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Kingship and Masculinity in Renaissance Portugal (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)

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This chapter seeks to examine the relationship between gender – more specifically, masculinity – and the upholding of both the power of the king and the monarchy in Renaissance Portugal, more specifically during the last generations of the House of Avis. It will be argued that, along with other variables, gender seems to have been relevant to maintaining political stability and dynastic power, through a set of practices that may or may not have been in accordance with established models of expressing masculinity.

The study of masculinities has been a growing field for historians during the last twenty years, influenced greatly by the theoretical framework developed by R. Connell, particularly the hegemonic masculinity concept. To put this in simple terms, hegemonic masculinity defines the dominance of a group of men towards women and other groups of men, the latter appearing here, at least temporarily, as subordinated. The concept itself has generated several critiques in the past decades as well as developments in several areas. Differences among gender models are now debated as one of the results of hierarchical societies and their political order.[2] Similarly, both historians of royal courts and political historians have reflected on the way in which perceptions and expressions of masculinity could affect a ruler's performance and, by extension, the dynastic and political balance.[3] Scholars such as Marc Baer and Mats Hallenberg have stressed the importance of masculinity and 'manly' behaviour to statecraft as part of royal performance, in regions such as Northern Europe and the Near East.[4]

Despite these examples of historical studies on masculinity in terms of the monarchy, historians have not particularly discussed how Connell´s theory affects the specific case of the premodern royal court. Part of this gap is perhaps due to the context

in which masculinity studies was conceived: a modern world where political, religious, cultural and sexual paradigms, in theory, differ substantially from their medieval and early modern counterparts. Thus, application of the hegemonic masculinity model in an institution such as the royal court offers rich potential for additional research in this area, especially taking into account the diversity of the Renaissance court, where one can find distinct social hierarchies. Other issues regard the inherent transformation of the concept of masculinity during the period analysed here. It is not guaranteed that royal men conform themselves to the hegemonic model, nor is it certain that other groups would not attempt to enact this model. Moreover, such a model might not pervade in the long duration, given the need for adjustment according to political, social, and cultural contexts. Despite the issues prevalent with this model, male monarchs and other members of the royal family analysed in this chapter will be considered an integral part of the hegemonic masculinity model, along with other members of the high nobility and also the upper strata of the clergy. Therefore, other groups of men and women visible in the daily workings of the court – such as low-ranking servants or slaves –will be considered as belonging to subordinate strata. Masculine models designed to influence the behaviour of royal men, balanced out with their respective practices, would come to influence not only subaltern groups of men and women, but also other dominant men, regardless of their political position.

The following analysis will encompass two different subjects, and will cover a period between the mid-fifteenth and the late-sixteenth centuries, more specifically the reigns of João II (*r.*1481–1495), Manuel I (*r.*1495-1521) and João III (*r.*1521–1557), with reference also to the reigns of Afonso V (*r.*1448–1481) and Sebastião (*r.*1568–1578).[5] One area of examination will be events held by the court, where gender order is present to disseminate a political message. Thus, a number of royal festivities will be examined in the analysis, including jousts, tournaments and weddings. In parallel, the evolution of didactic literature, or ‘mirrors for princes’, will be studied in order to identify changes in the expression of manhood, especially given the transformation observed in royal courts during the late medieval and early modern periods. In comparing the two areas, it will be verified if theory meets practice or if there are differences between what the models propose and that which royal persons – and, by extension, the court – perpetrated through their actions. These models and respective practices will be compared with those of the first generation of Avis princes to evaluate

continuity and change within the period, whilst bearing in mind the political context of the time.

Moreover, in addition to demonstrating the verification of continuities within the Avis dynasty, this debate will also show the similarities with other European political units and, should it be the case, pinpoint any evidence of exceptions. Works written about the subject, such as the seminal study of Werner Paravicini about the Burgundian model, have already provided glimpses of northern European influence on Iberian court performances.[6] Such influences have produced echoes in the way masculinity is staged. The opposite, however, has not been fully acknowledged, which is interesting if one regards, for instance, the primacy in overseas expansion and the possible repercussions on masculinity models. Hence, southern influences on other European regions regarding the relationship between power, authority, and masculinity will also be explored.

Context

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the new Avis dynasty, on the throne of Portugal, felt that it needed to legitimise itself in the eyes of other European realms. After the rule of King João I (*r.*1385–1433), who was himself an illegitimate child, and the political action of his descendants – King Duarte (*r.*1433–1438) and the *infantes* (princes) Pedro (1392–1449), Henrique (1394–1460), and Fernando (1402–1443) – royal chroniclers idealised an image of dynastic identity where the expression of manhood in several forms was a key component. The monarch was described as a good ruler, good father, and good warrior.[7] While there were additional features attributed to certain royal family members, such as chastity, and even sainthood in the case of *infante* Fernando (1402–1443),[8] many of them shared the same characteristics as the ruler himself. In short, apart from being a model of sainthood, male royal persons displayed a strong component of masculinity, which was based on two ideas. Firstly, that the figure of the *paterfamilias* was responsible not only for family honour and reputation, but also for the running of the household and the court– themes also examined in Estelle Paranque´s chapter in this collection, which focuses on how early modern European monarchs used the father and warrior figures to assert their royal authority over their subjects. Fatherhood was also favoured at that time due to the availability and influence of works by authors such as Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.[9] Secondly, there was the potent ideal of a chivalric *ethos*, which these men, as a social group, embodied by

following a number of symbolic codes and correlative practices, with its paradoxes and contradictions.[10]

