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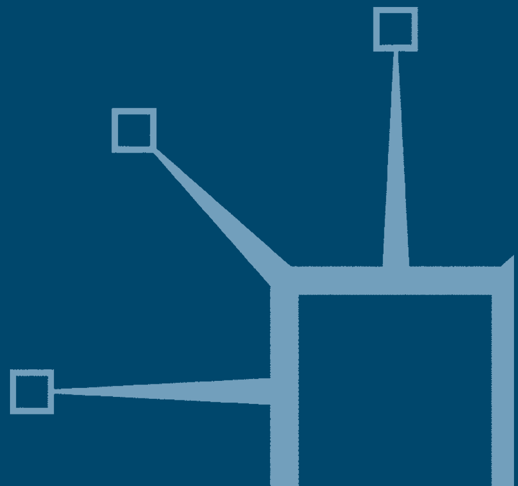
Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800

Edited by
Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin



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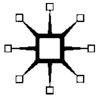

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Notes on Contributors

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Valerie Traub is Professor of English and Women's Studies at the University of Michigan. She is the author of *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (2002), which won the Best Book of 2002 award from the Society for the Study of Early Modern Women. Author of *Desire & Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (1992), and co-editor of *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects* (1996), she has written widely on the history of sexuality and early modern literature.

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Introduction

Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin

Over the twenty-three years since the publication of Alan Bray's first, ground-breaking book, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982), his work has had its greatest influence in the field of the history of sexuality. Bray's work provided the starting point for an emerging field, in which scholars began to study the texts and histories of Renaissance England and Europe with an ear to the fluctuating, transforming meanings of sodomy and homosexuality. Importantly, Bray's work put the whole category of homosexuality in Renaissance England in question, and those who followed him took inspiration from the questions he had asked.

Over the subsequent twenty years, Bray's own scholarship took a somewhat different route. The logical conclusion of his own redefinition of homosexuality and its place in early modern society and culture led him to think about the components of and the challenges to relationships between men in a much wider sphere than the purely sexual – a category which itself, he argued, made little sense in the pre-modern world. His subsequent researches engaged him with the noble household; the early modern family; the world of scholars; the networks of patrons and clients; and the letters of kings and their favourites. He began to write a history that examined friendship, intimacy and love, and that put those relations into the contexts that gave them meaning: kinship, families, and faith. The end result was *The Friend*, published posthumously in 2003.

The writing of *The Friend* coincided with Bray's more formal membership of a world of historical scholarship. His honorary fellowship at Birkbeck College, University of London; his editorship of *History Workshop Journal*; and his role as a convenor of the Institute of Historical Research's seminar on 'Society, Culture and Belief 1500–1800' brought him into

continual, formal and informal contact with early modern and modern historians and literary critics who were, often, asking related questions from very different starting points. Alan was a great talker, a wonderful listener and conversationalist, and we want, in this book, to continue some of his conversations. The essays collected here relate very much to three of the themes prominent in Alan's late work: love, friendship, and faith in the early modern world. But they also reflect his intellectual journey from the beginnings of his scholarship, on the history of homosexuality.

* * * * *

Alan Bray's early work revolutionised the history of homosexuality. It did so from a perspective that combined activist commitment with academic rigour: the result was a new story of homosexuality in Renaissance England. Histories of homosexuality had, by the 1980s, become of central importance to gay politics. They began from the point that was fundamental, through much of the twentieth century, to homosexual liberation movements: homosexuality has a history. That history, for years, was understood as a mirror for the present. Lists and studies of notorious, mostly male, homosexuals of the past made it possible to argue for present liberation. To read A.L. Rowse's *Homosexuals in History* (1977) alongside Bray's work, published only five years later, is to begin to comprehend how huge a leap Bray was making when he asserted that homosexuality, and above all sodomy, meant something quite different to the early modern mind.[1] He was saying, as so many subsequent scholars argued, that there was no such thing as homosexuality before it was invented. Instead, he traced the lineage of an idea of sodomy which allied it with heresy, blasphemy, and popery. That idea, he suggested, made it almost impossible for ordinary people to recognise the homoerotic nature of relationships and acts in their midst. At the same time, Bray began the historical work of reconstructing a world in which such homoeroticisms were taken for granted. From the shared beds of apprentices and masters, to the powerplay of patrons and clients, intimacies between men were, he demonstrated, central to the fabric of early modern society. Michael Rocke, writing about Renaissance Florence, cites the 1476 explanation of a carpenter's erotic relationship with a grocer's son: 'This he did out of great love and good brotherhood, because they are in a confraternity together, and he did as good neighbors do.'[2] The meanings of sodomy were worked out between the idea and the practice.

