: warrior formidability, a conquered status, and sodomy. Until the end of the seventeenth century, when the Turks were defeated at the Battle of Vienna (1683), the Ottoman Empire was a colossal menace to the West, and, as Edward Said observes, "the Ottoman peril lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger."¹⁰⁹ Indeed, there was a strong anti-Turkish sentiment in France,¹¹⁰ and Condé's appearance as the Ottoman emperor evoked his rebellion as one of the king's most dangerous enemies during the Fronde. For the *premier prince du sang* (who should have been among the crown's most loyal defenders) to bear arms against the king, particularly in the service of a foreign house (the Spanish Habsburgs), was a grave contravention of the dynastic order. The king's pardon of Condé in 1660 and the permission that Louis granted for his return to France was recent enough in 1662 that overt displays of fealty were still indispensable to affirm this warrior's recognition of Louis XIV's sovereignty. Condé is here cast as dependent on the king, a situation declared by the prince's device

(a Turkish crescent) and his motto in the carrousel, “Crescit ut aspicitur” (“Il augmente selon qu’il est regardé”) (Ill. 16):

Comme le Croissant augmente de plus en plus en lumiere selon qu’il est regardé du Soleil, ainsi le Prince qui le prend pour sa Devise, veut faire entendre que tenant du Roy toutes ses grandeurs, & tout son éclat, il reconnoit que sa gloire augmentera à proportion des regards favorables qu’il recevra de sa Majesté.”¹¹¹

As a crescent, Condé’s brilliance is small, and “recognizing” that all of his future greatness depends entirely on the king’s favor (his “gaze”) is an obvious admission of servitude.

The conquered status of Condé is confirmed by another element of the carrousel, the *courses de testes*, in which several heads are lanced, beginning with that of a Turk:¹¹² “Chacun de ces Chevaliers couroit la Lance à la main le long de la Barriere, & emportoit une Teste de Turc posée sur un buste doré sur la Barriere même, de la hauteur de six pieds.”¹¹³ This game broadcasts a portentous image of the king’s might and emphasizes Condé’s defeat. For Turkish heads to be repeatedly impaled by French chevaliers with Condé costumed as the Ottoman emperor was an overt warning to the former renegade and an example to others.

Finally, Condé’s role as emperor of the Turks also invokes his identity as a masculine warrior sodomite¹¹⁴ since in France, sodomy was one of the stereotypes long associated with the Turks.¹¹⁵ According to Renaissance authorities on the Ottoman Empire, such as Laonicus Chalcondyle (1423?–90?) who was the secretary of Murad II (1404–51) and whose writings on the Ottomans, including the *Histoire des Turcs*, were published in France throughout the seventeenth century, sodomy, the “abominable vice” was widespread in Turkey:

lassez souvent des amours des femmes, ils abandonnent leurs affections aux jeunes garçons & suivent esperduëment les appas de leur tendre beauté: il les caressent, & s’en servent au lieu des femmes. Ce vice abominable est si ordinaire dans la Cour du Turc, qu’à peine y trouvera-t’on un seul Bassa qui n’y soit mal-heureusement adonné . . . le Serrail du Sultan est plein de petits garçons choisis dans les plus beaux du Levant, & voüez à ses desnaturez plaisirs¹¹⁶

Although Chalcondyle casts Turkish men as sodomites, they allegedly sodomized young boys (“using them in place of women”), thus retaining their superior masculine status.¹¹⁷ Indeed, “effeminate” passivity was not associated with the Turks, as the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* demonstrates in its depiction of proverbial Turkish cruelty:

TURC. s.m. Nom de nation. Qui ne se met icy, que parce qu’il s’employe dans quelques manieres de parler proverbiales. On dit, *Un homme est fort comme un Turc*, pour dire, qu’il est rude, inexorable, qu’il n’a aucune pitié, &c. On dit aussi prov. *Traiter quelqu’un de Turc à More*, pour dire, Sans quartier, avec toute sorte de rigueur.¹¹⁸

As Condé himself, the Turks were reputed to be harsh warriors, even as masculine sodomites.

Monsieur also appeared in the carrousel as the ruler of an Oriental empire: the king of Persia (Ill. 17), with the full moon as his device and the motto “Uno sole minore” (“a lesser sun”) (Ill. 18), which the commemorative volume interprets positively as “Le Soleil seul est plus grand que moy”:

Comme la Lune particulièrement en son plein surpasse de beaucoup les autres Astres en grandeur & en lumiere; en sorte qu’il n’y a que le Soleil qui ait en cela quelque avantage sur elle, on peut dire, que c’est avec beaucoup de justice que Monsieur Frere Unique du Roy l’a prise pour le corps de sa Devise, puisqu’il ne voit point de rang au dessus du sien que celui de sa Majesté. Mais elle luy convient encore particulièrement en cette rencontre, parce qu’il represente le Roy de Perse, qui s’estimant le plus grand de tous les Roys, ne reconnoissoit au dessus de luy que le Soleil qu’il adoroit.¹¹⁹

Monsieur’s motto confirms his place in the dynastic hierarchy, and it also constructs a strong contrast with Louis, particularly since Philippe’s lunar device was associated with the feminine in the traditional sun/moon, masculine/feminine binary. Monsieur’s reported adoration of his brother¹²⁰ accords with the Persian cult of sun worship about which Jean Chardin (1643–1713), who traveled to Persia during the 1660s and 1670s, remarks in *Voyages de Monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse* (1711): “La Religion des anciens *Perses*, qui étoient *Ignicoles*, ou *adorateurs du feu*.”¹²¹ However, whereas the Turkish sodomite portrayed by Condé was an incarnation of warrior masculinity, the Persians, according to Furetière, were effeminate: “Les Perses au temps d’Alexandre s’étoient effeminez par une trop grande oisiveté. Le luxe effemine les peuples. On les effemine en leur ostant les marques de

la virilité.”¹²² Although Monsieur’s “marks of virility,” such as his spear, were not removed during his performance as the warrior king of Persia, the association of the Persians with effeminacy, and specifically with luxury and leisure, was strong enough for the contrast with Louis to be clear.

Chardin noted excessive luxury as one of the major characteristics of Persian effeminacy: “Le luxe des Persans est grand aussi dans les habits, dans les ornemens de pierrerie, les hommes, dans les harnois des chevaux. J’ai parlé de la somptuosité des habits. Pour les pierreries, les hommes en portent beaucoup aux doigts, et presque autant que leurs femmes.”¹²³ Monsieur’s costume for the carousel, which was sewn with rubies and pearls, was no more luxurious than that of Louis, which displayed diamonds, or that of Condé, which included diamonds and turquoises.¹²⁴ Indeed it would have been inappropriate for Philippe’s costume to outshine that of the king, but there are elements in the costumes of Monsieur and Condé that might be considered Orientally excessive, such as Condé’s bejewelled turban covered with plumes (Louis wears a “masculine” Roman helmet), the panache on the head of his mount; Monsieur’s “mante à la Persane . . . dont le bas finissoit par des lambrequins garnis de campanes”¹²⁵ and his “bonnet à la Persane . . . chargé de pendeloques . . . une creste de plumes”¹²⁶

