UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

'Probleme of Sexes'

Representing the Renaissance Hermaphrodite

Ruth Gilbert

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

Faculty of Arts

May 1996

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

ENGLISH

Doctor of Philosophy

'PROBLEME OF SEXES'
REPRESENTING THE RENAISSANCE HERMAPHRODITE

by Ruth Gilbert

This thesis addresses the way in which the hermaphrodite troubled Renaissance ideas about gender, sexuality and the sexed body. It explores how the hermaphrodite was represented in primarily English texts and images throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As well as literary and artistic representations of sexual ambiguity, the thesis examines legal and medical case histories, popular ballads and broadsides, and treatises about monsters and prodigies. It traces a trajectory from the late sixteenth-century depictions of the hermaphrodite as a figure of erotic ambiguity to its representation within an emerging culture of colonial, scientific and pornographic excitement in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

Drawing from Ovid's founding myth of Hermaphroditus, the thesis focuses on the disjunctures between the spiritual and philosophical ideal of androgyny, and the cultural confusion generated by hermaphroditic figures. Hermaphroditism disturbed rigid systems of definition and the hermaphrodite was used to signal wider cultural anxieties about moral and social decay.

The study focuses on the gender debates of the 1620s and the propaganda of the English Revolution to illustrate the way in which the monstrous hermaphrodite was figured as a fitting symbol for the fragmentation of traditionally gendered political structures. It also addresses the hermaphroditic processes of artistic and scientific (pro)creativity in the works of John Milton, Francis Bacon and William Harvey. The thesis aims not only to show that the hermaphrodite challenged what it meant to be, or to act like, a man or a woman in Renaissance culture, but also to highlight the ways in which sexually ambiguous figures provoked a questioning of what it meant to be human.

Probleme of Sexes; must thou likewise bee
As disputable in thy Pedigree?
'The Author to his Hermophrodite',
John Cleveland (1651)

Contents

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the British Academy whose financial support made it possible for me to undertake this project. I would like to thank the staff of the British Library (especially those in the North Library), the Hartley Library, the Warburg Institute, the Wellcome Institute, and the London Medical Institute. I am also indebted to the staff of the Cartographic Unit at the University of Southampton for reproducing the illustrations to the thesis with efficiency and good humour.

Jonathan Sawday has been an inspiring and generous supervisor. I am grateful to him for his ideas, his encouragement and his interest in the project. Several people have commented on individual chapters, shared their own work with me, and advised me about translations. In particular, I am indebted to Anthony Archdeacon, Helen Boulter, Mark Thornton Burnett, Lorraine Daston, Erica Fudge, Jonathan Gough, Bill Marshall, Kate McLuskie, Katharine Park, Stephen Pender and Susan Wiseman.

I am grateful to Claire Jowitt and Siân Jones who have been there for me both practically and emotionally throughout the time of my postgraduate study. I also thank Wendy Barrett for all her support, and Peter Betts for the warmth and respect of his friendship. My mother, Yvonne Keen, and sisters Deborah Ezekiel and Zara McQueen have all helped me in their own ways. I am especially indebted to my late grandfather, Louis Lewis, for the love and generosity he showed to me over the course of many years.

My deepest (and most inexpressible) debt is to Amanda Boulter. I dedicate this thesis to her and to our new family.

Bibliographical Note

In quoting from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts I have retained the old spelling but silently altered i, j, v, and long s. Punctuation is retained as it appears in the early texts, unless confusion might arise.

References to Paradise Lost, plays by Shakespeare, and The Faerie Queene are to the following editions, unless otherwise stated:

John Milton, The Poems of John Milton, ed. by John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London: Longman, 1968)

William Shakespeare, The Complete Works, ed. by Peter Alexander (London: Collins, 1951)

Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977)

INTRODUCTION

'Probleme of Sexes'

In the mid-seventeenth century the Reverend John Ward, a physician and natural historian, undertook an observational trip through the counties of England. In his diary he reported that he had seen a notable sight just outside of Worcester:

> An hermaphrodite [...] his testicles large and his penis out of measure big yet unfit for generation as my Landlord said he did believe. I and Mr. Trap saw him. Hee goes dressed upward as a woman in a kind of wastcoat and Bodies: but Breeches on.[1]

Ward made no attempt to explain this figure and made no further mention of it in his diary. His brief and puzzling reference to this hermaphrodite illustrates the way in which, for a twentieth-century reader, Renaissance representations of hermaphroditism consist of fragments which can only ever be partially recovered. This thesis engages in that process of cultural reconstruction to explore the issues of sex, gender and sexuality which surrounded this, in John Cleveland's words, 'probleme of sexes'.

Ward's account raises a series of questions about definitions, evidence, and ambiguity which recur in Renaissance discussions of hermaphroditism. Are we to assume from Ward's casual reference to this figure that hermaphrodites were curious, but relatively familiar spectacles in early modern England? Ward does not explain how he knew about the hermaphrodite's genitalia, whether, for instance, his knowledge was derived from his own examination of this strange figure, or from hearsay (perhaps the landlord's report). Moreover, it is unclear exactly why Ward characterized this person as an hermaphrodite, especially since he uses a male pronoun to describe 'him' and stresses the size of 'his' testicles and penis.[2] Was 'he' hermaphroditic because 'he' was 'unfit for generation', or were there other somatic signs of sexual indeterminacy?

The only indication of sexual ambiguity in this hermaphroditic figure is not bodily at all, but

culturally encoded through dress. The 'hermaphrodite' wore a hybridized male-female costume which consisted of both a 'bodies' and 'breeches'. We are not told whether this cross-dressing signified an embodied hermaphroditic identity or an enacted subversion of gender roles. It suggests, however, that gender incongruity as well as genital abnormality, played an important role in the identification of hermaphroditism. The gaps in Ward's account invite a questioning of what exactly it meant to be, or to act like, a man, a woman, or an hermaphrodite, in the culture of Renaissance England.

The Renaissance has been characterized in recent critical studies as a period in which the boundaries of sex and gender were particularly fluid and open. The work of scholars such as Lisa Jardine, Stephen Orgel and Jean E. Howard in the 1980s focused critical attention on the (homo)erotically charged implications of the cross-dressed boy actor on the Renaissance stage and generated exciting debates in early modern cultural studies.[3] Gender and sexual identities have been represented as constructions which could be easily disrupted or dissolved. The title of the edited collection, Playing With Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit (1991), exemplifies the tendency to focus on the permeability of sex and gender roles in Renaissance culture.[4] This preoccupation is reasserted in volumes such as Susan Zimmerman's Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage (1992) which is advertised as arguing that, 'theatrical erotic dynamics served to deconstruct gender itself, leaving conventional categories of sexuality, blurred, confused - or absent'.[5]

In these terms, the hermaphrodite can be seen as a leitmotif of a culture which is distinguished by its celebration of sexual ambiguity. Indeed, Jardine argued in 1983 that 'the sexuality associated with the effeminate boy [...] is that of Hermaphrodite'.[6] This thesis explores and challenges that assumption by tracing the variable and often contradictory ways in which the

hermaphrodite was depicted in a wide variety of Renaissance texts and images. In particular, it argues against Foucault's sentimentalization of the historical condition of hermaphroditism as being a 'happy limbo of non-identity' which existed freely beyond the constraints of sex and gender.[7] The thesis argues that Renaissance representations of hermaphroditism focused cultural tensions and uncertainties about sex, gender and sexuality.

As Ward's brief report illustrated, Renaissance definitions of hermaphroditism were often vague and inconsistent. Hermaphroditism was a contradictory sign with no single clear meaning, and tended towards conceptual slippages between associated terms such as androgyny, effeminacy, transvesticism and homosexuality. Chapter One addresses the ways in which the hermaphrodite troubled these definitions, and focuses on the disjunctures between popular and élite images of hermaphroditism and its medical and legal actuality. Renaissance religious and social doctrines used the image of the hermaphrodite to represent the transcendence of sexual difference as a spiritual and philosophical ideal as they also vigorously asserted the importance of clearly defined sex and gender roles. Similarly, whilst Ovidian stories about gender inversion and sexual ambiguity apparently delighted the Renaissance readers of erotic epyllions, the reality of hermaphroditic identification evoked confused and disturbed responses.