This framework, with its insistence on the power and the failure of representation, laid the foundations for some of the most innovative work in early modern studies and in the history of sexuality. At first, and in England, Bray's approach lent itself more readily to the study of literary texts than to the archival project. Bruce Smith, Jonathan Goldberg, Alan Stewart, Mario DiGangi, and many others found in Bray's work a language and a framework with which to do queer readings of early modern texts: to look at what was named and what was not, to historicise the closet, to read between the lines of verse and prose for the erotics of friendship.[3] Yet as Valerie Traub points out in chapter 1, one of the lasting achievements of Bray's work was to give a unique historical specificity to the idea that 'heterosexuality' is dependent on its homosexual other. Even without the tools of queer theory or deconstructive criticism, Bray's work demands a new and promising history of emotion.

At the heart of Bray's argument, as he later acknowledged, lies an apparently inescapable essentialism. There are still 'homosexual' acts, their nature unidentified and largely unproblematised; it is the meanings of sexual acts that are contested.[4] Yet Jonathan Goldberg reads this more flexibly. Bray's book, Goldberg suggests, searches for (and finds) 'homosexuality' without 'locating a discourse that identifies persons as homosexual'. At once, this insures against prescriptive definitions of homosexuality and usefully supports a 'universalising' view of homosexuality.[5] As Traub's essay demonstrates, the diverging interpretations of Bray's arguments suggest a persistent tension in his thought between intimacy and friendship.[6]

If Bray's early work could be read as giving 'homosexuality' a history, his later work did a good deal to break the most superficial connections of intimacy with sexuality. The shift, first evident in his published work in the essay 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England' in *History Workshop Journal* in 1990 marked a transition towards a reading of male intimacy that looked not for the signs of homosexuality, but for the signs of something else: friendship.[7] With the later publication of 'The Body of the Friend', written with Michel Rey, the project of re-imagining early modern male intimacy began to come into focus.[8] It was, perhaps paradoxically, a more physical, more embodied project than *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* had been: it required readers to think about touch, about brushes of the hand, about crowded courts and shared beds. It encouraged, too, a reading of texts by and between male friends where intimate words were overlaid just as bodies might be, and where the line between the great ideal of friendship and the whisper of suggested sodomy could move swiftly and dangerously.

So far, social and cultural historians have been slow to take up the challenges of taking friendship seriously. Historians of masculinity have focused on the outward forms of politeness and the transformation of manners; the affectional transactions that underlay the gestures of civility are much harder to excavate.[9] The study of masculinity has also been anachronistically heterosexual in its orientation; the shadow of homosexual intimacies that Bray delineated, and the wide-ranging manifestations of the erotic that featured in early modern men's lives have not yet been the subject of substantive study. And where, like Bray, historians have examined the power of anxiety in shaping male identities, they have tended to look at economic and social insecurities, rather than the sexual ones which come to the fore in Bray's work on the New England Puritan Michael Wigglesworth.[10]

Bray's interests also encompassed a more rhetorical realm: the friendships that were dreamed of by Montaigne, Bacon, and their many contemporaries, imagining Aristotle's model of two souls in one body. For them, friendship was a flow of affect between two equals, a current of, as Jeffrey Masten astutely identifies, 'sweetness' – an almost tangible, edible affect. As humours flowed in the Galenic body, so the currents of friendship ran between men, binding them in equality and interdependence.[11] Modernity, Bray argued with Derrida, destroyed this pre-Enlightenment dream.[12] Historians' attention to it might bring ethical inspiration, as well as deeper understandings. Frances Harris's work on the friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin – a heterosexual Platonic relationship whose participants felt it to be unique, like the friendships of men idealised by Montaigne – explores some of the possibilities of such dreams for seventeenth-century people.[13] In a world where some were beginning to see conventional marriage as, in Montaigne's formula, 'a covenant which hath nothing free but the entrance', friendship suggested another, more liberal, intimacy.[14]

