FRAMING PREMODERN DESIRES
Between Sexuality, Sin and Crime

Programme

Thursday, April 3

FRAMING INTERPRETATIONS
Venue: Tehdasteatteri, Manilla, Itäinen Rantakatu 64, Turku

17.15  Registration at Tehdasteatteri
18.00  Welcoming words by Satu Lidman (University of Turku)

What Happens Between the Covers: Writing Premodern Desire for Audiences Beyond Academia. A presentation by Lois Leveen (Portland, Oregon)

The Possibilities of Interpreting the History of Sexuality by the Means of Scholarly Methods and Fiction. Discussion chaired by Tom Linkinen (University of Turku)

John – Eleanor
A puppet theatre piece for adults based on London court records from 1394, performed by Timo Väntsi and Tom Linkinen.
FRIDAY, APRIL 4

FRAMING PREMODERN DESIRES. Between Sexuality, Sin and Crime
Colloquium venue: Keynotes in Auditorium Janus in Artium and sessions in seminar rooms in Minerva; Sirkkala campus, Kaivokatu 12, University of Turku

8.30 Registration in the main hall of Artium
9.00 Welcoming words by Marjo Kaartinen (TUCEMEMS, University of Turku)
9.00–10.30 Jonas Liliequist (Umeå University)
Between Passion and Lust – Framing Desire in Early Modern Sweden
Chaired by Marjo Kaartinen
10.30–11.00 Coffee
11.00–13.00 Sessions I
13.00–14.30 Lunch
14.30–16.30 Sessions II
16.30–17.00 Coffee
17.00–18.30 Faramerz Dabhoiwalal (University of Oxford)
The First Sexual Revolution
Chaired by Marjo Kaartinen
20.00 Conference dinner
Venue: Aula Café, Itäinen Rantakatu 4–6, Turku
Saturday, April 5

FRAMING PREMODERN DESIRES. Between Sexuality, Sin and Crime
Colloquium venue: Keynotes in Auditorium Janus in Artium and sessions in seminar rooms in Minerva; Sirkkala campus, Kaivokatu 12, University of Turku

8.30 Registration in the main hall of Artium
9.00 Welcoming words by Kirsi Salonen (University of Turku)
9.00–10.30 Dror Zeevi (Ben-Gurion University of Negev)
  *Sex Could Change, Gender Should Not: Bodies in the Sixteenth-Century Middle East*
  Chaired by Kirsi Salonen
10.30–11.00 Coffee
11.00–13.00 Sessions III
13.00–14.30 Lunch
14.30–16.30 Sessions IV
16.30–17.00 Coffee
17.00–18.30 Garthine Walker (Cardiff University)
  *Rape, Culpability and Desire*
  Chaired by Kirsi Salonen
18.30–19.00 Closing of the colloquium by Satu Lidman
SESSIONS I. Friday, April 4: 11.00–13.00

A. From Clerical Marriages to Polygamy: Shaping and Reshaping Spaces of Sin, Sexuality and Shame in Reformation Germany

Venue: Seminar room Jäntere (E121), Minerva
Chair: Stefan Schröder (University of Helsinki)

Sini Mikkola (University of Helsinki): Between Bedchamber and Public Shame – Martin Luther on Sexual Norm-Breaking

Päivi Räisänen-Schröder (University of Helsinki): Horror and Fascination: Contemporary Tales of Sexuality, Sin and Crime in Anabaptist Münster, 1534/35

B. Women's Control and Agency

Venue: Seminar room Juva (E119), Minerva
Chair: Meri Heinonen (University of Turku)

Rose-Marie Peake (University of Helsinki): Bad Women, Good Women – And One Illustrious Man: the Role of Saint Vincent de Paul in the Policing of Female Sexuality in Seventeenth-Century France

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (University of Tampere): "Bellial, veni veni ad me!" Diabolical Love in Late Medieval Hagiography

C. Love and Desire

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (University of Turku)

Hanna Kietäväinen-Sirén (University of Jyväskylä): Burning Desire and Marital Duty – Popular Views on Sexual Love in Early Modern Finnish Countryside

Johanna Vernqvist (University of Linköping): Negotiations of Desire and Sexuality in Novella 47 in the Heptaméron

Kendra Willson (University of Helsinki): Negotiating Illegal Love Poetry in Icelandic Sagas

Carin Franzén (University of Linköping): Love and Desire in the French Moralist Discourse
SESSIONS II. Friday, April 4: 14.30–16.30

A. Body, Soul and Sin: Narrating, Performing and Negotiating Sexuality in Premodern Ego-Documents

Venue: Seminar room Jäntere (E121), Minerva
Chair: Sini Mikkola (University of Helsinki)

Päivi Salmesvuori (University of Helsinki): Performing Sin: What Can Be Known About Confessions?

Stefan Schröder (University of Helsinki): Experienced, Imagined and Narrated Desires in Holy Land Travelogues

Mareike Böth (University of Kassel): Narrating Desires and Desiring Narration in the Letters of Elisabeth Charlotte, Princess of the Palatinate and Duchess of Orléans (1652–1722)

B. Beasts and Incest

Venue: Seminar room Juva (E119), Minerva
Chair: Jonas Liliequist (University of Umeå)

Jose Caceres Mardones (University of Zurich): He Must Have Seen, Heard or Learnt Such Beastly Nature From Somebody...: Bestiality in Reformed Zurich during the 17th Century

Ken Ird (University of Tartu): Absence and Presence: Bestiality in the Early Modern Livonian Society

Bonnie Clementsson (University of Lund): Consensual Incestuous Relations in Premodern Sweden

C. Sexuality and Devotion

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (University of Tampere)

Ben Ambler (Arizona State University): Same-Soul Sexuality between Medieval Religious: Peter of Dacia and Christina of Sommeln

Meri Heinonen (University of Turku): Friedrich Sunder and Mystical Eroticism

Andrea Pearson (American University, Washington DC): It's In His Kiss: Holiness and Homoeroticism in Early Netherlandish Art

Arianna Strusi (Torino University): To be One with God: A Bodily Participation to God's Transcendence
SESSIONS III. Saturday, April 5: 11.00–13.00

A. Law and Justice

Venue: Seminar room Jäntere (E121), Minerva
Chair: Faramerz Dabhoiwala (University of Oxford)

Thomas Parry-Jones (University of Cambridge): Sex and Impulses Toward Sin: What is Natural in Medieval Roman Law

Paolo Angelini (KU Leuven): The Repression of Sexual Crimes in Byzantine Law and its Reception Among Slav Populations

Marianna Muravyeva (Oxford Brookes University): "The woman with two sets of genitals": Hermaphrodites, Crime and Attitudes to Deviancy in 18th-Century Russia

Mia Korpiola (University of Helsinki): Policing Sexual Crime in the Church Courts of Reformation Sweden, 1590–1610

B. (Pre/extra)marital Control

Venue: Seminar room Juva (E119), Minerva
Chair: Garthine Walker (Cardiff University)

Merili Metsvahi (University of Tartu): The Sexual Habits of Estonians in the Descriptions of the 16th–18th-Century authors

Mari Välimäki (University of Turku): Young Men, Marriage and the Community in Seventeenth-Century Turku, Finland

Tomasz Wislicz (Polish Academy of Sciences): Dialectics of Virginity: Controlling the Morals of the Youth in the Early Modern Polish Countryside

Sofia Gustafsson (University of Helsinki): Shades of Helskian Lechery in the 1750's

C. Illicit Dreams and Desires

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: Anu Korhonen (University of Helsinki)

Juliette Lancel (EHESS, Paris): The Dream and the Sin: Erotic Dream in the France of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Tom Linkinen (University of Turku): Frames of Possibilities of Medieval Same-Sex Sexual Arousal in Reading Apocalyptic Poetry

Kaye McLellan (University College London): "A Grisly Passage": Gender, Desire, and the Disabled Renaissance Body

Janne Skaffari (University of Turku): To Have Sexual Intercourse with (Somebody): A Lexical Journey in Late Medieval England
A. Elite and Popular

Venue: Seminar room Jäntere (E121), Minerva
Chair: Marjo Kaartinen (University of Turku)

Gerhard Fritz (University of Education Schwäbisch Gmünd): A Nobleman Talks about Sexuality: The Chronicle of the Counts of Zimmern (16th Century)

Tim Reinke-Williams (University of Northampton): Attitudes to Ejaculation in Early Modern England

B. Writing Sin and Desires

Venue: Seminar room Juva (E119), Minerva
Chair: Mari Välimäki (University of Turku)

