University of Glasgow

Erjavec, Alexandra Elena Barbara (2015) *Masculinity penetrated: satisfying socially constructed visions of heterosexuality in MS M. 754.* MPhil(R) thesis.

http://theses.gla.ac.uk/6304/

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Glasgow Theses Service
http://theses.gla.ac.uk/
theses@gla.ac.uk

University of Glasgow

MASCULINITY PENETRATED

Satisfying Socially Constructed Visions of Heterosexuality in MS M. 754

ALEXANDRA ELENA BARBARA ERJAVEC

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy of the History of Art by Research in the School of Culture and Creative Arts, University of Glasgow, 26 September 2014

© Alexandra Erjavec 2014

ABSTRACT

New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 754, is a prayerbook with overarching themes of pregnancy and childbirth produced in 1320s France for a female reader. However, the social expectations in fourteenth-century France regarding female sexuality, piety and devotion found in the main miniatures are subverted by an abundance of anus-exposing men, monkeys and hybrids cavorting in the margins. Often dismissed in contemporary literature as scatological, I believe these anal images should be reexamined in light of contemporary notions of medieval masculinity and homosexuality. My research aims to challenge the binaries of gender construction through careful consideration of these 'taboo' images, as well as reconsider books of hours in specific relation to ideas of male values and sexuality. In particular, I believe an emerging theme of homosexuality can be found when considered in the context of the clergy and knightly class—homosocial environments that allow for the displacement of men's sexual urges onto other men. A particular focus will be placed on social analysis as well as alterity theory, which I believe help to dismantle the binaries of gender expectations evident during the French Middle Ages, further helping to problematize the conventional theoretical dichotomy of centre versus margins.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research that led to this dissertation has been an incredible learning process, dotted with its ups and down. However, the ups have far outweighed the downs, and for this I am incredibly grateful to the support and encouragement I have received along the way.

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Debra Strickland, not only for her continued support throughout this academic process but also for being someone with whom I can sit and chat nonsense with after our work was done (and, given my topic, there was sometimes much of this). Additionally, I would like to thank Dr John Richards, whose opinions and suggestions I value and respect, especially as his supervisory role was undertaken voluntarily while on leave.

And finally, I would like to thank my friends and family, who have put up with my constant chatter about monsters, men and their anuses these last twelve months.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

monkey administers enema into vessel. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

10 *MS M. 754*, fol. 113v. Folio after Passion according to John, before the Life of Saint Margaret on folio 114r. Female donor, wearing headdress and vair-lined mantle with vair-lined collar, kneeling with open book in both hands. Flanked by bird on tree and by dog. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

11 *MS M. 754*, fol. 78r. Beginning of Psalm 5. Miniature depicting St Jerome nimbed and tonsured with clasped hands, looking up towards figure of God emerging from clouds above. Detail, right margin: Female donor wearing headdress, holding open book with both hands, and kneeling on a foliate stem. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

12 *MS M. 754*, fol. 16v. Page from Psalm 86. Detail, top half of page: Nude couple having intercourse, the man's anus poked with long beak by hybrid animal. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

13 Bridwell Library MS 13, *Sellers Hours*, c. 1330, fols. 141v-142r. Prayers (verso) and the opening of the prayer to St Thomas of Canterbury (recto). Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

14 *MS M. 754*, fols. 37v- 38r. Canticle of Zacharias (verso); Oblation scene (recto) and beginning of first verse of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

15 *MS M. 754*, fol. 15v. First versicle of None of the Long Hours of the Holy Spirit. Miniature depicting Apostle James Major, nimbed and wearing pilgrim garb and looking towards a cross-nimbed dove of the Holy Ghost emerging from the clouds at right. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

16 *MS M. 754*, fol. 19v. Second versicle of Compline of the Long Hours of the Holy Spirit. Miniature depicting Apostle Philip or Thomas, nimbed, holding spear and looking toward cross-nimbed dove of the Holy Ghost emerging from clouds. The female patron can be found kneeling or bowing in the right hand margin. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

17 *MS M. 754*, fol. 71v. Deposition. First versicle of Vespers of Long Hours of the Cross / Hours of the Passion. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

18 *MS M. 754*, fol. 48v. Beginning of Chapter in Vespers in the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Detail, lower margin: Monkey exposes anus and

penetrates anus of unknown figure with a spear protruding from an oven. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

19 *MS M. 754*, fol. 3r. Hymn in Matins of the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Detail, lower margin: Nude, hybrid one-legged man in bishop's mitre exposing anus. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

20 *MS M. 754*, fol. 72r. Psalm 126 in Vespers of the Long Hours of the Cross / Long Hours of the Passion. Detail, right margin: Armless, tonsured hybrid cleric carries ladder and exposes anus. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

21 *MS M. 754*, fol. 48r. Beginning of Psalm 147 in Vespers of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Detail, right margin: Two hybrid soldiers wearing chainmail, fighting: one with hoofed legs wielding sword and buckler; one with head and legs, wearing ailettes and exposing anus, wields spear. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

22 *MS M. 754*, fol. 20v . Page from the Canticle of Simeon, from Luke 2:29-32. Detail, right margin: Hybrid bishop wearing mitre, holding distaff with spindle; rabbit holding distaff. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

23 *MS M. 754*, fol. 38v. Beginning of Hymn and Psalm 20. Margins decorated with foliate stems and balls, a hybrid snail with beak in the top margin; two hybrids in the left-hand margin; hybrid animal with antlers of a stag in right-hand margin; hybrid animal standing on tri-part globe and fish in lower margin. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

24 *MS M. 754*, fol. 31v. Page with verses from the Canticle of Simeon. Margins inhabited by butterfly, bird and bell, bearded hybrid man, fish, and mermaid/siren. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

25 *MS M. 754*, fol. 59r. Responsory and Versicle for Lesson in Matins of Long Hours of the Cross / Hours of the Passion. Margins depict fish emerging from an oven and wearing crowns and mitres, and a male merman/siren. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

26 *MS M. 754*, fol. 65v. Miniature (not shown) depicting the Flagellation of Christ. Frist Versicle of Terce of the Long Hours of the Cross/Hours of the Passion. Detail, lower margin: Male figure in the left-hand margin playing bagpipes; nude male figure exposes his anus and plays boules in the bas-de-page; two men, one with hat and staff in the lower margin. New York:

Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

27 *MS M. 754*, fol. 36r. Page from Hymn of Cante Lingua and verse 68 of Canticle of Zacharias. Detail, right margin: Ape, partly submerged in water, kissing exposed anus of second ape. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

28 *MS M. 754*, fol. 20r. Beginning of Psalm 129. Detail, lower margin: Monkey sitting on foliate tendril looking in a mirror. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

29 *MS M. 754*, fol. 17v. Beginning of first versicle of Vespers in the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Miniature depicting nimbed apostle preaching to group of four men. Detail, lower margin: Monkey exposing anus and holding open book. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

30 *MS M. 754*, fol. 55r. Miniature depicting St Martin of Tours dividing cloak. Margins inhabited by bird, hybrid and beggar. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

31 *MS M. 754*, fol. 3r. Hymn in Matins in the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Margins inhabited by mitre-wearing hybrid, birds, and foliate tendrils. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

32 *MS M. 754*, fol. 57r. Invitatory Psalm 95:8, 9, in Matins of Long Hours of the Cross / Hours of the Passion. Margins inhabited by hybrid swallowing sword, monkey swallowing sword, tree, and armless man wearing cap. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

33 *MS M. 754*, fol. 80r. Page from the Psalter of St Jerome. Detail, lower half of page: Margins inhabited by winged hybrid with axe, wimple-wearing nun, and grey-haired woman holding tripartite globe. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

34 *MS M. 754*, fol. 105r. Beginning of the Passion according to John 18:1-19. Margins decorated with *Arma Christi*, or Instruments of the Passion. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

35 *MS M. 754*, fol. 38r. Beginning of the first versicle of Prime of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Top half of page: Miniature depicting Oblation scene. Right margin inhabited female donor wearing veiled headdress and mantle with vair collar and lining, with joined hands raised in prayer. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

36 *MS M. 754*, fol. 43r. Beginning of first versicle of Sext of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Miniature depicting Moses and the Miracle of Manna. Right margin inhabited by female donor, wearing veiled headdress and mantle, kneeling with joined hands raised in prayer. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

"The perverse is already an integral part of the dominant and not the tragic lack embodied by a subordinate minority."

Glenn Burger, 1992[1]

[1] Glenn Burger, "Kissing the Pardoner," *PMLA* 107, No. 5 (October, 1992), 1152.

INTRODUCTION

MASCULINITY PENETRATED
Satisfying Socially Constructed Visions of Heterosexuality

The Book of Hours MS M. 754 (1320s), housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, is relatively small, measuring just 156 x 111 mm, its 141 bound vellum leaves containing a series of texts, miniatures, and marginal images.[2] Produced in the North East of France, it is Franco-Flemish in style and was probably used in Thérouanne, as suggested by the feast days and important dates marked in the manuscript's calendar. While this is a book for which female consumption is suggested by the dedication to St Margaret, the protectoress of pregnancy, and the multiple portraits of a female patron kneeling outside miniatures,[3] the margins are teeming with over a hundred images of male monkeys, men and hybrids exposing their anus to the viewer (see Figs. 1-3).[4] In much of the existing literature on marginalia even in works specific to M. 754, I believe this anal imagery has not received the attention it deserves nor has it been considered outside the realm of the 'acceptable,' and instead has been brushed over, often labeled 'scatological' or 'obscene' without further explanation. As I wish to interrogate the anal imagery of M. 754 as revealing a 'homoerotic' or 'deviant' male sexuality—as I believe these images of anal fascination better comment on male homosexual sexual acts than they do heterosexual ones—it becomes imperative to ask what this anal imagery is doing

---

2 "Morgan MS M. 754 Curatorial Description," Pierpont Morgan Library, accessed February 2, 2014, http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0754.htm .

3 The dedication to St Margaret is evident by the inclusion of *Life of St Margaret* in the second half of this manuscript. Portraits of the female donor can be found on MS M. 754, fols. 1r, 5v, 9r, 11r, 13v, 15v, 17v, 19v, 25r, 33v, 38r, 40v, 43r, 45v, 47v, 51r, 55v, 59v, 63v, 65v, 67v, 69v, 71v, 74v, 78r, 113v (shown pregnant, in miniature rather than in margin), and 114r.

4 Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 82

in a woman's prayer book. Was it purely for the (assumed) male artist's viewing pleasure as he created it?[5] My hypothesis is that this arguably homoerotic imagery functions as a kind of foil for heterosexual themes of pregnancy or copulation as well as an emblem of artistic privilege, which I believe can be supported through the evidence of the texts and images.

However, it will also be necessary to consider the possibility that perhaps these images are not erotic, and need to be critically examined in order to question why scholars may have identified them otherwise.[6] Nonetheless, I believe that these images do have a sexual orientation, especially when considered in the context of increasing interest in the erotic body in the later Middle Ages. For the purposes of this study I will only be examining the anus in concern to male sexuality, as I have yet to come across any studies that discuss the anus in terms of the erotic for female consumption. Furthermore, the distinct absence in existing literature on the anus in an erotic context in specific relation to female sexuality and arousal would make considering this imagery outside of a male-male sexual context extremely difficult and speculative.

One of the biggest difficulties in studying M. 754 is that little is known about the work due to a lack of surviving evidence of production and patronage. There are no records to definitively link the manuscript to a particular illustrator, patron, or scribe, which unfortunately is characteristic of most medieval manuscripts. While the book is sometimes referred to as the *Hours of*

[5] Given that we have no evidence for the artist's identity or any records detailing the patron's requests for what the images in the margins might contain, this would be impossible to comment on with any validity. For the purposes of this dissertation I will not be considering the artist's individual sexual preferences any further than the fact that it *may* have been a possibility.

[6] It is important to note that marginal motifs may be purely decorative, and the artist may have chosen to copy them from another manuscript or book without understanding their significance or symbolic attributes, especially if considered in isolation. Janetta Rebold Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages* (New York; London: Abbeville Press, c. 1992), 140.

Marguerite de Beaujeu, scholars such as Judith Steinhoff and Paula Gerson have generally agreed that the absence of any emphasis on St Margaret in the calendar indicates a lack of evidence to link Marguerite de Beaujeu to M. 754, as it would generally be expected that the patron or owner's name saint would be given special attention in the calendar, and have instead suggested that the dedication to St Margaret serves as an indicator of the patron's concerns with childbirth and pregnancy.[7] Along with this lack of evidence of production and patronage, there are two things that lead to inconsistencies in interpretations amongst scholars not only when studying the imagery of M. 754, but medieval manuscript illumination in general: the issues of defining terminology and the plurality of meanings generated by medieval images.

Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson introduce a series of essays by discussing the multiplicity of possible meanings that can be taken from medieval images, stating that scholars have universally agreed that the meaning(s) of medieval images have the propensity to shift depending on the context in which they were viewed.[8] Michael Camille had already demonstrated the validity of this argument when he discussed the various meanings and interpretations of medieval images of buttocks in different locations, relating his discussion to the concept of the 'obscene'.[9] Malcolm Jones and Sherry C.M. Lindquist also support

---

[7] St Margaret was the patron saint of childbirth and pregnancy, probably due to her miraculous escape from Satan's belly (in the form of a dragon) unharmed. Judith Steinhoff, "Pregnant Pages: Marginalia in a Book of Hours (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754/ British Library, MS Add. 36684)," in *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane, 180-186 (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University; In association with Penn State University Press, 2005), 181.

[8] Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, "Introduction: Limning the Field," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, 1-10 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 2.

[9] Michael Camille, "Dr. Witkowski's Anus: French Doctors, German Homosexuals and the Obscene in Medieval Church Art," in *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald, 17-38 (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2006), 18-23.

this theory of shifting meanings in medieval images, Jones claiming simultaneous apotropaic powers and erotic appeal in the metaphorical strategies used to depict sexual subjects.[10] Sherry Lindquist discusses the numerous possible meanings of the nude body in medieval images, highlighting Caroline Bynum's arguments about the sexualisation of the nude male body.[11] Having introduced some of the ways in which scholars have interpreted medieval marginal imagery, I hope to generate further discussion and propose a new way of looking at a type of marginal image that I believe has been overlooked and perhaps even misread. It is this idea of misreading or misrepresenting that brings me to my next point: the problematic description of the anal imagery in the margins of M. 754 using terms such as 'obscene' and 'scatological'.

In discussions of 'obscene' medieval images, many scholars begin their studies with a definition of the word itself. Madeline Caviness, Michael Camille, and James Brundage all begin essays in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages* by referencing Mary Caputi's definition of the obscene, stating that obscenity "incorporates transgression and taboo, the violation of boundaries, the exceeding of subconsciously consensual limits," but despite their collective references to one specific definition, the need to define the term before beginning a discussion of it suggests that its very meaning is

---

10 Malcolm Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages* (Westport, Conn.,: Praeger, 2002), 249-259. Jones' book is a wide-reaching survey of the different meanings that can be attributed to various motifs in medieval manuscripts.

11 Sherry C.M. Lindquist, "The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art: An Introduction," in *The Meanings of Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist, 1-46 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, c. 2012), 10-11. For Bynum's full argument see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York; London: Zone Books, 1992) as well as her essay, "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22, No. 1 (Autumn 1995): 1-33.

problematic, or at the very least not universally agreed.[12] While attempts are made to define the obscene from the perspective of the Middle Ages, it is impossible to exactly reconstruct what people thought in the past and come to a final conclusion of definition. According to Camille and Hunt, the idea of the 'obscene' is a modern concept, both Camille and Hunt arguing for its emergence as a concept with the developing distinction between public and private behaviours, such as reading, which would allow for 'inappropriate' engagement with potentially sexual images, such as MS M. 754, fol. 16v (Fig. 12), which depicts a naked couple copulating while the phallic beak of a bird penetrates the male's anus. Furthermore, in her extensive catalogue of medieval marginal imagery, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Lilian Randall includes all anal imagery under the category *obscaena*. Patrick Ford makes a link between the classical Latin definition of *obscenus*—defined as "of adverse, unfavourable, or evil omen; ill-boding, inauspicious, ominous, portentous; hence, repulsive, offensive, abominable, hateful, disgusting, filthy"—and *anus* in his research, which led to new uses of *obscena* as "excrement, urine; private parts, external sexual organs."[13]

Nicola McDonald argues that obscenity is defined in relation to social and temporal specificity, identifying 'obscenity' as the meeting point between

---

[12] Furthermore, Caviness adds to Caputi's definition, stating that images are considered to be 'obscene' when they impede or obstruct the viewer's expectations of pleasure. Madeline H. Caviness, "Obscenity and Alterity: Images that Shock and Offend Us/Them, Now/Then?," 155-175; Michael Camille, "Obscenity Under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts," 139-154; and James A. Brundage, "Obscene and Lascivious: Behavioural Obscenity in Canon Law," all in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski, 246-259 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998). For Caputi's definition of the obscene, see Mary Caputi, *Voluptuous Yearnings: A Feminist Theory of the Obscene* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), 5.

[13] Patrick K. Ford, "The *Which* on the Wall: Obscenity Exposed in Early Ireland," in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski, 176-192 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 177.

opposing ideas of a current dominant group—whether that group is social, religious, or political—and those of the non-dominant group regarding the concept of 'decency.'[14] In medieval Western Europe, the Church was the most powerful institution, dictating much of medieval life. Using Nicola McDonald's guidelines to defining obscenity, it becomes possible to examine not only what the Church believed was appropriate or decent, but also what it believed to be 'indecent' and 'inappropriate'. Keeping in mind the didactic function of medieval imagery, it may be possible to understand the anal imagery of M. 754 not necessarily as erotic, but, perhaps in this context of the 'obscene' according to McDonald, as a warning meant to avert the viewer from what the Church regarded as 'indecent' or 'sinful behaviour'. However, McDonald argues that due to the historical specificities of such definitions, it becomes almost impossible to ever define the obscene at all, especially in regard to the past. Although she states that scholars now generally agree upon the definition of the obscene in terms of its use, as it was, 'designed to shock, either intellectually or sensually, but there is less consensus on the effects of that shock: fear, laughter, awe, or excitement.'[15] McDonald does not offer any solutions to tackling the issues raised by attempting to define the obscene at a specific point in the past.

In relation to M. 754, it may be that the abundance of anal imagery in the margins may not have been intended as deliberately (or only) erotic, as 'obscenity' can take on many forms, resulting in a wide range of responses in the viewer, including seemingly mutually exclusive reactions such as desire and

[14] The idea of "decency," especially in this context, automatically implies the existence of its counterpart, "indecency." Nicola Mcdonald, "Introduction," in *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald, 1-16 (Woodbridge: York Medieval, 2006) 12.
[15] McDonald, "Introduction," 12.

disgust.[16] However, what I believe to be even more problematic than discussing these images in the context of the obscene is referring to them as 'scatological'.

Scholars such as Roger Wieck describe the marginal imagery of M. 754 as 'delightful,' despite the fact that 'much of the margin's imagery is scatological.'[17] However, scatology refers to the study or science that deals with diagnosis by means of the examination of fæces.[18] While there is a prominent pictorial focus on the anus and buttocks in the imagery of M. 754, I have only come across two possible examples of figures defecating in the margins (Figs. 4 and 5).[19] Similarly, Malcolm Jones refers to the marginalia of M. 754 as *figurae scatologicae*, paying particular attention to the image on fol. 3v which features a male figure with his buttocks protruding from an oven (Fig. 6).[20] There is no excrement depicted on this page, and I believe this suggests that scholars use 'scatology' as a blanket term for images that feature the buttocks as a way of avoiding discussions of the anus in any sort of erotic or sexual context, demonstrating that perhaps sexual taboos are still very much in place today. However, this may simply indicate that the critic does not interpret this imagery as erotic or sexual at all, although my opinion is that these images do suggest a sexual orientation, some even blatantly

---

[16] Madeline Caviness discusses the many possibilities marginal images have in shaping the reactions and responses of the reader/viewer in her article "Patron or Matron? A Cepetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68, No. 2 (1993), 333-362. In particular, Caviness focuses on the frightening, threatening and aggressive nature of the marginalia in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreaux* (illustrated in Paris c. 1325 by Jean Pucelle) and possible responses Jeanne, the reader/viewer, may have had to the images.

[17] Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, NY: George Braziller in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 82. Judith Steinhoff also agrees with the light nature of the M. 754's marginalia, describing its tone as 'often rambunctious and sometimes sarcastic, but never ominous, as it can be in other manuscripts.' See Steinhoff, "Pregnant Pages," 183.

[18] Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim, "Introduction: Scatology, the Last Taboo," in *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology*, ed. Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim, xiii-xxi (Aldershot; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2004), xiii-xxi.

[19] MS M. 754, fols. 15r and 16r.

[20] Malcolm Jones, "Marcolf the Trickster in Late Medieval Art and Literature or: The Mystery of the Bum in the Oven," in *Spoken in Jest*, ed. Gillian Bennett and Paul Smith, 139-174 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 142.

so (Figs. 7, 8, 9), and perhaps may have had an erotic function. One of the aims of this dissertation is to argue that anal images like those found in M. 754 can, and should, be seen in an erotic or sexual context, rather than inappropriately dismissed as scatological.

Malcolm Jones attempts to link the image of a figure's hindquarters protruding from an oven on fol. 3v to the text by suggesting that the scribe might have read the words of the psalm, '*in pulvere dormio*,' on that page, recalling the ashes on the bottom of the oven and sparking the idea for the image.[21] Keeping this association between text and image in mind, it is important to note that the illuminator followed the scribe in the temporal sequence of book illustration and was allotted a certain amount of freedom in deciding the subjects of a book's marginalia.[22] Jonathan Alexander discusses this, concluding that there does not need to be a direct—or even loosely suggestive—link between the image and the text, [23] which could help to better explain the significance of anal imagery in a woman's prayer book. In spite of this, as Malcolm Jones was attempting to show, sometimes seemingly unrelated marginal images can be prompted by only a single word or phrase in the text, a point that is discussed in much more depth by Paula Gerson in her study of the relationship between text and image in M. 754.[24]

Gerson's study of the marginal imagery and its relation to the text of M. 754 has been one of the most comprehensive studies of the manuscript so far, despite only being six pages long. She begins her study with a physical

---

[21] '*…in pulvere dormio*…' translates from Latin to, "I shall sleep in the dust." However, Jones is quick to admit that this theory is a bit of a stretch. Jones, "Marcolf the Trickster," 145.

[22] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1992), 92.

[23] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 149.

[24] Paula Gerson, "Margins for Eros," *Romance Languages Annual* 5 (1993): 47-53.

description of the book itself, a brief stylistic analysis, a discussion of its provenance, and of how it cannot be associated with Marguerite de Beaujeu as a patron.[25] Gerson states that the association with Marguerite de Beaujeu (1346-1400) was based on an erroneous identification of heraldic seals in small details in the miniatures. Furthermore, the dates associated with Marguerite de Beaujeu are too late to be linked with this manuscript, as it was produced in the 1320s.[26] Most interestingly, Gerson undercuts any arguments that the woman who owned this manuscript was named Marguerite at all, as there are over one hundred examples of books of hours produced in Northern France during this period that feature the Life of St Margaret. She claims that, 'the frequent occurrence of the Life of St Margaret reveals more about the lives of women in the later Middle Ages than it does about the name of the patroness of M. 754.'[27] In particular, Gerson examines marginal imagery that directly relates to the words of the text in one context or another, giving examples and concluding that the book's artist would have had at least a basic knowledge of Latin—enough to play with the words of the text, but that the artistic process for M. 754's marginalia may not have been done with any sort of deliberate plan in direct relation to the text.[28] However, she does admit that not all marginalia can be read in this way, and that many of the subjects of the marginal images in M. 754 are seemingly chosen at whim, while others occasionally appear to roughly follow a theme appropriate to that section of the text.