'Friend' had copious and special meanings for early modern people. It brought economic obligations: friends helped the young make marriages, carrying an interest in their future. To ask one's friends, in a society where many young adults had no living parents, was an act of trust, of confidence, of obligation. In the flexible families of early modern Europe, friends were also kin.[15] The study of friendship necessarily bears on the history of the family. In the narrowest sense, early modern friends were family. Lawrence Stone's overpowering narrative of the development of modern heterosexual family forms leaves behind the complex kinships of pre-modern households: step-children, relatives as servants, distant kin as friends.[16] Naomi Tadmor's work on the literary and historical

concepts of household and family reveals the nexus of interests and expectations that contemporary terms conveyed: authority, responsibility, possession, household management.[17] Demographic historians studied 'households' and 'families' on the assumption that those structures were the central building blocks of communities. In cities in particular, households and families have turned out to be more complicated than anticipated: servants, lodgers, business partners all lived together. Bray's work suggests a further departure from established practice. Both conceptually and in practice, the erotic, the marital, and the domestic might be disjoined. The places of intimacy are not necessarily those of heterosexual relations or those of marital domesticity.

To think about friends also means thinking about love, our first theme. The history of marriage and the family has often come up against the difficulty of historicising affectional relations. Early attempts to do so – by, for example, Lawrence Stone and Philippe Ariès – confined themselves to suggesting that love between husbands and wives was necessarily experienced differently (or not at all) when marriage was primarily an economic contract. The ways in which love and interest were interconnected in early modern relations remain hard to disentangle. But another way into the question of historicising emotion is to reconsider its direction. Pre-modern north-western Europe had two characteristic marriage patterns: the early, often arranged marriages of the elites, where couples might live apart or with relatives until they reached their twenties; and the late marriages of the majority of the population, chosen and arranged by the couple themselves in their mid- to late twenties. Both might be seen to encourage the formation of affectional bonds outside the heterosexual couple through the years of adolescence, where intimacies were likely to be homosocial. Nor was marriage the only destination: in England by the mid-seventeenth century, up to three-quarters of the population was still unmarried at the age of 45.[18] So the ways in which early modern people used the word 'love' – to their friends, to their kin, to those they worked, ate and drank with – bear a good deal more examination than those which focus on marriage.

That love bound a community together was attested in the performance of communion. For both Protestant and Catholic Europeans, communion demonstrated the unity of neighbourhood; to refuse it, to disrupt it, or to be excluded from it marked a disordered community. Faith, our final theme, carried immense social power. This power not only bound people to each other, but also marked those who were outside the circle of amity. While medieval Europe created and sustained ideas about Jews and heretics, Turks and pagans, those beyond the circle of

amity in early modern Europe experienced another powerful phase of such distancing. Foes were now most often other Christians, but Christians whose perverse rituals marked them apart, as Jews were since medieval times. Rituals of birth and marriage, of commensality and death, were markers of difference as well as of sameness. In this riven world, fields for intimacy were reinforced by religious choice. Religion also meant that certain friendships were no longer possible. Whole fields of intimacy between men and between women – in monasteries and guilds – were destroyed, diminished or displaced as a result of the Reformation. As faith and family came together within the Holy Household the public sphere lost some of its capacities as a field for making friends.