Chardin associates excessive Persian luxury with an *inclination* for sensuality and profligacy: “Leur pente est grande & naturelle à la *volupté*, au *luxe*, à la *dépense*, à la prodigalité”¹²⁷ “Pente,” one of the terms used in Furetière’s definition of *inclination*, is represented here as natural, but the idea of luxury also evokes the biblical notion of *luxuria*, the original sin of the Sodomites,¹²⁸ and this, linked with “volupté,” which signifies pleasures of the flesh,¹²⁹ also evokes sodomy. Indeed, this constellation of terms was emblematic of Islam, Christianity’s hated other. According to Adam Olearius (1599–1671), ambassador to Persia for Friedrich III, Herzog von Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf (1597–1659), carnal pleasure, including sodomy was condoned in

Islam:¹³⁰ “Ce n’est pas un peché bien extraordinaire parmy eux que la sodomie, & l’on ne le punit point comme un crime. *Sarru Taggi*, que nous avons veu Chancelier de Perse, ne fut point chastié pour ce crime . . . Le Roy mesme étoit sujet à ce vice . . . ”¹³¹

If sodomy, masculinity, and effeminacy are variously identified with Rome, Turkey, and Persia, the ways in which they are negotiated in the performances by the king, Condé, and Monsieur in the *Carrousel du roy* involve a continuum from masculinity to effeminacy, but they all fall within the purview of the warrior.

Monsieur’s Two *Inclinations*: Dynastic Masculinity and Subservience in Conflict

That some accounts of Monsieur emphasize effeminacy and others a warrior identity is not problematic since during the seventeenth century it was considered possible to have contrasting *inclinations*. In the case of Monsieur, his *inclinations* for cross-dressing and warring were frequently mentioned together, as in Saint-Simon’s account, and Choisy shows that Philippe’s masculine warrior prowess was not impugned: “Mais la nature a été plus fort en lui: quand il a fallu se battre, il s’est montré du sang de France et a gagné des batailles; je l’ai vu pendant des campagnes entières quinze jours à cheval, en suivant les ordres du Roi, exposant toute sa beauté à un soleil qui ne l’épargnait pas.”¹³² According to Choisy, exposing his beauty to the battlefield’s harsh sun was of no concern to Monsieur when he was at war and fulfilling his dynastic role as a *filis de France* in the service of the king. Visconti’s portrait of Monsieur at the Battle of Cassel (1677) emphasizes equally strong *inclinations* for fastidious finery and heroic zeal:

Il maresciallo d’Humières commandava la destra dell’armata di *Monsieur*; mi disse di aver attaccato gli Olandesi qualche tempo prima di *Monsieur* perché questi non aveva ancora finito di accomodarsi bene la parrucca davanti allo specchio. E’ vero che *Monsieur* fa toletta e si veste durante le campagne come se dovesse recarsi al ballo. Peregchi cortegiani mi hanno confermato che si avviava tutto dipinto e indolente verso la linea du fuoco e i luoghi più pericolosi, quasi che volesse far visita alla signorina di Grancey.¹³³ Ha un coraggio tale che sembra ignorare cosa sia la morte, e tuttavia è come una donna, continuamente intento a truccarsi.¹³⁴

[The maréchal d'Humières, who commanded the right wing of Monsieur's army, told me that he had attacked the Dutch some time before Monsieur because he had not yet finished adjusting his wig in front of the mirror. It is true that Monsieur grooms and dresses during campaigns as if he were going to a ball. Many courtiers have confirmed to me that he was in full makeup and as nonchalant in the line of fire and in the most perilous places as if he were going to visit Mlle de Grancey. He has a courage that seems to ignore what death is, and all the while he is like a woman, continually intent on painting himself.]

Although Monsieur may appear to be effeminate (“tuttavia è come una donna”), he nevertheless also engages in masculine warring with an astounding courage that ignores the threat of death, and these *inclinations* co-exist without conflict. As Voltaire remarked of Monsieur at a time when the association between sodomy and effeminacy was much stronger:¹³⁵ “Jamais on ne vit un plus grand exemple que le courage n'est point incompatible avec la mollesse.”¹³⁶

The Battle of Cassel, during which an exquisitely-attired Monsieur proved himself as a warrior *fils de France* was the culmination of his performing a double *inclination* for the roles of masculine warrior and *efféminé*. Evidence suggests that even when he followed his *inclination* for war, Monsieur did so for his brother's *gloire* rather than his own.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, after Cassel, Louis determined that Philippe's *inclination* for war, probably because it could distract from the king's central role as chief dynastic hero, would no longer be encouraged or even permitted. There is no surviving evidence of Monsieur's reaction to being removed from military command, but throughout his life he publically deferred to the king's wishes, even when they were contrary to his own.¹³⁸

Philippe even appears to have accepted the amorous affair between his first wife (Henriette d'Angleterre) and Louis, which was allegorically depicted in the *Ballet de la naissance de Vénus* (1665). In the work's *première entrée* of the *première partie*, Monsieur's role as “L'Estaille du point de jour”¹³⁹ declares his dynastic station as the king's brother and Madame's husband:

Clarté, qui dans le Ciel n'estes pas la première,
 Vous y touchez de prés, & comme vous lûisez,
 Il n'est pas difficile à voir que vous puisez
 Dans le centre de la lumiere.

...
 Vous avez de la Nuit percé le sombre Voile,
 Et ne pouviez briller sur de plus doux apas,
 L'adorable Venus aussi ne pouvoit pas
 Choisir une meilleure Estoille.¹⁴⁰

The reference to Monsieur as neither the first nor the brightest heavenly light, which is at the center, which he nearly touches, and from which he draws his own illumination, describes his secondary, dependent role in the Bourbon dynasty. A significant gesture is also made in this *première entrée* to an image of marital unity when Philippe (the morning star) is depicted as having been chosen by Henriette (Venus).¹⁴¹ However, the image of concord is shattered in the ballet's *sixième entrée* of the *troisième partie* in which Louis appears as Alexander the Great¹⁴² and Madame as Roxane, the captured Bactrian princess who became Alexander's first wife. After a set of verses in which Alexander declares his own *gloire*, Roxane responds:

Aussi le Monde entier n'a rien de si parfait,
 Et ce jeune Heros doit estre satisfait
 Quy sur ce jeune Cœur emporte la victoire:
 C'est où l'Ambition termine son desir,
 On ne va plus loin du costé de la Gloire,
 Moins encore plus loin du costé du plaisir.¹⁴³

The emphasis on victory and glory in close association with desire and pleasure, both of which are declared to have reached their apogee, is an implicit recognition of the king's relationship with Madame and might also be interpreted as a vicious assertion of dynastic authority over Monsieur. As Alexandre, Louis "conquers" his brother's wife in an almost polygamous,¹⁴⁴ even incestuous¹⁴⁵ gesture of brutal domination, essentially announcing that Philippe has no masculine authority, even over his own household.