People who were perceived to be physically hermaphroditic created particular problems for legal and medical orthodoxies. Two case-histories from the early-seventeenth century (Marie/Marin le Marcis and Thomas/ine Hall) demonstrate how sexual ambiguity troubled legal taxonomies which were traditionally based on distinct binary oppositions. Such cases raised questions about exactly how sexual identity could be categorized and verified. During the seventeenth century the judiciary

increasingly relied upon the pronouncements of medical authorities in order to determine cases of doubtful sex. However, the final part of the chapter argues that Renaissance medical interpretations of sexual difference complicated rather than clarified questions of sexual indeterminacy.

The body was not an exclusive or reliable index of sexual ambiguity. As we have seen from Ward's account, hermaphroditism could be located in gender disparity as well as physical abnormality. Chapter Two explores the transgression of gender boundaries to ask how masculine and feminine roles were encoded in the early-seventeenth century. It argues that the gender ambivalence which surrounded the representation of both Elizabeth I and James I was expressed as a wider cultural anxiety about the stability of gendered and social structures. The chapter draws from recent theoretical work about the performativity of gender to analyze how images of hermaphroditism circulated within the social and theatrical contexts of Jacobean London. In particular, it focuses on two case-histories to discuss the relationship between the physical (embodied) hermaphrodite and the figurative (enacted) hermaphrodite. Mary Frith (Moll Cutpurse) and Aniseed-Water Robin (an hermaphrodite who lived in London during the 1620s) were featured in plays, ballads, narratives and court records. These texts demonstrate the subtle interactions between 'fact' and fiction, biology and culture, that determined Renaissance representation of hermaphrodites.

The hermaphrodite not only disturbed notions of what it meant to be male or female, but also challenged what it meant to be human. Chapter Three develops the exploration of gender ambiguity to consider how hermaphrodites were categorized as monstrous births. It traces the representation of the monstrous hermaphrodite in a wide range of texts and images, including medical literature, ballads, prodigy books and political

pamphlets, to argue that depictions of hermaphrodites and conjoined twins questioned how and where the limits of the human body were drawn. The monstrous body was interpreted as a sign of social decay and political disorder. By examining images of monstrous (hermaphroditic) doubling and division in the poetry and pamphlets of the English Civil War, the chapter argues that the hermaphrodite became a pervasive symbol of the dissolution and reformation of traditionally gendered power structures.

Whether it was represented as a medical phenomenon, a mythical character or a monstrous birth the hermaphrodite was invariably defined in terms of its origins. Chapter Four returns to the motif of hermaphroditic birth to concentrate not upon monstrous offspring but upon the processes of textual and scientific creation. The focus of the chapter moves away from images of material gender transgression and monstrous embodiment to the metaphorical implications of hermaphroditism. In particular, it explores the ways in which male writers appropriated images of birth to describe textual production, mystical aspiration and technological creation.

The chapter examines poetry by Philip Sidney, John Cleveland and John Milton, as well as works of natural philosophy by William Harvey and Francis Bacon to demonstrate how the metaphor of masculine (pro)creation signalled a desire to transcend sexual difference. Did masculine attempts to create life in the forms of the homonculus, the golem and the automaton refigure the boundaries of generative sexual difference? Or did they implicate cerebral male production in the corporeality of female reproduction? The chapter argues that male fantasies of autogenesis were motivated by a desire to circumvent the female and return to an imagined condition of pre-sexual Adamic unity. But it also highlights the way in which images of male birth implied an uneasy

opposition between the masculine and the feminine, the spiritual and the carnal.

Chapter Five expands upon the discussion of late-seventeenth-century natural philosophy to question the ways in which the 'New Science' positioned the hermaphrodite as a 'scientific' spectacle. It argues that medical and biological studies of the sexed body in general, and hermaphroditism in particular, can be read against the emerging discourses of both colonialism and pornography. The chapter focuses on case-studies of hermaphrodites which were circulated in medical, paramedical and pornographic literature in the late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries to argue that these discourses were not distinct. It demonstrates that 'scientific' explorations of sexually ambiguous individuals were often rooted in the commercial exploitation of hermaphrodites as sensational and prurient curiosities. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Renaissance hermaphrodite had been absorbed into a developing culture of 'enlightenment' science, colonial excitement, and pornography, but it lingered in the popular imagination as an enduring signifier of sexual indeterminacy.

This thesis argues that the Renaissance hermaphrodite was characterized by ambiguity. Hermaphrodites demonstrated the mutability of sex but they were also socially illegitimate and their confused sexual identities unsettled rigid systems of sexual categorization. The thesis examines Renaissance hermaphroditism in its multiple forms to illustrate how it was an unstable term. It aims to trace the contradictions in representations of hermaphrodites to ask how these images expressed Renaissance concerns about sex, gender and sexuality. Did the hermaphrodite confound or consolidate Renaissance formations of sexual difference? Or was it, as Cleveland suggested, an irresolvable 'probleme of sexes'?

Notes to Introduction

1. John Ward, Diary (1648-1679), unpublished transcript by Sir D'Arcy Power, 5 vols (1913-1926), II, p.481. John Ward's notebooks came into the possession of the Medical Society of London in the early-nineteenth century. The transcript was taken from sixteen notebooks. The order of dating is erratic but it is likely that this volume was started circa 1660. I am grateful to the Medical Society of London for allowing me access to these transcripts.

2. A study of hermaphrodites raises problems in the use of pronouns. In order not to 'strangle in grammar' it is tempting to reduce the hermaphrodite to the neutral 'it'. However, in this thesis I want to confront the discrepancies and ambiguities generated by hermaphroditic figures. In general, the metaphorical hermaphrodite or androgyne will be referred to using the neutral pronoun. However, hermaphroditic characters or historical individuals will be denoted by s/he. In some contexts 'he' or 'she' will be used alone to reflect the way in which particular hermaphrodites were represented or represented themselves. In cases of shifting sexual identification or transformation, the pronoun will change accordingly. See Stuart Kellog, Review of Herculine Barbin, Journal of Homosexuality, 7 (1987), 87-94 (p.87).

3. See Lisa Jardine, '"As boys and women are for the most part cattle of this colour": Female Roles and Elizabethan Eroticism', in Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, 2nd edn (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1989), pp.9-36; Jean E. Howard, 'Crossdressing, the Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England', Shakespeare Quarterly, 39 (1988), 418-440; and Stephen Orgel, 'Nobody's Perfect: Or Why Did the English Stage Take Boys for Women?', South Atlantic Quarterly, 88 (1989), 7-29.

4. Playing With Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit, ed. by Jean R. Brink, Maryanne C. Horovitz and Allison Courdet (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

5. Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage, ed. by Susan Zimmerman (London: Routledge, 1992). This claim is announced on the back jacket of the volume.

6. Jardine, p.17.

7. Michel Foucault, 'Introduction', in Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth Century French Hermaphrodite, trans. by Richard McDougall (1978; New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p.xiii. Foucault's discussion of the case of Herculine Barbin has been criticized by Judith Butler. See Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (London: Routledge, 1990),

pp.93-106.

CHAPTER ONE

Defining the Hermaphrodite: Epistemology of the Threshold

Introduction

'Of Hermaphrodites'

> If I were to furnish my self a house, I would place no picture or Image in any parlour, dining or bed-chamber, but it should be of good seemely and natural proportion, Satyres and Centaures should come no nearer then the post at my doore. And at the threshold of this my treatise, or as it were a little behind the doore; I will leave these deformed Children of Mercury or Venus, suffering them to enter no further.
> The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights (1632)[1]

The hermaphrodite is a threshold figure. As the anonymous author of The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights suggested in 1632, its presence threatened to disturb boundaries, to disrupt order and to dissolve differences. The Lawes Resolutions outlined the legal status of women within the limits of a male-female binary economy. It presented an analysis of what it meant to be male or female, to exercise rights and to be bound by duties, within the social order of seventeenth-century England.