During the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the monarchs of the Avis dynasty generally tried to impose dynastic continuity. Yet this was sometimes challenged by the political context of the time, such as the unusual circumstance by which Manuel I (*r.*1495–1521) came to the throne. At the time of his birth, there were six men standing between him and the throne. Ironically, events of his predecessor's reign, such as the nobles' conspiracy against King João II (1483–1484) and its outcomes, contributed indirectly to the later promotion of Manuel I as the heir to the throne, as João II lacked legitimate progeny after the death of *Infante* Afonso (1475–1491).[11] This uncommon succession process left its mark on the higher echelons of nobility, forcing the new monarch to act in order to prevent political instability. Thus, considering the prominent reliance upon masculine dynastic identity by earlier Avis rulers, it should be addressed how expressions of manhood helped to shape the sixteenth century monarchs' rule as an answer to political challenges.

The pervading influence of late medieval chivalric values in Iberia is something readily acknowledged. In terms of the situation in Portugal, for instance, it is known that Arthurian novels served as an inspiration for evening gatherings in noble and aristocratic palaces during the early modern period.[12] Other variables can explain this persistence, such as the relationship between Christian and Moorish populations. Research stresses that this scenario was marked by an attraction/repulsion dichotomy in late medieval and early modern Iberia. Moreover, forced conversions both in Spain and Portugal during the second half of the fifteenth-century neither stopped cultural interaction, nor prevented Moorish culture from being one of the factors on which a common identity was built.[13] Analysing this issue through a gender lens, one must stress the attempts of domination of the Moorish by Christian chroniclers. By juxtaposing the valour, courage, prowess and strength of the Christian warrior with the alleged delicate manners of their enemies of faith, they were establishing the border between the hegemonic model and a type of subservient masculinity.[14]

Despite this theoretical model, the practice differed substantially as Moorish people (until their forced conversion in 1497) were present in everyday court and city life. Court festivities in the late fifteenth-century would have included Moorish and Jewish people parading and singing within the royal procession. To a certain extent, this involvement also helped to establish a dominant stance, separate from the evident

hierarchies in court society.[15] Furthermore, it is reasonable to inquire as to what extent this cultural basis influenced the continuing crusader spirit among sixteenth-century members of the House of Avis and, more importantly, how it became visible in their expression of manhood. It is certain that aspects such as the overseas expansion in North Africa and Southern Asia, or the occasional recreation of these environments in court, provided an appropriate context for these practices.

Regarding this late medieval to early modern transition period, one has to mention the progressive change of the expression of knightly masculinity, which was usually connected with the king and any male siblings.[16] Despite the continuous presence of sporadic episodes of violence in daily life at court (visible along with the occurrence of violence episodes in court games), the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century saw shifting models of the courtier that moved away from the medieval martial archetype: this had an effect on expressions of manhood.[17] Obviously, the transformation of the models of masculinity was not immediately all-embracing, and these shifting models definitely did not exclude former martial traditions of expressing manhood. Instead, they served the purpose of balancing gender practices and ways to represent dominance over other groups. As such, the warrior-like type of courtier– where legitimating practices were based on both physical imposition and aggressive speech– changed, in a slow and irregular way, to result in a courtier model more markedly defined by etiquette.

Such a process was more demarcated especially further into the early modern court, as one can still verify evidence of the aforementioned warrior-like type courtier in the late fifteenth century. Good examples can be found, for instance, in the court poetry *corpus* gathered by Garcia de Resende (1470–1536), called the *Cancioneiro Geral* (1516). Within these pages, and among poetry written for other purposes, one can find many cases of misogyny and aggressive behaviour. For example, the case of the courtier, Rui Moniz, who decided to forcefully verbalise his opposition towards the attention a court damsel gave to another man, or even the advice given by a nobleman to his nephew, a recent courtier: advice that included, among other disrespectful actions, never to turn down a brawl.[18] Hence, the question remains: was the slight shift in the royal and princely models enough to affect significant change in the expression of manhood?