Karen Hollewand (University of Oxford): The Early Works of Hadriaan Beverland (1650–1716): The Ideas of a Scholarly Libertine on Sexual Lust and Original Sin

Kathleen Smith: Sin in Intention: The Bifurcation of Desire and Will in Medieval English Pastoral Manuals

Marita von Weissenberg (Xavier University): Chastity as Gendering Male Identity in Biographies of Late Medieval Saints

Liv Helene Willumsen (University of Tromsø): Crimes Related to Immorality in the Seventeenth-Century Finnmark, Northern Norway

C. Desire Beyond Sex: Lust, Longing, and Debauchery in the History of Sensuality

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: Dror Zeevi (Ben-Gurion University of Negev)

Farid Azfar (Swarthmore College): Strange Flows: Love in the Time of the Indus

Lisa Jane Graham (Haverford College): Debauchery, Desire, and Discipline in Eighteenth-Century France

Bethel Saler (Haverford College): Exiled "from his dearest connections": The Longing of U.S. Consults in North Africa
ABSTRACTS

**Lois Leveen** (Portland, Oregon): *What Happens Between the Covers: Writing Premodern Desire for Audiences Beyond Academia*

What do you wish the world knew about premodern desire? How can we creatively disseminate our scholarly research to audiences beyond academia?

This presentation examines the risks and rewards of sharing scholarly insights about premodern sexuality and desire with mainstream audiences—and it provides a case study for integrating history and literary fiction. Juliet's Nurse (Simon & Schuster, 2014), my forthcoming novel, offers a detailed exploration of female sexuality in Trecento Italy, in the form of a revisioning of the world's best known and most cherished love story, Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet. Instead of focusing on the eponymous young couple, the novel examines the experience of the nurse, the character who has the third largest number of lines in the play, and who is both narrator and protagonist of the novel. In Shakespeare's drama and in my retelling, Angelica is a bawdy, loving figure whose physicality, as both the wife of "a merry man" and a hired wet nurse, occupies the intersections of sexual and maternal desires.

As an academically trained scholar, I use fiction to teach history to novel readers. Juliet's Nurse draws on scholarly research about topics that include the religious coding of maternal and marital desires, medieval childbirth and lactation practices, and premodern beliefs about sexual health, to imagine the life of a woman whose intense sexual, physical, and emotional attachments are set against an era beset by plague. In "What Happens Between the Covers", I offer examples of how this history is translated into literary fiction, while inviting the scholars of premodern desire who are in attendance at the colloquium in Turku to share their thoughts—and concerns—about how to deepen non-academic audiences' understanding of the varieties of sexuality and sexual practices that characterized late medieval and early modern societies.

**Jonas Liliequist** (Umeå University): *Between Passion and Lust – Framing Desire in Early Modern Sweden*

In distinguishing desire-as-appetite from romantic or “true love”, William Reddy has posited what he claims to be a unique Western conceptual dualism that first evolved during the High Middle Ages. The distinction goes back to the fundamental antagonism between spirit and flesh formulated most explicitly by St. Paul in Galatians 5:17. While desire-as-appetite conforms to the concept of the flesh, romantic love was according to Reddy an attempt to overcome this polarization by spiritualizing and moderating sexual desire into a sublime, purified feeling of “true love”. Reddy’s study is grounded in the period 800-1200. With the Reformation, celibacy was no longer an ideal, but a distinction between what was seen as indiscriminate physical lust and spiritually passionate love continued to be of fundamental relevance. The aim of this presentation is to provide examples of how this distinction was played out and negotiated in three social arenas – medical training, the courts of justice and poetic culture.
Faramerz Dabhoiwala (University of Oxford): *The First Sexual Revolution*

As many of the papers at this conference explore, sexual discipline was a central feature of premodern society. Across the Christian world, all sex outside marriage was illegal, and great efforts were devoted to its public policing and punishment. Yet by 1800 this traditional world-view had been shattered by revolutionary new ideas — that consenting adults should have the right to do what they liked with their own bodies; that men were more lustful than women; that morality could not be imposed by force. This was the first sexual revolution, which laid the foundation for our modern ways of living and thinking. My talk will illustrate some of its main features in the English-speaking world: its different effects for men and women; heterosexual and homosexual behaviour; and the dividing line between private and public affairs.

Dror Zeevi (Ben-Gurion University of Negev): *Sex Could Change, Gender Should Not: Bodies in the Sixteenth-Century Middle East*

One corollary of the common “one-sex model,” or, to be more precise, the assumption that women were imperfect versions of men, was that biological sex was unstable and malleable to some extent. Long before sex-change operations and transsexuality, Ottoman medical experts assumed that sex could sometimes change even without human intervention. This belief stood in clear contrast to the law’s strict separation of the sexes. Since Islamic religious codification revolves around carefully gendered space—from private houses, to mosques, public baths, festivities, and even funerary rites, the fear of unstable sexuality created an inherent tension. My talk will describe some of the consequences of this inherent tension.

Garthine Walker (Cardiff University): *Rape, Culpability and Desire and in Early Modern England and Wales*

In this paper, I shall explore the ways in which culpability for rape was understood by early modern people. Modern concepts of victim blaming (which focus on women and girls who have been raped rather than the men who raped them) and of rape culture (which again puts the onus for avoiding rape on women rather than on men) often seem transhistorical. However, in the early modern period, people had distinct understandings of the causes of rape. Earlier in the period, rape was commonly viewed in two ways: as an ordinary expression of male sexual desire to which any man might succumb and as an extraordinary and monstrous demonstration of unnatural desires. During the eighteenth century, the latter view of the unnatural lusts of the rapist became dominant, and it was as part of this process, I shall argue, that women came to be held far more responsible for the sexual behaviour of ordinary men. By the end of the eighteenth century, ‘modern’ notions of victim-blaming had emerged that remain with us in the present day.
A. From Clerical Marriages to Polygamy: Shaping and Reshaping Spaces of Sin, Sexuality and Shame in Reformation Germany

Venue: Seminar room Jäntere (E121), Minerva
Chair: Stefan Schröder (University of Helsinki)

In the turmoil of the Reformation(s), central ideas about marriage and sexuality were negotiated anew and filled partly with radically new meanings, ranging from the marriages of the soon-to-be Lutheran clerics to the biblically inspired social experiments of the Anabaptists. Starting from the idea that an important moment of identity-building was the exclusion of religious, social and moral norms and practices attributed to the religious “others”, the session explores how normative and deviant sexuality was understood among two Reformation groups, Lutherans and Anabaptists.

Sini Mikkola (University of Helsinki): Between Bedchamber and Public Shame – Martin Luther on Sexual Norm-Breaking

Martin Luther’s (1483–1546) understanding of human sexuality has been discussed in various studies of gender and Reformation history. However, much of this scholarship has focused mainly on the ideals and norms concerning female sexuality. Thereby the focus of this paper is the lesser explored topic of male sexuality, and the norms Luther created and/or enforced for men specifically. The topic will be discussed by using several cases from a variety of Luther’s texts. A revealing example of norm-breaking and shame is Luther’s discussion on impotent and castrated men who both deserved public shame, albeit for different reasons. Further, expressions of Luther’s own sexuality are also under scrutiny. They reveal the way Luther constructed his own masculinity and sexuality according to the norm she saw fit for every man. These cases will be compared to Luther’s discussion on the sexual appetites of his opponent, elector Joachim I of Brandenburg. All of the cases illustrate strict norms concerning male sexuality, some of which Luther adopted from his predecessors, and some of which he created to meet his readings of the Bible. Not only had the question of norms and norm-breaking to do with bodiliness, class and gender, but also with societal, ecclesiastical, and political motives. I will argue that the norms Luther applied for the men discussed in this paper were a part of his efforts to justify his view of both the gender system and the social order in the midst of the confessional, and thereby societal and political, turmoil of his day.

Päivi Räisänen-Schröder (University of Helsinki): Horror and Fascination: Contemporary Tales of Sexuality, Sin and Crime in Anabaptist Münster, 1534/35

Päivi Räisänen-Schröder examines popular contemporary narratives about one of the most shocking and discussed events in 16th century Germany: the Anabaptist kingdom in Münster 1534/35, where adult baptism, community of goods and polygamy were established as new social and religious norms. The numerous stories describing sinful sexuality in the besieged city are here understood as
processes of negotiating moral, sexual and religious norms within the own, only just emerging "confessional identity" or culture. The focus is thus less on the Anabaptist "insider" view of the events than on the "outside" contemporaries discussing and denouncing Münsterite practices.