The author figured this treatise as a house, a bounded site which was vulnerable to invasion. Hermaphrodites were rejected from the house/text, as were the hybrid creatures the satyr and centaur, because they were not 'of good seemely and natural proportion'. Like these mythical figures, hermaphrodites confused the borders between male and female, the human and the non-human, the sensual and the spiritual, the real and the fantastic. Most significantly they raised questions about where and how the boundaries between inside and outside were drawn.

However, as I shall argue throughout this thesis, if hermaphrodites were banished to the margins of Renaissance representation, they were also insistently present within it. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries hermaphrodites were discussed and depicted in artistic, legal, medical, philosophical,

mythological, scientific and erotic contexts. The anthropologist Victor Turner has argued that such liminal figures present a particular challenge to ordered systems of conceptualization. He suggests that:

> One would expect to find that transitional beings are particularly polluting, since they are neither one thing nor another; or may be both; or neither here nor there; or may even be nowhere [...], and are at the very least 'betwixt and between' all the recognized fixed points in space-time of structural classification.[2]

The Renaissance hermaphrodite occupied such a potentially troubling position. In Ovid's words, it was 'at once both and neither'.[3] Or, as Francis Beaumont phrased it in his Renaissance rewriting of Ovid's myth, the hermaphrodite represented 'neither and either'.[4]

There is a discernable tension within Renaissance culture between, on the one hand, a rigid system of sex-gender differentiation, and on the other, the idea that sex and gender were insecure categories which could always potentially slide and merge into each other. As hermaphrodites lurked at the threshold of Renaissance discourses of sexual differentiation, their presence suggested that categories of male and female were not necessarily clear or distinct. Their intrusion implied an anxiety about the construction and maintenance of a fragile sex-gender system. They figured not only a third sex, which mediated between the supposed polarities of male and female, but an altogether more complicated and diffuse version of sexual identity.

Renaissance images of hermaphrodites represented both the potential collapse of sexual difference and its reinscription in an overdetermined and sometimes troubling form. They were neither easily expelled from, nor contained within, Renaissance modes of representation, but instead raised a series of ontological and epistemological questions. Was the hermaphrodite a sublime spiritual figure or a grotesque materialization of monstrosity? Was it an idea or a

reality? How could hermaphroditism be explained, or categorized? In other words, what was it, what were its origins and how could it be represented?

The Hermaphroditic Ideal: Religious and Philosophical Images

As a figure positioned 'betwixt and between' the categories of male and female the hermaphrodite challenged the conceptual framework of the Renaissance, which, as Stuart Clark has argued, was distinctly predisposed 'to see things in terms of binary opposition'.[5] Rhetorical techniques of antithesis and paradox, as well as neoplatonic notions of concordia discors, all contributed to what Clark has termed 'the extraordinary pervasiveness of the language of "contrariety"' in Renaissance culture.[6] The popularity of the Ramist method of categorization in Renaissance humanism reinforced this inclination towards dialogic systems of thought. The Ramist fixation upon binaries, whereby any given subject was organized in terms of uncompromising oppositions, has been described by Walter Ong as depicting a 'horror of ambiguity'.[7] Indeed, in terms of sexual difference, Ong has claimed that 'Ramus insists that man and woman are different species'.[8]

The Judeo-Christian religious tradition was, like Ramist logic, structured around dichotomies. Dualist categories such as good/evil, pure/impure, baptized/not baptized and married/unmarried formed the basis for social, as well as spiritual organization. As Ian Maclean has noted, in Renaissance theological terms, 'sex is a polarity rather than something which admits ranges of possibilities to both man and woman which may overlap.'[9] There were however, also many examples of the spiritual transcendence of sex, from the early Christian tradition and beyond, which suggest an hermaphroditic sub-text to an ostensibly unambiguous articulation of sexual

difference.

From early Christianity both male and female saints were celebrated for their combination of masculine and feminine characteristics. Religious ascetics like Origen who castrated themselves in order to serve as 'eunuchs for God' (Matt. 19.12), virginal female saints who practised ritual transvesticism, and monks who declared themselves to be 'brides of Christ', all transformed the gender distinctions which operated in the secular world.[10] Moreover, as Caroline Walker Bynum has argued, throughout the late Medieval and early Renaissance period, Christ was often represented as a feminized icon.[11] This theme of 'Jesus as Mother' was part of a tradition which equated the allegorically female church (ecclesia) with the body of Christ.[12] These examples of sexual synthesis, which present the sacred body as sexually mutable, were perceived as extraordinary exceptions to an otherwise immutable rule. Although ostensibly these holy figures seemed to break the binary of gender in effect they reconfigured gender in terms of transcendence rather than transgression.

In this context hermaphroditism was a pervasive symbol of an innocent original condition. In the first chapter of Genesis humanity is referred to by the collective sexually undifferentiated noun, ha-'adam'.[13] In the mystical works of medieval rabbines this ambiguity was interpreted as signifying that Adam was originally hermaphroditic. The Midrash Rabbah summarized the idea:

> Rabbi Jeremiah ben Leazer said; When the Holy one created Adam, he created him an hermaphrodite, for it is said, 'Male and female created he them and called their name Adam.' Rabbi Samual ben Nahman said: When the Lord created Adam, he created him double-faced, then he split him and made two backs, one back on this side and one back on the other side.[14]

Adam, in this way, resembled the Aristophanic original humans of Plato's Symposium. Both the Platonic and Adamic hermaphrodite were once whole beings who were to become separated from their essential selves.

The idea of the hermaphroditic Adam and its conflation with the Platonic myth was evidently familiar to Renaissance scholars.[15] Leone Ebreo's Dialoghi d'amore (1535) brought the two creation fables together in a synchronist exposition of Platonic and Judaic principles.[16] Ebreo's text filtered through to English readers and was referred to by Samual Purchas in Microcosmus (1619) in which both stories of original hermaphroditism were cited:

> As Plato dreamed, of the first Giant-like Man that warred with the gods; or as the Jews[b] [Leo Heb] Fable of Adam, made Male and Female in one person, joyned by the backe parts; the Navell yet remaining a Scarre of the Wound, made by the division into two for procreation).[17]

The image of primal hermaphroditism may have been regarded by Renaissance commentators such as Purchas as no more than the dreams and fables of distant cultures but it provided a powerful metaphor for an original unfallen condition.

In its most positive form the hermaphrodite was representative of the mystical union of opposites and came to symbolize the ideal unity of married love. As the thirteenth-century mystic Moses de Leon argued in his cabbalist text, Zohar, Adam's pre-lapsarian hermaphroditism provided a Judaic model for heterosexual procreative union: 'Any image that does not embrace male and female/is not a high and true image'.[18] Thomas Overbury's poetic sketch 'A Wife' (published in 1614) outlined the Renaissance interpretation of this mystical dictum:

> At first both Sexes were in Man combin'de,
> Man, a Shee-man did his body breed,
> Adam was Eves, Eve mother of Mankinde,
> Eve from Lyve-flesh, Man did from Dust proceed,
> One thus made two, Maryage doth reunite,
> And makes them both but one Hermaphrodite.[19]

Fifty years later, in 1664, Samuell Person, in An Anatomical Lecture of Man, similarly advocated the necessity of married unity arguing that 'all Husbands and Wives are or should be Hermophredites' [sic].[20]

For Renaissance neoplatonists love could reunite the lost halves of original hermaphroditic selves. As Geoffrey Fenton pronounced in Monophylo (1572):

> [Love] so knittes and unites our mindes, that being the cause of a perpetuall death, yet it receiues us in an other, making us forget our proper condiction, to remember our selues efstoones in another, seconde our selves, and drawes us besides by a devine power, with such a strong indissoluble bonde (returning to the first androgina of our father adam) that he distils two spirites into one bodye, and by the same miracle brings to passe that two spirites be made one minde in two bodies.[21]

Love, in this way, enacted a spiritual marriage which returned its partners to a time before, as Marsilio Ficino interpreted it in De Amore (1484), perfect beings 'fell [...] into bodies'.[22]

Emblems such as Barthélemy Aneau's 1552, 'Matrimonii Typus' and Nicholas Reusner's 'Amor Conjugalis' (1587) visually represented the ideal merging of male and female as a physical union (figs. 1.1-1.2). Spenser's description of the ecstatic merging of Amoret and Scudamour, which was included in the cancelled stanzas of the 1590 Faerie Queene, describes how bodily boundaries are dissolved and reformed into a new shape:

> Had ye them seene, ye would haue surely thought,
> That they had been that faire Hermaphrodite[23]

The reunited lovers are thus transformed into one seamless being. Spenser's lines associate 'that fair Hermaphrodite' with the classical statue of the god Hermaphrodite, 'Which that rich Romane of white marble wrought' (see figs.1.3-1.4).[24] The image is one of complete absorption into a new androgynous form. Like Donne's transmuted lovers in 'The Ecstasy,' Amoret and Scudamour have become a hermaphroditic 'mixture of things, they know not what'.[25]

The poetic union is evocative of the 'chemical wedding' found in alchemical symbolism.[26] This hermaphroditic conjunction of forms was known as the rebis and marked a vital stage in the alchemical opus.