---

[25] Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 48.
[26] Gerson calls attention to an inscription in the British Library fragment introducing the *O Intemerata*, which claims the prayer was made by Pope John XXII (1316-1334), so a date after 1334 would not be plausible for this manuscript.
[27] Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 48.
[28] Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 49-51. Here, I mean that the subjects of the marginal imagery were not deliberately chosen or allocated to specific sections of the book.

Unlike Steinhoff, Gerson engages in a discussion over the 'rude and salacious' subject matter of M. 754's marginalia and considers whether it was the patron or artist (or some other unknown person) who was accountable for the overall tone of these images. She suggests that through an exploration of text and image, it may in fact be inappropriate to call these images marginal, as the complex relationships between the text and image does away with the boundaries between the 'centre' and 'margins'.[29] This idea is supported by Michael Camille, who argues that the 'chaos' and 'disorder' attributed to the margins reinforces the order and coherence of the centre of the page, making the marginal imagery fundamental to the interpretation and construction of the page as a whole.[30] In fact, Camille goes so far as to say that artists and images had the potential to subvert the messages of the text, an idea I believe might prove crucial to the interpretation of M. 754's marginalia.[31] In the case of M. 754, it is important to think of the cumulative effect of the anal imagery in the margins, which may actually reflect a breakdown in relations between the centre and the margins, rather than a reinforcement, as the artist who executed and set up the messages of the miniatures was the same one that took them apart in the margins. However, in order to explore possible interpretations of the images in this manuscript it is important to first examine and understand the social, historical and economic context in which it was produced.

***

[29] Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 51.
[30] Michael Camille, "Play, Piety and Perversity in Medieval Marginal Manuscript Illumination," in *Mein Ganzer Körper ist Gesicht: Groteske Darsttellungen in der Europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Katrin Kröll and Hugo Steger, 171-192 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 1994), 172.
[31] Camille, *Image on the* Edge, 26.

MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

M. 754 was produced during a time of significant shifts in the process of book production and illumination. Richard and Mary Rouse discuss this shift from strictly ecclesiastic manuscript production and function to its commercial production, beginning in Paris.[32] Perhaps rather expectedly, with the change in consumption came a change of production. The majority of illuminated manuscripts produced for monastic and ecclesiastic purposes were made with the intent of public and oral use, and this change from monastic to commercial production enabled a more private consumption of the texts, a change very interestingly discussed by Michael Camille in his study on book fetishism.[33] In this study, Camille discusses the manuscript as a fetishistic object of desire, a status only made possible through private consumption. Camille states that the concept of 'pornography' only became possible with the advent of private and silent reading.[34] However, some scholars disagree with this definition of pornography. Sarah Salih, for example, counters Camille's argument, stating that the Middle Ages should be considered as 'pre-pornographic,' as most overtly sexual images produced during this time were not created with the primary function of sexual arousal. She argues that some of the blatantly sexual imagery

---

[32] Richard H. Rouse and Mary A Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500, vol. 1* (Turnhout: Harvey Millar, c. 2000), 27-32. For more information on this shift in manuscript production in the wider context of the arts in general see Whitney S. Stoddard, *Art & Architecture in Medieval France: Medieval Architecture, Sculpture, Stained Glass, Manuscripts, the Art of Church Treasuries* (New York; London: Harper & Row, 1972), 343.

[33] Michael Camille, "Glossing the Flesh: Scopophilia and the Margins of the Medieval Book," in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. David C. Greetham, 245-268 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, c. 1997), 252.

[34] Camille, "Dr. Witkowski's Anus," 36. The concept of the invention of pornography is a fascinating and important discourse tangentially related to my topic, and will be discussed in depth in a later chapter. For further reading on the invention of pornography, especially in terms of gender relations, see Gail Dines, Robert Jensen, and Anne Russo, *Pornography: The Production and Consumption of Inequality* (New York; London: Routledge, 1998).

produced in the Middle Ages was meant to have a certain 'shock value,' but that the response to the imagery could range from a wide variety of emotions such as amusement or fear. However, like Camille, she specifically calls attention to the viewing context of much of this imagery, stating that much of the sexual imagery produced during this period was made for public, rather than private consumption, which would in turn affect the responses elicited by the viewer.[35]

Located historically and in economic terms, this shift in manuscript production came with the rise of the newly wealthy laity and decline of manuscript production in monastic settings. This meant that the majority of manuscripts were no longer produced by celibate men working under repressive Christian theological doctrines on sex and sexuality and representing a skewed view of sexual practice in the Middle Ages.[36] This is not to say that a new sexual freedom had emerged during the time of M. 754's production but rather that new patrons' demands may have shaped shifts in marginal subject matter. Perhaps the abundance of anal imagery in M. 754's margins can be examined in relation to the shift in production from monastic context to that of a commercial one not so heavily invested in upholding canonical views of sexuality.[37]

---

[35] Sarah Salih, "Erotica," in *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages, vol. 2*, ed. Ruth Evans, 181-212 (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2011).

[36] I use the term *skewed* here to illuminate that the point of view used by the clergy and Christian theologians was only one point of view on sex in the Middle Ages, and that in reality, much of the laity would not have understood complex theological doctrines on sex and perhaps would have not adhered to so strict and repressive a sexual practice. However, at this time the Church was also the seat of power in the Catholic empire, and their views on sexuality were 'officially' the operative norm.

[37] However, it is important to understand the Christian theological foundation from which these lay illuminators were emerging. For additional sources that discuss Christian theology and doctrines on sex, see: Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Elaine H. Pagels, *Adam, Eve and the Serpent* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1990); Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, c. 1982); Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (eds.), *The Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York; London: Garland: 2000).

Michael Camille has argued that marginalia in medieval manuscripts, especially in books produced for female patrons or intended for female consumption, were misogynistic and contributed to the expression of values that reinforced a social tendency aimed at subjugating women's bodies.[38] Adelaide Bennett, who has examined manuscripts that used grammar and text to reinforce female subjugation through the inclusion of feminine nouns of a submissive nature, further supports this theory.[39] The expected and accepted 'sexuality' for women in the Middle Ages was to be married, and single women could pose a threat to male morality. This idea is explored by Ruth Karras in her theory that virginity actually empowered women, as it was seen not only as a form of 'deviance' from their expected sexual state, but also of independence from male support.[40] Karras further supports this idea, stating that female virginity could be seen as a complete rejection of the institution of marriage and the role of the husband. The dedication to St Margaret in M. 754 may suggest that fertility and pregnancy were important values to the patron; however, based on the arguments made by Karras, a representation of a pregnant female would be the ideal female state according to the male perspective, especially as it acknowledges the virile and active man, or the power of the erection.[41] Keeping this in mind, could it be possible to read the image of the pregnant female patron

---

[38] Camille, "Glossing the Flesh," 264.

[39] Adelaide Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women Visible: Text and Image in French and Flemish Books of Hours, 1220-1320," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, 125-158 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 130.

[40] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others* (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 32-34. Karras argues that there is a difference between virginity and chastity, and that although virginity was considered a virtuous state by the Church, it was seen as a temporary state until the woman entered marriage.

[41] As previously mentioned, St Margaret was the protectoress of pregnancy. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 82. Furthermore, in the text on fols. 129b and 130 from the Life of St Margaret, it says she prays for 'any woman who is pregnant' (translated from the French *enceinte*, or pregnant). See "Morgan MS M. 754 Curatorial Description."

in M. 754 as an indirect portrait of masculine virility (Fig. 10)?[42] I agree with Judith Steinhoff's identification of the image of the patron on fol. 113v as pregnant due to the huge difference in stomach sizes between this image and the other images of the donor in the manuscript, a difference that I do not believe can be attributed to stylistic qualities (compare the belly of the patron in Fig. 10 with that in Figs. 35 and 36). However, were these values and themes of pregnancy commissioned by the female owner/viewer? Or were they an ideal of female sexuality that a male husband or artist wanted to impose upon her? Considering the realities of gender expectations, medieval marriage, and sexual 'norms' in fourteenth-century France will form a significant portion of my discussions in a later chapter when examining M. 754 in the social context in which it was produced. Furthermore, this brings to mind Michael Uebel's discussion of alterity theory and fantasy: that the 'Other' functions as a form of self-identification, resulting in self-satisfaction through utopic impulses, a theory that I believe can be applied to the anal imagery of M. 754.[43]

Alterity theory is a philosophical tradition based on the identification of the 'Other', and is usually understood in juxtaposition to notions of the 'self'.[44] Uebel discusses alterity and the process through which we create the Other in order to better define ourselves as a process that allows for the creation and achievement of our 'ideal self.'[45] He discusses this method of projecting utopic fantasies as a 'coping mechanism' which allows the individual to create an ideal

---

[42] See Steinhoff, "Pregnant Pages," 181-182. I have included two images of the female donor's portrait here. Figure 10 is fol. 113v, in which she appears pregnant, and Figure 11, an image of the patron from fol. 78r, which is typical of her depiction throughout the manuscript.

[43] Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation: On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3. I will be using aspects of Uebel's theory, among others, in my discussion of defining the self in relation to the other.

[44] Brian Treanor, *Aspects of Alterity: Levinas, Marcel, and the Contemporary Debate* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 3-5.

[45] Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 4-12.

façade in place of their own imperfect reality, allowing for the distortion of reality in order to conceal their own insecurities. Using this definition of alterity in reference to the images of M. 754, I wish to explore the possibilities of meaning this theory might allow by examining the selected images with homosexuality functioning as 'Other', and male heterosexuality as the 'self' (represented by the product of virile male heterosexuality: the pregnant female patron), defining the 'norm' or 'ideal self'. It is through these definitions of alterity, self, and Other that enable a reading of images of the Other as an inverse portrait of the self, which I believe calls for a new examination of the marginal images of M. 754 in relation to alterity theory, in particular using Uebel's theories of utopia and fantasy in the image of the pregnant patron.

These theories of alterity and the construction of the homosexual as 'Other' will allow for the examination of the anal imagery in the margins using parallels taken from medieval cartography and the creation of the 'monster' in the margins of the known world. By considering the anal images as representative of a 'monstrous' form of male sexuality in the Middle Ages, it becomes possible to use aspects of spatial alterity to compare the placement of the anal imagery at the edges and how they either reinforce or subvert the meaning of the 'centre'.

Robert Mills also uses alterity theory to explore ideas about the medieval body, using aspects of queer, postcolonial, and racial theories to expand and support his arguments.[46] Mills ties pain and pleasure to a discussion of the erotic, encouraging scholars to be open to the possibility of queer and

[46] Robert Mills, *Suspended Animation: Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture* (London: Reaktion, 2005).

homosexual reading of images, which may perhaps include images such as the one on folio 29r (Fig. 9). Using some elements of these arguments, is it possible to view the anal images in the margins of M. 754 as a surfacing of male homosexual activities? Can the prominent emphasis of the pregnant image of the patroness in a miniature on her own be examined as an overt attempt to reinforce male heterosexuality and virility, especially when considering the abundance of anal imagery in the margins? Keeping in mind the supposed 'norm' of medieval masculinity (ie the heterosexual, virile and active man[47]), is it possible to view the anal imagery as an embodiment of Christian anxieties regarding 'deviant' forms of masculinity and sexuality through their placement in the margins? Or could the abundance of anal imagery establish homosexuality as the 'norm' and heterosexuality as 'Other', while simultaneously subverting and parodying the canonical Christian tradition? I intend to focus my interrogation on this manuscript's fascination with the anus from the point of view of medieval Christian ideals of sexuality and more particularly, masculinity.

Beginning by discussing what the Church defined as the 'norm' of medieval masculinity in the context of medieval Christian theology and sexuality, I intend to explore how the images I have selected in MS M. 754 deviate from this established view. More specifically I wish to focus on homosexuality as a particular strand of 'deviance' from a medieval theological perspective, equating anal imagery as a visual manifestation of homoeroticism, or at the very least homosexual activity. Crucial in my attempt to do this will be Robert Mills' ideas

[47] In this context, 'active' can be understood in relation to linguistic grammar structures between active and passive subjects. This is best articulated by Ruth Karras, who discusses the medieval view of sex as an act in which one person "did something to someone else," the male being the active participant, and the female the passive receptor of the male's actions. See Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 3.

of the 'aesthetics of engagement,' which examine sexualized marginal motifs, much like the anal imagery found in M. 754, not in isolation but in their wider context and repetition amongst the manuscript as a whole in order to both reinforce and also to subvert binary systems, especially ones that attempt to clearly define the ever-shifting divisions between unfixed categories such as sexuality. [48] I believe this approach will aid my intentions of discussing these anal images in relation to the binary system to which heterosexuality and homosexuality belong.

Justification for this from an individualized perspective will, of course, be impossible, as we do not have evidence of either the artist or patron's sexuality, nor do we have any record to clearly identify the intended function of these images or whether they were deliberately intended to serve a personal homoerotic purpose, perhaps serving as an outlet for the artist's 'homosexual' desires which he could not otherwise reveal in his daily life. I will begin by discussing the sexual climate of the time period in which MS M. 754 was produced, including both religious and secular perspectives on homosexuality, as well as environments that could create the need to repress homosexual desires and tendencies in the medieval population, most particularly the clergy and knightly class . A specific focus will be given to theological debates concerning marriage, pregnancy, and sexuality during this period in Northeastern France. Furthermore, I will discuss the stigmatization of homosexuality and opposition to homosexuality and sodomy in the Bible.[49]

---

[48] Robert Mills, "Seeing Sodomy in the *Bibles Moralisées*," *Speculum* 87, No. 2 (April 2012): 422-3.

[49] The term 'sodomy' originates in the book of Genesis in the town of Sodom, which was believed to have wicked inhabitants. For further discussion, see Warren Johansson and William

In the centuries leading up to M. 754's production, the writings of theologians such as Alain of Lille, Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus echoed those of earlier Church fathers such as St Augustine and St Jerome, which were fundamentally adverse to homosexuality, believing that engaging in homosexual acts was a 'sin against nature'.[50] These religious views manifested themselves in secular law, most notably after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and later in the creation of the Inquisition, which aimed both to regulate as well as prosecute all forms of sexual acts that did not adhere to the strict teachings of the Church.[51] Even copulation within heterosexual marriages was not free from the new laws regarding sexual intercourse, and significant developments were undertaken by the Church in the attempt to eradicate both 'sinful positions' and homosexual intercourse from society at large. In light of this restrictive sexual climate, I will explore the social expectations of 'masculinity' and 'femininity', as well as both male and female gender roles in fourteenth-century French society.

The centre of my paper's analysis will explore how the selected anal images from M. 754 either reinforce or subvert these expected gender norms, looking at them from two perspectives: first, how the images relate to the unknown female patron in her wider social and sexual surroundings; second, how these images' relation to the pages' centre and margins might uphold or subvert society's ideas of social acceptance and marginalization. Following from this, I will consider the possibility that the images can be viewed as expressive of

---

A. Percy, "Homosexuality," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage, 155-190 (New York, N.Y.; London: Garland, 2000), 156.

50 Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1991), 140-142.

51 The creation of the Inquisition was a measure taken by the Church whose aim was to combat all forms of heresy and non-conformity, among which included homosexuality. John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 283-284.

the artists' refusal to exclude images of homoeroticism and sodomy from their visual repertoire of medieval masculinities.

It would be impossible to begin a discussion of this sort without first clarifying the context in which the book was read. I will investigate the images in relation to the manuscript landscape of northeast France, French Books of Hours and their owners, and fourteenth-century French marginalia. Furthermore, I will look at medieval theories of vision, considering the male as the passive object of the gaze, a traditionally female role.[52] I believe that this gender role reversal is key in determining the function and meaning of the images, and intend to explore the implications that placing a male in a traditionally female role had on medieval notions of masculinity.

I have found social analysis to be best suited as an explanatory tool for the anal imagery in the margins of M. 754, as it provides the potential for multivalent readings of images through the exploration of conflicted sexual desires in medieval French society, in particular exploring the threshold where 'unacceptable', illegal, or 'sinful' desires conflict with reality and social expectations. I intend to look at these images from first from their placement in a Book of Hours, their location in the margins and how the particular focus on the anus can be seen as representing a form of sexual 'deviance' from a medieval perspective, acting as a subversion of agency. I will explore what these seemingly homoerotic images are doing in a prayer book made for a woman by focusing on the relationship between social expectations of sexuality and what the images

---

[52] For an in-depth discussion of the gaze and its relation to medieval gender roles from a psychoanalytic point of view, see Madeline H. Caviness, "A Son's Gaze on Noah: Case of Cause of Virilophobia?" in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist, 103-148 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, c. 2012); for a comprehensive study of Books of Hours, see John Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

appear to suggest. However, this is purely speculative as we do not know how much freedom the artist really had and whether or not the (unknown) patron specifically asked for this type or marginal decoration.

When thinking about the coupling of the numerous anal images and the general theme of pregnancy—due to the dedication to St Margaret, the inclusion of the full Life of St Margaret in the text (Folios 114r-130v), and the image of the pregnant patron on fol. 113v—the question as to how these themes relate to each other becomes preeminent. Are these anal images expressive of the interests of the reader-viewer or does this represent a subversive act on the part of the artist? Does the image of the female patron as pregnant on fol. 113v communicate values of pregnancy important to the patron herself? Or could it inversely reinforce and satisfy a socially constructed utopic vision of virile male heterosexuality, which results in female pregnancy? In a sense, I wish to look at these apparently homoerotic images as necessary for the stabilization of medieval heterosexual, Christian society.

The abundance of anal imagery in the margins of M. 754 will not make selecting a sample difficult, and I have selected images that I believe best represent the different attitudes towards male-male eroticism or sexual activity. I wish to look at the selected images in relation to the Church's regulations on sexuality in their specific temporal and geographical context, trying to understand how these images might fit into the context of a woman's prayer book, using contemporary concerns of marriage pregnancy and sexuality as a base from which these images depart. I have selected a sample of images that I believe best represent the overall tone of the marginal imagery, as well as images that appear to be blatant references to male-male sexual activity. I will also

thoroughly describe the manuscript, enabling the reader to become fully acquainted with everything that is known about its style, contents, provenance, history, and temporal and geographic production. A significant part of my visual analysis will examine the images in relation to their placement in the manuscript, employing both text-image and image-image analysis to explore the possibility of the anal images as necessary or fitting to the interpretation of the text. Finally, following my discussions of alterity theory and social analysis, I will use my findings from these chapters as the base for an attempt to discuss what these images might actually *mean*. I intend to use alterity theory to explore how these images represent a disruption of the 'norm' of masculinity.

In thinking about the surviving evidence, I have come to realize that there are significant differences in scholarly interpretation of medieval marginal images in manuscripts such as M. 754, as well as what appears to be a persistent existence of sexual taboos and reluctance of scholars to consider homoerotic readings of anal imagery. Unfortunately, it is unlikely that definite conclusions will arise from this study, although I will endeavor to explore these marginal images from a new and critical point of view, hoping to generate further discussion and enable a fuller and nuanced sexual reading of the images and their meanings.

PART ONE

MS M. 754 AND ITS MARKET

MS M. 754

MS M. 754 is the second half of an illuminated manuscript produced in the Thérouanne-St Omer region of France between 1320-1329.[53] Its 141 vellum leaves measure just 156 x 111 mm and have been rebound in a sixteenth-century French brown calf cover that boasts double fleur-de-lis designs in the corners. This half of the manuscript, MS M. 754, contains a book of hours fragment, written in Latin, as well as a twelfth-century edition of the Life of St Margaret (originally written by Robert Wace) in French.[54] Written in *littera textualis* (also known as textura or Gothic script) and richly decorated, this manuscript would have been expensive to commission and is likely to have been produced in a professional scriptorium. Each page of text is written in one column of seventeen lines, and the majority of pages feature incredibly ornate and elaborate vine-leaf borders inhabited by a vast array of grotesque human, hybrid, and simian figures.[55] There are twenty-six historiated initials that introduce the beginnings of the text's different sections, as well as over five hundred decorated capitals amongst the text that house a wide variety of ornaments and figures.[56]

---

[53] The first half of this manuscript, MS Add. 36684, is currently housed in the British Library and was purchased from the collection of John Ruskin in 1902. It contains the calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, Litany, the Five Joys of Mary, a Gospel Lesson from John, *O Intemerata*, the prayer to the Holy Face, the Office of the Dead, and the Commendation of Souls. See James Dearden, "John Ruskin, the Collector: with a Catalogue of the Illuminated and Other Manuscripts formerly in his Collection," *The Library* 5th ser. No. 21 (1966), 140. Evidence for attribution to the Thérouanne-St Omer region can be found in the calendar of the British Library fragment, which highlights feast days specific to the particular region and features an illustration of the Benedictine monk that Christianised the Thérouanne and St-Omer regions in the seventh-century. His portrait can be found on the 17th and 21st of October in the calendar. See Harthan, *Books of Hours*, 52.

[54] The book of hours fragment contains the long Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Hours of the Mass of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the long Hours of the Holy Cross and Passion, the Abridged Psalter of St Jerome, and the Passion according to St John.

[55] "Morgan MS M. 754 Curatorial Description," Pierpont Morgan Library, 1.

[56] The historiated initials, each measuring 2 x 2 inches and taking up slightly less than half the page, serve as miniatures to illustrate the text.

A portrait of the female patron can be found kneeling in the margins outside of every historiated initial, further reinforcing—along with the dedication to St Margaret, the protectoress of pregnancy—that this book of hours was commissioned by, or at least for, a female patron. As noted previously, this manuscript has often been associated with Marguerite de Beaujeu (c. 1311-1337), wife of Charles de Montmorency, although more recent scholarship has indicated that there is no concrete evidence for this attribution, as there are no specific references—heraldic or otherwise—to the family of Beaujeu within the manuscript, making the connection unlikely.[57] Furthermore, there is no emphasis on St Margaret in the calendar of the British Library fragment, which would generally be expected of a patron's name saint, and it is more likely that the Life of St Margaret included in the Morgan Library half reveals the patron's personal concerns about pregnancy and childbirth, rather than serving as an indicator that the manuscript might have been owned by a woman named Marguerite.[58]

The style of illumination is typical to the Thérouanne and St-Omer region during the first half of the fourteenth-century, and is characterized by a bold

---

[57] Camille, "Play, Piety and Perversity," 171-2. Scholars have also attempted to link the manuscript to a later Marguerite de Beaujeu, wife of Jacques de Savoie, however this theory has been discredited as it would date the manuscript to the second half of the fourteenth-century, which is too late for the style of illumination. See Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 48.