No surviving direct evidence records Monsieur's views on the relationship between his brother and Madame, who is also said to have carried on an affair with one of her husband's favorites, the comte de Guiche.¹⁴⁶ Despite Henriette's humiliation of Philippe, in her correspondence she blames marital discord on members of Monsieur's sodomite circle, particularly the chevalier de Lorraine,¹⁴⁷ whom Louis had arrested on 30 January 1670, ostensibly for criticizing the king, but mostly at the instigation of Madame.¹⁴⁸ Monsieur retired to Villers-Cotterêts, perhaps in a fit of anger or grief,¹⁴⁹ but on this occasion he may also have been attempting to assert authority over Henriette by keeping her from court and denying Louis her assistance in negotiating an alliance with England.¹⁵⁰ Dynastic masculine honor, particularly in light of the king's affair with Madame, demanded that Monsieur reestablish jurisdiction over his own house while reminding Louis of Henriette's station as duchesse d'Orléans. Such a strategy was ultimately ineffective since Madame, according to a letter that she wrote to Cosnac, refused to obey her husband, who wanted Lorraine's release and would not cede, despite his brother's efforts to change his mind: "Le roi a fort travaillé pour lui faire entendre raison; mais jusqu'à présent fort inutilement parce que son but est de me faire obtenir des grâces pour le chevalier, en me traitant de la sorte, et que le mien est de ne me rendre pas aux coups de bâton."¹⁵¹ Henriette's defiance of Philippe's order to ask Louis for the release of Lorraine was a sound confirmation that she did not recognize her husband as masculine dynastic head. Madame's adultery with Louis (which presumably gave her the upper hand in conflicts with Monsieur) and her performance in the *Ballet de la naissance de Vénus* show that she aligned herself instead with the king, recognizing his authority alone, thus rejecting her conjugal obligations to the house of Orléans.

Seeking liberation for Lorraine, Monsieur wrote to Colbert on 2 February 1670, three days after the chevalier's arrest, asking him to intercede with Louis on his behalf. This letter includes what

is effectively a summary of Philippe's dynastic and personal situation, a declaration of helplessness despite his efforts to gratify Louis :

Si je m'étois cru utile au service du roi, je ne l'aurois pas quitté; mais la manière dont il m'a traité toute sa vie, me fait bien croire le contraire. . . . Que si j'osois je prierois le roi de se mettre à ma place, et de songer à ce qu'il feroit dans une pareille occasion, de me donner lui-même un conseil tel qu'il le croiroit honnête pour moi, et que tout le monde vît qu'il a donné à un frère, qui n'a songé toute sa vie qu'à lui être agréable et à lui plaire,¹⁵² comme ma conduite a pu le lui faire connoître.¹⁵³

Monsieur's letter to Colbert emphasizes his lifelong effort to be of service to Louis, his belief that the king had never found him to be useful, and his declared willingness to proceed according to his brother's counsel. Although these remarks are a poignant articulation of Monsieur's difficult position as *frère unique du roy*, they also reveal that Philippe's strongest *inclination* was undoubtedly to please the king, and he invokes his lifelong record of having striven to earn his brother's approbation. Unfortunately, Monsieur's efforts only led to an impasse since he was unwilling to incite political or armed rebellion as Gaston d'Orléans had done. Furthermore, Monsieur could not return to court defeated. For Louis to refuse the release of Lorraine would have been an assertion of the king's dynastic authority, which, even if it wounded Philippe, was his right. But if Lorraine's arrest had been the doing of Henriette, Monsieur's return to Versailles before the chevalier was freed would confirm Madame's victory over her husband, achieved by violating dynastic, legal, religious, and moral codes; indeed, according to seventeenth-century notions of masculine conjugal authority, a man's ultimate effeminization was to be defeated by a woman.¹⁵⁴

On the other hand, Monsieur's letter to Colbert may not be the avowal of frustration, helplessness, and weakness that it first appears. Although Monsieur had always sought to satisfy his bother, he had, in his youth, proven himself unwilling to tolerate mistreatment.¹⁵⁵ Philippe had suffered dynastic and personal degradation by Henriette's affair with Louis, and her role in Lorraine's arrest was the limit of Monsieur's tolerance. Now in 1670 Monsieur was in a position to

hold his ground against the king by refusing permission for Madame's voyage to England where she was to help negotiate a treaty with her brother Charles II against the Dutch. According to Henriette, Louis declared himself unwilling to establish a precedent by ceding to Philippe's demands to free Lorraine: "de peur que je [Henriette] commette sa gloire, en laissant croire au monde que les gronderies de Monsieur attirent des grâces."¹⁵⁶ In this context, the king's use of "commettre" (which signifies "exposer à recevoir quelque mortification"¹⁵⁷) reveals his awareness that Monsieur could tarnish his *gloire*. The king could belittle Monsieur's demands as mere "gronderies," but he risked international ridicule by allowing diplomacy with England to founder because Philippe would not allow Henriette's journey, as Erlanger observes: "Il fut donc aussi surpris que courroucé lorsque Colbert, envoyé à Villers-Cotterets pour en ramener le prince, revint sans avoir rien obtenu. Cette obstination força le Roi à expliquer aux Cours étrangères la retraite de Monsieur."¹⁵⁸ Efforts launched by Charles II; his brother James; the English ambassador Ralph, Duke of Montagu; the Earl of Saint Albans (who had been a member of the household of Madame's mother and Louis XIII's sister, Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, exiled in France); Colbert; Henriette; and Louis were all unsuccessful in persuading Monsieur to return to court and to allow his wife's journey. Faced with the possibility of a failed alliance with England, Louis was compelled to yield in part to Monsieur's demands, although, as the chronicler Olivier Le Fèvre d'Ormesson (1616?–86) records, the details of their agreement were not clear:

Le lundy 3 mars [1670], M. le duc d'Orléans, avec Madame, revint de Villers-Coterets coucher à Saint-Germain, où ils furent reçus avec la plus grande joye du monde. L'on prétendit qu'il estoit revenu sans condition, sur la parole de M. Colbert qu'estant à la cour il obtiendrait du roy toutes choses. D'autres disoient que les deux abbayes se donnoient au frère du chevalier de Lorraine, et à luy une pension de dix mille escus. Le temps fera connoistre le vray, mais ce qui est certain est qu'il est parti un courrier porter les ordres de laisser le chevalier de Lorraine dans Marseille, et de lui donner la ville pour prison, au lieu de le mesner au chasteau d'If, où on le conduisoit.¹⁵⁹

Philippe had not won a full victory over Henriette or Louis since Lorraine was not allowed to return, although he was eventually permitted to travel to Rome.¹⁶⁰ He had, however, proven himself willing and able to resist pressure from Louis.

Nevertheless, in February 1672 when Louis announced to Philippe that liberty was finally granted to Lorraine, he called it a gift to Monsieur, as Mme de Sévigné records the scene:

Mais, dit le roi, y songez-vous encore, à ce chevalier de Lorraine? Vous en souciez-vous? Aimeriez-vous bien quelqu'un qui vous le rendrait? En vérité, répondit Monsieur, ce serait le plus sensible plaisir que je puisse recevoir de ma vie. Oh bien, dit le roi, je veux vous faire ce présent; il reviendra, je vous le donne, et veux que vous l'aimiez pour l'amour de moi: je fais plus, car je le fais maréchal-de-camp dans mon armée. Là-dessus, Monsieur se jette aux pieds du roi, et lui embrasse long-temps les genoux, et lui baise une main avec une joie sans égale. Le roi le relève, et lui dit: Mon frère, ce n'est pas ainsi que des frères doivent s'embrasser, et l'embrasse fraternellement. Tout ce détail est de très-bon lieu, et rien n'est plus vrai.¹⁶¹

Although Sévigné does not name her source and it is impossible to know whether the scene transpired as she claims, her insistence on its veracity accords with its plausibility. Louis, who is quite aware of Philippe's distress, begins by taunting his brother in a series of questions with obvious answers, forcing him to admit his suffering while also suggesting that someone (who could only be Louis) might be willing to return the chevalier to Philippe if Philippe were to love that person very much. The tactic is cruel, even sadistic, goading Monsieur to articulate how important the favor would be to him. This is the price of the king's "présent," and Louis gives Lorraine to Monsieur as he might any other material item, but he does so on a condition: "que vous l'aimiez par l'amour de moi," which is to say that Monsieur may keep and love Lorraine by and for his love of the king, that is, Louis must be and remain the dominant object of love (idolatry) in Philippe's life. Not until Monsieur has displayed sufficient surrender at the king's feet, essentially confirming his defeat, does Louis raise Philippe and address him as a brother. This emphasizes a show of fraternal equality and the important appearance of dynastic accord. Ironically, the image of harmony between the brothers

is not based on mutual respect, but on the king's assertion of a crushing authority in which Louis is the all-powerful masculine patriarch, dominating Monsieur who is humiliated and bound to his role of helpless *efféminé*, besotted of Lorraine.