Figure 1.1. Barthélemy Aneau, 'Matrimoni Typus' (1551).

Figure 1.2. Nicholas Reusner, 'Amor Conjugalis' (1587).

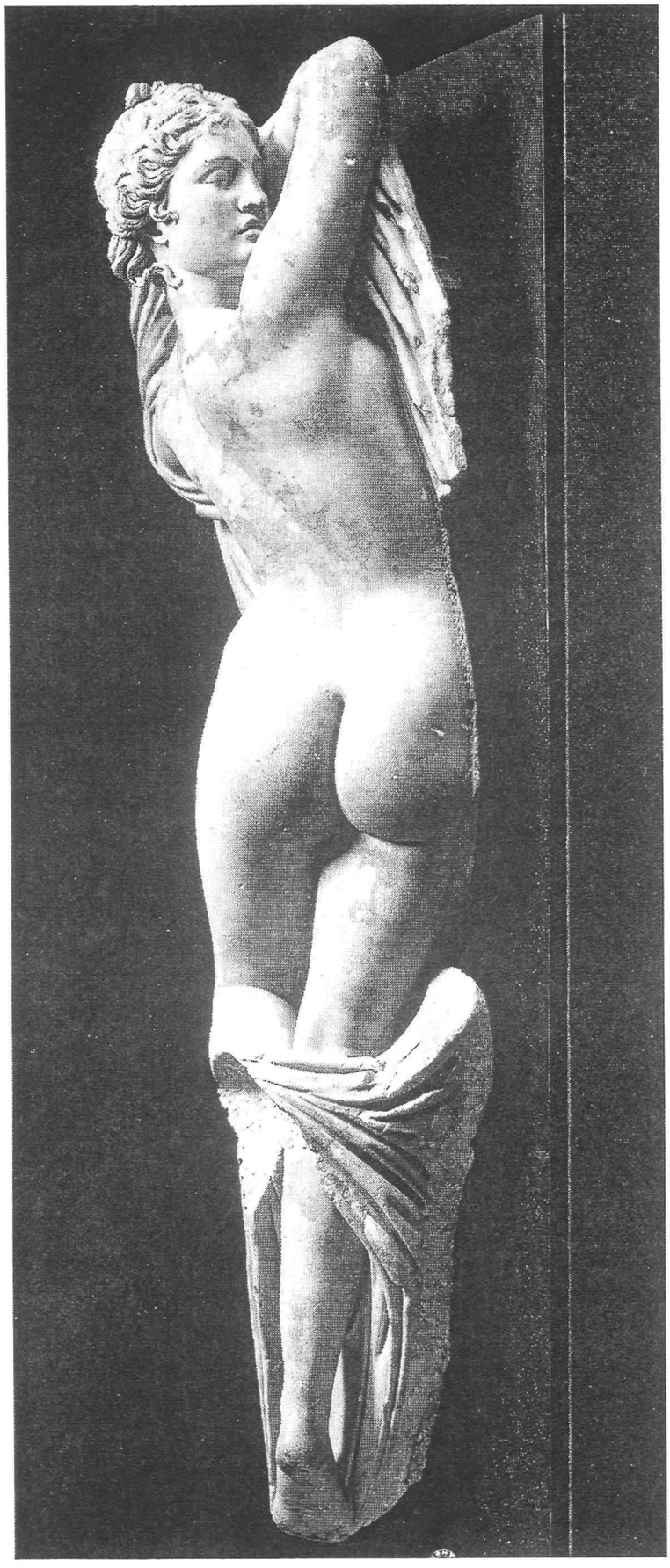


Figure 1.3. Roman Hermaphrodite.

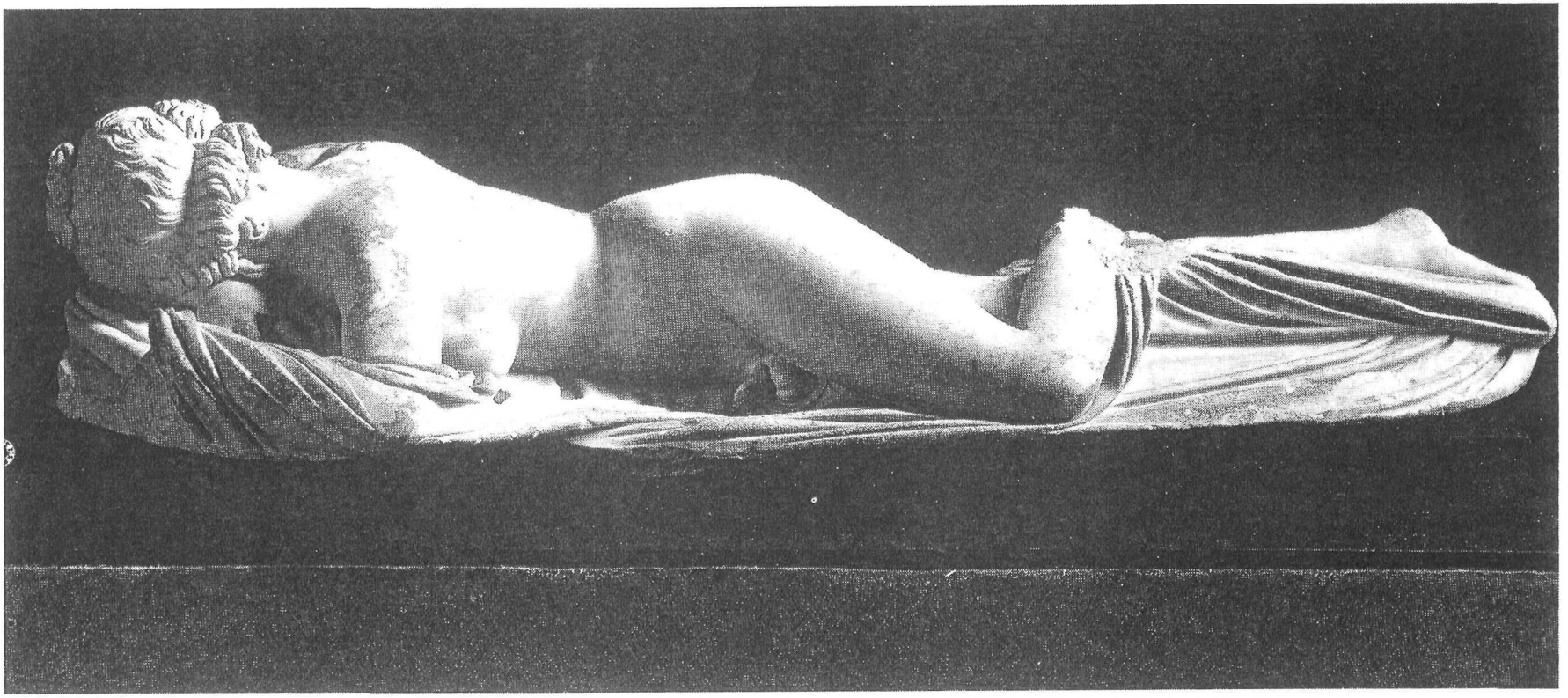


Figure 1.4. Roman Hermaphrodite. Alternative view.