[58] The inclusion of the Life of St Margaret can be found in over one hundred other manuscripts and books of hours produced during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, perhaps indicating that childbirth and pregnancy were typical concerns of wealthy female patrons in northeastern France during this time. Scholars now generally agree that there is a distinct lack of evidence to associate M. 754 with anyone named Marguerite, let alone Margeurite de Beaujeu Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 48. Further provenance of M. 754 shows that it came into the possession of Mme. Theìophile Belin in Paris, 1925, before being sold by rare book and manuscript dealers, Maggs Bros. Ltd. of London in 1928. In 1929, M. 754 was purchased from James Drake in New York by the Pierpont Morgan Library, where it is still housed today. "M. 754," Pierpont Morgan Library, accessed February 2, 2014, http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=128495. There is also an inscription of early ownership in M. 754, '*c livre apartien a Charles Desnoues demeruant derrière le simmetière de Saint Matin,*' although there is no date with it to place it in a firm chronology of ownership.

manner of drawing heavily outlined—though otherwise rather simply drawn—figures and ornaments.[59] Thick vine-leaf borders frame the text and the historiated initials are usually enclosed within mini-architectural Gothic canopies. Both BL MS Add. 36684 and MS M. 754 can be definitely attributed to the style of a single artist, whose decorative style is consistent throughout both halves of the manuscript.[60] The distinct illumination style of M. 754's artist can be linked to a few other manuscripts produced in the same area, the artist's distinctive style first appearing in the secondary illustrations of the Boulogne *Speculum Historiale* (MS Boulogne Bibl. 130) and then again in the *Lancelot-Graal* compendium (British Library, MS Add. 10292) of 1316.[61] However, unlike *Speculum Historiale* and the *Lancelot-Graal*, Add. 36684 and M. 754 show the artist working fully independently for the first time, and this fully developed style of his can also been found in one other manuscript produced in the same region of northeastern France, Bridwell MS 13 (c. 1330). Scholars have agreed that the stylistic resemblance between the two manuscripts draws a definitive connection that establishes Bridwell MS 13 as being illuminated by the same artist as M. 754 (see comparison in Figs. 13 and 14).[62] Both Bridwell MS 13 and M. 754 share the same curling ivy tendrils, decorative motifs, and lively animation of marginal figures, although the abundance of anal imagery found in the margins of M. 754 is completely absent in Bridwell MS 13. The slightly larger size of M. 754 and its significantly more complex and ornate decorations indicate

[59] Steinhoff, "Pregnant Pages," 183.
[60] BL MS Add. 36684, now housed in the British Library, is the first half of M. 754. Camille, "Play, Piety and Perversity," 176.
[61] Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320. Part One, Volume Two* (London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2012), 592.
[62] Bridwell MS 13, or the *Sellers Hours*, is now housed in the Bridwell Library at the Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. John T. McQuillen, "Who was St Thomas of Lancaster? New Manuscript Evidence," in *Fourteenth Century England* 4, ed. Jeffrey Hamilton, 1-26 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000-2012), 3-5.

that this would have been appreciably more expensive to produce than Bridwell MS 13, and suggests that the manuscript would have belonged to a member of the nobility or newly wealthy bourgeoisie, which may also explain the differences in marginalia between the two manuscripts.

Written by the Norman poet, Robert Wace in the twelfth-century, *The Life of St Margaret* included in M. 754 may be one of the earliest known versions to be fully illustrated with an extensive series of marginal drawings, and may further indicate the importance of the dedication to St Margaret to the female patron.[63] Furthermore, the emphasis on pregnancy can be seen in the portrait of the female patron on folio 113v (Fig. 10), in which the patron is no longer a marginal figure to the main illustration of the text, but given a new prominence through her depiction in a miniature on her own. Scholars such as Judith Steinhoff and Michael Camille have also made a case for attributing the male figure depicted on folio 71v (Fig. 15) as the patron's husband, though without more evidence this is impossible to know for sure.[64] The artist has gone to great detail depicting the female patron, who appears in the margins in a variety of clothes and positions (see Figs. 11, 15, 16, 17, 35 and 36).[65]

***

[63] Steinhoff, "Pregnant Pages," 181- 182.
[64] Camille*, Image on the Edge*, 53; Steinhoff, "Pregnant Pages," 182.
[65] For example, on folios 15v and 19v (Figs. 16 and 17) in the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the patron is shown kneeling or bowing, which may suggest a special devotion to the Holy Spirit.

THE MAKING OF M. 754: WORKSHOP PRODUCTION IN NORTHERN FRANCE

Despite the sensational anal imagery of M. 754 that is not found elsewhere in the artist's other identifiable works, examination of the manuscript must take into account the wider context of manuscript production taking place in northern France in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The emergence of workshop culture in northern France developed out of major economic shifts and growths between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.[66] Driven by an increasingly international trading system, the establishment of national boundaries, and the development of universities and secular forms of education, workshop culture flourished, financially fuelled by a newly wealthy and cultured middle class. These changes in education and economy led to the rise of a literate laity, and this, coupled with the newly emerged monetary economy and a desire of the middle class to own luxury items, led to an exponential increase in the demand for books during the centuries leading up to M. 754's production.[67] Up until the thirteenth century, monasteries were the intellectual centres of medieval scholarship and learning, occupying an unchallenged monopoly on book production.[68] However, with this ever-increasing demand for new books by the laity, the centres of book production shifted from the monasteries to newly formed guilds and artisan workshops, becoming part of the city and urban centre's economic infrastructure.[69] This development of workshop culture in cities transformed the culture of book production into a largely commercial

---

[66] Camille, "Play, Piety and Perversity," 181.
[67] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 100.
[68] Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), 85.
[69] Brigitte Dekeyzer, "For Eternal Glory and Remembrance: On the Representation of Patrons in Late Medieval Panel Paintings in the Southern Low Countries," in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. Paul Trio and Marjan de Smet, 71-102 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 84.

enterprise, establishing itself as one of the most flourishing trades by the time of M. 754's production.

Largely based in the urban centres of Paris, Thérouanne and Arras, illuminated manuscripts made in northern France were unparalleled within France for their lavishness and artistic quality, and on an international level, French books of hours dominated the market for book production and consumption, setting the standard for manuscript illumination across Western Europe.[70] The commercialization of this process led to significant changes within the manuscripts themselves, as patrons were now able to dictate the contents of the manuscripts according to their personal preferences and financial means, and manuscripts produced at this time began to place an increasing emphasis on imagery and illustration. Despite this growing freedom of illumination, the commercialization of production led to a steadily standardized repertoire of images, and there was an increasing amount of visual repetition of imagery produced in different workshops across France.[71] Especially in books of hours, imagery had become fairly standardized by the fourteenth-century, and by 1400 many images introducing the beginning of different sections of text were almost identical in subject and composition.[72] Furthermore, the invention of cursive

---

70 Edith Rothe, *Mediaeval Book Illumination in Europe*, trans. Mary Whittall (London: Thames and Hudson, c. 1968), 14-15. Workshops in Bruges, Liège and Brabant were also important centres for book production during this time. For more on these centres of production see Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310* (New York: Routledge, c. 2007), 175.

71 Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1310. Part One, Volume Two* (London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2012), 31.

72 Some manuscripts even show evidence of direct copying, using prick-marks and tracing to transfer designs from one page to another. However, the variety of imagery remained extensive during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and was not universally standardized. For a full description of the copying process see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 125-140. See also, Roger S. Wieck (ed.), *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Walters Art Gallery, c. 2001).

script in fourteenth-century France allowed for a much faster pace in the writing process, in turn leading to decreased book prices.[73]

The decrease in book prices furthered the laity's hankering for owning devotional manuscripts—especially books of hours—and by the late thirteenth century cheaper production costs enabled people outside the nobility to commission and purchase personalized prayer books as well as secular texts such as romances and encyclopedias, all of which had always been considered luxury items.[74] Having developed out of the monastery's inability to handle the steadily growing demand for books and changing requirements for different patrons, artisans in guilds and workshops mainly consisted of laymen and professional workers that worked on commission-based projects.[75] Commercialization also sparked a competitive aspect of book production, and membership in a professional guild or workshop could only be acquired through proven skill, as workshops wanted to maintain high standards of illumination and attract the most affluent patrons.[76] Despite collaboration between illuminators being common during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by the fourteenth century there was an increasing reluctance of artists to share their designs and patterns amongst each other, as competition between artists was being constantly driven by the open market.[77] Even the margins, which had always been seen as a space of illustration secondary to the main miniatures, were increasingly becoming a site of individual artistic expression, and

---

73 Malcolm Beckwith Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 285-287.
74 Janet Backhouse, *Illumination from Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 2004), 5-8.
75 Additionally, it would have been inappropriate for monasteries to undertake commercial projects producing books for the laity.
76 Edward Quaile, *Illuminated Manuscripts: Their Origin, History and Characteristics* (Liverpool: H. Young & Sons, 1897), 89.
77 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 130.

marginalia became more complex and elaborate by the turn of the fourteenth century.[78] However, the commercialization of manuscript production and emergence of guilds did more than just spark competition between artists and illuminators: it created an established system of working habits, allowing for a better organization of workshops that began to run as efficient businesses.

It is probable that by the time M. 754 was produced, many workshops would have employed a *libraire*, or planner, who have been responsible for designing the official programme of the manuscript, which included the organisation of texts, images—both in composition and subject—and perhaps even marginalia.[79] Book production became a clearly methodized process, in which the planner first designed the page layout, the scribe working next, often copying the text from exempla.[80] Apart from the binder, the illuminator was generally the last person involved in the production process, illustrating miniatures, initials and margins after the text had been written. However, despite the assumption that many illuminators were working according to pre-designed programmes and a patron's preferences, many artists did not follow their prescribed instructions, but instead exercised a certain amount of artistic freedom.[81] Along with professional artist-patron relations, skilled recruitment of scribes and illuminators into the workshop, the development of faster modes of production and better intra-workshop organization, French artisan workshops became efficient and skilled at producing manuscripts in the fourteenth century,

---

[78] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 21.
[79] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 53.
[80] Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, New York; London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 20-22.
[81] Edward Johnston, *Writing, Illuminating & Lettering* (London: Pitman, 1977), 159-60. There were many reasons for illuminators not to have followed proscribed instructions, whether it was a deliberate attempt to undermine the already-written words of the text, whether they believed their ideas to be better, or simply because they were unable to carry out their instructions for reasons of space, cost, or time, among other factors.

contributing to their dominance of the book market during the time M. 754 was produced. Of the many types of manuscripts produced in France during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, books of hours flourished and were by far the most popular and were produced in great numbers.

***

BOOKS OF HOURS

Books of hours, often described as the 'medieval bestseller,' enjoyed a prominent status during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries all over Western Europe.[82] During the three hundred years of their production, more books of hours were made than any other devotional book. They were Christian devotional books intended for private consumption by the laity, and were often portable, being fairly small in size, sometimes being described as 'pocket-sized'. Up until their emergence in the thirteenth century as manuscripts in their own right, books of hours—or, *horae*—had previously been included as appendixes in psalters intended for oral recitation in convents and monasteries.[83] By the fourteenth century they had replaced the psalter as the most popular book of the laity, and the elaborate decorations in many books of hours produced during this

---

82 The term 'medieval bestseller' was coined in 1974 by Léon Delaissé in "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book," in *Gatherings in Honour of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed Ursula McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall, and Richard Randall (Baltimore, 1974), quoted in Sandra Hindman, "Books of Hours—State of the Research. In Memory of L.M.J. Delaissé," in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow, 5-18 (London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2013), 5.

83 For an in-depth discussion of book of hours' emerging independence from the psalter, see Adelaide Bennett, "The Transformation of the Gothic Psalter in Thirteenth-Century France," in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of Its Images*, ed. Frank Olaf Büttner, 211-222 (Turnhout: Brepols, c. 2004), 211.

time reflect their increasing importance as cultural objects.[84] The years of 1250-1350 were particularly important for the development and proliferation of books of hours, and this time period witnessed an explosion in demand for the production of these manuscripts, especially in northern France, most notably in the Thérouanne-St.-Omer region, Arras, and Bruges.[85]

This exponential increase in the demand for books of hours during the hundred years following 1250 was due to a few key reasons and contributing factors. First, as discussed in the previous section, was the significant influx of wealth to urban centres that gave rise to a newly wealthy middle class able—and eager—to commission high status objects such as books. Second, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 mandated significant shifts in religious practices and had made weighty amendments to modes of confession and self-reflection.[86] Prior to 1215 formal and public confession had been common practice in Christian practices; however, the new doctrines of the Fourth Lateran Council stipulating inner penance and private modes of confession were an attempt to encourage self-reflection and examination, especially when coupled with the increasing practice of silent reading among the laity. It is possible that the increase in production of books of hours, meant for private use and consumption in the patron's own home, were byproducts of these new laws passed by the Fourth Lateran Council as an encouragement for self-penitence.[87]

Books of hours brought the clerical practices of confession and other devotional practices from the public space of the Church into the patron's private

---

[84] Many books of hours were richly decorated, containing a variety of illustrations and motifs that can be examined in light of the cultural context in which they were produced, giving significant insight into the daily life of the laity. Quaile, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 122.
[85] Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women Visible," 158.
[86] Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation*, 7.
[87] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 30.

home.[88] Books of hours not only served the personal interests of the patron, but also those of the Church, as books of hours were a way of imposing theological teachings in a space beyond the Church walls, making their prayers and liturgical exemplars part of the laity's every day life. They signaled an increasingly democratized and vernacularized religious practice in the beginning of fourteenth-century France. However, these shifts in devotional practices from public to private, mandated by the Fourth Lateran Council, made significant changes in the Church's teachings, and were reflected in books of hours' emphasis on morality and piety rather than complex theological ideas, which better served the devotional needs of the newly literate laity.[89] Another contributing factor to books of hours' popularity was that there were no requirements for the order of their contents, meaning that they could be highly personalized to suit the preferences of the individual patron. Furthermore, the freedom and ability to dictate a book of hours' content outside of official clerical control was one of the most attractive features of books of hours for patrons, and is perhaps one of the most significant in terms of treating books of hours as a cultural artifact, enabling us to see these patrons as individuals in the past with individual concerns.[90]

Illustrations contributed significantly to the widespread popularity of books of hours, and many of these images were produced by some of the most prominent artists of the time.[91] Beginning in the thirteenth century, the most expensive books were elaborately illustrated, and contained a full programme of

---

[88] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 22.
[89] Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women Visible," 158.
[90] Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, 276-278.
[91] Roger S. Wieck, "Introduction," in *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck, 27-32 (New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Walters Art Gallery, c. 2001), 28.

miniatures and marginalia. Generally, most French books of hours feature twelve or fifteen miniatures; however in the more expensive manuscripts there are often many more than this, and are sometimes even illustrated using gold and silver leaf in the images. Apart from serving as textual markers and a focus for contemplation, the images in books of hours functioned as visual aids to the text, perhaps helping the reader better understand the Latin text.[92]

Most French books of hours consisted of a series of texts in Latin, French, or both.[93] The Latin texts generally consisted of (but were neither required nor limited to) a calendar, four Gospel sequences, the Hours of the Virgin—including *Obscreto te* and *O intemerata*, Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Office of the Dead. However, it was the Hours of the Virgin that made up the main part of the text, reflecting the particular emphasis and spirituality of the Virgin during thirteenth to fifteenth century France.[94] During the Middle Ages, a cult following developed around the Virgin Mary, who became the central figure of devotion for the laity and enjoyed a status of unparalleled devotion amongst other religious figures. Believed to be written by Benedict of Aniane (c. 750-821), the Hours of the Virgin became increasingly important during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and by the time of the exponential growth in demand for private prayer books between 1220-1320, the Hours of the Virgin had become an essential element in every books of hours.[95] The Hours of the Virgin divided the day into eight three-hour periods, each period having its own prayer intended to be privately recited by

---

[92] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 19.
[93] Clemens and Graham, *Introduction*, 208.
[94] Adelaide Bennett, "Some Perspectives on Two French *Horae* in the Thirteenth Century," in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow, 19-40 (London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2013), 19, 37.
[95] Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 9.

the patron.[96] During these centuries, the Virgin Mary was believed to be the intercessor between the laity and God, and was regarded as an excellent role model for the owners of books of hours, many of whom were female.[97] Furthermore, the prayers contained in the Hours of the Virgin, recited day in and day out, were simple and repetitive, making devotional practices for the laity much more accessible than the complex theological writings of church texts.

Following these Latin texts, books of hours often concluded with stories of the lives of saints, or *suffragia*, often written in the vernacular. The choice of saint often reflected the personal identity of the patron, as including the life of his or her patron saint was a common practice in the Middle Ages.[98] Furthermore, including the lives of saints such as St Margaret, like that found in M. 754, can reflect personal concerns of the patron's daily life, rather than acting as an indicator or individual identification.[99] This inclusion of texts written in the French vernacular reflects the increasing vernacularisation of religious texts, as well as a substantial rise in literacy among the laity.

The ability to include vernacular texts, such as suffrages, led to new demands for artists to illustrate an increasing variety of texts.[100] These new demands of artists, coupled with increasing demands of patrons to include texts

---

[96] The eight periods follow the divisions typical of service: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline. Each hour of prayer also included lessons, psalms and illustrations of the Virgin's life. See Backhouse, *Illumination*, 5.
[97] Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women," 130. Edward Quaile has also suggested that the popularity of the Virgin Mary played into contemporary fashions of chivalry, as there was a growing contention between different religious groups to see who could "do her the most honour." See Quaile, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 121.
[98] However, this is not universally true across all books of hours. M. 754, for example, which includes the Life of Saint Margaret, was probably not made for a woman named Margaret. Virginia Reinberg, "Prayer and the Book of Hours," in *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck, 39-44 (New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Walters Art Gallery, c. 2001), 43.
[99] Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 48.
[100] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 125.

and images that had personal value, are reflected in the ultimate uniqueness of books of hours; no two books of hours are exactly the same. Furthermore, the century leading up to the production of M. 754 saw monumental developments in the concept of 'individuality', beginning in the thirteenth century.[101] The personal concerns of patrons and increasing awareness of their own individuality was expressed in their books of hours, most notably in the increasing number of patron and donor portraits.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, it became increasingly popular for patrons to have their portraits depicted as part of the illustration in personal manuscripts and prayer books.[102] Donor portraits in books of hours served multiple purposes. First, many patron portraits represented the patron holding or praying from the very book in which they were depicted, thus emphasizing their devotion and piety; second, they functioned as images of identification and ownership, proclaiming the book's familial affiliations and ownership; and finally, they served as symbols of social status, asserting the patron's means as moneyed enough to own a lavish item such as a book of hours.[103] This last point is particularly important in establishing the parameters surrounding patrons' demands and the production of books of hours in the Middle Ages: books of hours were seen as a luxury item that functioned as an indicator of high social status and wealth. The acquisition of a book of hours was a substantial undertaking in terms of cost and reflected the new prominent status of the newly

---

[101] Dekeyzer, "For Eternal Glory and Remembrance," 81.

[102] Corine Schleif, "Kneeling on the Threshold: Donors Negotiating Realms Betwixt and Between," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, 195-216 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 201.

[103] Lawrence R. Poos, "Social History and the Book of Hours," in *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck, 33-38 (New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Walters Art Gallery, c. 2001), 34.

emerged middle class in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries in France. In fact, books of hours became such an established indicator of elevated social status that by the fourteenth century in France, it is unlikely that there were any prosperous or important families who did not own at least one.[104]

The majority of patrons pictured in French books of hours produced during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries were more probably members of the newly monied middle class, rather than members of the nobility.[105] The members of the middle class, who had previously never been able to afford luxury status items such as books, took a particular pride of ownership in and cherished their books of hours as symbols of their wealth and possession. Like the majority of Christian art produced up to the thirteenth century, there was a strong relationship between devotion and display, and books of hours were no exception.[106] However, what is interesting to note is that among the multitude of patrons depicted in books of hours during the Middle Ages, the majority of them are female.

From the many surviving books of hours, the prominence of female donor portraits would suggest that the majority of books of hours were made with the intent of female consumption.[107] Books of hours were a common marriage gift, often commissioned by a wealthy patron to give to his new wife.[108] The primarily didactic function of books and images in the Middle Ages enabled the patron to

---

[104] Quaile, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 129.
[105] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 34-35.
[106] Glyn Davies, "Devotion and Display," in *Medieval and Renaissance Art: People and Possessions*, ed. Glyn Davies and Kirstin Kennedy, 193-228 (London: Victoria & Albert Publishing, 2009), 207.
[107] Poos, "Social History and the Book of Hours," 35.
[108] Madeline Caviness's study, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," discusses the potential to which books of hours could have on their reader/viewers, especially in relation to marriage and ideas of gender relations within a marriage.

dictate the response of the reader, and the reader/viewer's responses had the potential to be shaped by the imagery.[109] Furthermore, the importance of the Virgin Mary in books of hours lent itself to female consumption, as the Virgin was understood to be the ideal model against which medieval women should measure themselves. Mary was seen by medieval theologians as the intercessor between the laity—especially lay women—and God, as well as the exemplar of female literacy.[110] In addition, many of the texts in books of hours use feminized word endings to refer to a female owner/reader, and this, coupled with the depiction of laywomen in the margins, further emphasize the predominant female readership and consumption of books of hours. However, feminized word endings and female portraits often worked in more ways than simply indicating female ownership, often reinforcing socially constructed gender 'norms' and expectations of female piety and behaviour.

Like M. 754, which includes the *O Intemerata* prayer in the feminine, many books of hours used and equated feminized word endings and adjectives with a subordinate and submissive female status.[111] France, along with the rest of medieval Europe in general, was predominantly patriarchal and there were few—if any—channels through which women could freely express any sort of political, economic or intellectual independence.[112] Even more restricted was women's expression of their sexuality. Scholars such as Madeline Caviness and

---

[109] Virginia Wylie Egbert, *The Medieval Artist at Work* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), 21.

[110] Bennett, "Making Literate Laywomen Visible," 130-136. See also David Linton, "Reading the Virgin Reader," in *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, 253-276 (New York; London: Garland: 1998), 253-276. Linton's article discusses the relationship between the Virgin and female literacy in the Middle Ages, with a focus on the Virgin's depiction with books in scenes of the *Annunciation*.

[111] Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women Visible," 130, 145.

[112] Ann Matter, "My Sister, My Spouse: Woman-Identified Women in Medieval Christianity," in *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, ed. Mathew Kuefler, 152-166 (Chicago; London; University of Chicago Press, 2006), 152.

Michael Camille argue that women were the victims of a fundamentally misogynistic society in the Middle Ages, and that books of hours were one of the many ways through which these expressions of female subordination could be articulated.[113] According to this view, because books of hours were intended for private consumption by their female owners, they worked continually to reinforce patrilineal rule and female submissiveness in medieval European society through repeated daily use and contemplation.[114]

Through their continual and repeated use, books of hours had the potential to significantly shape medieval constructions of gender roles and expectations: their illustrations and feminized texts, combined with the tradition of books of hours as marriage gifts, not only reinforced feminine submissiveness but also worked to propound a heterosexual norm.[115] In particular, it has been argued that books of hours were sometimes used to curb female sexuality through the use of rude or salacious depictions of sexuality, perhaps images similar to the numerous anal images in the margins of M. 754.[116] Women were seen as sexual aggressors in medieval theology, and were often associated with the dangers of sexual excess, and Caviness suggests that these rude grotesques were used to constantly repulse and remind the female viewer of the dangers of

---

[113] See Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" and Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 127. Furthermore, Sarah Salih argues that 'masochistic dynamics,' or relations of obedience and domination were fundamental to medieval marital relations, both sexually and socially. See Sarah Salih, "Unpleasures of the Flesh: Medieval Marriage, Masochism, and the History of Heterosexuality," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer: The Yearbook of the New Chaucer Society* 33 (2011), 131-8.

[114] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2003), 35.

[115] Pamela Sheingorn, "Subjection and Reception in *Claude of France's Book of First Prayers*," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honour of Madeline H. Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Stuadinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, Ellen M. Shortell, 313-332 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 314-17. However, books of hours were not seen by a singular owner alone, but often shared amongst the family and viewed by other members of the household. See Salih, "Erotica," 205.