At the Battle of Cassel there was no apparent conflict between effeminacy and armed masculinity, but Monsieur's two *inclinations* clashed after the arrest of Lorraine in 1670. Louis XIV's construction of his kingly persona on the supremacy of his masculinity benefitted from, perhaps was in part built on, the marginalization, conditioned inferiority, and eventual suppression of Monsieur's masculinity. This encouraged, even compelled Philippe to follow his *inclination* for effeminacy, which had been cultivated since childhood. Because most of Monsieur's life followed the Battle of Cassel, his image as *efféminé* became the most thoroughly elaborated and recorded. Saint-Simon's broadly-accepted portrait of the prince must thus be read not as an accurate portrait of Monsieur's "nature" as a sodomite, since that role did not necessarily impugn his warring masculinity, but as evidence of the successful manipulation of his *inclination* for effeminacy.

Notes

1. For a discussion of notions of masculinity, effeminacy, and related notions of honor, see part 1, chapter 2.
2. Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 8 vols., ed. Yves Coirault (Paris: Gallimard, 1983–88), 2:14.
3. Iconic examples of writings that enumerate the negative qualities attributed to women include the *Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes* (1617) of Jacques Olivier and the “Satire X: Sur les femmes” (1694) of Nicolas Boileau.
4. The development of the stereotyped effeminate sodomite in late eighteenth- and early seventeenth-century France is discussed in part 1, chapter 2.
5. Foucault’s theory of acts vs. notions of sexual identity are discussed in the introduction to part 1.
6. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 3 vols. (Rotterdam: Arnout et Reinier Leers, 1690), s.v. “inclination.”
7. In relation to *inclination*, “âme” does not necessarily refer to the eternal soul in the religious sense, which the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* defines as “Par rapport à la religion. *Ame regenerée par le baptesme. ame rachetée par le sang de Nostre Seigneur.*” In medical theory and other secular contexts, “âme” “Se dit particulièrement en parlant de l’homme et signifie, Ce qui est en luy, qui le rend capable de parler, de vouloir, & de raisonner. . . . *les passions de l’âme.*” *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1694), 1:34. Thus it is closer to the modern concept of the mind, which also includes aspects of the seventeenth-century meaning of “esprit.” To avoid anachronistic designations, which might limit or misrepresent the meaning of “âme,” I will retain the French term.
8. For a discussion of the many and complex notions of nature in seventeenth-century France, see Bernard Tocanne, *L’idée de la nature en France dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle: Contribution à l’histoire de la pensée classique* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978).
9. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “nature.”
10. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “nature.”
11. François de La Rochefoucauld, *Maximes* in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Louis Martin-Chauffier (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), 326.
12. François de La Rochefoucauld, *Maximes*, ed. Jacques Truchet (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1977), 67.
13. Erec R. Koch, *The Aesthetic Body: Passion, Sensibility, and Corporeality in Seventeenth-Century France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 27.
14. For a standard work on theories of the passions, see Anthony Levi, *French Moralists: The Theory of the Passions (1585 to 1649)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). For more recent work, see Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); and Erec R. Koch, *The Aesthetic Body*.
15. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “bile.”
16. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “passion.”
17. René Descartes, *Les passions de l’âme* in *Œuvres et lettres*, ed. André Bridoux (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 709.
18. René Descartes, *Traité de l’homme* in *Œuvres et lettres*, 813.
19. René Descartes, *Les passions de l’âme*, 699–702.

20. Furetière describes the same system: “ESPRIT, en termes de Medecine, se dit des atomes legers & volatils, qui sont les parties les plus subtils du corps, qui leur donnent mouvement, & qui sont moyens entre le corps & les facultes de l’ame, qui luy servent à faire toutes ses operations.” Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “esprit.”

21. Blaise Pascal (1623–62), although in logical disagreement with Descartes on reason, God, and other notions, has similar views regarding the source of *inclination*. In the *Pensées* he emphasizes that the mechanism between the corporeal and the immaterial gives rise to confusion about its source: “Et ainsi, si nous (sommes) simples matériels nous ne pouvons rien du tout connaître, et si nous sommes composés d’esprit et de matière nous ne pouvons connaître parfaitement les choses simples spirituelles ou corporelles. De là vient que presque tous les philosophes confondent les idées des choses et parlent des choses corporelles spirituellement et des spirituelles corporellement car ils disent hardiment que les corps . . . [ont] des inclinations, des sympathies, des antipathies, toutes choses qui n’appartiennent qu’aux esprits.” Pascal articulates an essential difference between the material and the spiritual that generates *inclination*, although he uses the term “esprit” rather than “âme” to designate the non-corporeal element to which it belongs. See Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* (Paris: Éditions du Luxembourg, 1956), 141.

22. According to the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, “sympathie” is “Vertu naturelle par laquelle deux corps agissent l’un sur l’autre, comme . . . l’aimant sur le fer. . . la convenance du rapport d’humeurs et d’inclinations” and “antipathie” is “Contrariété d’inclinations, de qualitez.” (2:520, 1:42)

23. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “sympathie” and “antipathie.”

24. Jean Bodin, *De la démonomanie des sorciers* (Paris: Chez Jacques du Puys, 1580), 34v. Part of this citation, excluding the mention of *inclination*, is included in a discussion of melancholy and women by Rebecca M. Wilkin in *Women, Imagination, and the Search for Truth in Early Modern France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 76.

25. *Entendement* (“Puissance, faculté de l’âme par laquelle elle conçoit, connoist & comprend,” *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 2:660) is, along with *volonté*, one of the faculties of the *âme* by which it knows and understands. It is distinct from *volonté*, which it can inform and influence independently of the passions.

26. *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 2:660.

27. René Descartes, *Les passions de l’âme*, 718.

28. In the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, “émotion” is a subheading of “mouvoir,” defined as “Alteration, mouvement excité dans les humeurs, dans les esprits, dans l’ame.” (2:99)

29. Erec R. Koch, *The Aesthetic Body*, 61.

30. Rebecca M. Wilkin, *Women, Imagination, and the Search for Truth in Early Modern France*, 218.

31. Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clélie*, 10 vols. (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1660; Reprint, Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1973), 1:405.

32. Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clélie*, 1:400.

33. Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clélie*, 1:405.