* * * * *

If historians in general have been slow to engage with the conceptual and methodological challenges raised by friendship's past, medieval historians have been particularly isolated from the question. While there is an abundant discussion of *amicitia*, the self-reflective articulation of friendship within monastic communities[19] or between partners in epistolary exchanges,[20] the qualities of friendship, support, mutual understanding, reciprocities, have yet to make a mark on our understanding of individual lives and communities during the medieval centuries. As is the case with so many aspects of history between 1400 and 1600, models of 'modernisation' build up strong expectations that the later we look the more refined, individualised, and self-aware should be the life of the actors inhabiting social institutions.[21] Medieval friendship will contribute to the dismantling of such expectations.

Alan Bray always worked with a strong sense of medieval practices, of social life within a religious culture. *The Friend* begins with a monument from fourteenth-century Constantinople, commemorating the friendship of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, two English courtiers who perished in 1391 during a crusade against the Turks. The men died within days of each other, and the stone which was placed in the Dominican convent of Galata to commemorate them depicts two helmets facing each other, as if in a kiss.[22] What did this petrified medieval kiss mean? Was it indeed a kiss? Would men have had their friendship represented so publicly and enduringly? Was the intimacy implied metaphorical or a token of their physical bond? In debate with John Bossy and Eamon Duffy, Bray argued that we should take the kissing

helmets to mean a great deal; and yet an ambiguity remains even in his discussion: was the Clanvowe/Neville friendship one which could only be acknowledged publicly after death, or was the commemorative stone an act of posthumous defiance?[23]

Bray's interlocutor, Eamon Duffy, preferred to see the kiss as a sign of Christian brotherhood, making one of the most polysemous of symbols – the kiss – into a symbol of religious conformity and social cohesion. The kiss during the mass, a sign of Christian charity, is seen by Duffy as the defining moment of the liturgy, a focus for discovery of social bonds, and an expression of desire for self-improvement. But religious rituals were also markers of difference, hierarchy, and varying degrees of religious commitment. Liturgy and rituals of commemoration also offered opportunities to mark distinction from the parish group, into more select, exclusive and sometimes demanding frames of interaction and amity.[24] In fraternities men gathered, and women related to them, for enhanced experiences of liturgy, conviviality, commemoration, and expected these to continue after death. Fraternities – groups of amity – did what friends and family should do, but were more reliable than kith and kin: fraternities were vigilant in auditing their activities and they never died out (until the Reformation, that is). So those who could spare time and income entered into frames of amity, pooling and sharing, drawing comfort, keeping secrets, all within a carefully scrutinised group. Such friendship groups provided stages for religious observance, but the experience in them differed from that of the parish. Fraternities offered friendships of sameness, which tested people's willingness to share through the communal kiss less acutely than did the parish mass.

Although Alan Bray was extremely interested in female friendship, and wrote movingly about it, only a small part of his work engaged with it.[25] Eighteenth-century historians have looked to letters, diaries, and poetry to reconstruct the affectional bonds between women; for an earlier period, Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford have combined the ego-documents of early modern Europe with court records, the basis for so much study of social relations.[26] This offers us a newly nuanced sense of women's amity, through trust, intimacy, erotic proximity, sharing of secrets, the familiarity of smell and touch. No such studies exist as yet for the late Middle Ages; but they could. For there is an abundance of material which might be worked into the frame offered by Laura Gowing for a later period: tracing the circulation of gifts and bequests – jewellery, items of clothing, knick-knacks, all personal and cherished – may reveal important friendships and intimacies; depositions in court records hitherto studied for the making and breaking

of marriage may reveal trails of trust and support through hard times, as well as the rhythms of women's work.[27]

Alan Bray was a keen student of iconography, as we have seen in the case of the kissing helmets – and as shown by his more general interest in tombs, evident throughout *The Friend* – and he reflected deeply on representation. An ethnography of female friendship may be found in the very many late medieval representations of the scene of the Visitation: Mary and Elizabeth, distant kinswomen, brought together during their pregnancies.[28] Hundreds, if not thousands, of representations of the Visitation, produced in a wide range of media, aimed to capture the quality of this encounter: female delight, mutual support, bodily empathy alongside the message of the impending incarnation. These offer a rich field for the historical study of female friendship.[29]

* * * * *

This book is intended to forward the debates sparked off by Alan Bray's work. In it, we consider a variety of aspects of the themes that were central to it and suggest an agenda for future study. Most of the essays here were originally given in 2002–3 as papers to the 'Society, Culture and Belief' seminar at the Institute of Historical Research (University of London), of which Alan, with us, had been a convener; or they were delivered at the colloquium to commemorate Alan and to celebrate the publication of *The Friend* held at Birkbeck College on 20 September 2003.