[116] Madeline H. Caviness, "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash, 105-54 (Athens, Georgia; London: University of Georgia Press, c. 1996), 140.

unregulated sexuality. However, Camille argues that images of the anus or 'mooning' figures were used to repel demonic forces and protect the sanctity of the text.[117] Christian theologians used biblical narratives to justify female submissiveness and subordination, most notably in the stories of Adam and Eve and the *Annunciation*.[118]

The role of motherhood and reproduction was a central theme in numerous books of hours, and many, such as M. 754, worked to reinforce the social expectation of women to bear children. Evidence for this can be found in over one-hundred books of hours made for women during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries that contain the Life of St Margaret, the protectoress of pregnancy, however more particularly relevant and an indicator of this ongoing theme is folio 113v (Fig. 10) from M. 754 in which the female patron appears pregnant.[119] This is probably significant in M. 754, as the miniature containing the image of the pregnant female owner is on the page directly opposite *The Life of St Margaret*, whose full illustrative program also calls attention to the

---

[117] Camille, "Glossing the Flesh," 249.

[118] Following the fall from Paradise, God punished both Adam and Eve respectively, saying first to "the woman," *"I will greatly increase your hardship and your pregnancies: in pain you shall bring forth children, and you shall be under the control of your husband, and he shall rule over you."* This passage can be found in Genesis 3:16-19 and is quoted from Sharon Farmer, "Manual Labour, Begging, and Conflicting Gender Expectations in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 261-87 (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, c. 2003), 261. The medieval Christian Church took this passage literally, and the female ideal became one of servitude, submissiveness and obedience to her husband. In addition, the story of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary offered further justification for female submissiveness, as her conceiving of Christ affixed her role as a mother and submissive to God/man's will. See Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor, 266-81 (London: British Library, 1997), 275.

[119] Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 48. For more information on St Margaret's influence on women's bodies and her relation to female pregnancy, see Jennifer Borland, "Violence on Vellum: St Margaret's Transgressive Body and its Audience," in *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530*, ed. Elizabeth L'Estrange and Alison More, 67-88 (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

importance of St Margaret to the owner.[120] Although some scholars, such as Ruth Mazo Karras, argue that these ideals of pregnancy and motherhood were often the ideal according to a male view, and were perhaps not what women wanted at all, further adding to the misogynistic qualities of books of hours and their abilities to shape ideas of gender roles and behaviour.[121] Despite this, books of hours, which focused on the Virgin Mary—who functioned both as the mother of God as well the ideal female role model—were not made with the intention of celebrating their female reader's best interests in their idealization of motherhood. The Church Father, St Jerome, described pregnant women as "revolting spectacles," leading to their categorization as 'monstrous' in the later Middle Ages, a far from flattering (or even accurate) depiction of women.[122] However, despite books of hours reinforcing misogynistic tendencies of medieval men and female submissiveness, books of hours did, in fact, work in positive ways for medieval women as well.

The patriarchal society of medieval France and Europe generally excluded women from official forms of religious practices and education, such as membership in the clergy or attendance at university. Because of this exclusion, books of hours were a great point of access for women to Church practices and texts.[123] Furthermore, despite of the commonality of commissioning books of hours as wedding presents, many women actually commissioned books themselves, and female patronage was far from unconventional in the thirteenth

---

[120] Steinhoff, "Pregnant Pages," 181.
[121] Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 14.
[122] Margaret R. Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oats, 1992), 153. On the monstrous and grotesque body, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c. 1984).
[123] Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours* (London: British Library; Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 3-5.

and fourteenth centuries in France.[124] Not only did books of hours serve as a testament to female literacy in the Middle Ages, but also revealed the increasingly important role women were playing in cultural patronage, devotional literacy and the increasing vernacularisation of religious texts. Portraits of female owners and patrons in books of hours often showed them using the very books in which they were depicted, the open book signaling their literacy and ability to use and read their prayerbooks, many of which had been translated from Latin into the French vernacular (Fig. 11).[125] This interest in translating texts, coupled with their interest in devotional practices, led to women becoming what Susan Groag Bell described as 'international ambassadors for cultural change' through their increasing literacy and patronage.[126]

Women were often married off across cultural and national borders, and books were some of the most important cultural objects women brought with them when moving into their husband's house. This led to the translation of texts, artistic styles, and image iconography across national and stylistic boundaries, leading Susan Groag Bell to describe these women as 'ambassadorial brides.'[127] In addition, women were responsible for the education of their children, and books of hours were often used for teaching children prayers and Church texts.[128] This is often reflected and emphasized in books of hours' illustrations, which often feature images of the Virgin and Child, making

---

[124] By 1400 both women and men owned and commissioned books of hours equally. Michael T. Clanchy, "Parchment and Paper: Manuscript Culture, 1100-1500," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, 194-206 (Malden, Massachusetts; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 204.
[125] Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," 266.
[126] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7, No. 4 (Summer 1982), 761.
[127] Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 765.
[128] Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women Visible," 148.

reference to Mary having been educated by her mother, Anna.[129] By commissioning books of hours and translations of Latin texts into the vernacular, women demonstrated their increasing interest in devotional literacy, and books of hours served as not only as a guide for self-examination, but also for self-empowerment.[130] In their quest for devotional literacy, women's commissioning of books allowed them to depict themselves with more freedom than had been previously allowed, and perhaps also allowed women to subvert and challenge accepted religious, political and social 'ideals' through their choice of text and decorative images.

***

Having discussed the general context for M. 754 I now intend to shift my focus to the particulars of this manuscript's marginal imagery in relation to its significance, or lack thereof, for the book's patron. Given its presence in a book of hours, is it possible that the anal imagery found in the margins of M. 754 served a specifically female purpose? Or is it more likely that its gendered theme reveals something else, perhaps something that has nothing to do with women at all? Taking into account the market for books of hours, their patrons, content, and production, it is possible to explore the manuscript M. 754 in more detail. While the main miniatures may serve as visual aids for the texts of the manuscript, the lively marginal images seem to distract from the messages of the main text, as

---

[129] For further reading on the role of women as educators, see Pamela Sheingorn, "The Wise Mother: The Image of St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, 105-134 (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, c. 2003).

[130] June Hall McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash, 1-49 (Athens, Georgia; London: University of Georgia Press, c. 1996), 33.

their anal imagery does not appear to function directly in relation to the main illustrative program of the text. Keeping in mind the relationship between patrons, scribes, and illustrators in the commercial context of book production, it would be impossible to think that the artist alone was responsible for the abundance of anal imagery in the margins of M. 754, and that these images may, in fact, have served as a wider comment on medieval society.[131] Because the most obvious point of reference for a medieval reader/viewer of this marginal imagery is the sexual practice contemporarily defined as 'sodomy', I will begin first with a comment on sodomy in the Middle Ages, before moving into a visual analysis of the marginal imagery itself, finally concluding with a discussion of the anal images in their relation to the page as a whole and what purpose they may have served in the patron's understanding of the texts and images.

[131] Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 50. Gerson also states that it is improbable that a male patron would have commissioned this manuscript for his wife, as she believes it 'seems unlikely' that a male would commission a book featuring so many visual images of the anus for his wife.

PART TWO

MEN IN THE MARGINS OF M. 754: THE COLLAPSE OF HETERONORMATIVITY

"There are more uses of the erotic than just erotic ones."

Anna Kartsonis, 1986[132]

[132] Anna Kartsonis, quoted in C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, c. 1999), 21.

PRESENTING THE PENETRATED: SODOMY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Before beginning my analysis on the marginalia of M. 754, it will be important to first introduce the concept of medieval 'sodomy' as this will function as the sociocultural, political and theological lens through which I will attempt to understand how this anal imagery may have functioned. As part of this discussion, I will consider how scholars, both modern and medieval, have approached the concept of sodomy and the problems it appears to have caused since its conception as a 'deviant' form of sexuality, particularly amongst medieval men.

***

Sodomia, the Latin for sodomy, was originated in the writings of Benedictine monk Peter Damian (d. 1073) as a term used to describe deviant sexuality—particularly referencing male-male anal intercourse.[133] Conceptually, Damian's use of the term can be traced back to the biblical story of the city of Sodom and the perversity and punishment of its inhabitants.[134] Christian theologians appropriated this Jewish story to represent the sin of same-sex copulation, particularly among males, despite that it was not generally understood as such by its Jewish originators. It was not until the fifth century that Christian theologian and Church Father Augustine of Hippo (d. 430)

---

[133] Robert Mills, "Homosexuality: Specters of Sodom," in *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, ed. Ruth Evans, 57-80 (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2011), 59. However, it is important to note that in the Middle Ages 'sodomy' could refer to a host of forbidden practices other than anal sex, namely bestiality, masturbation, political treason and oral sex. Additionally, 'sodomy' could refer to male-female anal intercourse, although this was a less common use of them. Despite of the multiplicity of sodomy's meanings, the term was increasingly associated with homosexual and anal intercourse in the thirteenth century, and for the purposes of this dissertation I will be using the term 'sodomy' to refer to anal sex, particularly between males. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 328-9.

[134] The story of Sodom in the Bible can be found in the Old Testament, Genesis 19.

formulated explicit links between the inhabitants of Sodom, same-sex intercourse, and sin.[135] Referring to same-sex intercourse as a 'sin against nature,' Augustine stated that, 'sins against nature, therefore, like the sin of Sodom, are abominable and deserve punishment wherever and whenever they are committed.'[136] Despite the view in the Middle Ages that sodomy and same-sex copulation was considered a mortal sin, it was not until the eleventh century that regulations for partaking in sodomy began to make their way into canon law, and it was not until the Third Lateran Council of 1179 that official actions were taken to outlaw and prohibit sodomitical relations.[137]

Following from the writings of Peter Damian, which condemned sodomy as a sin against God, the problems posed by sodomy became a highly discussed topic amongst medieval theologians and scholars, and some accounts of male-male sexual acts were 'given in almost obsessive detail.'[138] In addition, sodomy became particularly linked with anal intercourse between men, a form of sexual intercourse that violated both gender roles—by presenting the male as penetrable and passive—and the ecclesiastical dogma that sex should be solely for procreative purposes between heterosexual couplings.[139] In the Middle Ages, particularly the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, in which M. 754 was produced, sexuality was not understood as a category separate from gender, and each

---

[135] Mills, "Seeing Sodomy in the Bibles Moralisées," 445.
[136] Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions* III.8, quoted in Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation*, 132.
[137] William E. Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature: France and England, 1050-1230* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31. For additional information on the Church's legislations against sodomy, see Michael Goodich, *The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period* (Santa Barbara, California; Oxford: ABC-Clio, c. 1979) and Derrick Sherwin Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London: Longmans ,Green, 1955).
[138] Matter, "My Sister, My Spouse," 158.
[139] One example of this direct link between sodomy and anal intercourse can be found in the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), who comments on the sin of *coitus mascolorum*, or anal sex, in his discussion on sodomy.

respective gender was expected to perform certain roles during sexual intercourse—the male active, the female passive.[140] Sodomy caused problems for this understanding of sexuality/gender, as it allowed for the dissolution of gender roles as well as gender transcendence. The act of being passively penetrated was reserved solely for females, and male-male sodomy created the passive and effeminized male, a character that did not fit within the constructs of medieval gender expectations.[141]

Furthermore, strict categorical boundaries and adherence to divine order was threatened by sodomy's anti-classificatory nature and was understood as a refusal to maintain distinct gender classification, threatening the natural order and gender hierarchies.[142] However, despite being seen as a deviant form of sexuality, the constant discussion of sodomy amongst medieval theologians and scholars may have served to make sodomy and same-sex intercourse increasingly normative, as its continuing presence in their writings made it part of official discourse.

It is within these conceptual frameworks that I will attempt to locate the anal images that populate the margins of M. 754, a task that has not proved effortless due to the relative paucity of literature on the topic. Although there have been numerous studies on medieval sodomy—such as Mark D. Jordan's *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* and Boswell's thoroughly comprehensive work, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay*

---

140 Steven F. Kruger, "Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious and Racial Categories," in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 158-179 (Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 160.

141 Karras, Doing Unto Others, 4. The concept of gender transcendence through gender-opposite behaviour is discussed in depth in Martha Easton's essay, "*Why Can't a Woman be More Like a Man?* Transforming and Transcending Gender in the Lives of Female Saints," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honour of Madeline H. Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Stuadinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, Ellen M. Shortell, 333-347 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 333-347.

142 Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law in Medieval Literature*, 1.

People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century —and even more studies on medieval sexuality as a whole—see, for example Bullough and Brundage's *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality or* Ruth Evans' *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages*—there has been little written on how sodomy, in particular reference to male-male anal intercourse, has been manifested iconographically. Furthermore, the very concept of 'homosexuality' is a modern invention that did not exist at the time of M. 754's production, and to assume that men who partook in sodomitical activities in the Middle Ages were, by default, homosexuals would be to impose a modern classification that did not fit within the medieval system of typology. However, for the purposes of this dissertation I have taken the liberty of using the term 'homosexual' to refer to male-male intercourse in order to try and identify a gap in classification that partakers of male-male anal intercourse were endeavouring to fill, despite the fact that this term as a 'type' did not exist in the Middle Ages.

The work of Robert Mills, in particular his article "Seeing Sodomy in the Bibles Moralisées," was the most informative literature I have found relating sodomy and imagery generally, although his case study of the Bibles Moralisées was not particularly useful to the specific anal imagery in my analysis, as the mode of depicting same-sex eroticism in the Bibles Moralisées was not found elsewhere in the Middle Ages.[143] However, in this article Mills introduces what he terms the 'aesthetics of engagement,' which I found to be particularly important to my case study, as this means of viewing sexualized motifs, much

[143] Mills, "Seeing Sodomy in the Bibles Moralisées," 466. Additionally, Mills' book-length study of medieval sodomy is currently in press: *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014, forthcoming).

like those found in M. 754, examine them not in isolation but rather in their repetitive placement throughout the manuscript as a whole.[144] Through Mills' theory of the aesthetics of engagement, it becomes possible to examine how sexual imagery placed throughout the wider context of the manuscript functions both to reinforce but also subvert binary systems, especially binaries that strive to demarcate incontestably the constantly fluctuating boundary between unfixed classifications such as sexuality. From my research it appears that there is a tendency for modern scholars to omit sodomy and male-male anal eroticism from their understandings of anal imagery, as is evident by the inappropriate interpretation of many anal images—such as those found in M. 754—as scatological. Despite this, I have attempted to present best my views and interpretations of M. 754's anal images through a careful triangulation of the existing literature on the topic, medieval attitudes towards sodomy, and the images themselves, an interpretation I hope will allow for the consideration of anal imagery in a nuanced fashion.[145] A particular focus will be placed on the medieval understanding of sodomy and its place (or lack thereof) in homosocial environments such as the clergy and knightly class, in relation to medieval ideas of parenting and child-rearing, as well as medieval expectations human behaviour itself through the examination of M. 754's imagery in the upcoming sections.

***

[144] Mills, "Seeing Sodomy in the Bibles Moralisées," 422-23.
[145] This approach to the study of anal imagery comes from Madeline Caviness' 'triangulation theory,' which allows present-day scholars and historians to interpret medieval art/text objects through triangulation of historical sources, critical theories and the object itself. For further reading on this theory see Madeline H. Caviness, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*, e-book, http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/, 2001.

MEN IN THE MARGINS OF M. 754: THE COLLAPSE OF HETERONORMATIVITY

The anal imagery in the margins of M. 754 does not appear in isolation, but rather is situated amongst a whole repertoire of marginal images, many of which contribute to the manuscript's overarching themes of pregnancy and copulation. However, while many animals and figures are used to symbolize and encourage reproductive copulation and parenthood, they inhabit the same marginal space as a number of motifs that were known throughout the Middle Ages as symbols of lust, lechery, sexual fervor. Through an exploration of the marginalia in M. 754, I believe the anal imagery found in the margins aims to dismantle binaries in place in the Middle Ages, namely what medieval theologians and clerics believed to be the mutually exclusive realms of the 'male' and 'female'.[146] The examination of these binaries will be centered around a selection of marginal images that privilege figures of knights and clerics (Figs. 1, 2, 7, 9, and 19-22).

The marginalia's critique of gender expectations uses anal imagery to represent sodomy and homosexual activity, breaking down yet another medieval binary—that of reproductive and non-reproductive sex—which challenges the medieval institutions of knighthood, the clergy, and marriage through visual representations of 'unnatural' sexual activity.[147] By their very nature of interdependence on one another, conceptual binaries prohibit any claims of normativity, and I believe the anal images of M. 754 embody not only a

---

[146] Farmer, "Manual Labour," 272.

[147] Karma Lochrie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 194-205. This is further supported by John Boswell, who claims that medieval clerics were "far more concerned with gender violations than sexual morality." See Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 158. Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, California: University of Stanford Press, c. 1992), 18-19.

breakdown of the rigid boundaries imposed on expectations of medieval gender and sexual behaviour, but also represent an alternative male sexuality that refuses to be excluded from the visual repertoire of medieval masculinities.[148] The anal images, which violate expectations of medieval male sexuality by presenting the anus as penetrable, sexed, and perhaps even as a site of sexual pleasure, transform the male body of the figures into a visual manifestation of gender anxiety, especially when juxtaposed with images of the pious female donor who not only shares their marginal space, but prevails as the defender of 'normative' heterosexuality.[149] The placement of the anal images in the margins is crucial to their interpretation, as the margins often represent things excluded from official discourse, and in the case of M. 754 the marginalia insist upon the consideration of homosexuality as a sexuality that was very much present in medieval France.[150]

The reasons for the attack on institutional knighthood and the clergy in the margins of M. 754 are not unwarranted; numerous accounts of sodomy amongst the clerical elite surfaced during the Middle Ages, and indeed most of the new laws passed to outlaw and prohibit homosexual relations amongst men were aimed at the clergy.[151] Calls for clerical reform in particular relation to sodomy and homosexual behaviour began in the eleventh-century with Peter

---

[148] For further reading on the breakdown of gender binaries, see Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Subordination," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale and David M. Halperin, 307-320 (New York; London: Routledge, 1993).

[149] Francesca Canadé Sautman, "Response. 'Just Like a Woman': Queer History, Womanising the Body, and the Boys in Arnaud's Band," in *Queering the Middle Ages*, ed. Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger, 168-192 (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 170. My justification for the anuses of M. 754 as penetrable is best exemplified in the lower margin of folio 48v (Fig. 18) which shows a monkey exposing his anus while simultaneously using a spear to penetrate the anus of an unknown figure whose buttocks protrude from an oven.

[150] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 126.

[151] James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in the Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 339.

Damian, who insisted on the expulsion of all clerics found guilty of sodomitical relations from their religious communities. By the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the Church had established firm laws regarding same-sex intercourse and punishments for homosexual activity. While the new legislatures established in by the Fourth Lateran Council were intended to strengthen clerical control of the laity's daily life, many of the laws that specifically dealt with penalties for sodomy were directed at the clergy. However, despite of the measures taken to enforce the prohibition of homosexual activity that was present in medieval society, these new laws were not easily enforced or generally accepted.[152] Eager to maintain their veneer of sexual conformity—a sort of 'compulsory heterosexuality'—and political superiority, the clergy deflected the accusations of sodomy against them onto the nobility and knightly class.[153]

Nonetheless, the accusations of sodomy in both the clergy and knightly class were not fictitious.[154] Female exclusion from these realms created homosocial environments; by physically removing women from these socio-religious circles, it was believed that men's sexual desire for women would be eliminated, or quelled at the very least. However, the creation of a homosocial environment had the opposite of the intended effect; rather than the complete elimination of sexual desire from the upper echelons of the medieval social hierarchy, the men of the clerical and knightly communities may have displaced

---

[152] Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 278.

[153] Mathew S. Kuefler, "Male Friendship and the Suspicion of Sodomy in Twelfth-Century France," in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 145-181 (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, c. 2003), 162.

[154] One example of this can be seen in the accusations of sodomy made by King Philip IV of France (1268-1314) and his chief counselor, Guillame de Nogaret (1260-1313), in 1307 against the Order of the Knights Templar. Their particular use of sodomy as a form of heresy was considered to be an unquestionable sin against God, and allowed for the arrest of more than six hundred Templar knights. For further reading on the accusations of sodomy against the Knights Templar and description of their trial in full, see Stephen Howarth, *The Knights Templar* (London: Collins, 1982), 277-312.

their sexual desires onto other men, violating gender expectations.[155] These homosocial environments, rather than reinforcing patriarchal social dominance, threatened social and religious institutions of power through their lack of desire for a culturally sanctioned object—women.[156]

In attempts to counteract the issues posed by homosocial power structures and stabilize gender difference in medieval society, extraordinary efforts were made by the Church both to impose and regulate heterosexual marriages.[157] Not only did heterosexual marriage serve to reinforce the male/female binary by requiring asymmetric coupling between genders, but also to reinforce that of reproductive/non-reproductive sex in which each party performed different respective roles during sexual intercourse, namely that of the active (male) and passive (female) participants.[158] By presenting the male anus as penetrable, the anal images of M. 754 blatantly call attention to the sexed male as having the potential to be a passive sexual participant and an object of the gaze—roles understood to be reserved solely for women. Sodomy's ability to render the male as penetrable and passive undermines and subverts the gender order through what was considered inappropriate gender behaviour, and it was even thought that the act of being passively penetrated could turn men into women through effeminizing behaviour.[159] This failure to maintain expectations of gender behaviour not only created a slippage between the binaries of male/female and reproductive/non-reproductive sex established in the Middle

---

155 Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1998), 138-40.
156 Karras, *Boys to Men*, 51.
157 Salih, "Unpleasures of the Flesh," 129.
158 Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 23.
159 Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 69.

Ages, but also served as a defiant gesture against classification and the ultimate refusal of homosexual masculinity to be excluded from repertoires of medieval sexuality. In their dismantling of binaries, the marginal images of M. 754 that feature men, monkeys and hybrids exposing their anus to the viewer are often depicted with liturgical and knightly objects such as chalices, croziers, and spears, or shown wearing mitres, tonsures, and chainmail, blatantly calling attention to their satirizing and social critique of knights and clerics.

***

ASSESSING THE VISUAL EVIDENCE

EXPOSING THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANUS: ANTICLERICAL SENTIMENT

In medieval pictorial tradition, marginal drolleries and grotesques in manuscripts were often used to satirize the Church and society. The anal images found in the margins of M. 754 both satirize and parody the actions of the clergy through their use of exposed anuses, hybrids, and monkeys that are depicted with liturgical objects and clerical attributes, such as croziers and tonsures.[160] While many of the apes, hybrids and dismembered figures that populate the margins appear humorous in their parody of the clergy and liturgy, many of them may in fact have a more serious intent.