The adept believed that it was only when the boundaries between male and female, mercury and sulphur, the sun and the moon, or the King and Queen, had been fully dissolved that the elusive Philosopher's Stone could be created. Alchemical illustrations represented this erotic union as a necessary death from which the hermaphrodite was resurrected (figs. 1.5-1.9).[27]

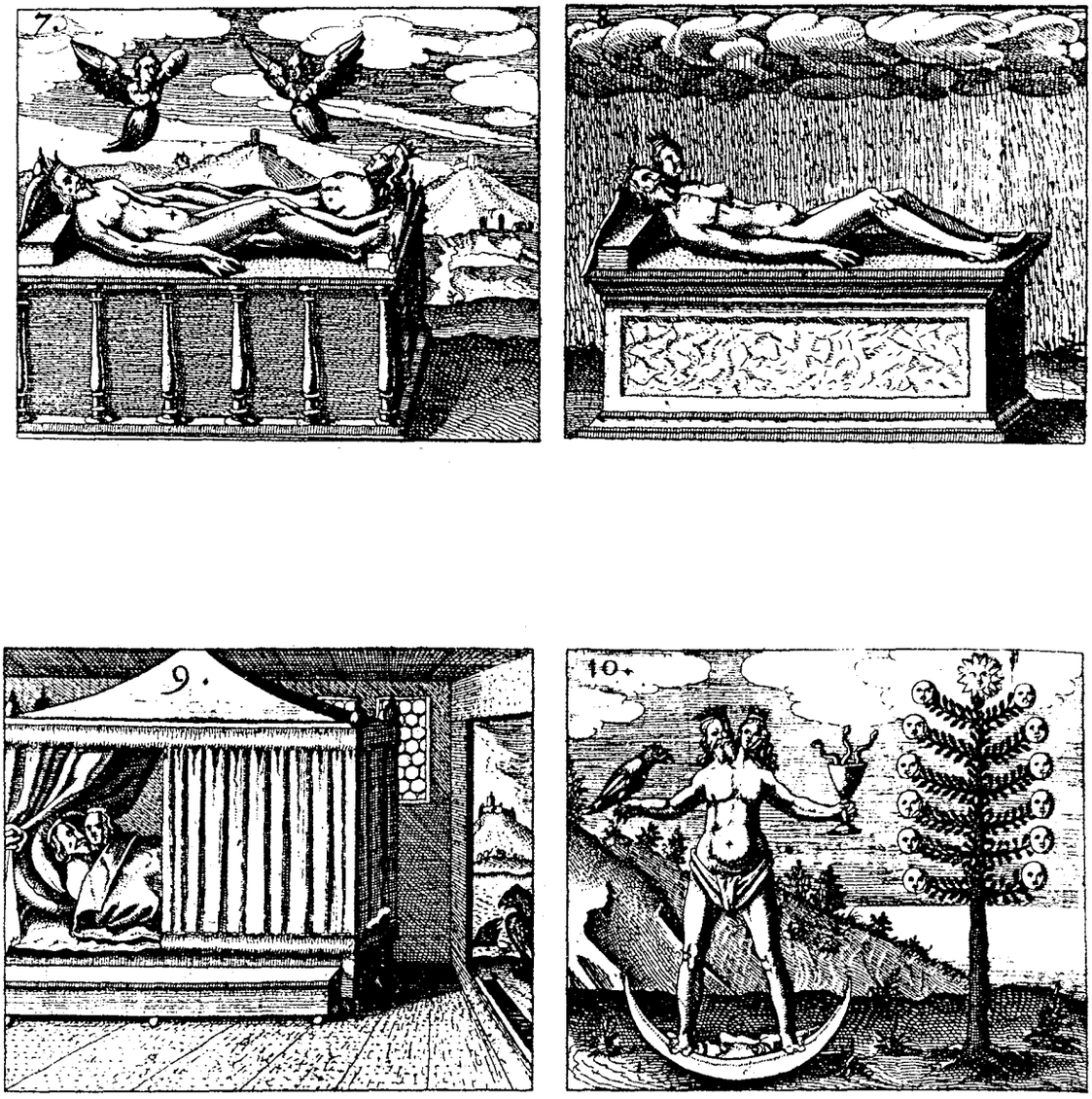
The ideal hermaphrodite represented an illusory quest for wholeness. Jewish, Christian, Neoplatonic and Hermetic believers shared a perception that the creation of sexual difference had broken an original condition of plenitude. Philosophical and religious fantasies of hermaphroditic reintegration went some way towards symbolically healing the wounds of that primary division, but the hermaphrodite (in its multiple incarnations) was not easily contained within such an elevated context.

The Grammar of Sex: Definitions, Differences and Ambiguities

The Renaissance notion of hermaphroditism was never singular but incorporated a range of sometimes contradictory and intersecting hermaphroditisms. The term 'hermaphrodite' was mutable and was open to a variety of interpretations and inflections. In early Christian work, The City of God, St Augustine had discussed hermaphrodites in the context of monstrous births. He argued that all creatures, however diverse, were created by God, 'who has the wisdom to weave the beauty of the whole design out of the constituent parts, in their likeness and diversity.'[28] However, St Augustine also noted the challenge that androgynes or hermaphrodites presented to linguistic definition, commenting that:

> They are certainly very rare, and yet it is difficult to find periods when there are no examples of human beings possessing the characteristics of both sexes, in such a way that it is a matter of doubt how they should be classified.[29]

Figure 1.5. Johann Daniel Mylius, 'Alchemical King and Queen', Anatomi auri (1628).



Figures 1.6-1.9. Johann Daniel Mylius, 'Alchemical creation of the Hermaphrodite or Rebis' Philosophia reformata (1622)

He continued, arguing that, 'the prevalent usage has called them masculine assigning them to the superior sex; for no one has ever used the feminine names, androgynaecae or hermaphroditae'. The binary construction of gender was limited to male and female only. In this formulation female was, in effect, a negative definition amounting to 'not male'. Hermaphroditism may have been a rare fact of life, but according to St Augustine, there was no grammatical option by which it could be accurately expressed.

The word hermaphrodite derived from Hermaphroditus, the mythical son of Hermes and Aphrodite (or Mercury and Venus), whose story was narrated in Ovid's Metamorphoses. In his Dictionary (1538) Thomas Elyot defined Hermaphroditus accordingly as 'the sonne of Mercurye & Venus. Also he that is both man & woman.'[30] Richard Huloet, in his Abecedarium (1552) used the less familiar term, 'scrayte' to describe 'both male and female. Androginosus, Hermafroditus', as well as, 'Androgine whiche bene people of both kyndes, both man and woman'.[31]

Doubts associated with the definitions of hermaphroditism infused Renaissance representations of intersexuality. In 1648 Alexander Ross, in his commentary on Ovid's Hermaphroditus, suggested some of the diverse interpretations of the term:

> Hermaphroditus, called also Androgynes, Semmimares, Diphyes, Androtheles, Arseenotheles, are meant oftentimes in the Poets of effeminate men, or such, who though they be men, yet in disposition, smoothness, and softness of skin, and other effeminate qualities, may be called women; too many there are of these now;[32]

In Renaissance usage the words androgyne and hermaphrodite (and its variations such as hermophrodite and hermofrodite) were often used interchangeably.[33] They signified a spectrum of possibilities in relation to the sexed body, religious and philosophical imagery, gendered behaviour and sexual practices.

In Christian Morals (composed in the mid-seventeenth

century and published posthumously in 1716), Sir Thomas Browne vigorously asserted the natural order of sexual difference but he also suggested how masculinity and femininity were perceived as fragile, porous, and vulnerable to hermaphroditic distortion:

> Since Men and Women have their proper Virtues and Vices [...]; transplace not their Proprieties and confound not their Distinctions. Let Masculine and feminine accomplishments shine in their proper Orbs, and adorn their Respective subjects. However unite not the Vices of both Sexes in one; be not Monstrous in Iniquity, nor Hermaphroditically Vitious.[34]

Browne's insistence that the sexes must be kept distinct was subtended by a recognition and fear that they might also 'hermaphroditically' merge.