The book opens with Valerie Traub's assessment of Alan Bray and *The Friend*, a revised version of the keynote paper given at the colloquium in 2003. After placing Bray's work in the historiography of homosexuality, she indicates the broader context in which it should properly be seen: the understanding of intimate relationships in the early modern period. Her attention to the 'unacknowledged tension' in Bray's corpus over the relationship between friendship and emotion, between homosociability and homosexual practices, illuminates not just male relationships, but also female ones. The chapter ends with a powerful agenda for future work in this field, based not least on invoking *The Friend*'s challenge to standard periodisations.

In his chapter, Klaus Oschema takes up one of the themes of this Introduction by providing a crucial analysis of the evolution of medieval attitudes towards love and friendship. He shows that there was a tension between models of friendship inherited from classical antiquity and the new constraints imposed by Christianity, which entailed a distinction

hitherto lacking between the sacred and the profane. He gives a number of examples of intimate relations between men being used to cement social and political bonds, including a relationship between Philip Augustus and Richard the Lionheart which John Boswell interpreted as homosexual but which instead seems to have been interpreted at the time in quasi-Biblical terms. From the twelfth century, on the other hand, one sees the rise of a more affective attitude, showing a preparedness to transgress divine principles in the name of friendship, and this more secular attitude looks forward to later developments which are epitomised here by reference to the example of Montaigne.

Jonathan Durrant's case-study considers the idioms of friendship in the context of the German prince-bishopric of Eichstatt in the early seventeenth century. The opportunity for this is provided by the witch-hunts which occurred there in this period, which – contrary to prevailing views – Durrant argues were the result of Counter-Reformation zeal on the part of the authorities, rather than of neighbourly tensions or economic hardship. Indeed, so far from showing evidence of deep enmity, he stresses that most of what the confessions of those accused of witchcraft reveal was friendship, and he is able to use the evidence that they give to show the degrees of friendship that existed; the ways in which this was expressed, particularly through communal eating and drinking; and the festive occasions when abnormal degrees of intimacy, not least sexual, occurred.

Alan Stewart's chapter takes the form of a commentary on and critique of one of the preconceptions of Alan Bray's own work. After a survey of Bray's intellectual agenda, he suggests that Bray's Catholicism made him take a less critical view of the common Protestant association of sodomy with Roman Catholicism than he might otherwise have done. Stewart refines Bray's view of the stereotyped nature of accusations of sodomy by showing how, with Catholicism, it achieved its plausibility by being linked with closed institutions which were deemed to encourage such practices. On the other hand, this was reversible, as he illustrates by a rare but telling case where sodomy was associated with Puritans, whose free public association was seen as favouring sodomy in a distinct but revealing variant on the theme which has a paradoxical amount in common with the molly houses of a century later.

Alexandra Shepard looks at a form of male intimacy which stands in contrast to the densely woven ties of friendship between individuals by which Alan Bray was preoccupied in *The Friend*. Instead, she studies the culture of 'comradeship', 'good fellowship' in contemporary parlance, usually associated with excessive drinking and resulting in superficial

intimacy in a fleeting, public context as part of a group. This was part of a counter-culture of youth masculinity, much attacked at the time by moralists whose complaints Shepard is able to use to probe the values underlying the behaviour that they deprecated. Indeed, she even finds that there may have been a more overt sexual overtone to such polemic than was usually openly expressed. The paper enriches our view of early modern social relations by further illustrating the range of behaviours in which different kinds of relationships might be expressed.