34. Jean-Michel Pelous, *Amour précieux, amour galant (1654–1675): Essai sur la représentation de l’amour dans la littérature et la société mondaines* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1980), 46.

35. Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, *La princesse de Clèves*, ed. Antoine Adam (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), 67–68.

36. The term “volonté” appears only four times in *La princesse de Clèves*, just once in connection with the notion of love and *inclination* as described by the vidame de Chartres: “Comme je n’avais plus rien alors qui me partageât, la reine était assez contente de moi; mais comme les sentiments que

j'ai pour elle ne sont pas d'une nature à me rendre incapable de tout autre attachement, et que l'on n'est pas amoureux par sa volonté, je le suis devenu de madame de Martigues, pour qui j'avais déjà eu beaucoup d'inclination pendant qu'elle était Villemontais, fille de la reine dauphine."

Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, *La princesse de Clèves*, 109. Although *volonté* can resist *inclination*, it cannot make one love, which would be forcing *inclination*, an effort that, as Furetière mentions, is never successful.

37. Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, *La princesse de Clèves*, 119.

38. "Elle passait une partie de l'année dans cette maison religieuse, et l'autre chez elle; mais dans une retraite et dans des occupations plus saintes que celles des couvents les plus austères."

Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, *La princesse de Clèves*, 180. For a discussion of this withdrawal from court in relation to notions of religious retreat, see Barbara R. Woshinsky, *Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces in France (1600–1800): The Cloister Disclosed* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 117–58.

39. Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, *La princesse de Clèves*, 180. See Domna C. Stanton, "The Ideal of Repos in Seventeenth-Century French Literature," *L'esprit créateur* 15 (1975): 79–104.

40. Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, *La princesse de Clèves*, 168.

41. Domna C. Stanton, "The Ideal of Repos," 95.

42. In the seventeenth-century *tragédie en musique*, which was established by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–87) in 1673, cross-dressed men represent old or ugly women, such as La Terre in Lully's *Bellerophon* (1679) with a libretto by Thomas Corneille (1625–1709) and Bernard de Fontenelle (1657–1757), Méduse in *Persée* (1682), and La Haine in *Armide* (1687), both with librettos by Philippe Quinault (1635–88). In dance, roles of both sexes were performed by men until the late seventeenth century, and professional women dancers were not admitted to the *corps de ballet* of the Académie Royale de Musique until 1681. See Julia Prest, *Theatre under Louis XIV: Cross-Casting and the Performance of Gender in Drama, Ballet, and Opera* (New York: Palgrave, 2006); Nathalie Lecomte, "The Female Ballet Troupe of the Paris Opera from 1700 to 1725" in *Women's Work: Making Dance in Europe Before 1800*, ed. Lynn Brooks (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 99–122. Mark Franko argues that Louis XIV's cross-dressed roles in *ballets de cour* were complex allegorical representations of royal power. See Mark Franko, "The King Cross-Dressed: Power and Force in Royal Ballets" in *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 64–84. Also see Joseph Harris, *Hidden Agendas: Cross-Dressing in 17th-Century France* (Tübingen: Narr, 2005), 58–60.

43. The emblematic seventeenth-century literary example of men's cross-dressing is found in the novel *Astrée* (1602–27) by Honoré d'Urfé (1568–1625). For a discussion of cross-dressing in *Astrée*, see Joseph Harris "Cross-Dressing and Narrative Fetishism in *L'Astrée*" in *Hidden Agendas: Cross-Dressing in 17th-Century France*, 113–23. In Urfé's erotic context, Céladon's cross-dressing is not negative. In the classical tradition, however, cross-dressing is cast as unmasculine, the preeminent example of which is Achilles who was disguised as a maiden by his mother, the goddess Thetis, to keep him from the dangers of the Trojan War. See Peter J. Heslin, *The Transvestite Achilles: Gender and Genre in Statius' Achilleid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

44. Lewis C. Seifert, *Manning the Margins: Masculinity and Writing in Seventeenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009), 208.

45. Achim Aurnhammer, *Androgynie: Studien zu einem Motiv in der europäischen Literatur* (Köln: Böhlau, 1986), 80.

46. Biblical proscriptions against sodomy and their influence on French law and religion are discussed in part 1, chapter 1.
47. *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pontificis maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII* (Paris: Lancelot, 1662). On my choice of Bible editions, see part 1, chapter 1.
48. *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate . . . Old Testament First Published by the English College at Douay, A.D. 1609 and the New Testament First Published by the English College at Rheims, A.D. 1582*, ed. Richard Challoner (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1971), 208. On my choice of this English translation of the Bible, see part 1, chapter 1.
49. Philo's views on the "natural order" and sodomy are discussed in part 1, chapter 1.
50. Philo, *On the Virtues* in *Philo*, 10 vols., trans. Francis Henry Colson and George Hubert Whitaker (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929–62), 8:175.
51. "Pederasty," in which an older, "active" man is the lover of a younger, "passive" boy, was the usual paradigm for sexual relations among males in Greco-Roman culture. See William A. Percy, *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996); and Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality & Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).
52. Philo, *The Special Laws*, vol. 3 in *Philo*, 7:499, 501.
53. Views of the courtier as effeminate because of his deployment of "civilized" manners cast as feminine are discussed in part 1, chapter 2.
54. For a discussion of moralizing discourse on effeminacy and "feminine" refinements, see part 1, chapter 2.
55. Jacques Olivier, *Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes* (Lyon: Claude Armand, 1628), 333–34.
56. Isaac Lemasitre de Sacy, *Le Deuteronomie traduit en françois, avec l'explication du sens litteral & du sens spirituel, tirée des saints Peres & des auteurs ecclesiastiques* (Paris: Port-Royal, 1686), 269.
57. Louis XIII was breeched when he was seven. See David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 180–81.
58. François-Timoléon de Choisy, *Mémoires de l'abbé de Choisy: Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Louis XIV; Mémoires de l'abbé de Choisy habillé en femme* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1966), 332.
59. See the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*: "JUSTE-AU-CORPS. Espece de vestement à manches, qui va jusqu'aux genoux & qui serre le corps" (1:33). Also see Jacques Ruppert, *Le costume: Époques Louis XIV et Louis XV* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), 14–15.
60. According to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, "Les femmes appellent aussi, *Manteau*, Une espece de robe plissée qu'elles serrent avec une ceinture" (2:21). Also see Jacques Ruppert, *Le costume*, 19–20.
61. Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires de P. de La Porte, premier valet de chambre de Louis XIV* in *Mémoires des divers emplois et des principales actions du Maréchal du Plessis*, ed. Jean-François Michaud and Jean-Joseph-François Poujoulat (Paris: Chez l'Éditeur du Commentaire Analytique du Code Civile, 1839), 41. Anne is not explicit regarding the "autre nature" of Mazarin's "inclinations," and other sources (including satirical discourse, which I address later) remark on Mazarin as priapic and polymorphously sexual.
62. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "rendre."
63. The *efféminé* is considered incapable of masculine courage since he is associated with the weakness of body and mind cast as typical of women and of passive sodomites. In biblical terms, passive sodomites permit themselves to be "used as a woman," and in that sense are thought to suffer the domination of another man. On biblical proscriptions against sodomites as men who allow themselves to be "used as a woman," see part 1, chapter 1.

64. Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, ed., *Recueil dit de Maurepas*, 3 vols. (Leyde: s.n., 1865), 2:182–83.
65. For example, a chanson from 1648: “Le fichu Sicilien/Ne vaut rien,/Il bougre comme un chien,/Elle en a, sur ma parole,/Dans le cu, dans le cu, notre Espagnole.” Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, ed., *Recueil dit de Maurepas*, 2:183.
66. Furetière defines “Protester” as “assurer fortement quelque chose. Il a *protesté* hautement qu’il se vengerait de cette injure.” Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “rendre.”
67. Paul Scarron, *La Mazarinade* (Sur la copie imprimée à Bruxelles, 1651), 13.
68. Political pamphlets portraying Mazarin as an enemy of France are not unusual. They frequently emphasize his foreignness and accuse him of sexual deviancy. See Jeffrey Merrick, “The Cardinal and the Queen: Sexual and Political Disorders in the Mazarinades,” *French Historical Studies* 18 (spring 1994): 667–99.
69. Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires*, 51. According to Barker, “The accusation was preposterous, of course, and may be dismissed out of hand. Its source was the valet La Porte, an old servant of Anne who detested Mazarin and would say anything to blacken his reputation.” Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 58. However, La Porte was not just an “old servant,” but, as Erlanger mentions, had long been attached to the queen even during her troubled early years in France when, on account of service to Anne in her liaison with Buckingham, he was sent to the Bastille by Louis XIII. Erlanger also notes La Porte’s admitted contempt for Mazarin, but observes: “Qu’il ait forgé une si énorme calomnie semble néanmoins peu croyable.” Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur*, 38–39.
70. Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires*, 51. La Porte emphasizes his extreme hesitancy to report the incident to Anne, as well he might, considering Mazarin’s privileged position of power. Indeed, La Porte was dismissed in 1653, apparently in retaliation by Mazarin.
71. Jeffrey Merrick, “The Cardinal and the Queen: Sexual and Political Disorders in the Mazarinades,” 683. According to Philibert-Joseph Le Roux’s *Dictionnaire comique, satyrique, critique, burlesque, libre et proverbial*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Le Cène, 1718), “BARDACHE. Pour dire un jeune homme ou garçon qui sert de sucube à un autre, & qui souffre qu’on commette la Sodomie sur lui.” (1:43) According to the *Dictionnaire françois* (Genève: Jean Herman Widerhold, 1680) of Pierre Richelet, “bardache” means “Jeune garçon dont on abuse honteusement.” (65) A satirical chanson from 1649 already declared that the cardinal was training his nephew in sodomy and preparing him for Louis. Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, ed., *Recueil dit de Maurepas*, 2:177–78.
72. Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires*, 55.
73. Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires*, 56.
74. Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires*, 56.
75. Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayol, *Memorie d’un avventuriero all corte di Luigi XIV*, ed. Irene Brin (Roma: Capriotti, 1945), 13–14.
76. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “corrompre.”
77. Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti, *Memorie*, 14.
78. The birth announcement for Philippe in the *Gazette de France* is discussed in part 2, chapter 1.
79. The Scottish Henrietta Gordon of Huntley (1628–1701) joined her uncle, the Marquis of Huntley, in Paris where he was known as the marquis de Gourdon. She was a *fille d’honneur* of Anne d’Autriche. See Michel Francisque, *Les Écossais en France et les Français en Écosse*, 2 vols. (London: Trübner, 1862), 2:345.
80. Anne Marie Louise d’Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Mémoires*, 3:300.
81. César de Choiseul Du Plessis-Praslin, *Mémoires des divers emplois et des principales actions du Maréchal du Plessis*, ed. Joseph-François Michaud and Jean-Joseph-François Poujoulat (Paris: L’Éditeur du

Commentaire du Code Civil, 1839), 442. Plessis-Praslin and his role in Monsieur's education are discussed in part 2, chapter 1.

82. Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Mémoires*, 3:389–90.

83. Manicamp and Guiche were among those implicated in the sodomitical *confrérie* discussed in part 1, chapter 1.

84. Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur*, 28. Most post-1953 writings on Monsieur include this remark, always citing Erlanger, but Erlanger provides no source for the quote.

85. Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier, *Mémoires*, 3:285.

86. Françoise de Motteville, *Mémoires de Mme de Motteville sur Anne d'Autriche et sa cour*, 4 vols., ed. Valentin Conrart and François-de-Paule de Clermont, marquis de Montglat (Paris: Charpentier, 1855), 4:416.

87. See Kate von Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Jousts, *carrousel*s, and their relation to masculine warrior identity are discussed in part 1, chapter 2.

88. Rooted in the Renaissance *mascarade* and the Valois *fête de cour*, the Bourbon *ballet de cour* consisted of four main elements: *récits*, declaimed or sung at the beginning of each act; *vers*, sets of rhymed verses; *entrées*, beginning with the entry of elaborately-costumed masked dancers; and a concluding *grand ballet*. On the *ballet de cour*, see, among others, Georgie Durosoir, *Les ballets de la cour de France au XVIIe siècle, ou, Les fantaisies et les splendeurs du Baroque* (Paris: Éditions Papillon, 2004); Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le ballet de cour au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Minkoff, 1987); Marie-Françoise Christout, "Louis XIV et le ballet de cour ou Le plus illustre des danseurs (1651–1670)," *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 54 (2002): 153–78; Philippe Hourcade, *Mascarades et ballets au Grand Siècle (1643–1715)* (Paris: Desjonquères, 2002); Rose A. Pruiksma, "'Dansé par le roi': Constructions of French Identity in the Court Ballets of Louis XIV (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 2000); and Margaret M. McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour en France (1581–1643)* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1978).

89. Victor Fournel, "Le ballet de cour et les mœurs sous Louis XIV," *Revue contemporaine* (July 1866): 121.

90. *Ballet du roy des festes de Bacchus* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1651), 8–9.

91. Leonard Hinds, *Narrative Transformation from L'Astrée to Le Berger Extravagant* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2002), 8.

92. Leonard Hinds, *Narrative Transformation*, 8. A similar observation is made in Joseph Harris, "Cross-Dressing and Narrative Fetishism in *L'Astrée*," 123.

93. Marie de Brancas (1651–1731) was the daughter of Charles de Brancas-Villars (1616–81), brother of Louis-Hector, duc de Villars (1653–1754). She would later be a *dame d'honneur* to Monsieur's second wife. See François Aubert de La Chesnaye-Desbois and Jacques Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 3rd. ed. 19 vols. (Paris: Schlesinger Frères, 1868), 2:990.

94. François-Timoléon de Choisy, *Mémoires*, 333. Although I believe that cross-dressing is the "défaut" to which Monsieur refers, this portion of the monologue is ambiguous. A more tenuous interpretation would be that Monsieur's becoming a boy again, thus rejecting a feminine veneer, might be a "défaut" much as the too-masculine (unrefined) warrior was viewed as at fault by salon women who sought to civilize him, a process that I discuss in part 1, chapter 2.

95. Jérôme de La Gorce, "Louis XIV, la musique et les spectacles" in Nicolas Milovanovic and Alexandre Maral, *Louis XIV: L'homme et le roi* (Paris: Skira Flammarion, 2009), 134.