Folio 3r (Fig. 19) features a nude hybrid man with one leg exposing his anus and wearing a bishop's mitre, which may be a comment on the hypocrisy of the clergy in the discrepancies between their preaching and personal actions regarding sodomitical behaviour. In France in the century leading up to M. 754's

160 Jean Worth, "Les Marges À Drôleries des Manuscrits Gothiques: Problèmes de Méthode," in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology,* ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley, 277-300 (Turnhout: Brepols, c. 2003), 277.

production, there was a widespread dissatisfaction with the clergy and a growing dislike of the ruling classes and wealthy elite.[161] Images of figures that bare their buttocks were sometimes considered to be a gesture of defiance and insult in medieval iconography, and it is possible that the nude figure here exposing his anus and wearing a bishop's mitre is a reference to the resentment felt by the civilian population towards the clergy, as the figure may be a satire of clerical 'values'.[162] Furthermore, it was not simply that sodomy was illegal in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, but rather that it was considered to be one of the most serious crimes against God, nature and the Church, and the hypocrisy of clerical actions with regard to their sexual practices only served to fuel the growing dissatisfaction of the laity with clerical practice.[163] The ongoing reports of clerical sodomy, revealing just one aspect of hypocrisy within the clergy, became one of the most common sources of clerical criticism that was parodied in medieval visual iconography.[164] Reports of sodomy within the clergy became so common during the Middle Ages that Pope Innocent III launched a formal investigation of sodomitical practices within the clergy in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, the M. 754 image of the nude hybrid exposing his anus and wearing a mitre might further illuminate growing tensions

---

161 Lilian M. C. Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination," *The Art Bulletin* 39, No. 2 (June 1957), 100. Some scholars believe the baring of buttocks to have apotropaic powers to ward off evil, however I disagree with this belief, and for the purpose of this study will not be considering the bared buttocks and exposed anus as having apotropaic function. For a study that considers genital and anal exposure as encouraging worshippers not to sin, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Averting Demons* (Los Angeles: Ruth Mellinkoff Publications, 2004). In addition, it is possible that if baring one's buttocks is a gesture of defiance, it may be possible to read this image from the bishop's point of view as a kind of retort to these anticlerical sentiments, which may in fact be more likely in relation to my argument that male-male intercourse, regardless of class, insisted on being a part of official sexual discourse.

162 Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, 281.

163 The punishment for sodomy by law could be worse than that of murder, as it was considered a sin 'against nature.' Anthony Weir and James Jerman, *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London: Batsford, 1986), 101.

164 Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval* Literature, 31.

within the clerical ranks in the form of contradicting Christian theologies.[165] This mitre-wearing hybrid exposing his anus may draw attention to the hypocrisy of clerical piety: while homosexuality was strictly prohibited and considered a sin against God, there were many high ranking religious officials who did not follow the strict sexual regulations they set themselves.

The image of the bishop's mitre might also call attention to discontinuities within the Christian faith in its relationship with Judaism, as Ruth Mellinkoff has identified that mitres were often used to signify both Christian bishops and Jewish priests, despite the fact that no mitres of any sort were actually worn by Jewish officials.[166] During the Middle Ages, Christian theologians were constantly faced with the problem of justifying the foundational origins of Christianity, as Christianity was founded on Jewish scriptures.[167] Although Mellinkoff does give examples in which the 'Jewish mitre' was used to portray good qualities of the figures who wear them, she shows that they are more often than not indicators of evil, used as negative signifiers of moral or spiritual perversion.

Medieval Christian theologians supported this projection of sodomy onto those whom they considered immoral with St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, in which he questions the reader, saying, 'Know you not that the unjust shall not possess the kingdom of God? Do not err: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, Nor the effeminate, nor liers with mankind (*masculorum concubitores*), nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor railers,

---

165 František Graus, edited and translated by Dorothea A. Christ, "The Church and its Critics in Times of Crisis," in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, 65-82 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 66-67.

166 Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, California; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1: 82-89.

167 The first five books of the Old Testament of the Bible are the same as the Jewish Torah. Sarah Lipton, "Unfeigned Witness: Jews, Matter and Vision in Twelfth-Century Christian Art," in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia; Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, c. 2011), 45-46

nor extortioners, shall posess the kingdom God' (Corinthians 6:9-11).[168] Here, sodomy (*masculorum concubitores*) is included amongst the crimes of sinners, and it is possible that the association of the bishop's mitre with the Jews might be a Christian attempt to conflate images of the Jews with spiritual perversion, as well as functioning as a means of displacing the accusations of sodomy against the clergy onto the Jews, a group which was considered fundamentally opposed to Christianity. However, it is more probable that images featuring the bishop's mitre were meant to satirize sodomy amongst the clergy, rather than attack the Jews.

Furthermore, from the early beginning of the twelfth century, the horns of the bishop's mitre in pictorial depictions, especially on marginal hybrids such as the one on folio 3r, were very clearly understood to be *horns*, a common indicator of sinfulness in medieval art.[169] Principles of physiognomy functioned on both theological and social levels in medieval manuscript art, and the artist's use of deformed bodies and exposed anuses in the margins of M. 754 would have been an indicator to the viewer of the figure's inner morality in relation to sin and virtue by lieu of his physical form. Another use of physical deformity to comment on the moral sinfulness of Church elite can be seen on folio 72r (Fig. 20). This figure is an armless and tonsured cleric who carries a ladder and exposes his anus. The grotesqueness and deformity of his physical form would have been understood as indicative of his inner sinfulness, and the coupling of his deformed almost-human figure with his exposed anus may be yet another

---

[168] This passage can be found in *The Holy Bible: translated from the Latin Vulgate: the Old Testament first published by the English College at Douay, AD 1609, and the New Testament first published by the English College at Rheims, AD 1582* (Dublin: Duffy, 1888), New Testament 169.
[169] Horns were the most common feature attributed to demons in the Middle Ages. Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1970), 100.

reference to the sin of sodomy present within the clerical ranks, as the figure's tonsure identifies him as a cleric.

Thirteenth-century Europe was profoundly hostile to homosexuality, and both sodomy and 'unnatural' sexual intercourse formed a large part of French theologians' and scholars' debates in the years leading up to M. 754's production, most notably in relation to gender roles.[170] In his work, *Liber Poenitentialis*, thirteenth-century French theologian Alain of Lille equated sodomy with a loss of masculinity, claiming that a male in the passive sexual role—such as the marginal figures of M. 754 who present their anus as penetrable to the viewer—perverts nature itself, as theologians believed humans were created with distinct gender roles and should only sexually engage with their biologically sexual opposite.[171] The redirection of men's sexual behaviour away from women and onto other men crucially violated what it meant to be a 'male', and a man directing his sexual behaviour towards other men associated him more strongly with women.[172] Accounts of clerical sodomy may be reflected in the lower margins of folio 81v (Fig. 1), in which an armless hybrid man with hoofed legs directly exposes his anus to the bust of a mitre-wearing bishop, shown with a censer. The bishop's censer swings towards the extremely accentuated and puckered anus of the hybrid figure, creating an interplay between the two figures. It is possible to read the actions between these two figures in two ways: first, that the hybrid figure presents his anus to the bishop as an invitation for penetration, celebrating male homosexual activity; or second, that the hybrid figure bares his exposed anus to the bishop as an act of defiance, perhaps

---

[170] Mills, "Seeing Sodomy," 464.
[171] Susannah Cornwall, *Theology and Sexuality* (London: SCM Press, c. 2013), 41-53.
[172] Christie Davies, "Sexual Taboos and Social Boundaries," *American Journal of Sociology* 87, No. 5 (March, 1982), 1036.

indicating dissatisfaction with clerical actions, his puckered anus accentuating his defiance.

Furthermore, the act of being passively penetrated was understood as the female role in [heterosexual] intercourse, and being penetrable was considered a feminine quality, which may have been the ultimate anxiety of medieval masculinity. Sodomy's role in linking the male clergy with feminine qualities may be represented by the mitre-wearing hybrid figure in the right-hand margin of folio 20v (Fig. 22). The hybrid figure holds a distaff and spindle, objects universally understood as female attributes in the Middle Ages.[173] When used as a male attribute, the image of the distaff and spindle were meant to be signs of humiliation or punishment, as they maintained their feminine associations even when wielded by male figures.[174] When considered alongside the anal imagery that parodies the clergy in the margins of M. 754, it becomes possible to understand the image of the hybrid on folio 20v that wears a mitre and carries a distaff as a satire on the clergy and the effeminisation of clerical masculinity. This is especially likely due to its proximity of a rabbit holding a distaff, the Latin for rabbit, *cuni* or *coni*, plays on the French *con* ('cunt'). [175]

However, perhaps one of the most blatantly anticlerical images in M. 754 can be found in the right-hand margin of folio 27r, where a monkey stabs a nude and armless hybrid man with dagger in his exposed anus, from which blood or excrement flows into a vessel (Fig. 9). This image, which not only shows the male

---

[173] Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, 227.
[174] Femininity was such a strong threat to medieval masculinity that objects associated with 'femaleness', such as the distaff and spindle, were often carried by men accused of sex crimes (such as sodomy) being publically humiliated for their sins. Carter Revard, "The Tow on Absalom's Distaff and the Punishment of Lechers in Medieval London," *English Languages Notes* 17 (1980), 168.
[175] Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," 352.

anus as penetrable, but actually in the act of being penetrated, also parodies the text it accompanies. Accompanying the Office of the Blessed Sacrament and the text of the Eucharistic Consecration, it is possible that this image uses the male figure as a passive recipient of penetration to parody the sacrament of the Eucharist, the blood or excrement which flows from his anus meant to be a revolting parody of the blood of Christ drunk from the chalice during Mass, calling attention to the entire liturgical practice as an act that is subverted by the actions of those who sanction it.[176]

***

ASSESSING THE VISUAL EVIDENCE

COMPULSORY HETEROSEXUALITY AND CHIVALRIC SODOMY

Clerical elites, unable to disprove the accounts of sodomy within their own ranks, displaced the accusations against them onto yet another homosocial hierarchy—the lower nobility and knightly class.

***

In the Middle Ages, the sexuality of knighthood was inherently tied into ideals of courtly love and chivalric behaviour: a homosocial world dominated by heterosexual conquest. Ruth Mazo Karras argues that the central role women appeared to play in tales of chivalry and courtly love was in fact, fundamentally misogynistic.[177] By placing women on a pedestal and whose love was something to be won, women were denied all agency in directing the outcome of the very

[176] Worth, "Les Marges à Drôleries," 295.
[177] Karras, *Boys to Men*, 85. However, this idea was originated by R. Howard Bloch, and a full discussion of this concept can be found in his work *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, c. 1991).

stories in which they were situated. For a knight, the ultimate marker of masculine sexual adulthood was the acquisition of female love, culminating in heterosexual marriage.[178] Furthermore, denied command of their own lives in courtly romance, women became an object of commodity in an all-male world, creating yet another homosocial environment in which men were free to displace their sexual desires onto other men.[179] The tremendous efforts undertaken by the Church between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries to impose and regulate heterosexual marriages may have been attempts to counteract the problems posed by female exclusion and homosocial environments such as knighthood, although they ultimately failed, resulting in the creation of an all-male world in which men were free to form socio-sexual bonds with other men.

Beginning in the twelfth century, the clergy's displacement of accusations of sodomy onto the lower nobility and knightly class had both social and political aims. Medieval European society was predominantly structured around marriage and the family, and sexual activity between men threatened the social

---

[178] James A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality*, (Chicago, Illinois; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 119-120. For further reading on courtly love and heterosexual relationships, see Andreas Capellanus, with introduction, translation and notes by John Jay Parry, *The Art of Courtly Love* (New York: Ungar, 1959). Capellanus' work is a medieval source, from which can be drawn important contemporary statements on the act of courtly love. In addition, the tight regulations imposed by the Church on medieval heterosexual marriages were not without their own problems, as the private lives of married couples were difficult to control and couples had the potential to engage in sexual activities not sanctioned by the Church—whether it was oral or anal sex, or simply sex for pleasurable or non-procreative purposes. Jean-Louis Flandrin, "Sex in Married Life in the Early Middle Ages: The Church's Teachings and Behavioural Reality," in *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times*, ed. Philippe Ariès and André Bejin, 114-129 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 115. However, it is important to note that in most tales of courtly love, knightly attention was directed at married women who were unattainable (supposedly); such women were the object of the 'game,' although in this context I will focus less on the specifics of the chase/game, and rather on the acquisition of the female 'object', regardless of her (un)married status.

[179] This creation of a homosocial environment that enabled homosexual relations between men was made possible by social enforcement of what Karras has described as a 'compulsory heterosexuality.' Ruth Mazo Karras, "Knighthood, Compulsory Heterosexuality, and Sodomy," in *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality,* ed. Mathew S. Kuefler, 273-286 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 273-4.

organization of society, distracting from Church sanctioned forms of procreation and creating a passive masculinity that did not fit within the established heterosexual family structure.[180] As an inherently patriarchal society, medieval culture depended on the institution of heterosexual marriage for the stabilization of society as a way of ensuring male dominance through patrilineal inheritance and genealogy. Sodomy amongst the knights denied patriarchal privilege and subverted the medieval binaries of male/female and procreative/non-procreative sex by undermining heterosexual procreative sex and gender hierarchies of active and passive sexual roles.[181] The passive and penetrable male of the knightly class, a figure created by sodomy and other male-male sexual activities, further broke down medieval binaries through its rejection of marital gender hierarchies established by chivalric love, which required a dominant male and submissive female.

In addition, accusations of sodomy in the lower nobility and knighthood served the Church's political aspirations of reorienting loyalties amongst the nobility back to the Church.[182] In an increasingly secularized society, sodomy amongst the upper classes created personal loyalties between men, distracting them from their ecclesiastical duties and religious commitments. Alain of Lille's teachings that sodomy was equated with the loss of masculinity was predicated on the basic requirement of the 'active man' and was used by the Church beginning in the twelfth century in an attempt to officially prohibit male-male

[180] Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 32.
[181] Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 23.
[182] Kuefler, "Male Friendship and the Suspicion of Sodomy," 157-161.

sexual activity, but also to encourage individual self-regulation.[183] However, the efforts undertaken by the Church as well as secular traditions to prohibit sodomy amongst the knightly class were far from successful in practice.[184] The compulsory heterosexuality of courtly love and marriage, through the very nature of binaries, simultaneously created its opposite—the sodomite. The images in the margins of M. 754 represent just this: through the use of hybrids, monkeys and men depicted with knightly attributes exposing their anus and wielding phallic objects such as spears, swords and arrows, the anal images depicted here break down the normative and compulsory heterosexuality expected of males in the lower nobility and knightly classes, parodying the institution of heterosexual marriage as a whole.

Folio 48r (Fig. 21) depicts two hybrid knights wearing mail and fighting each other. While one figure is mostly clothed, wearing a robe and mail, the second figure wears only ailettes and mail on his head, flaunting his hybrid lower body and exposed anus. The exposed anus of this hybrid knight may be a comment on sodomy in the knightly class—the hybrid knight insisting on making his anus visible to the viewer. It is possible that the hybrid knight with the exposed anus is further meant to be understood as penetrable, as his anus is exposed and he does not wield a buckle, or shield, like his opponent. Furthermore, the male hybrid figures attack each other with a sword and spear, respectively, these weapons being widely understood as phallic symbols in the

---

183 Susan Schibanoff, "Sodomy's Mark: Alain of Lille, Jean de Meun, and the Medieval Theory of Authorship," in *Queering the Middle Ages*, ed. Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger, 28-56 (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 45.
184 Kuefler, "Male Friendship and the Suspicion of Sodomy," 169-171.

Middle Ages.[185] The fact that both hybrid figures aim phallic-shaped weapons at each other, coupled with the fact that one exposes his anus may be references to the active and passive roles of sexual activity, perhaps identifying the hybrid whose anus is exposed as the passive recipient of the other's 'weapon'. In addition the anus exposing hybrid's spear appears blunt, or even cut off at the end, when compared with the pointed tip of the other hybrid's sword, and I had considered that the blunted or cut off spear depicted here may be a reference to castration, another effeminizing and equally threatening anxiety of medieval masculinity, especially as there are no other spears in the margins of this manuscript that lack their 'head'.[186]

However, I believe that the most blatant reference to sodomy amongst the nobility and knightly class can be found in the lower margins of folio 26v (Fig. 7). Folio 26v depicts a hybrid knight wearing mail, straddling a spear and exposing his anus to hybrid man with a dismembered phallus aimed at his mouth. The spear points towards a third hybrid knight that wears mail and stylized ailettes in the left-hand margin. As seen in other marginal images from M. 754, the exposed anus of the male hybrid knight depicted here again might call attention to sodomy and homosexual masculinity within the knightly class and medieval society. In addition, I do not believe that the depiction of the dismembered phallus aimed at the mouth of the second male hybrid on this folio could be

---

185 "Thrusting weapons" such as spears, arrows and swords as penile metaphors were not the invention of medieval artists, but were adopted from the pictorial codes of antiquity. Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, 257-8. Madeline Caviness also devotes a lot of description to the various phallic symbols present in manuscript marginalia, in particular pages 349-352 in her article "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed."

186 For reading on castration anxieties, see Jacqueline Murray, "Sexual Mutilation and Castration Anxiety: A Medieval Perspective," in *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, ed. Mathew S. Kuefler, 254-272 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 254-272; and Mathew S. Kuefler, "Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages," in *The Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage, 279-306 (New York, NY; London: Garland, 2000), 279-306.

interpreted as anything other than a blatant reference to male homosexual activity—more specifically oral sex or fellatio.[187] Like sodomy, the Church denounced oral sex as both sinful and unnatural, regardless if performed within hetero or homosexual pairings. Beginning with the writings of thirteenth-century Dominican friar Thomas Aquinas, 'natural law' constituted fulfilling God's will, and in terms of sexual activity that specifically was intended to mean procreative sex between heterosexual couplings.[188] Thomas Aquinas wrote that any ejaculation of semen should be intended solely for procreative purposes, as that was what God intended semen be used for, therefore defining heterosexual procreative sex as 'natural'; ejaculation for any purpose other than to produce children was considered wasteful and frustrating to God's plan.[189] By this definition of 'natural', oral sex and all forms of homosexual intercourse were excluded. This image on folio 26v not only subverts the Church's regulation of sexual activity by depicting the practice of oral sex, but also further undermines the Church's authority by depicting this act between men. It has been suggested that medieval artists and authors attempted to counterbalance the accusations of sodomy against the knightly class by exaggerating what were considered 'masculine' qualities in the Middle Ages, the most common being violence.[190] It is possible that the knights shown fighting on folio 48r (Fig. 21) might also be an

---

[187] I debated whether to label the image 'male male hybrid kissing dismembered phallus.'

[188] Mark D. Jordan, "Homosexuality, Luxuria, and Textual Abuse," in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 24-39 (Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 33-34.

[189] Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 321-322. However, one form of ejaculation that perplexed medieval theologians writing on sexual activity and its procreative purposes was nocturnal emissions and involuntary erections. This was not only frustrating due to its 'wastefulness,' but also because it undermined the control and rationality expected of men and their sexual urges. See Dylan Elliott, "Pollution, Illusion, and Masculine Disarray: Nocturnal Emissions and the Sexuality of the Clergy," in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 1-23 (Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 16.

[190] Karras, "Knighthood, Compulsory Heterosexuality, and Sodomy," 274.

example of this attempt to masquerade—or hide homosexual tendencies—behind masculine violence. However, I believe the hybrid knights fighting on folio 48r, coupled with the reference to male-male fellatio on folio 26v, negates this attempt to counterbalance from the inside, as the very objects with which the figures perform these violent acts are themselves metaphors for the phallus. However, when considered amongst the numerous other marginal motifs, the anal images satirizing sodomy amongst the knightly class may in fact be less obvious, especially when compared with marginal images that reinforce the manuscript's overarching themes of pregnancy and reproduction for female readership.

***

ASSESSING THE VISUAL EVIDENCE

PARENTING AND PERVERSION: SEXUAL SYMBOLS IN THE MARGINS

The anal imagery that satirizes and parodies the knights and clergy in the margins of M. 754 is situated amongst numerous other animal and bestial motifs, many of which support the manuscript's themes of pregnancy and copulation embodied by the pregnant female patron on folio 113v (Fig. 10). Despite the fact that many animals and figures are used to symbolize and encourage reproductive copulation and parenthood, they share their marginal space with a vast array of opposing motifs, known throughout the Middle Ages as symbolic of lust, lechery, sexual fervor. The themes of parenthood and devotion to childrearing symbolized by animals such as the stork and fish (Figs. 23-25) are immediately challenged by their proximity to images such as the cock and siren

(Figs. 6, 24, 25), figures widely understood as symbols of lust and seduction.[191] Perhaps most significant, however, is that among these symbols are a whole host of anus-exposing apes, shown satirizing not the knights or the clergy, but men in general (Figs. 27-29, 32), further supporting the artists' refusal to exclude images of homoeroticism and sodomy from their visual repertoire of medieval masculinities.[192]

The marginal motifs symbolic of parenthood and pregnancy in the margins of M. 754 may reflect specifically personal concerns of the patron regarding procreation and childbearing, although it is also possible that these concerns, while important to the patron, were more generally common themes in the greater context of fourteenth-century Europe. As discussed in relation to knighthood and marriage, procreation was fundamentally important to the continuation of the familial line as well as patriarchal rule. In addition to the high infant mortality rate in medieval society, widespread famine consumed Europe between 1315-1322, resulting in starvation and death, and both marriage and procreation (strictly within the marital institution) were encouraged in order to repopulate society.[193] Produced in the 1320s, the marginal animal motifs of M. 754 that encourage fidelity, parenting and procreative copulation may be more general references to the wider social problems of repopulation due to contemporary famine. In any case, whether in reference to widespread problems of repopulation or personal concerns of pregnancy, the margins of M. 754 are

---

[191] See respective entries for each animal discussed in Beryl Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces: A Guide to Animal Symbolism* (London: Allan and Unwin, 1974).
[192] Apes were the most common animal used to satirize man's sinful behaviour. Karl P. Wentersdorf, "The Symbolic Significance of *Figurae Scatologicae* in Gothic Manuscripts," in *Word, Picture and Spectacle*, ed. Clifford Davidson, 1-20 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1984), 3. For a full discussion on ape symbolism in medieval iconography see Horst Waldemar Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1952).
[193] Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 68-9.

teeming with marginal animal images that can be understood as symbolic of procreative copulation. In addition, procreation was of great importance in the Christian worldview, which is especially relevant in a Christian prayer book such as M. 754.

Prior to their inclusion in the margins of manuscripts such as books of hours and psalters in the thirteenth century, animals that represented moralizing behaviours were the predominant theme of medieval bestiaries, which based their description of animal behaviour on a combination of scientific observation as well as ancient and biblical myth.[194] Animal symbolism generally had more than one meaning and often the animal's attributes took on political character during the fourteenth century.[195] The fish, like the one found in the lower margin of folio 38v (Fig. 23), was a common symbol representing both Christ and good parenting in the Middle Ages.[196] As one of the earliest animal motifs that symbolized Christ, the fish and its natural watery habitat led to it being further associated with baptism and Christianity as a whole. The stories of fish that protect their eggs by hiding them in their mouth became moralizing tales of piscine behaviour and were applied to the notion of childrearing and parental devotion, and may be referenced in this manuscript in the numerous images of fish in the margins. Themes of pregnancy and procreation become especially prominent in M. 754 when considered in relationship to the hybrid stag in folio 38v's right-hand margin. Though depicted here as a hybrid, stags

194 Willene B. Clark, *The Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary: commentary, art, text, and translation* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2006), 14.
195 Francis Donald Klingender, ed. Evelyn Antal and John Harthan, *Animals in Art and Thought: To the End of the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1971), 360.
196 Christian Heck and Rémy Cordonnier, translated by John Goodman et al., *The Grand Medieval Bestiary: Animals in Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York; London: Abbeville Press, 2012), 501.

shown with their antlers were understood as symbols of fertility, and it is probable that this folio was encouraging procreative copulation and hereditary succession.[197]

However, the positive qualities of parental devotion represented by the fish are challenged only a few pages earlier, on folio 31v (Fig. 24). The visual resemblance between the fish in the lower margin of folio 31v with the mermaid or siren in the top margin may signify that the qualities associated with fish are not as positive as they may at first appear. Sirens were notoriously associated with lust and seduction in the Middle Ages, and denounced as a 'demonic force' in the Bible.[198] Sirens were half-human, half-fish (or half-bird in earlier depictions) and were known to tempt sailors to their death through their sensual charms. The visual resemblance between the siren's tail and the fish on folio 31v may be an attempt by the artist to subvert the messages of procreative sex the fish on other folios might have been meant to portray. What is particularly interesting, however, is that the typical depiction of sirens as female, like shown here on folio 31v, which specifically associated lust and seduction with femininity, is also subverted by the image of what appears to be a male siren in the top margin on folio 59r (Fig. 25). This depiction of a male siren may be

---

[197] Heck and Cordonnier, *The Grand Medieval Bestiary*, 234. However, male stags were considered sexually lustful, and although this image here is probably a reference to fertility, at the same time it could function as a symbol of masculine sexuality. T.H. White, *The Medieval Book of Beasts: being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (Stroud: A. Sutton Publications, 1992), 39.