Laura Gowing reconsiders friendships between women in early modern England, seeing them as having a political dimension, but a different one from that associated with men. In doing so, she draws on some extraordinary correspondence between close female friends to illustrate the degree of intimacy that existed at the time, and the tensions that this engendered, particularly in relation to the state of marriage which it was presumed was a woman's natural duty. In particular, using the case of Frances Apsley and the future Queen Mary, she shows how women could have strong friendships described in quasi-marital terms, which then had to be mediated with the actual marriages that the partners entered into and the childbearing that followed. She also argues that, by the late seventeenth century, this was becoming more problematic than hitherto, reflecting a change in attitudes mirroring but different from that observed by Bray for men.

In her essay, Naomi Tadmor broadens the scope of the book by considering an important semantic shift in the concept of 'friendship' as presented in the Old Testament, a key text for early modern religious and social values. As she shows, whereas 'friend' and 'neighbour' were used in distinct, if sometimes interchangeable, ways in the Hebrew Bible, in English translations from Wyclif onwards a significant change occurred so that 'neighbour' was made the prime term for moral injunctions concerning fellow men, reflecting a telling shift towards the language of manorial and parochial life. It was in this context that mutual 'love' was enjoined, and she indicates how pervasively the concept was deployed in the early modern period, in official injunctions, catechisms, and more popular pronouncements. For Tadmor, in a radically different yet not alien way to Bray, friendship's meaning was shaped by the particular characteristics of early modern social relations.

Tim Hitchcock seeks to explore the way in which class distinctions interrelated with notions of masculinity in eighteenth-century England, looking particularly at beggars and other figures on the margins of society. He considers the extent to which, in circumstances of destitution, it was possible to retain any sense of identity at all, but finds that in practice

the poor and dependent adopted a range of personas which interrelated effectively with the expectations and anxieties of men of higher rank. Those down on their luck might attempt to draw on previous friendships and obligations to obtain support. Beggars might appeal to values of religious sincerity, or present themselves as the maimed victims of militaristic nationalism. More common still was the role of trickster, which re-established a sense of independence on the part of the poor man in duping his social superior. Through case studies based on court records and the autobiographical literature of the period, Hitchcock illuminates the possibilities and impossibilities of friendship on the margins of society.

In his chapter, Adam Sutcliffe explores the way in which friendship related to the philosophical universalism of the Enlightenment. Central to his exposition is the figure of Spinoza, seen in the eighteenth century as the archetype of the philosopher – remote and universal – yet also as a friend, indeed a philosopher who uniquely inspired friendship, not least among his followers after his death. Spinoza was also a Jew, and this adds a further dimension to Sutcliffe's exposition, which focuses on the friendship between another Jew, Moses Mendelssohn, and the influential Enlightenment figure, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Matters were complicated by the hostility to the intimacy between the two men and the values underlying it on the part of Friedrich Jacobi, which acted as a test of this, with different ethics of friendship emerging: Jacobi saw friendship as inextricably linked to (Christian) faith. Yet, as Sutcliffe indicates, the racial difference between Jews and gentiles could itself interrelate with and to an extent dissipate the effect of gender stereotypes of the day. In all, in Enlightenment discourse, friendship comes across as a transcending influence, humanising philosophy and acting as a bridge between the universal and the particular, and Sutcliffe ends by reflecting on this in the context of the views on friendship of Derrida and of Alan Bray.

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With the publication of *The Friend* and this garland of offerings prompted by its method and its message, friendship has arrived, as a concept around which fruitful historical conversations may evolve. Representation and experience, men and women, the mundane and the poetical, the expressive and the repressive: friendship is in them and of them. For the friend, as early modern readers knew, is a mirror of sorts. Just as identity is

an amalgam of what we are, what we hope to be, and what we are told we ought to be, so are our friends. Some are intimates in unbridled self-exploration, others exhortative guides towards self-improvement, and yet others take us as we are. While seeking friends in the past, we may find some unfamiliar configurations, but we will also delight in the discovery of that which transforms our understanding of ourselves.