Portuguese Renaissance Royal and Princely Models

Royal and princely models in the late fifteenth century and throughout the first half of the sixteenth century were generally influenced by two confluent variables. On one hand, they continued to focus on the way the monarch should rule. Thus, treatises like *De Republica Gubernada per Regem* [*De Republica*] (1496), dedicated by Diogo Lopes Rebelo to King Manuel I, or the *Breve Doutrina e Ensinança de Príncipes* [*Breve Doutrina*] (1525), presented to King João III by Frei António de Beja, put emphasis on *topoi* like being a good ruler, having the ethos of a wise king, being a pious and merciful monarch, and a good warrior, especially against enemies of faith.[19] It is also possible to trace continuity through older models at the court of the first Avis. Lopes Rebelo, when disserting in *De Republica* about the role of the monarch as a father to all his subjects, recalls the translation of Marcus Tullius Cicero´s *De Officiis* by *Infante* Pedro, son of João I and regent of the kingdom until his demise at the battle of Alfarrobeira (1449).[20] Likewise, works dedicated to other members of the royal family suggested similar ideas. *Doutrina* dedicated by Lourenço de Cáceres to *Infante* Luís (1506–1555), the second son of King Manuel I and Queen Maria of Castile and Aragon, and one of the most influential court personalities of the time, is a perfect example. The *infante´*s teacher, Cáceres, encouraged his student to be a wise prince, while also praising military action against the enemies of Christianity.[21]All of these mirrors of princes highlighted how important it was to be a good patron (in the treaties, represented by the term *liberalidade*). Together with the concepts of love and political friendship, this doctrine emphasized the generosity of the monarch not only to his family members, but also to other courtiers and, to a certain extent, all his subjects. These threads of discourse, so prominent in the advice to the early members of the dynasty, are also visible in the mirrors of the sixteenth century.[22]

The second variable, connected with the latter, concerns the type of behaviour and/or attitudes which the ruler should avoid. Regarding this issue, the consensus among several works is to avoid greed and vices such as gambling and excessive recreational hunting.[23] Another interesting detail, which is especially noteworthy in mirrors from the sixteenth century dedicated to either young kings or royal heirs, is the condemnation of the deceitful character of late medieval chivalry novels. Frei António de Beja, in *Breve Doutrina*, suggested that João III should avoid paying too much attention to novels' characters, like Amadis (of Gaul) and Esplandião, both favourites for noble evening gatherings in halls and castles. In the same vein, while introducing

Libro Primero del Espejo del Principe (1544) to the son of João III and heir, Prince João Manuel (1537–1554), Francisco de Monçón (*d.*1575) pointed out the lack of realism in *Amadis* and expressed his opposition to such influences being given to a future ruler.[24] Lastly, there are also warnings against the hazard of over-relying on certain courtiers. In his *Tractado Moral de Louvores e Perigos Dalguns Estados Seculares* (1549), dedicated to Prince João Manuel (1537–1554), son and heir of King João III, Sancho de Noronha advised against the inherent danger of an advisor who wished to please his king more than his people.[25]

These tendencies present considerable similarities to the most important European coeval models. Despite Machiavelli´s *The Prince* (1532) clearly preferring a strong, military sovereign to a more pious, friendly one, mentions of avoiding corrupt courtiers and secretaries are also present as a benefit to the people. Also identifiable is the neglect of, and even contempt for, the tradition provided by chivalric novels in works such as the *Relox de Príncipes* (1529), dedicated to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) by the influential Fr. Antonio de Guevara (1480–1545). In fact, this tendency pervaded throughout the long sixteenth century in the Iberian peninsula, from the works of humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) to the renowned *Quijote* by Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616).[26]

All homologous European mirrors of princes of the period stressed the virtues that a monarch should have. Among them, one still finds continuity with regard to late medieval works, namely the good patron, good father and wise king *topoi*.[27] The courtier renaissance model had its impact on models of masculinity. For instance, both Castiglione's model – *The Book of the Courtier*, published in Iberia in 1534 – and a good portion of Erasmus' work, such as *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1516), enforce the need to moderate one's masculinity.[28] In summary, one can point to differences between the mirrors of princes dedicated to Portuguese royal family members and the majority of their European counterparts, although these are of little (if any) significance for Portugal. Therefore, one can easily identify similarities within some general features expected of the monarch. Most of them, in fact, attempt to format the expression of manhood of the monarch and other court members into less violent and more gentle performances, although this does not necessarily mean that the recommendations given were followed, as an analysis of the practice of manhood will show.

Practices of Masculinity and Manhood in Renaissance Portugal

Just as their early fifteenth century counterparts, the monarchs Afonso V, João II, Manuel I, and their respective descendants also developed a particular taste for hunting, bullfights, jousts, and tournaments. Before any analysis of the ceremonial performances of these monarchs, one has to stress an important detail. Out of all of them, only Afonso V, João II and Sebastião actually engaged in battle; all against the Moorish in North Africa and, in the case of the first two, against Castile and Leon (1475–1479). Equally, not all of them participated in performative events in the same way, and their respective roles must be differentiated. Regarding jousts, it should be noted that João II and Sebastião had a very active role, while Manuel I and João III preferred an observant role from a privileged vantage point and, thus, to emphasise their role as patrons, rather than participants. According to royal chronicles, João II had a preference for tournaments, bullfights and jousts. During the marriage celebrations of Crown Prince Afonso (*d.*1491) with Princess Isabel of Castile and Aragon (1490), King João II could be found either participating actively in the jousts or chairing the event from a privileged position.[29] In contrast, Manuel I, for instance, would lend vestments to his courtiers when it was time to joust; thus displaying the same type of behaviour that one identifies in Henry VII of England, who often preferred not to joust himself.[30] Apart from his prominence as a patron, Manuel I also geared his rule towards overseas expansion, keeping in mind the crusader ethos. In this way, he could meet the expectations of a portion of the Portuguese nobility, who were eager to acquire additional income and honour from fighting enemies of faith.[31]

João III, however, found a different political context. He faced other challenges in terms of politics inside and outside the kingdom, with consequences that affected his expression of masculinity. Out of all of the case studies mentioned, this monarch seems to have been the only one who chose not to be depicted in military attire. His overseas priorities lay in the South Atlantic and Asia; this meant that he relegated commonly held interests in North Africa and the Mediterranean to the background, despite these geographic areas being perceived as the standard destination for the crusaders. These choices in terms of representation and overseas foci meant that the king faced a substantial degree of opposition, not only in terms of his decision-making, but also in terms of political representation.