B. Women’s Control and Agency

Venue: Seminar room Juva (E119), Minerva
Chair: Meri Heinonen (University of Turku)

Rose-Marie Peake (University of Helsinki): Bad Women, Good Women – and One Illustrious Man: The Role of Saint Vincent de Paul in the Policing of Female Sexuality in Seventeenth-century France

In the history French seventeenth-century social history one name rises above others: that of saint Vincent de Paul (1580–1660, canonized 1737). The century was one of intensive religious revival especially for elite women who founded many new congregations. De Paul headed or acted as protector of almost all of them and has, thus, for a long time been credited as the primus motor of the spiritual awakening.

In this paper I will take a closer look at the institutions headed by de Paul concerning the policing of female sexuality. De Paul was involved for example in the creation of the notorious Hôpital Général of Paris accused of locking up loose women and other marginal populace. He also supervised the monastery of former prostitutes called the Madelonettes. In addition, de Paul directed several religious lay communities who likewise aimed at edifying loose women. Special attention is paid to the relations between the elite women and the saint in order to re-evaluate the significance of the role of the saint in the social movements of the period.

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (University of Tampere): "Bellial, veni veni ad me!" Diabolical Love in Late Medieval Hagiography

The link between women and sexual lust is evident in the religious teachings of the Middle Ages. In the clerical rhetoric, women were typically seen as a weaker vessel both spiritually and physically; their insatiable lust enticed men to sin and because their bodies were more open women were also more prone to demonic possession.

According to the medieval mode of thought, malign spirits could literally possess a person – this attack was understood in physical terms, the demon often entered through body openings and dwelled inside the demoniac. Thus, the above-mentioned quotation "Devil, come to me" uttered by a Cistercian nun and recorded in a canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino in 1325, can also be understood as having sexual undertone. There are other, but surprisingly few examples of sexual relationship between the possessed and demons. Furthermore, other occasions when women’s bodies were even more "open" than normally and could be considered as impure, like menstruation, pregnancy or giving birth, do not appear as potential risk-factors for spirit possession for the
medieval laity testifying about their personal miraculous experiences in canonization processes.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the link between sexuality, gender and demons. What kind of interconnection between sexuality and demonic possession can be found in late medieval hagiographic material?

Unsurprisingly, intercourse with a demon was often a result of sinful lust but it was not connected with witchcraft or forming a pact with the Devil, as in the Early Modern Era. As a point of comparison the ideas witches having sex with the Devil are pondered; in that context marriage – a hierarchical relationship sealed with intercourse – was the accused witches’ way to depict their relationship with the Devil. The accused women were seduced and found themselves deceived and in submissive position. This is in clear contrast to the cases of medieval hagiography where the possessed where eventually liberated by the exorcising powers of a saint; they were beneficiaries of divine grace and integrated back into the society.

C. Love and Desire

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (University of Turku)

Hanna Kietäväinen-Sirén (University of Jyväskylä): Burning Desire and Marital Duty – Popular Views on Sexual Love in Early Modern Finnish Countryside

This paper examines popular views on sexual relations and love between man and woman in early modern Finnish countryside (ca. 1650–1700). The following questions are addressed: What was the connection between love and sexuality and marriage? How was love manifested via sexual relations? How was female and male sexuality seen? These topics are examined by way of analysing district court cases handling fornications, adulteries and engagement and marital disputes. Both emotions and sexuality have their subjective, physical side, but the ways they are represented and narrated are profoundly cultural and social. Historically they can be approached via the narrative conventions of their culture and time.

In early modern times sexuality was strictly regulated by the crown, whereas love was defined by the Lutheran theory of marriage. Popular views and meanings were then a blend of these official norms and folk traditions. Sexuality was one significant way to represent and interpret love, but it was legitimate only in marriage. In marital life sexuality was crucial: sexual relationship started the marriage, kept it valid and fulfilled its aim of reproduction. Sexual union was a sign and cement of marital love, even called a duty. Outside marriage sexual love was more often described as burning desire or even spell, making people forget honour and decency. Early modern love had a lot to do with hierarchical gender roles: men loved by concern and kindness, women by submission. In sexual relations, men were expected to be active conquerors, women to be virtuous and passive. In extramarital relationships the contradictory and negative view on female sexuality was especially prominent.
Johanna Vernqvist (University of Linköping): *Negotiations of Desire and Sexuality in novella 47 in the Heptaméron*

The Neo-platonic philosophy had its breakthrough in the early modern period with Marsilio Ficino’s *De amore* 1474, in which a male homosocial (even sexual) relationship is preferable. Marguerite de Navarre wrote her collection of novellas, the Heptaméron, in the 1540’s and she had been interested in the philosophy on love from a young age, ordering a translation of Ficino’s work in 1520’s. However, in novella 47 this philosophy gets debated; a friendship between men at first described as the perfect relationship is challenged when one of the men marries a woman. The two men live together and are mentioned as "one in heart and soul", sharing everything and sleeping in the same bed. At first, the marriage is not a problem. The three of them continue to live in the same house, sharing the bed and all other things "but one". However, the married man starts to suspect his wife and comrade to have an affair. His jealousy will develop into a conflict between the two men that leads to a re-definition of parafait amour from homosocial to heterosexual normativity. The nail in the coffin is the sexual act that finishes the novella and forever ends the male friendship. In my paper I assess the different negotiations of desire and sexuality that Marguerite de Navarre stages in this novella and throughout her work against the backdrop of a more general discussion of love in the early modern period.

Kendra Willson (University of Helsinki): *Negotiating Illegal Love Poetry in Icelandic Sagas*

The Old Icelandic legal compendium Grágás includes the stipulation: "If a man writes a love poem [mansöngur] to a woman, this warrants full outlawry. The woman has the right to pursue the case if she is 20 or older. If she does not wish to have the case pursued, her legal guardian also has the right to pursue the case." [Ef maðr yrkir mansöng vm cono oc varðar scog gang. kona asök ef hon er xx. eða ellre. ef hon vill eigi søkia látá. oc a lavg raðande hennar sökena. (Grágás 1852: II, 184)] This appears in a chapter "On poetry" (Vm scaldskap) (Grágás 1852: II, 183–184) which restricts both mocking verse and praise. This stipulation can be viewed as part of the complex of clauses on defamation, which is frequently sexual Meulengracht Sørensen 1983), and as reflecting the status of poetry as powerful language, carrier of lasting reputation (orðstir) in an honor-based society. Gurevich and Matyushina (2000: 498–570) discuss the connection between love poetry and sexual defamation [níð], contending that poetry was viewed as powerful magic. The determinant man- (n.) appears originally to mean 'bondsman' (later 'maid' probably via 'bondswoman'), so the 'maid-song' may connote coercion. (In the later rímur tradition, mansöngur comes to refer to a first-person lyrical prologue to a narrative poem.)

The saga literature contains instances of love poetry which is punished by the addressee's relatives (e.g., Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskálds, Ólafs saga helga, Vatnsdæla saga, Ölkofra þáttir) but also cases in which no action is taken (e.g. Egils saga Skalla-grímssonar, Fóstbrœðra saga). I will discuss how responses to the poetry are negotiated in the discourse of the sagas. Analogous negotiations are seen in connection with other potentially actionable speech acts, such as giving nicknames (cf. Grágás 1852: II, 182).
References


Carin Franzén (University of Linköping): Love and Desire in the French Moralist Discourse

Against the backdrop of early modern debates concerning human passions, the paper focuses on the so-called French moralists, intimately related to the Parisians salon culture. Refuting every system, preferring to transgress the disciplines of literature, philosophy and theology, the moralists excelled in genres such as occasional poetry, maxims and correspondences. By examples taken from François de La Rochefoucauld (1613–1680), Charles de Saint-Évremond (1610–1703) and Ninon de Lenclos (1620–1705), I discuss the ambiguity of early modern ideas of love and desire. One aim is to demonstrate how the moralists articulated their discursive practice in dialogue with religious doctrines, Descartes' rational conception of the passions, as well as materialism. The intersections between Augustinian, rational and libertine configurations of love and desire are assessed as various attempts to come to terms with the boundaries of gender roles, sexual identity and the ontological fundamentals of the human being.