This realisation may not be the crux of Alan Bray's understanding, but it is one we could not have reached without him. Bray confronts us with a world of friendships lost. *The Friend* unveils friendships past, which few historians had appreciated before him, only to lament their passing, as an old world turned into a new. Yet, as this book's rich contributions show, intimacies were woven in new and unexpected places: at the tables of rich burghers, between the bedclothes of servants, among the down-and-outs on city streets, in the minds of religious polemicists, during bouts of male drinking, in the letters of philosophers, and in the vision of those who gave the Bible to the English-speaking people. There were doubtless others, too, for historians to discover and understand. It is an exciting prospect.

Notes

1. A.L. Rowse, *Homosexuals in History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1977); see Alan Stewart's discussion of the two, 'Homosexuals in History: A.L. Rowse and the Queer Archive', in K. O'Donnell and M. O'Rourke (eds), *Love, Sex, Friendship and Intimacy Between Men, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 51–67.
2. M. Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 148.
3. See, for example, B. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); J. Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); A. Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); M. DiGangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
4. A. Bray, 'Epilogue' to T. Betteridge (ed.), *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 164–8; see also Stewart, 'Homosexuals in History'.
5. J. Goldberg, 'Margaret Cavendish, Scribe', *GLQ*, 10/3 (2004), 433–52, on p. 450 (n. 7).
6. See p. 21 of this book at n. 32.
7. A. Bray, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop Journal*, 29 (1990), 1–19.
8. A. Bray and M. Rey, 'The Body of the Friend: Continuity and Change in Masculine Friendship in the Seventeenth Century', in T. Hitchcock and M. Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities 1660–1800* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp. 65–84.

9. P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2000).
10. A. Bray, 'To Be a Man in Early Modern Society: The Curious Case of Michael Wigglesworth', *History Workshop Journal*, 41 (1996), 155–65. On the social and economic anxieties of manhood, see A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
11. J. Masten, 'Toward a Queer Address: The Taste of Letters and Early Modern Male Friendship', *GLQ*, 10/3 (2004), 367–84.
12. J. Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship* (London: Verso, 1992).
13. F. Harris, *Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
14. M. de Montaigne, *The Essays*, trans. John Florio (London; 1603, facsimile; Menston: Scolar Press, 1969), p. 91.
15. See for example D. O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
16. L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977).
17. N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
18. For details, E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 260; K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Britain* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 223.
19. B.P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988); J. Haseldine, 'Friendship and Rivalry: The Role of *amicitia* in Twelfth-Century Monastic Relations', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), 390–414; J. Haseldine, 'Understanding the Language of *amicitia*: The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (*c*.1115–1183)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994), 237–60.
20. E. Bos, 'The Literature of Spiritual Formation for Women in France and England, 1080–1180', in C. Mews (ed.), *Listen Daughter: The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 201–20.
21. The *longue durée* encourages smoother chronologies: see J.M. Bennett and A.M. Froide (eds), *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
22. *The Friend*, pp. 16–22, 106–8.
23. The monument was discussed by Bray, John Bossy and Eamon Duffy on 'The Kiss of the Crusaders', BBC Radio 4, 12 June 1999, 2:30 p.m.
24. On brotherhoods see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ch. 4; M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 250–9; V. Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Religion and Social Change in Cambridgeshire, 1350–1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1996); on Italy see J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
25. *The Friend*, pp. 261–7.
26. See for example B. Rizzo, *Companions Without Vows: Relationships among Eighteenth-Century British Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994);

S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), ch. 4.

27. P. Cullum, '"And hir name was Charite": Charitable Giving by and for Women in Late Medieval Yorkshire', in P.J.P. Goldberg (ed.), *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c.1200–1500* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992), pp. 182–211; K.J. Lewis, 'Women, Testamentary Discourse and Life-Writing in Later Medieval England', in N. Menuge (ed.), *Medieval Women and the Law* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), pp. 57–75.
28. See, for example, the Visitation, c.1310 by Meister Heinrich of Constance, at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Some of these ideas were communicated in a paper delivered by Miri Rubin to the Women's History Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research , University of London, on 12 November 2004.
29. The artist Bill Viola created the video installation 'The Visitation': see the catalogue *Bill Viola: The Passions*, ed. J. Walsh (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003).