Renaissance debates about gender transgression, most famously articulated in the 1620s pamphlets Hic Mulier and Haec Vir, repeatedly explored the blurring of gender distinctions.[35] The constructions of Hic Mulier (the masculine woman) and Haec Vir (the feminine man) by definition violate the rules of Latin grammar. They do not make sense. The twelfth-century writer, Alain de Lille, had equated the logic of sexual difference to the rules of grammar. He cautioned against the syntactical confusion that resulted when these laws were transgressed:

> The sex of active genus trembles shamefully at the way in which it degenerates into passivity. Man is made woman, he blackens the honour of his sex, the craft of magic Venus hermaphrodites him. He is both predicate and subject, he becomes likewise of two declensions, he pushes the laws of grammar too far.[36]

As Joan Cadden has argued, for a medieval commentator, this degradation of language was more than 'a witty stand-in for his condemnation of sexual degradation'.[37] The collapse of ordered language implied a more profound disturbance in the social order. The laws of grammar and the laws of gender were both 'push[ed] too far' by the

hermaphroditic confusion of active and passive terms.

Late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century representations of ambiguously gendered figures focused increasingly on questions of where the boundaries were to be drawn between the categories of male and female, masculine and feminine. In the charged debates about gender roles leading up to the publication of the Hic Mulier and Haec Vir pamphlets, masculine women and feminine men were represented as threatening to the illusion of order that the sex-gender system represented. Women who appropriated male clothing, habits, and, by implication privileges, were regularly denounced as monstrous hermaphrodites. Effeminate men, who rejected the conventionally masculine attributes of militarism and heroic vigour, were equally condemned as hermaphroditically inverting the codes of gender.

In Renaissance literature, Sarandapulus, the infamous transvestite Assyrian Emperor, became emblematic of the corruption of 'soft, effeminacie, lust, and / abuse of Natures gifts'.[38] Thomas Cooper described him in his Thesaurus (1565) as 'so exceedingly given to effeminate wantonesse and follie, as he may have changed his sexe or kinde'.[39] In 1598 Guillaume de la Perièrre was even more explicit, characterizing him as 'a monstrous Hermophrodite who was neither true man, nor true woman, being in sexe a man, and in heart a woman.'[40]

In their discussions of Sarandapulus, Renaissance commentators could contemplate the dangers (and temptations) of male effeminacy at a safe temporal and cultural distance. Sarandapulus was neither their countryman nor their contemporary. The disturbing hermaphrodite figure was placed, as The Lawes Resolutions advised, 'a little behind the doore'. But the idea of hermaphroditism intruded from the margins of Renaissance culture. In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries European explorers returned from their voyages to the New World with reports that hermaphrodites existed in some

regions of the Americas.[41] Jacques le Moyne, for example, reported that in Florida hermaphrodites were apparently numerous. He explained that: 'Hermaphrodites, partaking of the nature of each sex, are quite common in these parts, and are considered odious by the Indians themselves, who, however, employ them, as they are strong, instead of beasts of burden' (see fig.1.10).[42] Other travellers related how effeminate men (known as amarionados and mariones) were married to other men. These stories were probably based on their observations of Native American berdaches, the cross-dressed men who assumed a female cultural and sexual role within their communities.[43]

European colonialists vehemently denounced the sodomitical sins which they perceived as characterizing the domestic and erotic organization of these New World societies. In 1555 Peter Martyr told the story of the brutal massacre of over six hundred Native Americans of Quarequa who were accused of sodomy. He described the community as 'infected with most abhominable and unnaturall lechery' and reported that effeminately cross-dressed young men were 'abused with preposterous venus'.[44] Like Alain de Lille's invocation of lawless grammar, here Venus was again charged with having hermaphroditized the innocent.

These accounts of far-removed sexual sins perhaps displaced anxieties about hermaphroditic sexual ambiguity which were feared to be closer to home. In The English Parnassus (1657) Joshua Poole signalled how hermaphroditism had come to represent a range of social and sexual possibilities: 'Hermaphrodite. Ambiguous, promiscuous, mixed, sex-confused, mongrell, neuter, effeminate'.[45] Hermaphroditism could describe both women and men who were perceived to indulge in 'unnatural' sexual practices. For women this was associated with a literal hermaphroditic capacity to penetrate other women with an enlarged clitoris.[46] For men, hermaphroditic

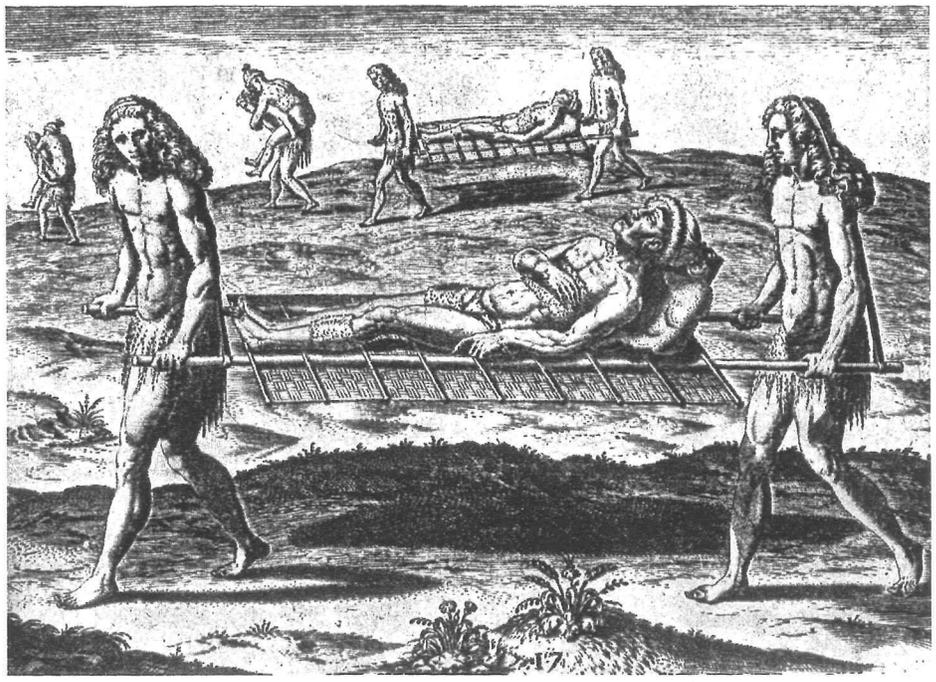


Figure 1.10. Theodore de Bry, 'Hermaphrodites as Laborers' (1591).

sexuality was associated more with the role that was adopted in intercourse than with genital abnormality.

In the early modern period sexual acts were conceptualized in terms of power relations rather than in the modern identifications of hetero- or homo-sexuality.[47] An adult man who penetrated a woman, boy, or male servant was not considered to have relinquished his 'active' masculine authority. But the male adoption of a 'passive' sexual role, or an oscillation between positions, constituted transgressive sexual practice.[48] In 1632 George Sandys defined the ancient Carians, who were reputed to have been infected by the effeminizing fountain of Salmacis, as hermaphrodites. They were, he claimed, 'addicted to sloath and filthy delights', adding that they were called hermaphrodites 'not in that of both sexes, but for defiling themselves with either'.[49] The Wandering Whore (1660) again made the connection between sodomitical practices and hermaphroditic identity explicit, describing hermaphrodites as 'effeminate men, men given to much luxury, idleness, and wanton pleasures, and to that abominable sin of sodomy, wherein they are both active and passive in it, whose vicious actions are only to be whispered amongst us.'[50]

However, hermaphroditic sexuality was not only associated with same sex erotic practices. Excessive sexual contact with women was also seen to compromise masculinity. As Musidorus explained in Philip Sidney's Arcadia (1590) the 'effeminate love of a woman, doth so womanish a man'.[51] The fall of Antony in Antony and Cleopatra represents a Renaissance paradigm of the unmanning of a valiant hero by a seductive woman, which Laura Levine has termed 'the dissolving warrior'.[52] The fear of effeminization was underpinned by a literal belief that women would deplete men of vital substances. Many Renaissance medical writers asserted that semen was produced from the whole male body. Sexual activity therefore drained a man of all his masculine resources.