SESSIONS II. Friday, April 4: 14.30–16.30

A. Body, Soul and Sin: Narrating, Performing and Negotiating Sexuality in Premodern Ego-Documents

Venue: Seminar room Jäntere (E121), Minerva
Chair: Sini Mikkola (University of Helsinki)

The session focuses on the processes of imagining, performing, and narrating sexuality and sin for a specific audience — and thus also: negotiating, conceptualizing and shaping both social norms and literary forms. The complex relationship between one's body and soul and the salvific dangers of sinful sexuality are at the core of the presentations. The individual papers present close readings of specific medieval and early modern negotiation processes in so-called ego-documents:

Päivi Salmesvuori (University of Helsinki): Performing Sin: What Can Be Known about Confessions?

Päivi Salmesvuori examines the performances and communication processes between medieval confessors and confessants. What can be known about the processes and does Michel Foucault's interpretations about the meaning of medieval confession help to understand them?
Stefan Schröder (University of Helsinki): *Experienced, Imagined and Narrated Desires in Holy Land Travelogues*

Stefan Schröder analyzes how spiritual and bodily desires were described and modified in late medieval pilgrimage accounts for different – i.e. clerical and lay – audiences. He asks e.g. what ideas of manhood the narrating pilgrims transported and how they tried to control their desires when encountering exotic women or confronted with stereotyped images of Muslim sexuality. Far away from home the question arose, if or to what extent domestic definitions of sin were valid in foreign cultures.

Mareike Böth (University of Kassel): *Narrating Desires and Desiring Narration in the Letters of Elisabeth Charlotte, Princess of the Palatinate and Duchess of Orléans (1652–1722)*

Mareike Böth’s paper focuses on the connections between desires and narration/writing in the letters of Elisabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate. By examining the semantic fields of lust, delight, debauchery and sin the paper analyzes how the married Duchess of Orléans perceived the various forms of desire, which she encountered at the French Court and how she used these perceptions in order to position herself and others in the social field and the discursive order of her time. In doing so, Böth argues, writing itself as a way of getting close to her beloved relatives becomes a practice of desire for Elisabeth Charlotte.

**B. Beasts and Incest**

Venue: Seminar room Juva (E119), Minerva  
Chair: Jonas Liliequist (University of Umeå)

Jose Caceres Mardones (University of Zurich): *He Must Have Seen, Heard or Learnt Such Beastly Nature from Somebody...: Bestiality in Reformed Zurich during the 17th Century*

About fifty men were accused of bestiality – sexual practices with animals – in the city state of Zurich during the 17th century. The Zurich council conceived bestiality primarily as a form of sodomy. However by the second half of the century bestiality began to appear as an independent crime by itself.

These sexual crimes usually came to the knowledge of Zurich council through the local bailiffs who would either seek advice from the council or hand over the case on to the council entirely. In the later case, the council would then appoint two of its members to question the accused and the witnesses. At the same time they would collect the reports by the bailiffs or by the clergy. This process generated large amounts of documents which now allow us to grasp different aspects of the lives of the various accused, and of the perception of bestiality by the temporal and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as the social environment at the time.

This paper aims to investigate the understanding and perception of the sexual practices, and desires of those involved in bestiality. It will do this by analyzing the reports and court proceedings left by
the temporal and ecclesiastical authorities, as well as the corresponding answers from the accused men. This would allow us to ask questions about the nature of bestiality, helping us to define the borders between animal and human being, the agency of animals and the physical, cultural and social perception of these sexual practices and desires. Within these topics the paper puts the main emphasis on the relationship between animal and human being: the heterogeneity and complexity of the relationship to the animals is central to understanding and reconstructing this human-animal sexual practices and desires.

**Ken Ird** (University of Tartu): *Absence and Presence: the Bestiality in the Early Modern Livonian Society*

In early modern Europe the common Lutheran beliefs condemned almost every extramarital sexual behavior, although the general loathing was foremost inflicted on "unnatural" sexual acts. In respect thereof, the rapidly centralizing early modern states in Europe, including orthodox Lutheran Sweden, took the chance to implement a so called "new morality" policy in order to gain a more effective control over the everyday life of their subjects. This kind of policy was also clearly expressed in the Baltic provinces of Sweden, where the state and the local Lutheran church cooperated for the purpose of bringing more sexual delinquencies in court. This kind of collaboration did not stop after the Great Northern War (1700—1721) when the Baltic provinces were conquered by the Russian Empire, and it is best exemplified by the cases of bestiality against local Estonian-speaking peasantry in the County Court of Pärnu.

In the early modern Pärnu County Court the cases of bestiality were closely connected to the official ideology disseminated by the local Lutheran Church, through which a common view on bestiality as an "unnatural" and "outrageous" act was formed. This kind of understanding applied not only to the German-speaking higher estates but also to the local Estonian-speaking peasantry. The proceedings of bestiality in early modern Baltic provinces were an outcome of both local and transnational trends of statesmanship, jurisprudence and social and religious conduct of the era. Therefore, the shrewd actions of the local clerical and state institutions transformed the cases of bestiality into a "horror crime" in the local society and thus helped to soothe the fears and desires of the common people in a more controlled manner.

**Bonnie Clementsson** (University of Lund): *Consensual Incestuous Relations in Premodern Sweden*

The word incest has very negative connotations. It is often associated with violence, abuse and exploitation, where the persons involved consist of a perpetrator (parent) and a victim (child). But the concept also includes consensual sexual relationships between close family members, which are defined as prohibited by the law. My studies concern these consensual relations from 1700 until today.

Although sexual relations between close kin have been restricted by law or by custom in most
societies, in one way or the other, the forms and the consequences of the regulations have varied extremely depending on which region and time period one studies. This indicates that the regulations at least to some extent are socially constructed.

In premodern Europe the regulations concerning incest were more extensive than today and it was not only members of the nuclear family who were forbidden from having a sexual relationship with each other. During the 18th century, the Swedish law made no distinction between biological relatives (consanguinity) and those who were relatives by marriage (affinity). In Sweden, regulations were very strict; it was a capital offense for a man to have a sexual relationship with his sister as well as with his deceased wife’s sister until 1734. After 1734, the death penalty was still imposed, for example, if a man had sexual relations with his stepmother or his uncle’s widow.

How did the courts consider these crimes in practice? And how did the local community react when these kind of crimes were exposed? These are questions I aim to answer in my research. I see the prohibitions as expressions of society’s attitudes toward not only religion and sexuality, but also toward individuality, freedom and happiness. It is also important to consider how a family has been defined.

C. Sexuality and Devotion

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: Sara Katajala-Peltomaa (University of Tampere)

Ben Ambler (Arizona State University): Same-Soul Sexuality between Medieval Religious: Peter of Dacia and Christina of Sommeln

Since its development around the fin de siècle, the nomenclature of sexual orientation in English has signified sexual desire, behavior, and identity relative to sexed bodies. When we discuss, for instance, homosexuality, we understand the term in reference to attraction for a body of the same sex. This monolithic signification obscures the many other characteristics which underlie erotic desire. We assume that the 'homo' in 'homosexual' signifies a sameness of sexed bodies when, in fact, the term itself poses no such restriction on what sameness the 'homo' might represent. I propose that the 'homo-' in 'homosexuality' (and its corollary prefixes) be semantically liberated from an essential reference to bodies. In this paper, I would like to remind of the term’s broader signifying possibilities by way of illuminating the way the Christian tradition inflects certain sexualities, moreover allowing further illumination of the complexities of sexuality for medieval religious.

The relationship between amanuensis Peter of Dacia and holy woman Christina of Sommeln in the twelfth/thirteenth-century, for instance, demonstrates the presence of a medieval, sexual orientation based on a sameness of spirituality rather than of bodies. As is evident from Peter’s Latin biography of Christina and the surviving letters they wrote to each other, when they observed signs of spiritual "cleanness" in each other, they experienced erotic desire. A sameness of sinlessness, an
attraction to each other’s virtue, is demarcated as the catalyst of their attraction. Moreover, as Peter and Christina gained mutual proximity to their respective spiritual cleanliness they experienced a sexual desire at odds with their aspirations toward chaste hearts.

By casting light on the spiritual, rather than corporeal, inflection of medieval sexual orientations, this paper aims to extend our understanding of the non-discrete — even recursive— natures of chaste and sexually-active behavior among medieval religious.

**Meri Heinonen** (University of Turku): *Friedrich Sunder and Mystical Eroticism*

The metaphor of marriage or a love relationship (often expressed as sexual interaction) was central in the writings and experiences of several of the medieval religious. Usually, it described the intimate contact and union between a person or his/her soul and God in the experiences of mystics. The language was derived from the Song of Songs and it became extremely popular from the twelfth century onwards, when the number of commentaries on the Song of Songs increased significantly.