[198] Carola Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c. 1993), 144. The Bible references sirens in Psalm 13: 3-4 where it says, "*Their throat is an open sepulcher: with their tongues they acted deceitfully; the poison of asps is under their lips… Shall not all they know that work iniquity, who devour my people as they eat bread?*" Quoted in Debra Hassig, "Marginal Bestiaries," in *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, ed. Luuk A.J.R. Houwen, 171-188 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, c. 1997), 177. For further reading see Debra Hassig, "Sex in the Bestiaries," in The Mark of The Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature, ed. Debra Hassig, 71-98 (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1999), 79-81 as well as the chapter on sirens in her book, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

another attempt to suggest that sexual lasciviousness is not solely the quality of women, but men as well. In particular, the proximity of the male siren to a fish wearing a mitre in the right-hand margin of the same folio may be another reference to the sexual debauchery of clerical sodomy.

Similarly, the themes of pregnancy and copulation in M. 754 are undermined by the inclusion of marginal images of the cockerel, or rooster. On one hand, the cock was meant to symbolize constant vigilance, as the animal's crowing at dawn and waking those from sleep was seen as a metaphor for calling sinners out from the darkness.[199] In spite of this, however, the cockerel was also seen as a symbol of the phallus, involving a play on the animal's Latin prename, '*coc*', or penis.[200] Additionally, the cockerel was used to symbolize lust and lechery, and more specifically was associated with male lasciviousness through its phallic associations.[201] Folio 3v (Fig. 6) depicts a rooster perched on the shaft of a spear, in close proximity to a nude male figure who exposes his anus while crawling in and out of an oven. The nude figure in the oven exposes his anus toward the phallic symbols of the '*coc*' and spear, and turns his head to look toward the viewer, perhaps inviting the reader's gaze to penetrate his puckered anus. Phallic symbolism was emphasized in this manuscript, especially in proximity to anal images as a way of insisting that homosexuality be presented as a form of medieval masculinity in the visual repertoire. Another example can be found on folio 65v (Fig. 26), this time in the form of a musical instrument.

---

[199] Heck and Cordonnier, *The Grand Medieval Bestiary*, 345.
[200] Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages*, 49-50. See also Caviness' article, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," for further discussion of sexual puns.
[201] Jones discusses a thirteenth-century Roman ritual in which a rooster was killed in order to expel "the lasciviousness of our loins." This is further emphasized by the fact that the rooster was the only bird to have its testicles removed, which were said to increase the male sexual libido when ingested. Malcolm Jones, "Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art III: Erotic Animal Imagery," *Folklore* 102, No. 2 (1991), 193.

In the margins of folio 65v, a male figure playing the bagpipes in the left-hand margin is juxtaposed with a nude male figure that bends over and exposes his anus to the viewer, playing boules beneath the text. In particular, the bagpipe was associated with lust and sexual wantonness, as well as functioned as a phallic metaphor due to it visual affinity with male genitalia.[202] Furthermore, dances that accompanied the bagpipe in the Middle Ages were often considered crude and vulgar, and it is possible that the employment of this instrument here was meant to be a comment on the physical appearance of male genitalia.[203] In the margins of folio 65v, the male figures of the bagpiper and boule-player look towards each other, perhaps suggesting that the nude figure's exposed anus is passively waiting and ready to be penetrated by the musician who simply needs to 'inflate his instrument,' which may be another comment on sodomy's ever-insistent presence in fourteenth-century French society. However, this visual pun is not reflected in the text, as this image is found on the page that features the first versicle of Terce of the Long Hours of the Cross, which makes no reference to music or instruments. In addition, visual parallels are not only drawn between musical instruments such as the bagpipe and male genitalia in order to satirize and comment on male-male sexuality, but also between the male body as a whole and images of animals, especially images of the ape.

***

202 Malcolm Jones, "Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art II: Sexist Satire and Popular Punishment," *Folklore* 101, No. 1 (1990), 86. Caviness also discusses the bagpipe as a sexual metaphor in "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," 351.

203 George Fenwick Jones, "Wittenwiler's 'Becki' and the Medieval Bagpipe," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 48, No. 2 (April, 1949), 213.

ASSESSING THE VISUAL EVIDENCE

EPITOMIZING EROTIC PASSION: THE APE AND ITS ANUS

Most likely selected because of their physical affinity with the human body, the ape in medieval manuscript art was often used to symbolize humanity's carnal nature.[204] While many of the anus-exposing apes in the margins of M. 754 specifically satirize the knights and the clergy owing to their identifying headgear, there are a numerous apes that expose their anus and parody the behaviour of humans in general, showing that the gender slippage resulting from male-male sexual activity was not reserved for the knights and clergy, but functioned as a part of everyday masculinity. Like most animals employed in medieval art, the ape was associated with multiple meanings and moral qualities, although most characteristics attributed to the ape were generally negative and associated with sin.[205] Their physical resemblance to the human body and use as a parody of behaviour in medieval art presented the ape as a crude and boorish, or, 'deformed image of man.'[206] This can be seen in the many images of monkeys exposing their anus in the margins of M. 754, such as the image on folio 36r (Fig. 27).

In the right-hand margin of folio 36r, the artist has depicted two monkeys, the first partially submerged in water and kissing the exposed anus of the second. This may be another reference to a form of oral sex, this time showing not the phallus as the site of male erotic arousal, as on folio 26v (Fig. 7), but this time the anus itself as the source of sexual stimulation. As already discussed, oral sex was strictly prohibited in the Middle Ages, but an increasing emphasis

---

[204] Heck and Cordonnier, *The Grand Medieval Bestiary*, 538.
[205] Dennis Biggins, "Sym(e)kyn/Simia: The Ape in Chaucer's Millers," *Studies in Philology* 65, No. 1 (January, 1968), 44.
[206] Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* 29.

on the ape's exposed buttocks in medieval imagery in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries may be an indicator of a growing fascination with the anus as a site of sexual gratification.[207] Furthermore, in the years leading up to M. 754's production, medical scholar and philosopher Peter of Abano (c. 1257- 1316) was advocating anatomical reasons for anal stimulation in males, stating that arousal as the result of anal stimulation could be in indicator of obstructed or diverted spermatic channels.[208] It is highly possible that this image on folio 36r may be a reference to new ideas of male anal stimulation, especially as apes, considered to be the 'embodiment of erotic passion,' were specifically associated with masculine sexuality.[209] This emphasis on male sexuality and anal stimulation further ties into themes of male-male sexual activity presented by M. 754's marginal imagery in depictions of apes and monkeys with mirrors, such as the one found on folio 20r (Fig. 28).

Apes shown looking into mirrors in medieval pictorial tradition were a common allegory for themes of love, in particular representing the 'prisoner of love.'[210] Like the spindle and distaff, the mirror would have been immediately recognizable as a female attribute, further amalgamating male sexuality (represented by the ape) with femininity. However, the 'mirror-gazing ape' motif, like the one found on folio 20r, had narcissistic associations and was equated with self-love in the Middle Ages.[211] This form of narcissism, rather than being linked with other forms of self-love, such as vanity, was specifically

---

[207] Biggins, "Sym(e)kyn/Simia," 46-48.
[208] Joan Cadden, "Sciences/Silences: The Natures and Languages of 'Sodomy' in Peter of Abano's *Problemata* Commentary," in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 40-57 (Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 45.
[209] Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, 261-268.
[210] Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, 261.
[211] Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, 45.

associated with homosexual tendencies and interpreted as same-sex desire. Coupled with the combination of the motif's negative, narcissistic and specifically masculine sexual associations, the image of the mirror-gazing ape may be yet another blatant refusal to conform to the compulsory heterosexuality of medieval masculinity. However, although I have championed the male body as the site of male anxiety and gender slippage in this manuscript, resulting in the image of the female donor as the defender of normative heterosexuality, the marginal apes of M. 754 refute even this, as can be seen in their parody of the female patron and her 'pious devotion.'

Images of the female patron holding an open book, like those on folios 113v and 78r (Figs. 10 and 11, respectively), were intended as symbols of female literacy and pious devotion,[212] placing women within firmly within their expected heterosexual gender roles through their determination to align themselves within a fundamentally misogynistic and homosocial religious hierarchy. However, images of apes with open books, such as the one on folio 17v (Fig. 29), parodies the female donor by mimicking her actions of reading while at the same time exposing his anus, subverting both her literacy and devotion. Here, the same apes that break down and parody notions of heterosexual masculinity work to subvert the female donor's claims of defending the heterosexual norm, showing once and for all that no version of gender is absolute.[213] This constant flux between categories of gender and sexuality becomes even more apparent when using principles of alterity to examine the

[212] Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women Visible," 125-158.
[213] I had considered that this may be an image of a female ape exposing their anus, but there are no attributes to suggest a female identity of the ape. Rather, the ape on folio 17v is similar in style and depiction to the other apes (who are often shown with phallic objects and weapons) found throughout the manuscript.

construction of identity and gender expectations present in the anal images of M. 754.

PART THREE

‘INSIDE OR OUTSIDE?’
ANAL IMAGERY AND ALTERITY

"Every effort to isolate, explain, reduce the contaminated homosexual simply helps to place him at the centre of waking dreams."

Guy Hocquenghem, 1978[214]

[214] Guy Hocquenghem, *Homosexual Desire*, trans. Daniella Dangoor (London: Alison and Busby, 1978), 52.

ANAL IMAGERY AND ALTERITY

ESTABLISHING THE OTHER: THE UNNACCEPTABLE REALITY OF SODOMY

Alterity theory, a process through which individuals and groups attempt to present a coherent and collective self-identity, is fundamentally based on the identification of the 'Other' in juxtaposition to the self.[215] Michael Uebel discusses the creation of the Other as a coping mechanism through which groups are able to transform their own 'unacceptable realities' into a façade of utopic fantasy, creating an image of their 'ideal self' and projecting their own insecurities onto an imagined 'Other'.[216] In the case of M. 754, I believe the patron and/or artist have attempted to transform the 'unacceptable reality' of sodomy amongst the clergy and nobility in fourteenth-century France by projecting these realities onto a marginal 'Other': the anus-exposing hybrids and animals in the margins. However, in addition to creating a figure onto which their dominant social groups can displace their own anxieties, I wish to consider that the creation of the Other in M. 754 also functions as a "liberated alternative" to repressed or restricted realities of gender expectations in fourteenth-century French society.[217]

By considering the anal imagery as the homosexual/marginal 'Other', and the texts and images at the centre of the page as a construction of the ideal 'Self', I believe it is possible to explore the collapse of one more binary present within M. 754: that of the centre and the margins. Here, I will consider medieval male-male anal intercourse from a theoretical perspective as a 'monstrous' form of sexuality, which will tie into concepts of medieval map making and the

---

[215] Treanor, *Aspects of Alterity,* 4.
[216] Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 45.
[217] Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 12.

ideological construction of space of the manuscript page. This section will once again demonstrate how male homosexuality demanded a presence within the 'centre' of medieval society, and that physical presence in the margins is not inextricably bound to the ideological quality of being marginal or of less central social concern.

A specific focus will be placed on folios whose centre and margins reveal the construction of the ideological centre as an impossibly maintained façade, and additional attention will be given to two images of what may be interpreted as T-O maps present in the margins that reference medieval *mappae mundi*. The inclusion of the T-O maps in this manuscript support my hypothesis that either the artist or patron of M. 754 had at least a basic understanding of the Christian ideological construction of space through medieval cartography, which makes it possible to explain the relative meanings of the marginal imagery in relation to the 'main' images.

In exploring the breakdown of the binaries between hetero/homosexuality, self/other, and centre/margins present in M. 754, the placement of the anus-exposing figures in the margins is of utmost importance to understanding the establishment of the anal figures as Other, as they are to be understood in juxtaposition to the texts and images at the 'centre' of the page, representative of the ideal self. The anal images in the margins of M. 754, representing sodomitical knights, Church officials, and medieval humans in general, function as the created Other, inevitably reflecting back to the self/centre, as the nature of binaries mandates that neither centre/self nor

margin/Other can exist without the other.[218] Furthermore, this circuitous reflection of centre and margins questions the viewer's identification with the images. Which represent 'Us'—the images at the centre or the margins? And if they are constantly referencing each other, is there even a difference between them? In particular, the image of St Martin of Tours in the miniature of folio 55r (Fig. 30), the image of the pregnant female patron on folio 113v (Fig. 10), and the hymn in Matins of the Hours of the Holy Spirit on folio 3r (Figs. 19, 31) demonstrate the self-reflectivity of the relationship between the contents of the centres and margins, dissolving distinctions between the self/Other and centre/margin.

Suspicions of sodomy amongst Church officials and clerical elite were not mere rumours in fourteenth-century France, but were, in fact, reflective of reality.[219] Faced with the problems posed by their own sodomitical activity, the clergy was forced to displace the accusations against them onto a socially excluded 'Other'. This displacement can be found in the margins of M. 754 in the numerous monkeys, men, and hybrids that expose their anus and wear mitres or other clerical and knightly identifiers, as discussed in Part Two of this dissertation[220]. However, this becomes all the more evident when considered in the context of their deliberate placement in the margins and their juxtaposition with the sacred words of the text at the centre. Medieval Christianity was fundamentally founded on words and texts, the Bible being the central fulcrum around which the principles and practices of the Christian community were

[218] Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 125.
[219] Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law in Medieval Literature*, 31.
[220] It may be that the 'deviance' of these clerics is expressed here in their monstrous physical form.

based.[221] Perhaps not surprisingly, the growing dissatisfaction with the Church and ruling elite in the time leading up to M. 754's production brought with it a distrust of ecclesiastical scripture. Michael Camille quotes a passage found in the Bible itself, which describes this concept: 'For in the multitude of many words there are also divers vanities (Eccl. 5:7).'[222]

This interpretation, that words—even biblical scripture—can have multiple meanings, many of which are far from positive, can be seen in the relationship on folio 3r (Figs. 19 and 31) between the marginal figure of the anus-exposing hybrid wearing a mitre and the central text. The text is a hymn in Matins in the Hours of the Holy Spirit that proclaims,

> *Thou who art called the Paraclete,*
> *Best gift of God above,*
> *The living spring, the living fire,*
> *Sweet unction, and true love.*
>
> *Thou who art seven-fold in Thy grace;*
> *Finger of God's right hand;*
> *His promise, teaching little ones*
> *To speak and understand*.[223]

The anus-exposing hybrid in the lower margin, wears a mitre and passively awaits penetration, calling attention to the presence of sodomy within clerical elites through what I believe to be a deliberate play on the words of 'living fire,' and 'sweet unction,' especially with the addition of the word *guttura*, or *tongue*

---

[221] For further reading on the Bible and the importance written word in the development of Christian history, see Karen Armstrong, *The Bible: A Biography* (New York: Grove Press, 2007).
[222] Quoted in Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 26.
[223] The Latin text reads: "*Qui diceris Paraclitus,/altissimi donum Dei,/fons vivus, igus, caritas/et spiritalis unctio./ Tu septiformis munere,/ digitus paternae dexterae,/ tu rite promissum patris/ sermone ditans guttura*."

(here translated as to speak) in the last line.[224] The tongue had strong phallic associations in the Middle Ages,[225] and the juxtaposition of the phallic words at the centre with the mitre-wearing hybrid, ready to be penetrated in the margins, circuitously reference each other and break down the distinction between the centre and margins of the page, enabling a collapse of the ideal, heterosexual self of the center into the homosexual Other of the margins. This circuitous referencing between the centre and margins of alterity theory is further supported by Michel Foucault's ideas of power and social marginalization, which argues that identification of the socially marginalized always reflect back on those in power at the centre, that the Other is absolutely essential to the construction of the Self.[226]

Similarly, Michael Uebel also bases his theories of alterity on the idea that the Other is integral to the construction of the self, saying that by 'defining ourselves against the other, we also define ourselves by internalizing the other.'[227] On folio 3r this becomes increasingly apparent when looking at the relationship between the self/centre/text and the Other/margin/anus-exposing hybrid. The text, which here represents the ideal self, functions as a coping mechanism for the unacceptable reality of sodomy among the religious elite shown in the margins through the figure of the anus-exposing hybrid. The words transforms themselves into the very 'living fire' for which the hybrid's penetrable anus patiently waits, as if the hybrid himself is reciting the words,

---

[224] The word 'finger' is also suggestive due to its phallic shape, however I could not find any specific references linking fingers and phallicism in ancient or medieval sources.
[225] Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, 102-103.
[226] Foucault described the process of identifying the marginal Other as 'an ideological discourse by which the Other surrenders self-authoritative identification in favour of becoming a reflection of those powers that mandate its identification as "Other" in the first place.' Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: Archaeology of The Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2002, c. 1970), 326.
[227] Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 45.

waiting for the 'sweet anointing' from the *guttura* of the text physically above him. This pictorial reorientation (or even appropriation) of the biblical text supports Uebel's argument that insistence on a heterosexual norm only serves as an acknowledgement of its opposite, the homosexual Other, represented here in M. 754 by the numerous anus-exposing men, monkeys and hybrids that populate the margins, providing a point of comparison and meaning for the compulsory heterosexuality of the central miniatures and texts.[228]

This breakdown of binaries between the centre and the margins as well as that of heterosexuality and homosexuality can also be seen in the miniature depicting Martin of Tours of folio 55r (Fig. 30). Martin (316-397) began as a military soldier deployed in Gaul (later to became France) and eventually devoted himself to Christianity, becoming the Bishop of Tours in 371. He is most famously known in Christian legend for using his military sword to halve his cloak, giving it to a beggar, who later reveals himself to St Martin as Christ in a dream.[229] On folio 55r, Martin is shown in the miniature in the centre of the page, while the beggar—representing Christ—inhabits the marginal space of the page. Although Martin is depicted here with a halo, as he was later to become a saint in Christian tradition after his death in 397, at the moment this miniature depicts he was, in fact, a human soldier. This reversal of a human, born with original sin, at the centre and Christ, the holy figure on which Christianity is founded, at the margins further breaks down the binaries of holy centre and un-holy margins. Furthermore, the beggar-Christ inhabits the same marginal space as a bird and

---

228 Michael Uebel, "Re-Orienting Desire: Writing on Gender Trouble in Fourteenth-Century Egypt," in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 230-260 (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, c. 2003), 230.

229 Christopher Donaldson, *Martin of Tours: Paris Priest, Mystic and Exorcist* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1990), 22-27.

monstrous hybrid. Birds were often associated with sodomy in the Middle Ages, and the shared presence of the beggar-Christ in the margins with the image of a bird may be an attempt to integrate sodomy into Christianity as a whole, especially when considered in juxtaposition to the monstrous hybrid and the abundance of anal images found throughout the manuscript.[230]

In addition, the presentation of Martin of Tours mounted on a horse on folio 55r, typical of contemporary chivalric depiction, associates him with the knightly class and the sodomitical accusations that accompanied it during the time of M. 754's production. Using Robert Mills' theories of the aesthetics of engagement (discussed in Part Two) it becomes possible to look at images of knights not in isolation on individual pages but rather at their continued presence throughout the whole of M. 754. Here, Martin's mounted depiction on a horse and wielding a large sword clearly associate him with the military and knightly class, and when considering this in relation to other images featuring knightly attributes throughout the manuscript, the relationship between centre and margins becomes especially poignant. His knightly status not only associates him with the sodomitical actions of the hybrid knights exposing their anus in the margins—such as the hybrid-knight figures on folio 48r (Fig. 21) who expose their anus to the viewer and firmly link the knightly class with sodomy—but also with the anus-exposing apes who 'wield' swords exactly like the one held by Martin in this miniature. Only a few pages later, in the lower margin of folio 57r (Fig. 32), we find an anus-exposing ape straddling a military sword much like the one Martin uses to divide the cloak, once again drawing attention to the

[230] The link between sodomy and birds can be traced back to antiquity and the tale of Ulysses, which recounts monstrous birds who "attack their own kind." Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law in Medieval Literature*, 66.

phallicism of weapons and creating a collapse between the supposedly separate realms of the centre/margins and hetero/homosexuality.[231]

In one final attempt to push homosexuality to the margins and establish a heterosexual norm as the centre, the depiction of the pregnant female patron in the miniature on folio 113v (Fig. 10) once again fails to clearly defend the boundaries of gender roles and expectations. The pregnant female, meant to represent the resulting product of virile male heterosexuality and establish a heteronormative sexuality, is undermined by her very placement at the centre. Beginning with St Jerome, who described pregnant women as 'revolting spectacles,' both women and pregnancy were understood as 'monstrous.'[232] Due to the constant state of flux experienced by the female body that are brought on by menstruation and the changes that occurred during pregnancy, women were understood to constantly 'break out of their boundaries.'[233] Like monsters, which refused to adhere to medieval ideas of categorization, the constantly changing female body was seen as a refusal to participate in the divine hierarchy of organization, causing categorical anxiety for medieval classificatory gender binaries.[234] The placement of this 'monstrous' female at the centre of the page falters in its insistence on heteronormative sexuality in two ways: first, and perhaps foremost, it undermines the idea of masculine virility by presenting its product as something monstrous; and second, it breaks down the binary of self/centre and Other/margin by placing a 'monstrous' Other at the centre,

---

[231] Interestingly, the upper margin on folio 57r (Fig. 32) depicts a hybrid swallowing a sword, which may be another reference to oral sex/fellatio, much like on folio 26v (Fig. 7). Unlike folio 26v, here the dismembered phallus has been replaced with a phallic object (sword) and is shown already inside the open mouth of the marginal hybrid.

[232] Karras, Sexual*ity in Medieval Europe*, 14.

[233] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 54.