Ironically, another of King Manuel I's descendants, *Infante* Luís (1506–1555), was the main ideological heir of the dynastic crusader ideology. Along with João III's

other brother –*Infante* Duarte (1515–1540)– and a considerable part of the nobility, Luís was an avid promoter of jousts, games of canes (an Iberian game where two teams – Christian versus Moorish – of six horse riders each throw canes at each other), and tournaments. King João III authorized these events as the majority of them took place within court festivities and celebrations, where he was part of the audience so as to represent the monarch's role as a patron.

One important episode regarding these political differences took place during a joust organized by *Infante* Luís when a set of gifts, of sumptuous horse attire, given by Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) arrived in Portugal. The gifts themselves had strong symbolic connotations relating to the recent participation of the *infante* in the conquest of Tunis (1535). Seizing upon the arrival of such meaningful gifts, Luís quickly organized a festivity: not only to display the attire, but also to reinforce the crusader ethos by staging a confrontation between Christian knights and Moorish warriors.[32]

The embodiment of masculinity in the chivalric figure of a Christian knight is a recurring feature, both in terms of the influence of Arthurian novels during the period and later, and when looking at other evidence, such as material culture.[33] Descendants of King Manuel I, especially the *infantes* Luís, Fernando (1507–1534) and Duarte were very active in this area. Also, it is known that embodying the role of the knight errant was something inherent to the performances mentioned. A good example is found in the royal jousts that took place in Rossio Square (Lisbon) on the Sunday after Christmas in 1522. *Infante* Luís appeared, disguised and unrecognisable before the marshals of the joust, wearing a shield that depicted a woman with a fan covering half of her face (one of the chivalric *leitmotivs*), along with the rest of his uncommon attire. Not recognising Luís, referees asked him to introduce himself, something he promptly refused to do, saying only that he was a noble who wanted to joust. And so he did, breaking two of his opponents' spears. Later, he revealed his identity and felt the general amusement of the audience. An audience that included the monarch, other members of the royal court and foreign ambassadors.[34] However, none of this pattern of behaviour is found exclusively in Portugal. For instance, several monarchs observed similar patterns in medieval and early modern England, especially in relation to nobles hiding their identities during performances. Henry VIII of England, a contemporary of Luís, used masks during tournaments as a tool with which to enact a particular type of knightly masculinity, which had political outcomes.[35]

Lastly, there is the interesting case of King Sebastião. Just as other Avis royal men, the young king had an extremely pious profile combined with a strong crusader ethos. To a certain extent, his behaviour reflected the image and representation of his two great influences, the *Infante* Luís and Emperor Charles V.[36] Nevertheless, some of his features did not match the characteristics of either. One of these characteristics, clearly the most problematic for a king, was the inability to surround himself with women. Note that all of the monarchs in this study had descendants from one or several wives (as in the case of Manuel I, who married three times, having more than a dozen children), sometimes even children outside of marriage (examples can be found in Duarte [1523–1543], son of João III and Ana Moniz, a court damsel, or Jorge [1481–1550], governor of the military orders of Avis and Santiago, son of João II and Ana de Mendonça, also a court damsel). Since Sebastião's early days at court, both high strata courtiers (who were close to him) and foreign ambassadors noticed how this inability could be an issue to the survival of his direct dynastic line and, therefore, the dynasty more broadly, as few descendants of Manuel I were still alive by the 1560s and 1570s and the king showed no interest in marriage proposals.[37] Apart from the consequences to the dynasty, a gender implication could also be observed. According to the chivalric tradition, men used women and their attention to excel in their respective position, thus diminishing the status and hierarchy of possible competitors.[38] Sebastião, an enthusiast of spectacles such as bullfights and horse riding, as himself asked Pope Pius V (1566–1572) to suspend the excommunication penalty for participants in this activity, was not particularly interested in competing for the attention of ladies. Chronicles tell of the king's introversion when his horse walked past the female section of the audience; he did not even look at them, nor did he perform any type of salute.[39] This, along with other attitudes such as his aversion to certain lavish clothes or the tendency to take refuge in convents and/or peripheral royal residences, makes it reasonable to argue that he lacked the ability to impose his knightly masculinity during public events.