As several studies on medieval religiosity have shown in recent decades, the soul of both men and women could be understood as the female bride or spouse of the male God, although the language of love was more common when discussing the experiences of women than men. Some examples of men describing themselves as female brides do exist, however, including a convent chaplain Friedrich Sunder (1254–1328). His Gnadenleben relates that the (feminine) soul of Sunder entered the bed of love with little Jesus. In bed Jesus’s mother Mary united Sunder’s soul with her son and in this union they had joy and contentment with each other in embracing and kissing and laughing, as well as in all godly enjoyment. In addition to this marriage with Christ child God gave Sunder St Agatha as his spouse and he also formed a marriage-like agreement with a beguine Gertrude. In my presentation, I will discuss the use of erotic mysticism in Sunder’s Gnadenleben and the ideas of gender and gendered behaviour in his different discussion on mystical marriages.

**Andrea Pearson** (American University, Washington DC): *It’s In His Kiss: Holiness and Homoeroticism in Early Netherlandish Art*

In what ways might spiritually erotic themes bear upon carnal desire and sexual practices in early modern Europe? How did forms of religious expression set values and determine boundaries for putatively sinful types of corporal practices, such as same-sex activity? My paper pursues these questions through the study of an innovatory pictorial theme rendered by sixteenth-century Netherlandish painters Joos van Cleve, Quinten Metsys, and their followers. The subject, described in the art-historical literature as “the Infants Christ and St. John the Baptist Embracing”, represents the two protagonists in a tender yet urgent embrace. Provocatively, they also engage in a passionate kiss. Here, then, is a potentially erotic encounter in an unlikely place: between two infants.

My presentation seeks to understand the imagery of the embracing infants through their presumed eroticism and, more importantly, through the motif of the kiss. Yet if these features are to be taken as fundamental to meaning, a related aspect of the works also must be pursued, namely, that the
two figures engaged in this passionate encounter are male. I will explore the erotics of devotion and desire, the boundaries between normative and transgressive homoeroticism, and the possibilities of early Netherlandish spectatorship to demonstrate the place and participation of the images in contemporaneous debates about faith and sexuality. Such explorations reveal in part that while the images condemn same-sex carnal expression by arresting the action between the two infants, they also tolerate it, at least to a degree, by depicting it in the first place. In these representations, in which two of the most important figures of Christianity could be considered as erotically engaged, could there not have been, for a viewer with same-sex desires, a glimmer of forgiveness?

Arianna Strusi (Torino University): To be One with God: A Bodily Participation to God’s Transcendence

My paper intends to propose a part of my doctoral research project regarding, in general, female mystic figures in the Middle Ages. In particular, I would like to present the controversial relationship between the bodily aspect and the faith in God within the female mystical experience. The high Middle Ages is adorned by female figures that have dedicated their life to their faith in God, with or without taking ecclesiastical vows. Starting from the figure of Hildegard of Bingen, it is possible to retrace a lot of female names that have left some important testimonies about their spirituality. Their type of manifestation of faith has been generally related by scholars to the Mystic movement. A lot of these women indeed lived some ecstatic and visionary moments, that have been transcribed as statement. In this kind of moments, these women were committed to participate to the divine essence: the descriptions of this experience refer to a sort of interior abduction, as their bodily part was completely disconnected to the spiritual one.

As Sara Poor said, "while men write literature, women write women's experience". In order to really enter inside the topic, I would like to analyse a single figure as example: Hadewijch of Brabant. Inside her works, within her words, it will be possible to understand what means to be one with God.

SESSIONS III. Saturday, April 5: 11.00–13.00

A. Law and Justice

Venue: Seminar room Jäntere (E121), Minerva
Chair: Faramerz Dabhoiwala (University of Oxford)

Thomas Parry-Jones (University of Cambridge): Sex and Impulses toward Sin: What is Natural in Medieval Roman Law

A typical view of medieval natural law theory presents two parts: a ius naturale that is identified with God's creation and is hence uncomplicatedly good, and a law of peoples (ius gentium) that accommodates universal but often morally problematic human institutions such as slavery, war and private property. However, the inclusion of the natural instinct to procreate in this former category,
acknowledged in both Justinian’s Digest and Gratian’s Decretum, presented medieval academic lawyers with serious moral problems. Building on Rudolf Weigand and James Brundage’s work on the canon law, this paper will examine how medieval Roman lawyers sought to accommodate humankind’s appetite for sinful sexual intercourse within their legal framework. Focusing on key passages in the Glossa ordinaria of Accursius (1182–1263) and the commentaries of Pierre de Belleperche (ca. 1230–1308) and Cinus of Pistoia (1270–1336), I will show how the moral relationship between the two "natural laws" became inverted, as natural behaviour was treated as illicit and had to be tamed by the rational ius gentium. Tracing this strand of juristic thought back to the influential early thirteenth-century jurist Azo (ca. 1150–1225), I will show how medieval Roman lawyers had to venture beyond their discipline and borrow from the theological debates of the period over first movements towards sin in human psychology. It was only by doing so that the lawyers were able to incorporate natural instincts towards sinful behaviour within the Roman law, develop a model of desire and action, and identify which impulses were morally and legally reprehensible.

Paolo Angelini (KU Leuven): The Repression of Sexual Crimes in Byzantine Law and its Reception among Slav Populations

The paper focuses on the repression of sexual crimes in Byzantine society, in particular on the dispositions of the Prochiron, one of the most popular Byzantine juridical compilations, which had a strong influence on the other Byzantine legal texts, like the Basilika and the Eisagoge, and on the Slav juridical compilations redacted after the conversion to the Orthodoxy.

The 39th title of the Prochiron dealt with criminal law, which was closely connected to the Orthodox morality: several dispositions repressed a large number of sexual crimes as fornication, adultery, rape, incest, homosexuality and sexual relation with animals, providing severe physical penalties and mutilations, like the cutting of the hand (χειροκοπεῖοσθαι), of the nose (ρινοκοπεῖοσθαι), of the tongue (γλωσσοκοπεῖοσθαι), of the penis, blinding (τυφλοῦσθαι), flogging (τύπτεσθαι) and exile, but also the death penalty (κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται).

The symbolic cutting of the nose was generally provided for adultery, for rape and sexual relations with churchwomen (§ 43, 62, 64, 68), while the cutting of the penis was provided for sexual relations with animals (ξωφθορία § 74).

Flogging was generally provided for fornication (πορνεία, § 44, 59). Beating, exile, and the confiscation of one third of the goods, were provided as accessory sanctions to the cutting of the nose, for the rape of a married or not; the confiscation was augmented to one half of the property if the girl was a minor of 13 years, thus ante pubertatem (παρθένοφθορία §§ 60, 65–68).

Adulteries in flagrante delicto could have been killed and the indulgent husband (πορνοβοσκός), was condemned to be flogged and exiled (μοιχεία and lenocinium, §64). Incest was punished with the death penalty (αἱμομείξα, § 42), while sexual relations with relatives by marriage were punished with the usual cutting of the nose and of the hair (§ 69). The supreme penalty was also provided for homosexuals (σέλεως, § 73).
This repression of sexual crimes was introduced among the Slav populations, together with physical mutilations and the death penalty, which were unknown to their customary law before the conversion to Christianity.

The Zakon sudnyi Ljudem (Bulgaria and Russia, 13th century’s redaction) the Zakonopravilo of Saint Sava (Serbia, 13th century, containing the integral Serbian translation of the Prochiron) and the Code of Dušan 1349–1354 (Serbo-greek empire, 14th century) show the reception of the juridical contents of Byzantine penal law for sexual crimes among the Slav populations in the late Middle Ages.

**Marianna Muravyeva** (Oxford Brookes University): *"The Woman with Two Sets of Genitals": Hermaphrodites, Crime and Attitudes to Deviancy in 18th-Century Russia*

Russian sexualities were clearly constructed under the patriarchal and rigid eye of the Orthodox church, which not only observed the purity of the society but continued to punish for sexual offenses even after its jurisdiction was tremendously limited by Petrine reforms (1700–1725). This paper deals with attitudes to crime and sexual deviancy through the cases of hermaphroditism, which were considered as derivation from normative practices and harshly prosecuted under sodomy charges. Those cases tried by church courts in the 18th century allow us to understand what the church and society saw as normative, how they constructed the body and the limits of accepted deviant sexual behavior.