[234] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 3-25 (Minneapolis; London: University of Michigan Press, c. 1996), 6.

reflecting its own insecurity and by default perversely transforming the homosexual other of the margins into the ideal self, or what Uebel would term a 'liberated alternative to repressed or impoverished Christian society.'[235]

***

ANAL IMAGERY AND ALTERITY

SPATIALISING ALTERITIES: MONSTROUS MASCULINITY, MAPS AND THE MARGINAL(IA) OF M. 754

As discussed so far, the anus-exposing men, monkeys and hybrids in the margins of M. 754 reveal the problems sodomy posed to the maintenance of expectations of gender behaviour in the Middle Ages, creating a slippage between the binaries of both male/female and reproductive/non-reproductive sex. However, these anal images also served as a defiant gesture against classification and the ultimate refusal of homosexual masculinity to be excluded from repertoires of medieval sexuality. Considering the anti-classificatory nature of homosexuality in terms of medieval binaries, it becomes possible to consider that the sodomitical male may have been understood as a type of 'monstrous' masculinity in the Middle Ages, as one of the most terrifying aspects of monsters throughout the medieval period was their refusal to adhere to the classificatory order of life. In addition, the placement of the anal imagery in the margins of M. 754 can be understood synonymously with the placement of monsters in the margins of the world in medieval cartography. Through exploration of the spatial organization found in medieval maps, it becomes possible to understand that the

[235] Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 5.

placement of anal images in the margins of M. 754 was not neutral or random. Rather, their placement in the margins was a planned strategy that—in modern theoretical terms—served to reinforce the page as an ideological construction of Christian space based on divine hierarchy and utopic ideals of social reality. This comparison between the manuscript page and world maps is supported by the presence in the margins of M. 754 of two images of T-O maps on folios 38v and 80r (Figs. 23 and 33). T-O maps—termed so due to their schematic division of three main land masses within the circular space of the ocean by a 'T'-shaped division—are one of the most basic and instantly recognizable type of medieval map, strongly suggesting that either the artist or the patron had an understanding—or at least some basic knowledge—of the spatial organization of the Christian world.[236]

From a modern perspective, since its conception, Christian identity has tended to articulate itself through principles of alterity and exclusion, often creating spatial representations of alterities that assume given power of the centre—or, self—through sacred authority.[237] This is reflected in numerous *mappae mundi* produced in the Middle Ages that create their own spatial politics, the apex of hierarchical sacred authority emanating from the centre of the maps and diffusing outwards.[238] Maps functioned not as representations of geographical realities, but rather as spatial visualizations that enabled an

---

[236] T-maps and globes are highly uncommon marginal motifs in all types of privately-owned medieval manuscripts and prayerbooks. Based off this I have assumed their inclusion was deliberate, although this is purely speculation on my part. For further discussion of T-O maps, see Paul D. A. Harvey's study, *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map* (London: Hereford Cathedral & British Library, 1996) as well as Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World* (London: British Library, 1997).

[237] *Mappae mundi* translates to 'world map'. Stephen G. Nichols, "Fission and Fusion: Mediations of Power in Medieval History and Literature," *Yale French Studies*, No. 70 (1986), 35.

[238] Michael Gaudio, "Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the Margins," *Gesta* 39, No. 1 (2000), 52.

understanding of medieval concepts, conditions and peoples, especially in their relation to God.[239] In particular the 'monstrous races' at the edges of the maps—meant to symbolize both the borders of the known world as well as the socially marginalized—represented the epitome of everything that was understood to be unholy and 'Other' in comparison to the sacred centre of the *mappae mundi*, often occupied by the holy Christian city of Jerusalem.[240] Monsters represented the fears and anxieties of dominant social groups at the centre, and became physically deformed visual manifestations of unacceptable realities, pushed outwards to delineate the borders of acceptable reality.[241] Like monsters, the anus-exposing figures of M. 754 were pushed to the edges of the world (or, in this case, the page), representing the anxieties present in the compulsory heterosexuality of the centre of medieval Christian society, but at the same time calling attention to their status as a socially marginalized form sexuality, as homosexuality did not fit within the societal norms of fourteenth-century France in which M. 754 was produced.[242]

Additionally, monsters are continuously linked to the forbidden and the taboo, especially in relation to sexuality and sexual activity, and the placement of the anus-exposing figures in the margins of M. 754 strongly connects them with

---

239 Paul D. A. Harvey, "Medieval Maps: An Introduction," in *The History of Cartography, Vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harvey and David Woodward, 283-285 (Chicago, Illinois; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 284.

240 Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York; London: Routledge, 2006), 41. For further reading on the monstrous races in the Middle Ages see John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000) and Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (eds.), *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

241 Albrecht Classen, "Introduction. The Self, the Other, and Everything in Between: Xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages," in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, xi-lxxiii (New York; London: Routledge, 2002), xix.

242 Michael Goodich, *The Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c. 1998), 2.

the taboo of an unacceptable, or monstrous, sexuality denied presence in the official centre of society.[243] However, while the deviant sexuality of the monsters at the edge were meant to reinforce the socially constructed expectations of sexuality at the centre, illustrating their differences, the marginal figures of M. 754 who expose their anus to the viewer actually make blatant references back to the centre through their depiction with liturgical and knightly objects such as mitres and mail. In addition, the spatial organization of *mappae mundi*—applied here to the pages of M. 754—is subverted by the image of the T-O map found on folio 38v (Fig. 23). On folio 38v the artist has included a depiction of a T-O map in the lower margin, shown here with a standard tripartite division. However, the spatial hierarchy of the map is undermined by the presence of a hybrid figure that stands on top of the globe, as if to place himself physically above—and therefore out of reach of—the spatial hierarchy found in medieval maps. The text here is from Psalm 20, verse 2 calling to God to 'send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion.' Zion was often used a place name synonymous with Jerusalem, which would place the idea of holy Jerusalem at the centre of this page. However, Zion later became a metonym for Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem and a general metaphor for the world to come, which may be a reference to the image of the pregnant patron in the centre of folio 113v (Fig. 10), that the centre of the world may one day be monstrous as well.[244]

In considering homosexuality as a monstrous form of medieval masculinity, it becomes possible to view the anus-exposing figures in the

---

[243] Cohen, "Monster Theory (Seven Theses)," 16. Friedman's *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* is an essential source for examining monster's deviant behaviour, as he explores ideas of monstrosity as characterized not only by physical appearance, but also by differing social practices of monsters from that of the narrator.

[244] However, this is purely my speculation and there may be no connection between the text here and the image of the pregnant patron on folio 113v.

margins of M. 754 as having a function similar to the monsters that demarcate the boundaries between the known and unknown world on *mappae mundi*, their presence at the edge facilitating the creation of the centre itself, for as Camille puts it, 'the centre is dependent upon the margins for its continued existence.'[245]

***

'INSIDE OR OUTSIDE?' ALTERITY AND THE ANUS OF M. 754: THE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS

In a sense, the homosexual 'monster' found in the margins of M. 754 enjoys the same double function as both 'insider' and 'outsider' that monsters do in their position on the edge of the page. In his work, *City of God*, St Augustine wrote extensively on the monstrous races and whether they were human or nonhuman, concluding that they may or may not be human, but if they were human they were capable of God's salvation.[246] Throughout their existence they remain lurking at the outside of the known world, pregnant with the potential to enter into the centre and become human at the moment of the Last Judgment. Their status as insiders is secured through their potential of human salvation, while their physical deformities simultaneously reinforce their double status as outsiders, reminding us of the repercussions of sin.[247] Like monsters, the anus-exposing figures found in the margins of M. 754 delight in their double status as both insider and outsider in the ideological sociospatial politics of the manuscript page: their presence in the margins establishes the exclusion of

[245] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 10.
[246] Karl Steel, "Centaurs, Satyrs, and Cynocephali: Medieval Scholarly Teratology and the Question of the Human," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman with Peter J. Dendle, 257-276 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 266.
[247] Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, 16.

sodomy from the 'centre' of society, yet simultaneously firmly establishes their existence in society as a whole through their simple inclusion on the page itself.

However, the anal images discussed here enjoy yet another double status, further confirming the breakdown of binaries present in M. 754: the status of being both male/female and active/passive through their double role as both the penetrated and penetrator. While I have focused my discussion so far on what I believe to be blatant references to the penetrable male, represented by the male monkeys, hybrids, and men that expose their anus to the viewer, the very nature of male-male intercourse necessitates both a male penetrator and a penetrated male. While Ruth Mazo Karras has made the point that sex was considered to be different acts for each respective performer, suggesting that in the Middle Ages a male who penetrates another male may not be considered to be exemplifying qualities of homosexuality, I believe this to be another denial of homosexuality present within the centre, a literal 'pushing' of the undesirable self onto another. So here the anal images become the ultimate epitome of gender slippage, category crisis and binary breakdown: their exposed anus represents not only the potential to be penetrated, but also a requirement of the male erection—it specifically demands the virile, active man. And so it is not simply the passive male that subverts gender expectation, but the active, 'heterosexual' penetrator as well.

And finally, I believe that there is one further category to break down: the very idea that there is any sort of difference—whether ideological, physical, or sociospatial—between the centre and margins at all. On folio 105r (Fig. 34), the margins are inhabited not by hybrid knights fighting each other and exposing their anuses, nor by monkeys kissing each others' buttocks, nor by mitre-

wearing hybrids exposing their anus and awaiting penetration. Instead, we are faced with the *Arma Christi*, or the instruments of Christ's Passion, perhaps the most important of spiritual Christian objects and intended to be seriously contemplated upon by the M. 754's reader/viewer.[248] The placement of the *arma Christi* in the space previously inhabited by anus-exposing figures and hybrid monstrosities, considered thus far throughout the manuscript as the 'margins', a space understood to be one of chaos and disorder, is now inhabited by the neatly organized *Arma Christi*, dissolving the hierarchy of centre and margins once and for all, allowing for the anal imagery of M. 754, representative of sodomitical activity and homosexuality, to unquestionably demand a presence in medieval society as a whole, and insisting that physical placement on a page cannot parallel their placement in society.

***

[248] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 29.

CONCLUSION

"Anxiety is only overcome where the Other names itself."
Jacques Lacan, 1963[249]

[249] Jacques Lacan, from his lectures on anxiety, March 7, 1963; quoted in Samuel Weber, *Return to Freud: Jacques Lacan's Dislocation of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Michael Levine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 164.

CONCLUSION

In thinking about the anal imagery of M. 754 and its placement in a book of hours made for female consumption, the question of gender becomes preeminent. Currently, much of the existing literature on books of hours focuses on women—their role as patrons, readers, and disseminators of culture and literacy. Over the course of my research I have come to realize that the focus on women and constant struggle to prove their presence in manuscript patronage assumes an unquestioned male role in the process. As previously noted, Paula Gerson stated that she finds it 'unlikely' that a man would commission a book featuring so many images of the anus for his wife. However, if this were the case, why would a female patron commission a work that (I believe) so clearly makes reference to male-male sexual activity and homosexuality on so many different occasions? If a woman did commission M. 754 and chose to have herself depicted as pregnant, why would she then subvert these themes of pregnancy and copulation by the inclusion of not only non-reproductive sexual images, but sexual acts that are totally exclusive of women completely? In thinking about these questions of gender and manuscript culture, I have come to realize that books of hours need to be reconsidered as objects expressive of not only female but also male values and sexuality.

Throughout this dissertation I have endeavored to demonstrate that 'masculinity' should not be restricted by heterosexual norms; that being passive and penetrable does not make men effeminate, but also that being the active penetrator does not automatically warrant heteronormative identification. Male-male intercourse requires both the passive receptor and active penetrator, and I

believe that both of these roles—through their repetitive visual appearance in the margins of M. 754—have demonstrated that they are not socially marginal versions of masculinity, but very much part of the societal centre, as evident by the ongoing references in M. 754 to sodomy amongst the clergy and nobility, the dominant social groups in fourteenth-century French society. So much time and effort has gone into the exploration of women's role in manuscript patronage that men's has been overlooked. If we were to explore the possibility that a man did, in fact, commission this manuscript and its anal imagery, might it not be more useful in asking what use would it have had for a male reader/viewer?[250] Sarah Salih makes the important point that books of hours and other prayerbooks were not secret objects solely for the individual owner's private devotion and viewing pleasure, but were well known among the other members of their household, including male members.[251]

Considering the repetitive use of anal imagery and the possibility that a man may have commissioned this, could the marginalia of M. 754 represent an 'alternative' view on the values of marriage and procreation from a male perspective? Could this be a deliberate subversion of heterosexual values of marriage and copulation by the male patron? If we use Uebel's theory that the Other represents a liberated alternative to a repressed centre/self, could we view the male-male anal imagery of margins as representative of an alternative ideal? Is it possible that these anus-exposing figures wearing mitres and mail are not a satire or parody of sodomy in the clergy and nobility, but rather a

[250] Additionally, I had considered that the inclusion of anal imagery was a conscious choice on the part of the artist, however, the other existing manuscript that shows the artist working fully independently, Bridwell MS 13, does not include any images of the anus, which suggests that it was more likely included on the request of the patron. However, this is purely speculative on my part, though I believe it does warrant consideration.
[251] Salih, "Erotica," 205.

celebration of it? Could the exposed, penetrable anus of M. 754's 'marginal' figures represent not an alternative penetrable orifice, but a preferred one?

Unfortunately, these are not questions that I can answer, and it is unlikely that definite conclusions to these questions will ever arise given the lack of evidence surrounding the ownership, patronage, and reasons for commissioning this manuscript. Although I can only speculate on their answers, there is one thing that has clearly emerged from my analysis of the anal imagery in M. 754 and the questions of gender that arise from it, which is that modern scholars need to move away from a focus on sexual taboos and consider these images from newly critical and nuanced points of view. It is time to consider the medieval male anus as a sexed, penetrable site of pleasure, and not simply the site of 'scatological' and 'obscene' expression.

Word Count: 38,392

APPENDIX OF IMAGES

Figure 1. *MS M. 754*, fol. 81v. Page from the Psalter of St Jerome. Detail, lower margin: Armless hybrid man with hoofed legs exposing his anus to the bust of a mitre-wearing bishop with censer. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 2. *MS M. 754*, fol. 45r. Beginning of Collect in Sext of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Detail, right margin: Nude man, wearing ailettes on shoulders, holding grapnel, seated on animal (?). New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 3 (Above). *MS M. 754*, fol. 30r. Recommendation for Lesson Two. Detail, lower margin: Three monkeys, two back to back with their anus exposed and touching, the second biting left arm of the third. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 4 (Left). *MS M. 754*, fol. 15r. Collect. Detail, lower margin: Monkey bending and exposing anus at object, possibly defecating. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 5 (Right). *MS M. 754*, fol. 16r. Hymn of "Come Creator Spirit" and beginning of Psalm 87. Detail, right margin: Nude man exposing anus, pulling rope attached to bell, possibly defecating. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

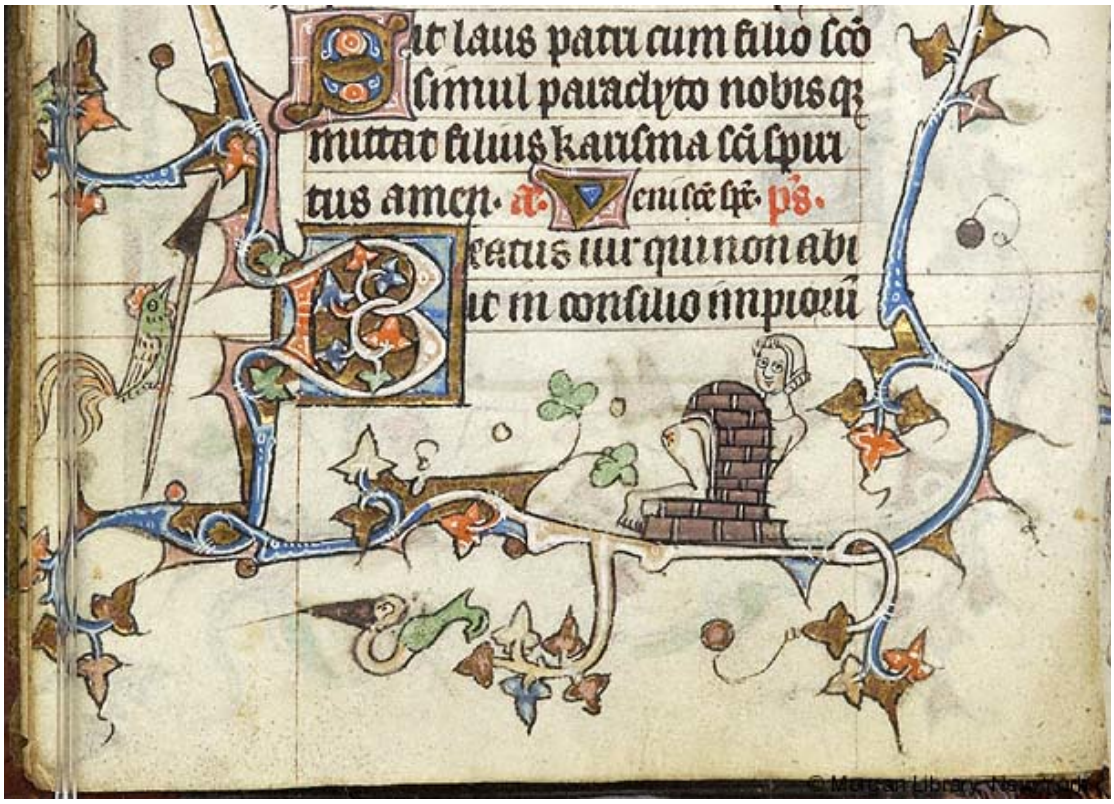

Figure 6. *MS M. 754*, fol. 3v. Hymn in Matins in the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Detail, lower half of page: Nude man wearing cap and exposing anus crawls in and out of oven; cockerel or rooster with spear. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 7. *MS M. 754*, fol. 26v. Invitatory Psalm 95. Detail, lower margin: Hybrid knight wearing chainmail, straddling spear and exposing anus to hybrid man with one animal leg, wearing a fillet with a phallus aimed at his face. Spear points towards a third hybrid knight wearing chainmail and ailettes with hoofed legs. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 8. *MS M. 754*, fol. 49v . Beginning of Cantincle in the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Detail, lower margin: Nude man displaying genitalia and holding scourge, his hindquarters kissed by a hybrid man wearing a cap. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 9. *MS M. 754*, fol. 27r. Hymn in the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Detail, right margin: Monkey stabs nude and armless hybrid man with dagger in his exposed anus, from which blood or excrement flows into a vessel; or monkey administers enema into vessel. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 10 (Left). *MS M. 754*, fol. 113v. Folio after Passion according to John, before the Life of Saint Margaret on folio 114r. Female donor, wearing headdress and vair-lined mantle with vair-lined collar, kneeling with open book in both hands. Flanked by bird on tree and by dog. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 11 (Right). *MS M. 754*, fol. 78r. Beginning of Psalm 5. Miniature (not shown) depicting St Jerome nimbed and tonsured with clasped hands, looking up towards figure of God emerging from clouds above. Detail, right margin: Female donor wearing headdress, holding open book with both hands, and kneeling on a foliate stem. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 12. *MS M. 754*, fol. 16v. Page from Psalm 86. Detail, top half of page: Nude couple having intercourse, the man's anus poked with long beak by hybrid animal. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 13. Bridwell Library MS 13, *Sellers Hours*, c. 1330, fols. 141v-142r. Prayers (verso) and the opening of the prayer to St Thomas of Canterbury (recto). Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Figure 14. *MS M. 754*, fols. 37v- 38r. Canticle of Zacharias (verso); Oblation scene (recto) and beginning of first verse of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figures 15. *MS M. 754*, fol. 15v. First versicle of None of the Long Hours of the Holy Spirit. Miniature depicting Apostle James Major, nimbed and wearing pilgrim garb and looking towards a cross-nimbed dove of the Holy Ghost emerging from the clouds at right. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 16. *MS M. 754*, fol. 19v. Second versicle of Compline of the Long Hours of the Holy Spirit. Miniature depicting Apostle Philip or Thomas, nimbed, holding spear and looking toward cross-nimbed dove of the Holy Ghost emerging from clouds. The female patron can be found kneeling or bowing in the right hand margin. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 17. *MS M. 754*, fol. 71v. Deposition. First versicle of Vespers of Long Hours of the Cross / Hours of the Passion. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 18. *MS M. 754*, fol. 48v. Beginning of Chapter in Vespers in the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Detail, lower margin: Monkey exposes anus and penetrates anus of unknown figure with a spear protruding from an oven.

Figure 19. *MS M. 754*, fol. 3r. Hymn in Matins of the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Detail, lower margin: Nude, hybrid one-legged man in bishop's mitre exposing anus. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 20. *MS M. 754*, fol. 72r. Psalm 126 in Vespers of the Long Hours of the Cross / Long Hours of the Passion. Detail, right margin: Armless, tonsured hybrid cleric carries ladder and exposes anus. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 21. *MS M. 754*, fol. 48r. Beginning of Psalm 147 in Vespers of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Detail, right margin: Two hybrid soldiers wearing chainmail, fighting: one with hoofed legs wielding sword and buckler; one with head and legs, wearing ailettes and exposing anus, wields spear. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 22. *MS M. 754*, fol. 20v . Page from the Canticle of Simeon, from Luke 2:29-32. Detail, right margin: Hybrid bishop wearing mitre, holding distaff with spindle; rabbit holding distaff. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 23. *MS M. 754*, fol. 38v. Beginning of Hymn and Psalm 20. Margins decorated with foliate stems and balls, a hybrid snail with beak in the top margin; two hybrids in the left-hand margin; hybrid animal with antlers of a stag in right-hand margin; hybrid animal standing on tri-part globe and fish in lower margin. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