Given the specific characteristics of this king, one must evaluate other coeval examples in order to launch possible points of comparison. A case study worth is the French monarch Henri III (*r.* 1575–1589). Like Sebastião, doubts about Henri's sexual orientation and/or alleged inaptitude to entertain himself with women had a negative impact on his reputation as a king. Just like the Portuguese monarch, Henri III had considerably more interest in religion than in government, and also paid an overwhelming amount of attention to his close male courtiers: *les mignons*.[40] While

Sebastião did not suffer considerable internal opposition, political opponents of Henri III seized on his flaws and used them to disrupt his rule.

The relevance of manliness in the level described becomes larger still when one compares Henri III to his father, Henri II (*r.* 1547–1559). Works written about the latter described him as a kind father, a loyal friend, and a good ruler, despite his heavy reliance on advisers. One must emphasise his penchant for riding and jousting, which ultimately took his life.[41]Nonetheless, this tragic episode could be argued to epitomise the way Henri II enacted his masculinity in a manner very appropriate to his office; so much so that even his widow, Catherine of Médici (1519–1589), urged her son Henri III to act in more 'manly fashion', imitating, for instance, his father's taste for courtly sports.[42] Despite the French king's lack of interest for jousting, Paranque's chapter offers another approach to Henri III's masculinity and argues that he used the warrior figure in his speeches to project a strong royal authority into the public sphere. As such, this argument demonstrates that there were other forms of enacting masculinity, apart from the performances involving physical attainment, to obtain political advantages but challenges were more likely to be lodged against those who did not conform to expected manly roles.

The ability of the monarch to express a certain type of masculinity was important for his ruling, as it contributed to political stability across social groups, with particular gains in the dominant group of the nobility. Less clear, perhaps, is the representation of the dominant role of the hegemonic knightly masculinity model over a subordinated group of men and women in everyday court life.

Hegemonic vs. Subaltern Masculinities

This is perhaps the dimension of gender studies in the Renaissance and early modern court which remains until today more obscure: how individuals embodying the hegemonic model performed towards other groups, including individuals who enacted subaltern non-dominant forms of masculinity and women. A good example in order to debate this point is related to the Moorish presence in the Iberian territory, mentioned above. From a general perspective, there are countless episodes where the late medieval tradition of chronicles was used to diminish the masculinity of Moorish men, which served as a vehicle for the domination of the Christian warrior. Portuguese court festivities were replete with these episodes. Parades and court games, such as tournaments (for instance, the improvised scene organized by *Infante* Luís shortly after

the conquest of Tunis) and the game of canes were not the only times that symbolic domination could be noted. The monarchy itself promoted such displays by providing either Christian or Moorish vestments to knights to replicate the idea of confronting the infidel on the battlefield (as seen in King Manuel I's case, see above). Similarities can be found with festivities in the Holy Roman Empire. Following the great example of his grandfather, Maximilian I (1459–1519), as a promoter of tournaments within the imperial court, Ferdinand I (1503–1564) was renowned for including a clear political message in his 'Hungarian tournaments', in which elite imperial troops – Hungarian hussars – faced a team made up of Moorish and Turkish soldiers.[43]

Additional features of Moorish material culture were used to set gender differences, even among members of the same upper echelons of society. In the early sixteenth century, for example, there were notable differences between seating to identify certain individuals as dominant: women and children were seated on cushions, whereas the monarch and other male elites would be seated on chairs to place them in a physically higher position and promote dominance. As such, dominance could be promoted by associating such gendered objects with individuals who were considered of subaltern.[44] While the connotation of the Moorish warrior with effeminate manners had implications on their expression of manhood, other subtle examples existed during the late-medieval and renaissance periods. One case to explore involves the political representation of 'savages', who were considered to hold the same subaltern position as the Moorish in Iberia (or the Ottoman in Central Europe during the early modern period), elsewhere in Europe. These glimpses have remote origins in land expansion and in the image of the monarch as conqueror. The representation of savages was not an early-modern innovation, as early representations can be seen, for instance, in the late medieval Danish coat of arms of Christian I (*r.* 1450–1481). Many interpretations have arisen of the significance of such iconography, although it is reasonable to assume that royal power and domination over other subjects – in this case savages from other Baltic areas – were at stake.[45]

An alternative and noteworthy representation of 'savages', in this case from the South Atlantic, was also present in early Portuguese court festivities.[46] A good case study can be found in the matrimonial festivities held for Emperor Frederick III and Princess Leonor (1434–1467), sister of King Afonso V of Portugal. A foreign observer, the ambassador Niklas Lankmann von Falkenstein, described an early scene where a group of 'savages', who introduced themselves as being from the Canary Islands, under

dispute by the Portuguese crown at that time, were sent by their local tribe leaders to pay homage to Afonso V, thus showing subordination to the alleged new conqueror.[47] Additional research into Portuguese court festivities during the mid-sixteenth century shows a similar pattern. The tournament of Xabregas (1550) staged a similar scene, where a group of four 'savages' with long hair and vestments made of bear fur was taken before Prince João Manuel and Queen Catherine of Austria (*d.*1578), delivering a manuscript with the rules agreed by each of the competitors.[48] Such an act contained an important symbolic dimension. It was Prince João Manuel's first tournament, he was thirteen years old at the time. Being in the possession of the aforementioned manuscript elevated him in terms of authority and made him the patron of the festivities. These symbolic actions, together with being the sponsor of one of the participating teams mediated his frail physical condition, which was probably one of the reasons why he did not join the team as captain. Thus, in terms of masculinity, João Manuel took a step towards coming of age and, ultimately, emancipation.