**Mia Korpiola** (University of Helsinki): *Policing Sexual Crime in the Church Courts of Reformation Sweden, 1590–1610*

The division of jurisdiction of sexual crime between ecclesiastical and secular courts had not been stable in medieval Sweden. In the late Middle Ages, certain serious sexual crimes (bestiality, certain incest cases and bigamy) had been transferred into the secular sphere. Yet, the Reformation signified a wholesale revision of the jurisdictional boundaries. In Sweden, the Reformation church courts lost their independent right to punish sexual crimes and levy fines. Instead, their powers were reduced to ecclesiastical discipline and reconciling the sinner or criminal to the spiritual community after the secular court had adjudicated the case.

Although the functions of ecclesiastical discipline, contrition, satisfaction and reconciliation, were theoretically separate from punishing, yet in practice, it is more useful to see the post-Reformation church courts even more pronouncedly as an important part in the total package of policing sexual crime. However, the practice of the Swedish dioceses varied to some extent and regional variations are evident.

As a rule, the ecclesiastical courts acted in cooperation with secular courts. For example, adulterers appeared at the chapter after being convicted by worldly magistrates. Ecclesiastical courts could also request the aid of the secular arm in handling obdurate sinners. Sexual crimes, mainly adultery and
fornication, formed a large portion of the daily business of the cathedral chapters of Sweden. Nevertheless, the secular fines for adultery may seem less punishing than the public whipping at the church door. Indeed, public whippings and shaming penalties seem to have become more common in the Swedish post-Reformation ecclesiastical courts. But despite the hardening of attitudes and control, there was still space for pastoral care for souls in individual cases.

The surviving protocols of four Swedish church courts (Uppsala, Stockholm, Linköping and Västerås) form the sources of this presentation.

B. (Pre/extra)marital Control

Venue: Seminar room Juva (E119), Minerva
Chair: Garthine Walker (Cardiff University)

Merili Metsvahi (University of Tartu): The Sexual Habits of Estonians in the Descriptions of the 16th-18th Century Authors

In the chronicles, itineraries and other descriptions of Estonians' ways of life written in early modern time, the sexual behaviour of Estonians has caught the attention of several authors. Relatively free sexual life before marriage, no concept of virginity in Estonian language and in Estonians' mind, and other similar observations have been pointed out by the writers.

The earliest author whom I am going to introduce is the chronicle Balthasar Russow. Russow wrote in 1584 that during the Saint John's Night, Feast of Saint Peter's, Saint Paul's and Saint Mary's days, Estonian peasants had big fires and held the Epicurus-style of life in every part of the country, where amongst other activities, they also fornicated.

The second author, whose descriptions I am going to introduce more in detail is August Wilhelm Hupel, a pastor who lived in Livonia and Estonia from 1757 to the end of his life in 1819. Hupel could speak Estonian and was well acquainted with the customs of Estonian peasants. At the end of the 18th century he also wrote about the premarital pregnancy that was usual among Estonians.

In the second part of my presentation I'll give some background information about the history of Estonian family structure that can explain why the sexual habits of Estonians could have been as described. I will refer to the fact that Christianity reached Estonia relatively late and was accepted only gradually by the Estonian peasants. I will also consider the hypothesis proposed by the archaeologist Marika Mägi and historian Nils Blomkvist that Estonian society was matrilineal before the 13th century. In this respect, I will bring forward some evidence from the folklore and language materials that support this hypothesis.
Mari Välimäki (University of Turku): Young Men, Marriage and the Community in Seventeenth-Century Turku, Finland

In 1668 Petter Munck, a master tailor, and Olof Jacobson, tailor's journeyman (skreddare gesellen, in Swedish), came to the lower city court (Kämners rätt) of Turku. The pair had had a fight because the master tailor had stated that the journeyman will not get a job if he marries the woman he had courted. According to the master tailor the woman, Judith Mårthensdotter, was a woman of a bad reputation and marriage with her would also ruin the prospects for Olof. The master tailor told Olof straight forwardly what he thought about the couple’s relationship and at the same time, perhaps, expressed the opinion of a wider community.

The presentation will be based on court cases that concerned the process of getting married (e.g. fornication, breach of marital promise and assault). These cases will be examined from the male perspective. In the focus are men accused and/or examined in the lower city court of the 17th century Turku, a Finnish coastal and academic town. Here it will also be taken into consideration how the different communities (university, guilds and so on) within the town reacted to men’s behavior. Was the above described involvement of the master tailor to the journeyman’s marriage a usual practice or was it rare for the community members to challenge the possible marriages? The presentation will be based on case studies and it will present some preliminary results from my doctoral thesis.

Tomasz Wislicz (Polish Academy of Sciences): Dialectics of Virginity: Controlling the Morals of the Youth in the Early Modern Polish Countryside

According to the ethnographic representations of the customs of Polish peasants, their sexual morals were extremely strict and showed almost complete interiorization of the norms of the Catholic Church. The glorification of premarital chastity and low rates of bastardy would confirm the general picture. This opinion, based on the research made in the second half of the 19th century, has been lately criticised as an ideological construct. Nonetheless there is still lack of historical research on this subject, especially as regards the "pre-ethnographic" period, that is early modern times.

My paper will focus on the conditions of taking up sexual activity by unmarried persons of both genders in the Polish countryside of the 16th–18th century. I will argue that peasant community was relatively tolerant to premarital relations in spite of the declared norms, the policy of the Church, and the prescriptions of the law. The peasants' effective norm consisted in ignoring the sexual intercourses of the unwed persons as long as a child was not conceived. Only at this point the community interfered, encouraging or forcing the guilty to get officially engaged, or – if marriage was impossible or undesirable – ordering alimony. As a result brides and grooms usually were sexually experienced persons and yet officially perceived as chaste. The functioning of this effective norm will be explained as a part of wider process of the socialization of the youth in the cultural, social and economic circumstances of the early modern Polish countryside.
Sofia Gustafsson (University of Helsinki): \textit{Shades of Helsinkian Lechery in the 1750’s}

In July 1757 Annica Henriksdotter was accused of loose living and vagrancy in the court in Helsinki. Her story reveals some typical features of the distinction between sin and crime when it came to immoral sexual behavior in mid-eighteenth century Helsinki.

The arrival of thousands of soldiers to Helsinki in the 1750s for fortress construction and garrison duties most probably had an impact on the morality and the selling of sexual services in town. However, the providing of such services could be done in many ways; some were considered more immoral than others.

Already in the Early Modern age the army was accompanied by camp women, who could sell domestic and sexual services to a soldier for a longer or shorter time. The arrangement was considered to be temporary and did not aim for marriage. This kind of arrangements certainly existed in Helsinki as well; the most well-known case was probably the housekeeper of the commander Augustin Ehrensvärd himself, mademoiselle Bromell. Usually the court did not interfere with these couples if no children were born.

In Annica’s case, the problem was obviously that she did not have a single relationship, but was making her living providing services for several soldiers. However, the most important issue for the court was that she was a vagrant without employment. If someone would have been willing to employ her, she could have walked out as a free woman. But Annica was an outsider with an earlier verdict for theft and no townsman or officer wanted to employ her.

Even if the law was clear, in practice there was a thin line between sin and crime; enough for most women never ending up in court for their sexual behavior and poor Annica to end up in the spinning-house.

C. Illicit Dreams and Desires

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: Anu Korhonen (University of Helsinki)

Juliette Lancel (EHESS, Paris): \textit{The Dream and the Sin: Erotic Dream in the France of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries}

Can a dream offend God? During a period in which the faith in prophetic dream tends to decrease, the sexual dream is, more than ever, problematic. An antique anecdote, frequently quoted by modern French authors who debates about dreams, recalls that Julius Caesar would have dreamed that he slept with his mother as a promise of conquests, because symbolically the earth is the mother of all mankind. The French philosopher François de la Mothe le Vayer (1588–1672) replies that God would never have permitted to let Caesar’s imagination be « criminal ».

Indeed, the sexual dream is understood in many different ways during these two centuries: a sin, a
divine sign, even sometimes a catharsis to keep people away from sins. When some authors give some medical advices and useful prayers in order to insure a chaste sleep and prevent wet dreams, others suggest technics or recipes to prompt erotic dreams as a catharsis, especially sometimes, during the eighteenth century, to preserve girls' purity and reputation.

Studying the way sexual dreams were interpreted in these different texts is a high stake to understand the complexity of sexuality and desire's perception in premodern France's mentalities, in an approach which involves history of ideas, epistemology and historic anthropology.