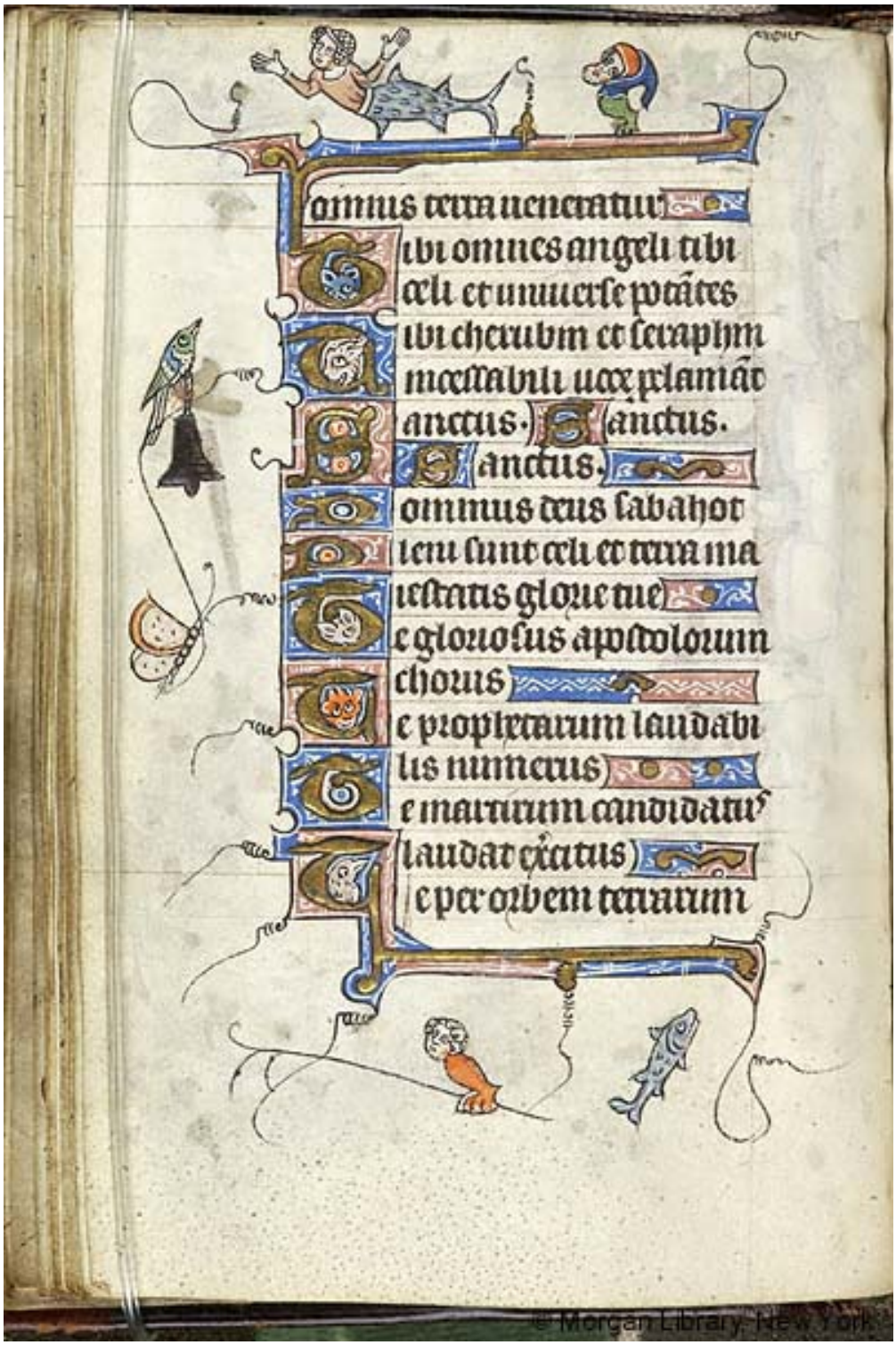

Figure 24. *MS M. 754*, fol. 31v. Page with verses from the Canticle of Simeon. Margins inhabited by butterfly, bird and bell, bearded hybrid man, fish, and mermaid/siren. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 25. *MS M. 754*, fol. 59r. Responsory and Versicle for Lesson in Matins of Long Hours of the Cross / Hours of the Passion. Margins depict fish emerging from an oven and wearing crowns and mitres, and a male merman/siren. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 26. *MS M. 754*, fol. 65v. Miniature (not shown) depicting the Flagellation of Christ. Frist Versicle of Terce of the Long Hours of the Cross/Hours of the Passion. Detail, lower margin: Male figure in the left-hand margin playing bagpipes; nude male figure exposes his anus and plays boules in the bas-de-page; two men, one with hat and staff in the lower margin. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 27. *MS M. 754*, fol. 36r. Page from Hymn of Cante Lingua and verse 68 of Canticle of Zacharias. Detail, right margin: Ape, partly submerged in water, kissing exposed anus of second ape. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 28. *MS M. 754*, fol. 20r. Beginning of Psalm 129. Detail, lower margin: Monkey sitting on foliate tendril looking in a mirror. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 29. *MS M. 754*, fol. 17v. Beginning of first versicle of Vespers in the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Miniature depicting nimbed apostle preaching to group of four men. Detail, lower margin: Monkey exposing anus and holding open book. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 30. *MS M. 754*, fol. 55r. Miniature depicting St Martin of Tours dividing cloak. Margins inhabited by bird, hybrid and beggar. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 31. *MS M. 754*, fol. 3r. Hymn in Matins in the Hours of the Holy Spirit. Margins inhabited by mitre-wearing hybrid, birds, and foliate tendrils. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 32. *MS M. 754*, fol. 57r. Invitatory Psalm 95:8, 9, in Matins of Long Hours of the Cross / Hours of the Passion. Margins inhabited by hybrid swallowing sword, monkey swallowing sword, tree, and armless man wearing cap. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 33. *MS M. 754*, fol. 80r. Page from the Psalter of St Jerome. Detail, lower half of page: Margins inhabited by winged hybrid with axe, wimple-wearing nun, and grey-haired woman holding tripartite globe. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 34. *MS M. 754*, fol. 105r. Beginning of the Passion according to John 18:1-19. Margins decorated with *Arma Christi*, or Instruments of the Passion. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 35. *MS M. 754*, fol. 38r. Beginning of the first versicle of Prime of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Top half of page: Miniature depicting Oblation scene. Right margin inhabited female donor wearing veiled headdress and mantle with vair collar and lining, with joined hands raised in prayer. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

Figure 36. *MS M. 754*, fol. 43r. Beginning of first versicle of Sext of the Hours of the Holy Sacrament. Miniature depicting Moses and the Miracle of Manna. Right margin inhabited by female donor, wearing veiled headdress and mantle, kneeling with joined hands raised in prayer. New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754, c. 1230s. © Pierpont Morgan Library

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*. New Haven, Connecticut.; London: Yale University Press, 1992.

Armstrong, Karen. *The Bible: A Biography*. New York: Grove Press, 2007.

Backhouse, Janet. *Illumination from Books of Hours*. London: British Library, 2004.

Bailey, Derrick Sherwin. *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition*. London: Longmans, Green, 1955.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World.* Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c. 1984.

Bell, Susan Groag. "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture." *Signs* 7, No. 4 (Summer 1982): 742-768.

Bennett, Adelaide. "The Transformation of the Gothic Psalter in Thirteenth Century France." In *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of Its Images*, ed. Frank Olaf Büttner, 211-222. Turnhout: Brepols, c. 2004.

Bennett, Adelaide. "Making Literate Lay Women Visible: Text and Image in French and Flemish Books of Hours, 1220-1320." In *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal* Spaces, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, 125-158. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012.

Bennett, Adelaide. "Some Perspectives on Two French *Horae* in the Thirteenth-Century." In *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow, 19-40. London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2013.

Benton, Janetta Rebold. *The Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages.* New York; London: Abbeville Press, c. 1992.

Biggins, Dennis. "Sym(e)kyn/Simia: The Ape in Chaucer's Millers." *Studies in Philology* 65, No. 1 (January, 1968): 44-50.

Bildhauer, Bettina and Robert Mills, editors. *The Monstrous Middle Ages*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003.

Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, c. 1991.

Borland, Jennifer. "Violence on Vellum: St Margaret's Transgressive Body and its Audience." In *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530*, ed. Elizabeth

L'Estrange and Alison More, 67-88. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

Boswell, John. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Burger, Glenn. "Kissing the Pardoner." *PMLA* 107, No. 5 (October, 1992): 1143-1156.

Burgwinkle, William E. *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature: France and England, 1050-1230*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Butler, Judith. "Imitation and Gender Subordination." In *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale and David M. Halperin, 307-320. New York; London: Routledge, 1993.

Brundage, James A. *Law, Sex and Christian Society in the Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Brundage, James A. "Obscene and Lascivious: Behavioural Obscenity in Canon Law." In *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski, 246-259. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective." *Critical Inquiry* 22, No. 1 (Autumn 1995): 1-33.

Cadden, Joan. "Sciences/Silences: The Natures and Languages of 'Sodomy' in Peter of Abano's *Problemata* Commentary." In *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 40-57. Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Camille, Michael. *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. London: Reaktion Books, 1992.

Camille, Michael. "Play, Piety and Perversity in Medieval Marginal Manuscript Illumination." In *Mein Ganzer Körper ist Gesicht: Groteske Darsttellungen in der Europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Katrin Kröll and Hugo Steger, 171-192. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 1994.

Camille, Michael. "Glossing the Flesh: Scopophilia and the Margins of the Medieval Book." In *The Margins of the Text*, ed. David C. Greetham, 245-268. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, c. 1997.

Camille, Michael. "Obscenity Under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts." In *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski, 139-154. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998.

Camille, Michael. *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 1998.

Camille, Michael. "Dr. Witkowski's Anus: French Doctors, German Homosexuals and the Obscene in Medieval Church Art." In *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald, 17-38. Woodbridge: York Medieval, 2006.

Capellanus, Andreas, with introduction, translation and notes by John Jay Parry. *The Art of Courtly Love*. New York: Ungar, 1959.

Caputi, Mary. *Voluptuous Yearnings: A Feminist Theory of the Obscene*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, c. 1994.

Caviness, Madeline H. "Patron or Matron? A Cepetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed." *Speculum* 68, No. 2 (1993): 333-362.

Caviness, Madeline H. "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and Matrons?" In *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash, 105-54. Athens, Georgia; London: University of Georgia Press, c. 1996.

Caviness, Madeline H. "Obscenity and Alterity: Images that Shock and Offend Us/Them, Now/Then?" In *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski, 155-175. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998.

Caviness, Madeline H. *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*. E-book: http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/, 2001.

Caviness, Madeline H. "A Son's Gaze on Noah: Case of Cause of Virilophobia?" In *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist, 103-148. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, c. 2012.

Clanchy, Michael T. "Parchment and Paper: Manuscript Culture, 1100-1500." In *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, 194-206. Malden, Massachusetts; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Clark, Willene B. *The Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary: commentary, art, text, and translation*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2006.

Classen, Albrecht. "Introduction. The Self, the Other, and Everything in Between: Xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages." In *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, xi-lxxiii. New York; London: Routledge, 2002.

Clemens, Raymond and Timothy Graham. *Introduction to Manuscript Studies.* Ithaca, New York; London: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)." In *Monster Theory:*

Reading Culture, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 3-25. Minneapolis; London: University of Michigan Press, c. 1996.

Cornwall, Susannah. *Theology and Sexuality*. London: SCM Press, c. 2013.

Davies, Christie. "Sexual Taboos and Social Boundaries." *American Journal of Sociology* 87, No. 5 (March, 1982): 1032-1063.

Davies, Glyn. "Devotion and Display." In *Medieval and Renaissance Art: People and Possessions*, ed. Glyn Davies and Kirstin Kennedy, 193-228. London: Victoria & Albert Publishing, 2009.

de Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. London: Phaidon Press, 1994.

Dearden, James. "John Ruskin, the Collector: with a Catalogue of the Illuminated and Other Manuscripts formerly in his Collection." *The Library* 5th series, No. 21 (1966): 124-154.

Dekeyzer, Brigitte. "For Eternal Glory and Remembrance: On the Representation of Patrons in Late Medieval Panel Paintings in the Southern Low Countries." In *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. Paul Trio and Marjan de Smet, 71-102. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006.

Dines, Gail, Robert Jensen and Anne Russo. *Pornography: The Production and Consumption of Inequality*. New York; London: Routledge, 1998.

Dollimore, Jonathan. *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Donaldson, Christopher. *Martin of Tours: Paris Priest, Mystic and Exorcist*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1990.

Easton, Martha. "*Why Can't a Woman be More Like a Man?* Transforming and Transcending Gender in the Lives of Female Saints." In *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honour of Madeline H. Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Stuadinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, Ellen M. Shortell, 333-347. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Edson, Evelyn. *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed their World*. London: British Library, 1997.

Egbert, Virginia Wylie. *The Medieval Artist at Work*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Elliott, Dylan. "Pollution, Illusion, and Masculine Disarray: Nocturnal Emissions and the Sexuality of the Clergy." In *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed.

Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 1-23. Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Farmer, Sharon. "Manual Labour, Begging, and Conflicting Gender Expectations in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris." In *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 261-87. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, c. 2003.

Flandrin, Jean-Louis. "Sex in Married Life in the Early Middle Ages: The Church's Teachings and Behavioural Reality." In *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times*, ed. Philippe Ariès and André Bejin, 114-129. Oxford: Blackwell, 1985.

Ford, Patrick K. "The *Which* on the Wall: Obscenity Exposed in Early Ireland." In *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski, 176-192. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: Archaeology of The Human Sciences*. London: Routledge, 2002, c. 1970.

Friedman, John Block. *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought.* Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

Gerson, Paula. "Margins for Eros." *Romance Languages Annual* 5 (1993): 47-53.

Gaudio, Michael. "Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the Margins." *Gesta* 39, No. 1 (2000): 50-57.

Gertsman, Elina and Jill Stevenson. "Introduction: Limning the Field." In *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, 1-10. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012.

Goldberg, Jonathan. *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities*. Stanford, California: University of Stanford Press, c. 1992.

Goodich, Michael. *The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period*. Santa Barbara, California; Oxford: ABC-Clio, c. 1979.

Goodich, Michael. *The Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c. 1998.

Graus, František, edited and translated by Dorothea A. Christ. "The Church and Its Critics in Times of Crisis." In *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, 65-82. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

Harthan, John. *Books of Hours and Their Owners*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1977.

Harpham, Geoffrey Galt. *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, c. 1982.

Harvey, Paul D. A. "Medieval Maps: An Introduction." In *The History of Cartography, Vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harvey and David Woodward, 283-285. Chicago, Illinois; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Harvey, Paul D. A. *Mappa Mundi: The Hereford World Map*. London: Hereford Cathedral & British Library, 1996.

Hassig, Debra. *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hassig, Debra. "Marginal Bestiaries." In *Animals and the Symbolic in Medieval Art and Literature*, ed. Luuk A.J.R. Houwen, 171-188. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, c. 1997.

Hassig, Debra. "Sex in the Bestiaries." In *The Mark of The Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig, 71-98. New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1999.

Heck, Christian and Rémy Cordonnier, translated by John Goodman et al. *The Grand Medieval Bestiary: Animals in Illuminated Manuscripts*. New York; London: Abbeville Press, 2012.

Hicks, Carola. *Animals in Early Medieval Art*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, c. 1993.

Hindman, Sandra. "Books of Hours—State of the Research. In Memory of L.M.J. Delaissé." In *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow, 5-18. London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2013.

Hocquenghem, Guy. *Homosexual Desire*. Translated by Daniella Dangoor. London: Alison and Busby, 1978.

Howarth, Stephen. *The Knights Templar*. London: Collins, 1982.

Hunt, Elizabeth Moore. *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310*. New York: Routledge, c. 2007.

Hunt, Lynne Avery. "Introduction: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500 1800." In *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, edited Lynne Avery Hunt, 9-48. New York: Zone, 1993.

Jaeger, C. Stephen. *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility.* Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, c. 1999.

Janson, Horst Waldemar. *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.* London: Warburg Institute, 1952.

Johansson, Warren and William A. Percy. "Homosexuality." In *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage, 155-190. New York; London: Garland, 2000.

Johnston, Edward. *Writing, Illuminating & Lettering*. London: Pitman, 1977.

Jones, George Fenwick. "Wittenwiler's 'Becki' and the Medieval Bagpipe." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 48, No. 2 (April, 1949): 209-228.

Jones, Malcolm. "Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art II: Sexist Satire and Popular Punishment," *Folklore* 101, No. 1 (1990): 69-87.

Jones, Malcolm. "Marcolf the Trickster in Late Medieval Art and Literature or: The Mystery of the Bum in the Oven." In *Spoken in Jest*, ed. Gillian Bennett and Paul Smith, 139-174. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990.

Jones, Malcolm. "Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art III: Erotic Animal Imagery." *Folklore* 102, No. 2 (1991): 192-219.

Jones, Malcolm. *The Secret Middle Ages*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2002.

Jordan, Mark D. "Homosexuality, Luxuria, and Textual Abuse." In *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 24-39. Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Jordan, Mark D. *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2003.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*. New York; London: Routledge, 2005.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. "Knighthood, Compulsory Heterosexuality, and Sodomy." In *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, ed. Mathew Kuefler, 273- 286. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Klingender, Francis Donald. *Animals in Art and Thought: To the End of the Middle Ages*. Edited by Evelyn Antal and John Harthan. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1971.

Kruger, Steven F. "Conversion and Medieval Sexual, Religious and Racial

Categories." In *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, 158-179. Minneapolis, Minnesota; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Kuefler, Mathew S. "Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages." In *The Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage, 279-306. New York; London: Garland, 2000.

Kuefler, Mathew S. "Male Friendship and the Suspicion of Sodomy in Twelfth-Century France." In *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 145-181. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, c. 2003.

Lindquist, Sherry C.M. "The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art: An Introduction." In *The Meanings of Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist, 1-46. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, c. 2012.

Linton, David. "Reading the Virgin Reader." In *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen, 253-276. New York; London: Garland: 1998.

Lochrie, Karma. *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

"M. 754." Pierpont Morgan Library, accessed February 2, 2014. http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=128495

Matter, Ann. "My Sister, My Spouse: Woman-Identified Women in Medieval Christianity." In *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, ed. Mathew Kuefler, 152-166. Chicago; London; University of Chicago Press, 2006.

McCash, June Hall. "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview." In *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash, 1-49. Athens, Georgia; London: University of Georgia Press, c. 1996.

McDonald, Nicola. "Introduction." In *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald, 1-16. Woodbridge: York Medieval, 2006.

McQuillen, John T. "Who was St Thomas of Lancaster? New Manuscript Evidence." In *Fourteenth Century England* 4, ed. Jeffrey Hamilton, 1-26. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000-2012.

Mellinkoff, Ruth. *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1970.

Mellinkoff, Ruth. *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*. 2 vols. Berkeley, California; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Mellinkoff, Ruth. *Averting Demons*. Los Angeles: Ruth Mellinkoff Publications, 2004.

Miles, Margaret R. *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West*. Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oats, 1992.

Mills, Robert. "Homosexuality: Specters of Sodom." In *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, ed. Ruth Evans, 57-80. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2011.

Mills, Robert. "Seeing Sodomy in the *Bibles Moralisées*." *Speculum* 87, No. 2 (April 2012): 413-468.

Mills, Robert. *Suspended Animation: Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture*. London: Reaktion, 2005.

Mittman, Asa Simon. *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England*. New York; London: Routledge, 2006.

"Morgan MS M. 754 Curatorial Description." Pierpont Morgan Library, accessed February 2, 2014. http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0754.htm.

"Morgan MS M. 754 Bibliography." Pierpont Morgan Library, accessed February 2, 2014. http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0754.htm.

Murray, Jacqueline. "Sexual Mutilation and Castration Anxiety: A Medieval Perspective." In *The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, ed. Mathew S. Kuefler, 254-272. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Nichols, Stephen G. "Fission and Fusion: Mediations of Power in Medieval History and Literature." *Yale French Studies*, No. 70 (1986): 21-41.

Pagels, Elaine H. *Adam, Eve and the Serpent*. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1990.

Parkes, Malcolm Beckwith. *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts*. London: Hambledon Press, 1991.

Penketh, Sandra. "Women and Books of Hours." In *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor, 266-81. London: British Library, 1997.

Persels, Jeff and Russell Ganim. "Introduction: Scatology, the Last Taboo." In *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology*, ed. Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim, xiii-xxi. Aldershot; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2004.

Poos, Lawrence R. "Social History and the Book of Hours." In *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck, 33-38. New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Walters Art Gallery, c. 2001.

Quaile, Edward. *Illuminated Manuscripts: Their Origin, History and Characteristics.* Liverpool: H. Young & Sons, 1897.

Randall, Lilian M. C. "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination." *The Art Bulletin* 39, No. 2 (June 1957): 97-107.

Randall, Lilian M.C. *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1966.

Reinberg, Virginia. "Prayer and the Book of Hours." In *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck, 39-44. New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Walters Art Gallery, c. 2001.

Revard, Carter. "The Tow on Absalom's Distaff and the Punishment of Lechers in Medieval London." *English Languages Notes* 17 (1980): 168-70.

Richards, Jeffrey. *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Rothe, Edith. *Mediaeval Book Illumination in Europe*. Translated by Mary Whittall. London: Thames and Hudson, c. 1968.

Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A Rouse. *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500, vol. 1.* Turnhout: Harvey Millar, c. 2000.

Rowland, Beryl. *Animals with Human Faces: A Guide to Animal Symbolism*. London: Allan and Unwin, 1974.

Salih, Sarah. "Erotica." In *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Middle Ages, vol. 2*, ed. Ruth Evans, 181-212. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2011.

Salih, Sarah. "Unpleasures of the Flesh: Medieval Marriage, Masochism, and the History of Heterosexuality." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer: The Yearbook of the New Chaucer Society* 33 (2011): 125-47.

Sautman, Francesa Canadé. "Response. 'Just Like a Woman': Queer History, Womanising the Body, and the Boys in Arnaud's Band." in *Queering the Middle Ages*, ed. Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger, 168-192. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Schibanoff, Susan. "Sodomy's Mark: Alain of Lille, Jean de Meun, and the Medieval Theory of Authorship." In *Queering the Middle Ages*, ed. Glenn Burger and

Steven F. Kruger, 28-56. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Schleif, Corine. "Kneeling on the Threshold: Donors Negotiating Realms Betwixt and Between." In *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, 195-216. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012.

Schultz, James A. *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality*. Chicago, Illinois; London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Sheingorn, Pamela. "The Wise Mother: The Image of St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary." In *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, 105-34. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, c. 2003.

Sheingorn, Pamela. "Subjection and Reception in *Claude of France's Book of First Prayers*." In *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honour of Madeline H. Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Stuadinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, Ellen M. Shortell 313-332. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Smith, Kathryn A. *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours*. London: British Library; Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Steel, Karl. "Centaurs, Satyrs, and Cynocephali: Medieval Scholarly Teratology and the Question of the Human." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman with Peter J. Dendle, 257-276. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

Steinhoff, Judith. "Pregnant Pages: Marginalia in a Book of Hours (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 754/ British Library, MS M. Add. 36684)." In *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane, 180-186. Princeton, New Jersey.: Index of Christian Art, Deptartment of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University; In association with Penn State University Press, c. 2005.

Stoddard, Whitney S. *Art & Architecture in Medieval France: Medieval Architecture, Sculpture, Stained Glass, Manuscripts, the Art of Church Treasuries.* New York; London: Harper & Row, 1972.

Stones, Alison. *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1310. Part One, Volume One*. London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2012.

Stones, Alison. *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320. Part One, Volume Two*. London: Harvey Millar Publishers, 2012.

The Holy Bible: translated from the Latin Vulgate: the Old Testament first published by the English College at Douay, AD 1609, and the New Testament first published by the English College at Rheims, AD 1582. Dublin: Duffy,

1888.

Treanor, Brian. *Aspects of Alterity: Levinas, Marcel, and the Contemporary Debate*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2006.

Uebel, Michael. "Re-Orienting Desire: Writing on Gender Trouble in Fourteenth Century Egypt." In *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 230-260. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, c. 2003.

Uebel, Michael. *Ecstatic Transformation: On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages*. New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Weber, Samuel. *Return to Freud: Jacques Lacan's Dislocation of Psychoanalysis*. Translated by Michael Levine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Wentersdorf, Karl P. "The Symbolic Significance of *Figurae Scatologicae* in Gothic Manuscripts." In *Word, Picture and Spectacle*, ed. Clifford Davidson, 1-20. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1984.

Weir, Anthony and James German. *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches*. London: Batsford, 1996.

Wieck, Roger S. *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours is Medieval and Renaissance Art.* New York, NY: George Braziller, Inc., in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, c. 1997.

Wieck, Roger S. "Introduction." In *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck, 27-32. New York: George Braziller, Inc. in association with the Walters Art Gallery, c. 2001.

White, T.H. *The Medieval Book of Beasts: being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*. Stroud: A. Sutton Publications, 1992.

Worth, Jean. "Les Marges À Drôleries des Manuscrits Gothiques: Problèmes de Méthode." In *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley*, 277-300. Turnhout: Brepols, c. 2003.

SOURCES CONSULTED BUT NOT CITED

Bovey, Alixe. *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg." *Renaissance Quarterly* 39, No. 3 (1986): 399-439.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York; London: Zone Books, 1992.

Camille, Michael. *The Gargoyles of Notre-Dame: Medievalism and the Monsters of Modernity*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Lees, Clare A., editor, with the assistance of Thelma Fenster and Jo Anne McNamara. *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, c. 1994.

Mills, Robert. *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014, forthcoming.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Ross, Leslie. *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*. Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood, c. 1996.

Williams, David. *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Medieval Thought and Literature*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, c. 1996.