In 1535 Andrés de Laguna described how semen was stored in the body as if in 'the public treasury' of a city and, 'if anyone robs it he robs the entire people'.[53] Men were advised accordingly not to indulge in 'immoderate sexual relations'.[54]

Effeminacy, was located in excess and intemperance. Nicholas Breton's caricature of 'An Effeminate Fool' (1616) described a vain, frivolous and idle figure who, like Sarandapulus, 'loves nothing but gay, to look in a Glasse, to keep among wenches, and to play with trifles'.[55] Unlike, for example, the accusation that is levelled at Antonio in The Duchess of Malfi (1614), whereby 'some said he was an hermaphrodite, for he could not abide a woman', Breton's 'Effeminate Fool' enjoyed women too much.[56] He is criticized not for a lack of heterosexual engagement (he keeps a mistress) but for his social and sexual proximity to femininity. This effeminate 'man-Childe' hermaphroditically blurs the boundaries between male and female. He is 'a Woman's man' as well as a womanish man.[57]

The slippages in Renaissance discourse, between ideas of embodied hermaphroditism, masculine women, effeminate men, and transgressive sexual practice, expose how there was no single or stable definition of hermaphroditism.[58] In contrast to the religious and philosophical ideal of hermaphroditic plenitude these shifting characterizations of sexual variation present fragmented and contradictory narratives of hermaphroditism.

Ovid's Hermaphrodite in the Renaissance

This Renaissance figuration the hermaphrodite as a multiple symbol of sexual ambiguity and gender inversion can be traced back to Ovid's Metamorphoses. The Metamorphoses was a narrative which foregrounded the essential instability of bodily shapes and identities.

Ovid's story of 'Salmacis and Hermaphroditus' in particular provided a founding fable about the mutability of gender boundaries which was to be echoed throughout the art and literature of the Renaissance and beyond.[59] The story was translated, commented upon and moralized in a variety of Renaissance texts including Thomas Peend's 1565 The Pleasant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, Arthur Golding's 1567 translation of the Metamorphoses, Francis Beaumont's 1602 Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, George Sandys's 1632 Ovid's Metamorphosis and Edward Sherburne's 1651 poem, 'Salmacis'.

Ovid's story related how Hermaphroditus, an innocent youth of exceptional beauty, was pursued by Salmacis, a nymph of Diana. Salmacis had rejected the active life of hunting, preferring to bathe in her pool and to gaze (like Narcissus) upon her own reflection. When she sees the beautiful youth, Hermaphroditus, Salmacis is overwhelmed and becomes intent on possessing him. She thus takes on the role of the (traditionally) masculine lover, wooing Hermaphroditus with impassioned rhetoric and aggressive displays of desire. Hermaphroditus is conversely cast in the role of feminized virgin who ineffectively resists the nymph's seduction.

When Ovid introduces Hermaphroditus as the child of Mercury/Hermes and Venus/Aphrodite the youth is placed in a web of mythographic associations:

> Once a son was born to Mercury and the goddess Venus [...] In his features, it was easy to trace a resemblance to his father and his mother. He was called after them too, for his name was Hermaphroditus. (p.102)

However, within the narrative, Hermaphroditus does not fulfil expectations of a perfect co-mixture of his parents. Mercury/Hermes was the god of language and eloquence but was also known as a trickster, an unstable and changeable character. Sandys made the connection between Mercury and Hermaphroditus in planetary terms:

> Hermaphroditus is fained to be the sonne of Mercury; because whereas the other are called

> either masculine or foeminine, of their more or lesse vigour, heat, drouth, or humidity; the planet of Mercury participats of both natures; hot and dry, by reason of his vicinity to the Sunne, removed never above 20 degrees; cold and moist, by the neighborhood of the Moone & the Earth: conforming himselfe also to the auspicious or malevolent aspects of those Planets with whom he joyneth his influence.[60]

The implication is that Hermaphroditus's sexual duality corresponded to his father's elastic character. However, in Ovid's story Hermaphroditus does not reflect the legendary energy and cunning of his father. In fact, it is hard to trace any resemblance between the shy, apathetic youth and his eloquent and agile father. He is shown to be predisposed towards certain conventionally feminine traits even before his union with Salmacis. He is largely silent in the face of Salmacis's advance and is unable to linguistically disentangle himself, and his masculinity, from her force. Ironically, then, the most striking suggestion of Mercury/Hermes' paternal legacy, is the permeability, and thus transformability, of his bodily boundaries.

The myths surrounding Hermaphroditus's mother, Venus/Aphrodite, the goddess of love, more obviously and evocatively signal his fate. Mythical depictions of Venus/Aphrodite as a powerful female goddess often represent her as a sexually ambivalent figure. In ancient Cypriot culture, for example, Aphroditos was represented as a bearded female with male genitals.[61] In Book Four of the Faerie Queene (1596) Spenser draws from a tradition of the Venus biformis when he describes a Greek statue outside the temple of Venus representing the goddess as a veiled hermaphroditic figure:

> But for, they say, she hath both kinds in one,
> Both male and female, both vnder one name:
> She syre and mother is herself alone,
> Begets and eke conceiues, ne needeth other none.
> (IV.10.41)[62]

Here, Venus's sexual indeterminacy is a represented as a positive attribute, constituting an ideal plenitude

rather than a disturbing lack.

However, the equally familiar association of hermaphroditism with emasculation, can also be traced in Hermaphroditus's maternal heritage. Aphrodite (whose name means 'foam-born') legendarily emerged from the sea, rising as a naked vision of beauty from the foam of the waves. Her mythical origins were attributed to a legendary castration of a father by his son. Robert Graves quotes Hesiod's version of this legend which states that 'she sprang from the foam which gathered about the genitals of Uranus, when Cronus threw them into the sea.'[63] Venus/ Aphrodite was thus magically engendered from a dislocated symbol of masculinity.

This story appeared in two texts which were both popular in Renaissance England: Abraham Fraunce's mythographic work Amnitas Dale (1592) and Richard Lynche's abridged version of Cartari's popular compendium of myths, The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction (1599). Fraunce writes that:

> Saturnus, that is Tyme, with his sithe, as I said elsewhere, cut off his father's manlike parts: of which cast into the sea, Venus was borne [...] Venus is faire, bewty enticeth to lust. She is naked, loue cannot be concealed. She is borne of the sea, louers are inconstant, like the troubled waues of the sea: Hereof was she also called Aphrodite, of the froath of the sea, being like to Sperma.[64]

Hermaphroditus's mother is then already linked with excess and emasculation in the form of paternal castration. She births herself, rising from the spermatic froth of the sea as a phallic power. Her role as goddess of love, together with her oceanic origins, means that she is associated with the aphrodisiacal qualities of sea food, and the powers of sexual desire. Lynche summarizes this tradition of representation:

> According therefore to the opinion of the Poets Venus was taken to be the goddess of wantonnes and amorous delights, as that she inspired into the minds of men, libidinous desires, and lustfull appetites.[65]

In this mythical form Venus is analogous to Salmacis and the legendary aphrodisiacal and emasculating powers of her fountain. As Martial summed it up in Epigram on 'A Marble Hermaphrodite', 'Male, he entered the fount; he came forth both male and female: one part of him is his sire's, all else has he of his mother.'[66] It is, however, Salmacis who, in effect, engenders the fully hermaphroditic Hermaphroditus. Ironically, when the hermaphrodite is born from her transformative pool, Salmacis, the female half of this new creation, is erased from existence. She is literally absorbed, in name as well as body, into this new creation.