**Tom Linkinen** (University of Turku): *Frames of Possibilities of Medieval Same-Sex Sexual Arousal in Reading Apocalyptic Poetry*

Poetry focusing on apocalyptic fantasies as a particular genre flourished in the high and later middle ages. Visions of nightmares taking place in hell were popular within this genre. The most renowned pieces of this kind of poetry from medieval England include The Monk of Evesham's Vision, the twelfth century Latin text which circulated in England through the Middle Ages, and its fifteenth-century English translation and widened re-interpretation The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham. And, William Dunbar's poem Fasternis Evin in Hell, also known as the Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins, written in late fifteenth-century Scotland is another dream-vision concerning eternal tortures for sinners in hell. These texts include descriptions of same-sex group sex taking place in the eternity of hell as rather ultimate punishments for sexual sins in general.

In my paper I will to analyze these descriptions by framing possible readers' interpretations among the later medieval audiences, and focus on the possibilities of sexual fantasies in readers' responses. I also want to note the spectators' experiences of the generations of witnesses of the Lincoln Cathedral stone frieze concerning "sodomitical" tortures in hell – despite that their experiences lack any surviving sources and may only be guessed. My approach situates in history of possibilities, a focus which takes into account not the mere probabilities of history. I wish to anchor my suggestions in surviving traces of reader's responses and experiences from the medieval culture.

**Kaye McLelland** (University College London): *"A Grisly Passage": Gender, Desire, and the Disabled Renaissance Body*

This paper draws on my research into the links between violence and liminality in the works of Spenser and Shakespeare, working within a framework of bisexual theory as it intersects with, and comments on, queer theory. My research identifies and focuses on five elements of Renaissance fascination with the spaces outside and between everyday norms and rules: life stage, gender, sexuality, psychology, and physical disability. It also conceptualises liminal states and spaces as escapes from, responses to, or causes of violence.

In order to engage with the burgeoning field of disability studies within early modern criticism, I use disability theory to discuss the interplay between violence, sexuality, and the disabled body in
Renaissance texts. This period saw an increase in depictions of the able, normate body, owing to the development of medical dissection and the study of anatomy. I consider the impact of these body norms on the perceived genders and sexualities of people with disabilities and their corresponding cultural and social roles. I ask whether the homoeroticism of sword fighting results in a wounded body that is still the object of a sexual gaze, or whether disability, in the early modern sense of being rendered unable to perform one’s role in life, serves to remove that body from the erotic economy as well as from the combative one. I also discuss the fetishisation of the female disabled body and what it means to be disabled in a Renaissance narrative.

I examine extracts from Spenser’s The Faerie Queene and Shakespeare’s Titus Andronicus and compare them with other Renaissance cultural texts in the form of Montaigne’s writings and the sermons of the Calvinist preacher Thomas Adams. I investigate to what extent the wounded, disabled, Renaissance body occupies a liminal space between living and dead.

Janne Skaffari (University of Turku): To Have Sexual Intercourse with (Somebody): A Lexical Journey in Late Medieval England

Our knowledge about sexual desires and activities in the Middle Ages is framed in words: it is the topics selected and lexical choices made by medieval authors, translators and scribes that allow us a glance at how they and their readers viewed sexuality. The proposed paper discusses such words in Middle English, the vernacular of post-Conquest, pre-modern England (c. 1100–c. 1500).

Middle English texts display the use of hundreds of new words, both native and borrowed, which have provided rich pickings for historical lexicologists and lexicographers. The most important lexical resource for linguists working on medieval data is the Middle English Dictionary. The online edition of the MED offers valuable tools to researchers, including advanced searches combining semantic and grammatical information. This makes possible the journey through Middle English vocabulary, particularly verbs, in this paper.

While it is impossible to estimate how many words referred to sexual desires or activities in spoken Middle English, it is easier to envisage what types of meaning such words conveyed in written texts, and what they could be used for. In the medieval context, sexuality may well be expected to have had a negative connotation rather than a neutral one, particularly in religious texts; and a word associated with sex in the dictionary may not have denoted sexual activity but, for example, abstaining from it. The primary sources cited in the MED will shed light on these questions.

Surveying every Middle English verb which carries an explicitly defined sexual meaning, this paper explores the semantic subfields to which such verbs belong, studies their origins and considers the range of uses and contexts recorded for them. The objective is to reconstruct and review the lexical resources available for vernacular writers in medieval England who in their works discussed desires or sins of sexual nature.
Gerhard Fritz (University of Education Schwäbisch Gmünd): A Nobleman Talks about Sexuality: The Chronicle of the Counts of Zimmern (16th Century)

In the 1550s Froben Christoph of Zimmern (1519–1566), a count belonging to a family of Swabian noblemen in South Western Germany, had to hide himself for several months because of mighty enemies. For Froben Christoph this time was useful to write a chronicle. At a first glance one could think that the Zimmern chronicle is one of the normal chronicles, telling the history of the noble family and the family's heroic deeds. But the Zimmern chronicle is more: Froben Christoph does not only characterize the members and ancestors of his family in a rather exact and unusual way with a lot of rather astonishing psychological observation but he also tells a lot of cultural anthropology, especially a lot of sex stories. The sexually active persons begin with the Habsburg emperors, the king of France, followed by a series of dukes, counts and other noblemen. Bishops, abbots, capitulars, monks, nuns, and priests seem to have been especially active, but Froben Christoph also tells stories of peasants, burgesses, businessmen and their sexual delights and harms. Froben Christoph is an extremely exact writer, he is highly interested in sexual details, a lot of his texts consist of real pornography. Surely the Zimmern chronicle does not give an objective description of sexuality but the chronicle gives a very elaborate impression of the manner how noblemen talked about sex. There is no other German chronicle and no other nobleman of this time who gives such extensive information about sexuality.

The 16th century society is described as sexually very permissive, but there are some points where sexual activities begin to be criminalized. In my lecture I would present the opulent panorama of Zimmern’s imaginations of sexuality, the tolerance of his society and the limits of tolerance.

Tim Reinke-Williams (University of Northampton): Attitudes to Ejaculation in Early Modern England

As part of a broader project on "leaky" male bodies in early modern England, this paper uses depositions from secular and ecclesiastical courts alongside ballads, diaries, jest-books and plays to explore beliefs about and attitudes towards men’s ejaculation of semen between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, a period in which knowledge of the body was said to have moved from a humoral model influenced by classical writers to one in which Cartesian dualism held sway. Cultural historians of the early modern body have offered a range of perspectives and arguments with regard to how early modern people interpreted the act of ejaculation. The ability of the male body to emit semen was regarded in a positive light as a physical signifier that an individual had achieved manhood, and as a sign of health, strength, fertility and sexual aggression, but ejaculation also signified weakness since the moment of orgasm was one in which the male body became leaky,
often but not always in response to the actions of a woman. As such ejaculation was regarded as a moment when men displayed both their manliness and effeminacy simultaneously, and fantastical narratives about and physical examinations of those labelled hermaphrodites, along with descriptions in erotic literature of female bodies emitting fluids at moments of sexual climax problematised the idea that ejaculation was a distinctively male bodily attribute. Moreover, throughout the period concerns were expressed in both learned treatises and cheap print about when and why men ejaculated semen, and the inability of a husband to emit semen was deeply problematic since it prohibited him procreating, an action which the Christian churches regarded as a primary purpose of the institute of marriage.

B. Writing Sin and Desires

Venue: Seminar room Juva, Minerva
Chair: Mari Välimäki (University of Turku)

Karen Hollewand (University of Oxford): The Early Works of Hadriaan Beverland (1650–1716): The Ideas of a Scholarly Libertine on Sexual Lust and Original Sin

My paper will focus on Hadriaan Beverland (1650–1716) and his works De Prostibulis Veterum (On the Prostitution of Antiquity), De Peccato Originali (On Original Sin), and De Stolotae Virginitate Iure (On the law of Draped Virginity) composed in the Dutch Republic between 1670 and 1680. Beverland was an exceptional figure in the late 17th century. Many thinkers were influenced by the new ideas on philosophy and theology that emerged after 1600, but Beverland stands alone in his focus on sexual lust. His radical works on sexual liberty were heavily criticized by secular and religious authorities and well-known among contemporary intellectuals because of their obscene content.

In his De Peccato Originali, published in two editions in 1678 and 1679, Beverland concentrated on the Biblical story of Adam, Eve and the Devil in the Garden of Eden. He argued that the sexual relations between Adam and Eve had caused the Fall of Man and claimed that sexual lust had consequently become dominant in all human beings. Like his work on women (De Stolatae Virginitate Iure, published in 1679), his study of original sin originated in a larger work Beverland was composing: his De Prostibulis Veterum. In this work, which was never published but of which the first book survives in manuscript, he focused not only on original sin and the dominance of sex in all of mankind, but in particular on the consequences of the importance of sexual desire in human history, exploring the presence of sexuality in religion, art, literature, and language.