Once again, points of comparison can be made with other monarchies. Court events in early modern Scotland used 'savages', sometimes together with Moors and Highland men, emphasising their 'wild' origins to serve political purposes. James IV (*r.*1488–1513), a tournament adept, included wild men and moors within festivities, sometimes with great prominence.[49] In the same vein, Mary, Queen of Scots (*r.*1542–1567) also adopted this ceremonial usage of the 'savage', with a particularly potent episode at the baptism celebrations (1566) of her son, the future James VI (*r.*1567–1625), with the participation of wild men in a mocking tournament influenced by the Valois model.[50] The French case also provides an useful comparison. Henri II, for instance, was known for using 'savages' during his royal entries. In the case of the entry in Rouen in 1550, in which the young Mary, Queen of Scots, participated as the dauphine, the French monarch had an evidently political purpose: to stage a South American conflict between the Portuguese, the French, and their respective indigenous allies. Also noteworthy was the attempt to represent Henri II as both a civilised and chivalric king, which was further extended to the 'humanistic' savages he allied himself with. By adding a modified representation of the Greek mythological character Hercules – at this time not only displaying brute force but also eloquence – the scene legitimised Henri II as the bringer of a new era.[51] Apart from the overseas dispute, there is a side of domination that involves gender that should not be overlooked. The differences in this case, when compared to the Portuguese example, lie in the type of masculinity

displayed by the French king. This was a paradoxical combination of a monarch embodying new court practices with a former model recovered by Henri II, who relied on knightly masculinity by being enthusiastic in court games where a display of physical prowess was key to the expression of manhood.

Conclusions

Gender – in this case, masculinity and the expression of manhood –contributed to the political stability of a dynasty that had reasonably visible flaws. It was not just a matter of keeping the monarchy's power and authority. The sixteenth–century Avisians recovered and re-used masculinity models that belonged to their fifteenth century counterparts, regardless of the rise of new courtier models, that were more polite, more refined in their manners and, from a contemporary perspective, even more effeminate. Apart from models of fatherhood and sainthood, the crusader dynamics fuelled by a chivalric ethos were taken on by all Avis monarchs, apart from João III. All of them cultivated, to a greater or lesser extent, a taste for court games, where physical display was an important part of a political spectacle. The knightly masculinity model pervaded throughout the period studied here, which may as well be the main mark of gender identity that affected the course of this dynasty until its extinction at the end of the sixteenth century (1595).[52] The best example to understand this dynamic can be found in the fatal tragedy of King Sebastião, whose demise in 1578 resulted from an open battle in northern Morocco, an act inspired by the first Avis kings, which illustrates the survival and potency of the crusader ethos was still alive.

Regarding the model and practices of masculinity enacted by these men, the context in which each sovereign was created has to be stressed as one of the most relevant factors to their later performance. Still, some of the recommendations were carefully followed and their gender expression allowed the king and his kin to keep and/or increase political power. Perhaps the most followed advice focused on the role of the king as a patron, and the role of the king in the war against the enemies of faith. Note also that, in the absence of these, internal conflict could emerge. Generally speaking, Portuguese monarchs of the period ruled in order to avoid political intrigue and upheaval. However, it is fair to mention that some research is still to be done on several aspects that could have a possible influence on the expression of manhood. One

of them is to evaluate implications of the Roman Catholic Counter Reformation on these models of masculinity.

It is also useful to project these conclusions within the European framework, where the knightly masculinity model can generally be seen to continue into the sixteenth century and beyond. Political and religious circumstances surely stimulated this. Whether the monarch had a more active role in the expression of manhood, going off to war and/or taking part in court games – for example Charles V, Henry VIII, François I, Henri II, Gustav Vasa (*r.* 1523–1560) – or distinguished himself more on the representative side, where associations with war, violence, and military prowess were effectively present. One can also argue that this was a fading model, at a time when the most notable European warrior-kings had given way, slowly and gradually, to a different type of monarch. The Renaissance courtier model had an impact and moderated the way in which manhood was displayed by the king and his subjects. An example can be found in Philip II of Spain (*r.* 1556–1598), who despite his early participation in tournaments (especially within the period between 1540 and 1560) and his will to fight every enemy of Spain, was mostly recognised as a bureaucratic king. If this is true, on the other hand, there are coeval examples to show how representations of the martial 'medieval' warrior archetype were still relevant, especially concerning the high levels of animosity experienced at the time, with conflicts among several European powers.[53]

Lastly, there are considerations to be made regarding the possibility of masculinity models converging between Southern and Northern Europe. While there is no substantial comparative work allowing for a full assessment, one can definitely see evidence of considerable cultural exchange of models and ways of displaying manhood among all European courts. Although this is straight forward among the dominant group – the monarch, his kin, and the high nobility – doubts still remain about whether this took place regarding domination over subjects. The examples previously debated imply that this type of cultural exchange existed, especially in the use of symbolic 'savages'. The Moorish case is, however, unique given the Iberian late Christian *Reconquista* and its aftermath in the form of the advent of overseas expansion during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This point requires further research in order to evaluate possible models and discussions of manly domination for legitimising a new reality.