96. Ina Beghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008), 232–33.

97. For a summary of the Franco-Spanish War, see Cathal J. Nolan, *Wars of the Age of Louis XIV* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2008), 157–58.
98. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague faites par le roy et par les princes et seigneurs de sa cour en l'année 1662* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1670), [i–ii]
99. Louis exacted material homage through performance in the *carrousel*. Although he funded the lavish costumes of the pages, standard bearers, musicians, and their horses, the principal nobles (of which there were ten accompanying each of the quadrille leaders) were obliged to pay for their own costumes and those of their horses. Several wished to withdraw because of the extreme expense, but Louis warned that anyone who refused to perform in the *carrousel* would lose his court appointment (and its income). See Jérôme de La Gorce, “Le premier grand spectacle équestre donné à Versailles: Le Carrousel des galants maures” in *Les écuries royales du XVIe au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Daniel Roche and Daniel Reytier (Paris: Association pour l’Académie Équestre de Versailles, 1998), 281.
100. For a discussion of the association between sodomites and military institutions, see part 1, chapter 2.
101. Condé the warrior sodomite is discussed in part 1, chapter 2.
102. Louis XIV, *Mémoires historiques et politiques*, in *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 6 vols., ed. Philippe Henri de Grimoard and Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1806), 1:196.
103. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague*, 28.
104. Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois*, 380.
105. Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois*, 65.
106. The most commonly-cited ancient source on Caesar as a passive sodomite is Suetonius. See Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, “Julius” in *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, 2 vols., ed. John Carew Rolfe (London: W. Heinemann, 1998), 1:98, 99. Also see Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 182.
107. For discussions of how warrior masculinity outweighed negative views of the sodomite in the case of Condé, see part 1, chapter 2 and part 2, chapter 1.
108. For example, on Racine’s erasure of sodomy from his depictions of Roman history, see Gregory Woods, *A History of Gay Literature: The Male Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 82–83.
109. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 59. Relations between France and the Ottomans were largely cordial during the early seventeenth century, and although Louis XIV joined first Austria in the Austro-Turkish War (1663–64), and then Venice in the Siege of Candia (1669), he later took advantage of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict to advance his own military agenda against a weakened Austria. However, Turkey appeared as a threat to Europe and Christianity as a whole, and Louis XIV developed a strategy (never carried out) to conquer the Ottoman Empire. See Faruk Balici, *Louis XIV et son projet de conquête d’Istanbul* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurum Basimevi, 2004). France, however, was not militarily or economically superior to Turkey, and Ottoman disdain for the Bourbons rankled the French, as Jason Goodwin notes in *Lords of the Horizons: A History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: H. Holt, 1998): “Louis XIV’s ambassador sought an audience with the Grand Vizier to inform him of his master’s victory over the German princes of the Rhine. Old Koprulu, the Grand Vizier, withered him with this reply: ‘What does my master care, if the Dog worry the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, but that his Head is safe.’ . . . French hauteur — which froze the assembled diplomatic corps of all Europe — broke like foam on the granite pride of the Ottomans, who maintained their French friendship with excruciating magnanimity, and proffered them the trade concessions, called Capitulations, which they so desired. The French, of course, were more used to handing out this treatment themselves.” (264)

110. Anti-Turkish literature in France during the seventeenth-century typically cast the Ottomans as barbarous, as in Racine's *Bajazet* (1672), but they were also a subject of strategic derision that deflated their frightful image, notably in Molière's *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670). In 1669, Louis XIV banished the Turkish ambassador, Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa to Paris after he had been insolent when presented to the king at Versailles, even refusing to bow. On representations of the Turk in seventeenth-century France, see Ali Behdad, "The Oriental(ist) Encounter: The Politics of *Turquerie* in Molière," *L'esprit créateur* 32.3 (1992): 37–49; and Michèle Longino, *Orientalism in French Classical Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

111. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague*, 44.

112. Perrault records that the heads attacked were, in order: a Turk, a Moore, Medusa, and a fourth, which he does not name. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague*, 65.

113. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague*, 65.

114. For a discussion of the masculine sodomite warrior, of which Condé is the emblematic example, see part 2, chapter 1.

115. Seventeenth-century accounts of sodomy among the Turks include Michel Fabvre's *L'état présent de la Turquie ou il est traité des vies, moeurs & coutumes des ottomans, & autres peuples de l'empire* (Paris: E. Courterot, 1675) in which he declares: "Car la Sodomie & autres abominations, que l'honnesteté ne permet pas de nommer, leur sont si ordinaires qu'il leur sont devenus comme en habitude, & ils les commettent sans aucun remords de conscience . . ." (84) The association of the Turks with sodomy was so widespread that the designation "à la turque" was a euphemism for sodomy. Mme de Sévigné uses the phrase this way regarding the attempted suicide of Marie-Madeleine d'Aubray, marquise de Brinvilliers (1630–76) in April 1676 during the Affaire des Poisons: "Elle s'était fiché un batôn, devinez où: ce n'est point dans la bouche, ce n'est point dans le nez, ce n'est point dans l'oreille, ce n'est point à la Turquie; devinez où c'est." Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné, *Lettres*, 3 vols., ed. Roger Duchêne (Paris: Gallimard, 1972–78), 2:279.

116. Laonicus Chalcondyle, *Histoire des Turcs*, 10 vols. (Paris: Chez Claude Sonnius & Denys Bechet, 1650), 2:76.

117. The Greeks also took the view that there was no shame for boys to be sodomized, but men were expected to take the "active," "masculine" role, an attitude that was also found in ancient Rome and Renaissance Florence. See Kenneth James Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978); and Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

118. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 2:605.

119. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague*, 36.

120. For a discussion of Philippe's adoration of Louis, see part 2, chapter 1.

121. Jean Chardin, *Voyages de Monsieur le chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 10 vols. (Amsterdam: Jean Louis de Lorme, 1711), 4:26.

122. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. "effeminer."

123. Jean Chardin, *Voyages*, 4:162–63.

124. According to McCabe's *Orientalism in Early Modern France* (237), "Philippe's silver and red costume embroidered with pearls and rubies was by far the most lavish of the carrousel," but this conflicts with her claim: "Of all the costumes of the 1662 carrousel, the one worn by the duc de Guise as king of the Americans was by far the most fabulous." (240)

125. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague*, 34.