Beverland was banished from the Dutch Republic in 1679 for his ideas and moved to England, where he died, destitute and paranoid, in 1716. His story continues well into the 18th century however, as adaptations of the De Peccato Originali were published in Paris, Amsterdam and Berlin in French and German between 1714 and 1774. In my paper I will explore Beverland's ideas on sexual lust and original sin as expressed in his works and position him in the context of late 17th century. Focusing on the origins of Beverland ideas and the connection of his viewpoints to other (radical) ideas that emerged in the Dutch Republic and Europe after 1650, in this paper I will argue that Beverland's De
Kathleen Smith: *Sin in Intention: The Bifurcation of Desire and Will in Medieval English Pastoral Manuals*

To what extent did desire constitute a morally meaningful category in the Middle Ages? In this paper I will examine the treatment of the mental processes of desire, will, and intention in late-medieval English pastoral manuals, focusing on the ways in which the manuals conscript or confine the idea of sin to distinct categories of mental actions. While many of these writings focus on the sin of lust, and therefore the problem of desire as a kind of sin, just as often, they identify desire as an a-moral or pre-moral category. In other words, the manuals suggest that sin is a consciously willed decision, marked by a clear intention, and desire, though it may precede sin, does not in itself constitute sin as such. Writers of English pastoral manuals made room in their theology for the fluctuations of human desire, and more broadly, for the often blurry experience of consciousness. This kind of desire, that they understood to precede the will, stood apart from the rigors of willed and conscious mental action which were judged and accounted for in the domain of confession and penance. As I will demonstrate, the writers of manuals such as *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, *Handlyng Synne*, and *Instructions for Parish Priests* offer instead a theory of intention as sin, which they often defined as the combination of desire and the consent of the will to desire. This important nuance to the theory of sin calls into question the Foucaultian notion that confession aimed at regulating desire, suggesting instead that medieval preachers saw human sexual desire as simply an integral part of life and the experience of consciousness for their lay people, and looked instead to willed and conscious thought as the measure of sin.

Marita von Weissenberg (Xavier University): *Chastity as Gendering Male Identity in Biographies of Late Medieval Saints*

Most medieval saints set themselves apart from society in general and the family in particular in order to more fully dedicate themselves to God. For married saints from the late Middle Ages this was not always an option. Both female and male saints, who began their pursuit of Christ prior to, or during, marriage, fit their lived piety and relationship to the Divine into the framework of their secular lives. Their religious calling is portrayed by authors against backdrops of the household and the communities they lived in: the duties, expectations, and demands of their secular lives often play an important part in the narratives of holiness, both as juxtapositions to, and opportunities for, the individual’s exceptional piety. Bearing and fathering children was an important social and familial expectation. In order to bring children into the world, the saint must needs participate in sex, or risk secular consequences to avoid it. Late medieval biographies of married saints are thus filled with sex – or, more usually, the wished or demonstrated absence thereof.
Scholarship has shown that for female saints' virginity, chastity, and abstinence were an important part of the saint's relationship to Christ and identity as both Christians and women. By examining how men's chastity is described in a selection of biographies of late medieval saints, I will discuss how male chastity and participation in sex was framed as central for the individual but also for the family. Men's chastity and sexual activity was not only a private matter, but a social concern as the male represented familial continuity and social obligation.

**Liv Helene Willumsen** (University of Tromsø): *Crimes Related to Immorality in the Seventeenth Century Finnmark, Northern Norway*

This presentation will discuss crimes related to sexuality in seventeenth-century Finnmark, Northern Norway. Based on court records from the district of Finnmark for the period 1620–1700, criminal cases related to women as well as men will be studied as for frequency, contents, verdict and sentence. The outcome of the trials will be discussed in relation the Danish and Norwegian laws in function throughout the century and the judicial practice in local courts in Finnmark, which were located far from the central authorities in Copenhagen. Special attention will be paid to the interpretation of the laws by the judicial officials and the severity of punishment for the different types of sexual crimes. The gender situation will be focused, particularly with regard to adultery and the legal authorities’ reaction to this crime.

In addition to questions related to the legal authorities and the courts, attention will be paid to the preaching of the church and the attitudes of the leading Danish theologians in the period in question, particularly Niels Hemmingsen and Jesper Brochmand. As scripture from these leading figures within the church were known in Finnmark at an early stage, it is of interest to examine how their main works relate to the understanding of immorality as a crime in Early Modern Finnmark. The role of the state and the interaction between courts and church will be seen as fundamental in order to throw light on the question how immorality was treated by the judiciary and how this affected Early Modern women as well as men in a peripheral area of Scandinavia.

**C. Desire Beyond Sex: Lust, Longing, and Debauchery in the History of Sensuality**

Venue: Seminar room Litzen (E117), Minerva
Chair: **Dror Zeevi** (Ben-Gurion University of Negev)

The papers on this panel all explore the idea of desire at points of methodological pressure in the global eighteenth century. They are focused especially on cases in which the histories of gender and sexuality diverge, producing new worlds of interpretive questioning around the relationship between the history of sexuality and the history of sensuality. Each paper examines a form of sensual reckoning – debauchery, lust, longing – that is not reducible to sexual desire, but which comes into contact with that desire in unpredictable ways. Each also explores the fragmentary nature of the texts and archives we use to understand the history of desire. In what ways is desire as
evanescent, non-linear and suggestive as the texts we use to understand it? Together these papers spotlight different ways in which the subject of desire fragments the categories we use to understand it, producing previously unfathomable networks of causal possibility. They pose a question, which we will place before the seminar, about the theoretical frameworks we can use to interpret the historical picture that results when these situated accounts of desire, attuned to the contingent mentalities and materialities of different times and places, are posed simultaneously.

**Farid Azfar (Swarthmore College): Strange Flows: Love in the Time of the Indus**

This paper explores the place at which the history of rivers meets the history of sexuality, where river time meets queer time, through an examination of two texts about the eighteenth-century Indus, the first a cycle of poems by Sufi mystic Shah Abdul Latif, the second a travel narrative by Scottish adventurer Alexander Hamilton. Both texts pose questions about the complicated relationship between sexual desire, a sensual desire for place, and a historical desire for accessing the past. In exploring these questions, the paper will draw on ideas from queer theory and cultural geography, broaching their implications for a history of desire written as a history of sensuality.

**Lisa Jane Graham (Haverford College): Debauchery, Desire, and Discipline in Eighteenth-Century France**

This paper explores the shifting meaning of debauchery in eighteenth-century France by comparing police archives to medical texts and popular novels such as Prévost’s Manon Lescaut. Contrary to current usage where debauchery refers to sexual dissipation, the term encompassed a spectrum of activities related to the regulation of desire in the early modern period. In other words, debauchery included, but was not limited, to sex. What constituted debauchery and how was debauchery related to policing and power?

Under the Old Regime, individuals could petition the crown to detain members of their family on charges of debauchery. This process of extraordinary justice relied on secret arrest warrants known as lettres de cachet. Drawing on these archives, this paper examines the requests and the official responses to them in order to reconstruct the logic that sustained this practice until the end of the Old Regime. In the later decades of the eighteenth century, the lettres de cachet were targeted as part of a broader effort to reform the judicial system and attack despotic authority. They were abolished in 1791 during the French Revolution. In addition to the police archives, the paper evokes the cultural resonance of debauchery through glances at medical discourse and literature. I argue that debates about debauchery and its association with pleasure reflected deep anxieties about the problem of human desire in an emerging commercial society. Many men and women feared that unregulated desires threatened the survival of social life. Debauchery provides a category for tracing the regulation of desire between the regimes of Christian sin and enlightened pleasure at a pivotal moment in European culture.
This paper explores longing, an emotional relative of lust, but laced with melancholy, shame, and fictional pasts. More specifically, this essay explores the frustrations, contradictory reactions and most of all, the longing—for national and personal recognition, commercial trade, family ties, and the Islamic alterity that both repelled and entranced U.S. consuls in North African states in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Poorly funded, American consuls in Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli navigated the early American republic's weak, subject position and expressed their profound resentment at having to put up with the "insolence and degradation" meted out by their North African hosts. Drawing on diplomatic and personal letters of consuls as well as newspaper reports and American captivity narratives of their lives as "slaves" in North Africa, this paper will tease out the distinctions and blurring of desire and longing and of cultural and political wants.