Key works

- Connell, R. W., *Masculinities*, 2nd ed..Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press, 2005.
- Hallenberg, Mats. "The Golden Age of the Agressive Male? Violence, Masculinity and the State in Sixteenth-Century Sweden."*Gender & History* 25, no.1 (2013): 132-49.
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[2]R. W, Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press, 2005), 76-81; Raewyn Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society* 19, no.6 (2005): 829–59; see also: John Tosh, “Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41–58.

[3]For examples, see: Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Christopher Fletcher, "Manhood, Kingship and the Public in Late Medieval England," *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 13 (2012): 123–42.

[4] Marc Baer, “Manliness, Male Virtue and History Writing at the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Court,” *Gender & History* 20, no. 1 (2008): 128–48; Mats Hallenberg, “The Golden Age of the Agressive Male?

Violence, Masculinity and the State in Sixteenth-Century Sweden," *Gender & History* 25, no. 1 (2013): 132–49.

[5] The gap between 1557 and 1568 it is due to a period of regency of Queen Catherine of Austria (*d.*1578) and Cardinal Henrique (1512–1580), in the minority of King Sebastião, who was only three years old when enthroned.

[6] Werner Paravicini, "The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London & New York: German Historical Institute & Oxford University Press, 1991), 69-102; on the circulation of courtier models, see also Sydney Anglo, "The Courtier: the Renaissance and Changing Ideals," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400–1800*, ed. A. G. Dickens (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997), 33–53.

[7] Duarte I, *Leal Conselheiro*, ed. João Morais Barbosa (Lisbon: IN-CM, 1982), 416, 427–28; Ana Maria Rodrigues, "Gender and Legitimacy in the First Generations of the Avis Dynasty," (paper presented at the congress Kings & Queens IV: Dynastic Changes and Legitimacy, Lisbon, June 23-27, 2015); see also: Mariana Bonat Trevisan, "A Primeira Geração de Avis: uma Família 'Exemplar' (Portugal -século XV)" (PhD. diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2016).

[8]João Luís Inglês Fontes, *Percursos e memória: do Infante D. Fernando ao Infante Santo* (Cascais: Patrimonia, 2000).

[9] Daniela Frigo, *Il padre di famiglia: Governo della casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell´'economica' tra cinque e seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1985); António M. Hespanha, "Carne de uma só carne: para uma compreensão dos fundamentos histórico-antropológicos da família na época moderna," *Análise Social* 28, nos 123–124 (1993): 951–73.

[10]Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1–17; Jesus D. Rodríguez-Velasco, *Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 17–45.

[11] Garcia de Resende, *Crónica,* 80; Jean Aubin, *Le Latin et l´Astrolabe. Études inédites sur le règne de D. Manuel, 1495–1521* (Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2006), vol. III, 3–12. Note that Manuel was both João II´s cousin and brother-in-law (as the youngest brother of Queen Leonor [1458-1525]).

[12] José Hermano Saraiva, ed.,*Ditos Portugueses Dignos de Memória* (Mem Martins: Europa-América, 1997), 479.

[13] Regarding this idea, see Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

[14] Louise Mirrer, "Representing «Other» Men. Muslims, Jews, and Masculine Ideals in Medieval Castilian Epic and Ballad," in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Claire Lees (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 169–86.

[15] Garcia de Resende, *Crónica de D. João II e Miscelânea*, ed. and pref. Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1973), 170 [cap. CXXIII].

[16] See, for instance, Hélder Carvalhal and Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "Knightly Masculinity, Court Games and Material Culture in Late-Medieval Portugal: The Case of Constable Afonso (*c*.1480–1504),"*Gender & History* 28, no.2 (August 2016): 387–400.

[17] For these shifts, the seminal work of Elias is still indispensable. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (London: Blackwell, 2000 [1939]), vol. II, 387-396.

[18] Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral*, ed. Aida Fernandes Dias (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1990-2003), vol. I, 172–79; vol. II, 7–8.

[19] Diogo Lopes Rebelo, *Do Governo da República pelo Rei*, ed. Manuel Cadafaz de Matos (Lisbon: Távola Redonda/C.E.H.L.E., 2000), 139–47; Frei António de Beja, *Breve Doutrina e Ensinança de Príncipes*, ed. Mário Tavares Dias (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1965), 115-31.

[20] Rebelo, *Do Governo*, 155-57.

[21] Lourenço de Cáceres, "Doutrina ao Infante D. Luís," *in Antologia do Pensamento Político Português*, ed. António Alberto de Andrade (Lisbon: ISCSPU: 1965), vol. I, 29–87, at 34–5.

[22]Ana Isabel Buescu, *Imagens do Príncipe. Discurso Normativo e Representação (1525–49)* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1996), 69.

[23]*Doutrina*, 50–53, 55–7; *De Republica*, 101–11, 121–5.

[24]Nuno J. Espinosa Gomes da Silva, *Humanismo e direito em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisbon: E.N.P., 1964), 26.