126. Charles Perrault, *Courses de testes et de bague*, 34–35.

127. Jean Chardin, *Voyages*, 4:99.

128. *Luxuria* and Sodom are discussed in part 1, chapter 1.
129. According to the principal definition in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, “volupté” is: “Plaisir corporel, plaisir des sens. Volupté sensuelle, carnelle, brutale.” (2:659)
130. “La doctrine de Mahomed leur lasche la bride à la luxure; non seulement pour la polygamie qu’il a permise, mais aussi par les voluptez charnelles.” Adam Olearus, *Relation du voyage d’Adam Olearius en Moscovie, Tartarie et Perse*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Du Puis, 1666), 1:572. The first edition was published in 1656.
131. Adam Olearus, *Relation du voyage*, 1:571.
132. François-Timoléon de Choisy, *Mémoires*, 332.
133. A daughter of Jacques Roussel, comte de Grancey (1603–80), Louise-Élisabeth Rouxel (1653–1711), called Mlle de Grancey (she never married), was an intimate of Monsieur, and at one time was reputed to be his mistress. She was *dame d’atours* to his first daughter and eldest child, Marie-Louise d’Orléans (1662–89), who married Carlos II, king of Spain (1665–1700) in 1679. See Père Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, des pairs, grands officiers de la Couronne, de la Maison du Roy et des anciens barons du royaume*, 3rd. ed., 9 vols. (Paris: La Compagnie des Libraires, 1726–33), 7:574.
134. Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti Fassola de Rasa, comte de Saint-Mayol, *Memorie*, 125–26.
135. Eighteenth-century associations of sodomy with effeminacy are discussed in part 1, chapter 2.
136. Voltaire [François-Marie Arouet], *Le siècle de Louis XIV* in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 52 vols., ed. Louis Moland (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877), 4:120.
137. Monsieur’s self-deprecation in increasing his brother’s *gloire* is discussed in part 2, chapter 1.
138. For example, when he agreed to the marriage between his son, the duc de Chartres, and the king’s illegitimate daughter, Mlle de Blois, which is discussed in part 2, chapter 1.
139. Monsieur had performed a role of the same name in the *Ballet royal de la nuit* (1653), so the image of Philippe as the feeble morning star in contrast to the sun, which was the role of Louis in that ballet, had already been established. Isaac de Benserade, *Ballet royal de la nuit* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1653).
140. Isaac de Benserade, *Ballet royal de la naissance de Vénus* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1665), 20.
141. In other words, Venus chooses the morning star as her own just as Henriette chooses Monsieur. Although astronomically the star and the planet Venus are the same, in allegorical terms they are not since one is the star (Monsieur) and the other is the goddess (Henriette).
142. Alexander was also a known sodomite, and his companion, Hephaestion was notably depicted with him in a series of paintings, *L’histoire d’Alexandre* (1661–72) by Charles Le Brun. He also appears in Racine’s *Alexandre le grand* (1665), the same year as the *Ballet de la naissance de Vénus*. In the *carrusel* Louis evokes Caesar and Alexander as antiquity’s greatest warriors, of whom he, as heroic king, is the modern incarnation. Historical references to sodomy are avoided, and, in the case of Alexander as depicted in the *Ballet de la naissance de Vénus*, effaced by building this part of the plot around his marriage to Roxane.
143. Isaac de Benserade, *Ballet royal de la naissance de Vénus*, 46–47.
144. On Louis XIV and polygamy, see Leslie Tuttle, *Conceiving the Old Regime: Pronatalism and the Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) 36–40. Lisa Hilton remarks on this aspect of Louis XIV’s relations with women in *Athénaïs: The Life of Louis XIV’s Mistress, the Real Queen of France* (New York: Hachette, 2002), 12. Also see Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 78–79; and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint-Simon, ou le système de la cour* (Paris: Fayard, 1997). According to Saint-Simon, when the king went on campaign to Flanders in

1669, bringing the queen, Louise de La Vallière (his *maîtresse en titre*), and Mme de Montespan (his actual mistress) in the same carriage: “Les peuples accourant de toutes parts se montraient les trois reines, et se demandaient avec simplicité les uns aux autres si ils [sic] les avaient vues.” Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 5:536. Charles-Auguste La Fare (1644–1712) recalls: “madame de Montespan avoit toujours été regardée comme la sultane reine.” *Mémoires et réflexions du marquis de La Fare*, ed. Émile Raume (Paris: Charpentier, 1884), 193. In his correspondence, Bussy-Rabutin referred to Mme de Montespan and her rival, Mlle de Fontanges, as “les deux sultanes.” *Correspondance de Roger de Rabutin, comte de Bussy*, 6 vols., ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris: Charpentier, 1858–59), 3:319.

145. This was incestuous according to Catholic doctrine because Henriette’s relation to Louis was considered consanguineous. See Robert Wheaton, *Family and Sexuality in French History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 8. Anne d’Autriche also considered the king’s liaison with his brother’s wife to be incestuous. See Anthony Levi, *Louis XIV* (London: Constable, 2004), 127.

146. See Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 79–80; Christian Bouyer, *Le duc d’Orléans*, 103; and Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur*, 75–76.

147. See, for example, her letter to Cosnac of 6 April 1670 in Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires de Daniel de Cosnac*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1852), 408–09.

148. See Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 103–08; Christian Bouyer, *Le duc d’Orléans*, 132–33; Christian Bouyer, *Henriette d’Angleterre: Belle-sœur de Louis XIV* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2006), 191–98; and Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur*, 123–28. In her correspondence, Henriette repeatedly denies having instigated Lorraine’s arrest. See *My Dearest Minette*, ed. Ruth Norrington, 200–03, *passim*. It should be noted that Norrington’s commentary is overtly biased against Lorraine, whom she calls “evil” (137) and “odious” (190).

149. In 1660, when Louis refused Philippe’s request that Henriette be granted the right to an armchair in the king’s presence, Monsieur also retired to Villers-Cotterêts. See Nancy-Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 94–95.

150. Barker describes this possibility in a sinister light: “The unconscious desire to destroy Louis was buried deep within him and found expression only in a guilty need for self-punishment, not in conspiracy or overt rebellion.” Nancy Nichols Barker, *Brother to the Sun King*, 110. There is no evidence that Monsieur ever evinced a “desire to destroy Louis,” and it is impossible to know of any alleged unconscious motives for his withdrawal from court. Indeed, as Barker observes (108), Monsieur had actively sought friendship between France and England, even when the king appeared ready to declare war; thus it seems unlikely that he would have jeopardized relations between the two kingdoms without good reason.

151. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires de Daniel de Cosnac*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1852), 1:407.

152. The significance of the term “plaire” and the notion of the *art de plaire* are discussed in part 1, chapter 2.

153. Louis XIV, *Lettres particulières in Œuvres de Louis XIV*, 6 vols., ed. Philippe Henri de Grimoard and Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1806), 5:461.

154. According to seventeenth-century French notions of gender roles, women were to be controlled by men, and it was shameful for a man to submit to the rule of his wife. See Laurinda S. Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 208–14. Among the satirical prints depicting men dominated by women are *La femme battant son mari* (ca. 1633) by Abraham Bosse (1602–76), which shows a woman beating her cuckolded husband, and *La femme qui fouette son mari* (1670) engraved by N. de L’Armessein. Bosse

emphasizes the inversion of the natural order by also depicting, in the same image, a young girl beating a boy and a hen attacking a rooster. See Dixon for an analysis of Bosse.

155. For example, La Porte records an incident that took place when Louis and Philippe were sharing a room in 1652 (they were fourteen and twelve years old). La Porte says that when the boys awoke one morning: “Le Roi sans y penser cracha sur le lit de Monsieur, qui cracha aussitôt tout exprès sur le lit du Roi, qui un peu en colère lui cracha au nez: Monsieur sauta sur le lit du Roi et pissa dessus; le Roi en fit autant sur le lit de Monsieur: comme ils n’avoient plus de quoi cracher ni pisser, ils se mirent à tirer les draps l’un de l’autre dans la place; et peu après ils se prirent pour se battre.” See Pierre de La Porte, *Mémoires*, 49.

156. Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, 1:414.

157. *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 2:59.

158. Philippe Erlanger, *Monsieur*, 129.

159. Olivier Le Fèvre d’Ormesson, *Journal*, 2 vols., ed. Adolphe Chéruel (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1860–61), 2:584.

160. Guy de La Battut, *La cour de Monsieur* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1927), 127.

161. Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné, *Lettres*, 1:475.

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