[25] Buescu, *Imagens*, 161.

[26] Buescu, *Imagens*, 174–5.

[27] About the wise king topos in medieval Europe, see the chapter by Manuel Alejandro Rodriguez de la Peña in this volume.

[28] Todd W. Reeser, *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture* (Chapel Hill: U.N.C. Department of Romance Languages, 2006), 11–48.

[29] Garcia de Resende, *Crónica*, 177–87 [chapters CXXVI-CXXVIII].

[30] Steven Gunn, "Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court," in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), 107–128, at 122.

[31] Luís Filipe Thomaz, "L´idée impériale manueline," in *La Découverte, le Portugal et l´Europe*, ed. Jean Aubin (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1990), 35–103.

[32] Archivo General de Simancas [AGS], *Estado*, leg. 371, nº 85. Published in Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Espoirs et désespoir de l´infant D. Luís,"*Mare Liberum* 3 (1991): 234–298, at 285.

[33] Glenn Richardson, "Boys and their Toys: Kingship, Masculinity and Material Culture in the Sixteenth Century", *in The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sean McGlynn and Elena Woodacre (London: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 183–206; Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "The Uses of Luxury: Some Examples from the Portuguese Courts from 1480 to 1580,"*Análise Social* 44, no. 192 (2009): 589–604.

[34] Lisbon Academy of Sciences [ACL], Série Vermelha, nº 159, fls. 124–124v. Published in Pedro Pinto, "Apêndice. Resumos e transcrições de documentos relativos à Rua Nova", in *The Global City. Lisbon in Renaissance. Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Annemarie Jordan and Kate Lowe (Lisbon: MNAA/IN-CM, 2017), 365–381, at 376.

[35] On this topic, see Meg Twyncross and Sarah Carpenter, *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). Regarding tournaments in Early Tudor period, see Emma Levitt, "Woodville versus the Bastard," *History Today* (November 2016), 6.

[36] Regarding Charles V´s image, see Fernando Checa Cremades, "Héroes, guerreros y batallas en la imagen artística de la Monarquía española. De los Reyes Católicos a Carlos II," in *Historia Militar de España. III, Edad Moderna. II*, ed. Hugo O´Donnell y Duque de Estrada and Luís Ribot (Madrid: R.A.H./Ministerio de Defensa, 2014), 471–517, at 479–99).

[37] Maria Augusta da Lima Cruz, *D. Sebastião* (Mem Martins: Temas e Debates, 2009), 94–104.

[38] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 47–57.

[39] Cruz, *D. Sebastião*, 101–104.

[40] Nicolas Le Roux, *La faveur du roi: mignons et courtisans au temps des derniers Valois (vers 1547-vers 1589)* (Seyssel: Éditions Champ-Vallon, 2002), 660–70.

[41] R. J. Knecht, *Catherine de Medici* (New York & London: Routledge, 1997), 37–9; Ivan Cloulas, *Henri II* (Paris: Fayard, 1985),388.

[42] Anita M. Walker and Edmund H. Dickerman, "The King Who Would Be a Man: Henri III, Gender Identity and the Murders at Blois, 1588," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 24, no 2 (Summer 1998): 253–281, at 270.

[43] Veronika Sandbichler, "Torneos y Fiestas de Corte de los Habsburgo en los Siglos XV y XVI," in *El Legado de Borgoña. Fiesta y Ceremonia Cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias (1454–1648)*, ed. Krista De Jonge, Bernardo J, García García y Alicia Esteban Estríngana (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes/Marcial Pons, 2010), 607–624, at 612–15.

[44] Sá, "The Uses," 596.

[45] Nils G. Bartholdy, "De danske kongers skjoldholdere," *Heraldisk Tidsskrift* 98 (2008): 345–57.

[46]For example, see: Fernando António Baptista Pereira, "Notas sobre a representação do Homem Silvestre na Arte Portuguesa dos séculos XV e XVI," *História e Crítica* 9 (1982): 57–66.

[47]Aires Augusto Nascimento (ed.), *Leonor de Portugal, Imperatriz da Alemanha: diário de viagem do embaixador Nicolau Lanckmen de Valckenstein* (Lisboa: Cosmos, 1992), 35.

[48] António Dias Miguel, "Carta que Francisco de Morais enviou a Raynha de França em que lhe escreve os Torneos, e Festa que se fes em Xabregas Era / de 155...," *Arquivos do Centro Cultural* XXXVII (1998): 132.

[49] Louise Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 235-36.

[50] Michael Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566," *The Scottish Historical Review* 69/1, no. 187 (April, 1990): 1-21 (6-9).

[51] Michael Wintroub, "Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550),"*The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no.2 (Summer, 1998): 165–91.

[52] It is taken as 1595 instead of 1580 as the end of the dynasty because this was the year that Antonio, Prior do Crato, passed away in France. This option, still debatable today within academia, is justified by

the pretension to the Portuguese throne that Antonio maintained until his demise, claiming he belonged to the dynasty of Avis as a natural son of *Infante* Luís and grandson of King Manuel I.

[53]For example, see: Estelle Paranque's chapter regarding Elizabeth I.