The origins of the reputedly emasculating fountain of Salmacis, which was said to have been near Halicarnassus in Caria, are vague. As the nymph, Alcithoe, explains when she begins the story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in the Metamorphoses:

> Listen and I will tell you how the fountain Salmacis acquired its ill repute and why its enervating waters weaken and soften the limbs they touch. This property of the fountain is well known, but the reason for it has remained obscure. (p. 101)

Focus on the moral allegories of the myth can be traced from as early as Strabo's Geography (c. 7 BC). He writes:

> Here also is the fountain of Salmacis, which has a bad repute, for what reason I know not, for making those who drink of it effeminate. Mankind, enervated by luxury, impute the blame of its effect to different kinds of air and water, but these are not the causes of luxury, but riches and intemperance.[67]

The fourteenth-century Ovide moralisé symbolized Salmacis as a worldly temptress, a prostitute who lures the monk Hermaphroditus away from the spiritual life of contemplation. Salmacis thus became representative of all female vanity and artifice which infects and emasculates the male spirit.[68]

Barthélemy Aneau's 1552 emblematic representation of the scene of Hermaphroditus's effeminization (fig.1.11) is typical of the way in which Salmacis was depicted as a

Figure 1.11. Barthélemy Aneau, 'Fons Salmacidos, Libido Effoeminans' (1552).

grotesque figure of female lust. Ovid describes the fusion as a serpentine entrapment: 'She was like the ivy encircling tall tree trunks, or the squid which holds fast the prey it has caught in the depths of the sea, by wrapping its tentacles round on every side' (p.103). However, as we have already noted, in Renaissance thought it was not female desire alone but also heterosexual male eroticism which was held to be responsible for the depletion of virile masculinity.

In 1565 Thomas Peend published his translated version of Ovid's story, The Pleasant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, to which he added a moralizing gloss.[69] Following the explications of the Ovide moralisé Peend similarly interpreted the fable of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus as representing the dangers of excessive lust leading to the loss of masculine identity:

> So one may lose hum selfe, and be
> vnto hym selfe a foe.[70]

Peend's vision of self-estrangement echoes the loss that Ovid's Hermaphroditus articulates when he sees and despairs at his fusion with Salmacis: 'When he saw that the clear water into which he had descended as a man made him but half a man' (p.104).

Ovid's Hermaphroditus is punished, in effect, for a lack of desire. His passivity leads to his loss of full masculinity. For Peend, however, degraded transformation is the result of lust:

> We chaunge our nature cleane,
> being made effemynate.
> When we do yeeld to serue our lust,
> we lose our former state.
> It is the nature of that well,
> that fylthy lothsome lake
> Of lust, the strengthe from lusty men
> by hidden force to take.

Heterosexual erotic union is equated with an erosion of male subjective boundaries. The incorporation of the feminine, the other, has been understood an 'infection' of manliness caused by sexual contact.

Golding weights his interpretation of Ovid's myth slightly differently by foregrounding sloth as the root of lust and subsequent emasculation. This lapse into the effeminate world of sensuality is translated as a fall from masculine spiritual virtue. In his poetic epistle to the Earl of Leicester, Golding briefly outlines his moral interpretations of the Ovidian stories. He writes:

> Hermaphrodite and Salmacis declare that idleness
> Is cheefest nurce and cherisher of all voluptuosnesse,
> And that voluptuous lyfe breeds sin: which linking all toogither
> Make men too be effeminate, unweeldy, weake and lither.[71]

In 1632 Sandys noted similarly that 'Senusuall love is the deformed issue of sloth and delicacy'.[72]

By 1602, when Beaumont's epyllion Salmacis and Hermaphroditus was published, a variety of artistic and poetic representations of sexual ambiguity drawn from classical mythologies were in circulation.[73] Manuals and dictionaries of myths were widely read in Renaissance schools and most educated European readers were familiar with the mythographic compilations of Boccaccio, Giraldus, Natalis Comes and Vincent Catari.[74] Magical metamorphoses, oscillating gender identities and sexual encounters between gods, animals, nymphs and humans provided a rich source of material for Renaissance artists. Paintings such as Correggio's Rape of Ganymede and Botticelli's Mars and Venus exploited the erotic, and, in particular, the homoerotic, potential of such myths. The young male bodies in these depictions were represented as sensual objects to be gazed upon and enjoyed as part of a return to the aesthetic values of classical cultures.

The erotic playfulness of epyllions such as Marlowe's Hero and Leander (1593) and Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis (1593) were not explicitly concerned with the moral implications of these myths. Representations of overbearing, predatory women such as Shakespeare's Venus,

may have articulated an underlying social anxiety in Elizabethan culture about powerful and potentially emasculating women. These poems may have also implicitly warned against the excesses of sexual desire or the dangers of physical and emotional self-sufficiency. But, for the late Elizabethan poets, these classical stories of gender inversion and erotic uncertainty primarily provided the material for entertaining and exciting narratives.[75]

Beautiful youths such as Ganymede, Narcissus, Leander and Adonis, were a preoccupying focus of these works. These languid solipsistic youths were presented as idealized androgynes. As James Saslow notes in his study of Renaissance representations of Ganymede, this contemporary homoerotic aesthetic was 'intimately bound up with adolescent ambiguity'.[76] This poetry relished the blurring of sexual and gendered boundaries. As Marlowe put it in his teasingly charged description of Leander's boyish appeal, 'Some swore he was a maid in man's attire,/For in his looks were all that man desire'.[77]

Shakespeare's Adonis is, like Hermaphroditus, detached from sexual engagement. In her desperate attempt to arouse his interest, Venus warns him against the dangers of such narcissistic absorption:

> Is thine own heart to thine own face affected?
> Can thy right hand seize love upon thy left?
> Then woo thyself, be of thy self rejected;[78]

Narcissus's despairing question in the Metamorphoses, 'What should I do? Woo or be wooed?' (p.86), provides the basis for a series of thematic oppositions, between male and female, active and passive, human and animal, wooer and wooed and impenetrable and penetrable. These were the terms upon which the shifting characterization of the hermaphrodite was based and which structure the poetic explorations of gender roles in Venus and Adonis and Salmacis and Hermaphroditus. As Salmacis exclaims in her frustrated outcry against the restrictions of traditionally gender coded behaviour: 'Wert thou a mayd,

and I a man, Ile show thee, / With what a manly boldnesse I could woo thee' (715-716).

In Beaumont's Salmacis and Hermaphroditus male and female, are presented as a series of shifting positions. The poem highlights the underlying predetermination of Hermaphroditus's fate. The boundaries of sexual difference are never clearly delineated by either Salmacis or Hermaphroditus and their eventual merging into one form is inevitable. For Beaumont, the hermaphrodite does not so much mark the threshold of sexual difference as demonstrate its instability. Above all Beaumont uses the Ovidian myth as the basis for an amusing epyllion. 'My wanton lines' he declares at the outset of this erotic adventure, 'doe treate of amorous love'. Moreover, in his prefatory address to the reader he playfully signals the transformative potential of such narratives: 'I hope my poeme is so lively writ,/That thou wilt turne halfe-mayd with reading it.'

Beaumont's extended elaboration upon Hermaphroditus's extraordinary beauty describes him in superlative images:

> But Venus set those eyes in such a place,
> As grac't those clear eyes with a clearer face.
> For his white hand each goddesse did him woo:
> For he was whiter than the driven snow:
> His legge was straighter then the thigh of Jove.
> (73-77)

When Beaumont comes to describe Salmacis it is in curiously parallel terms, suggesting the latent convergence of gender divisions between the poem's two protagonists:

> So faire she was, of such a pleasing grace,
> So straight a belly, such a lustie thigh,
> So large a forehead, such a cristall eye,
> So soft and moyst a hand, so smooth a brest,
> So faire a cheeke, so well in all the rest,
> (105-109)

As boundaries of self and other become confused the myth of Narcissus comes fully into play through the poem's recurring conceit of reflected images. Hermaphroditus fails to recognize Salmacis's beauty

because he sees a more beautiful image - himself - reflected in her eye.

> For long he look'd upon the lovely mayd,
> And at the last Hermaphroditus sayd,
> How should I love thee, when I doe espie
> A farre more beauteous nymph hid in thy eye?
> When thou doost love, let not that Nymph be nie thee;
> Nor when thou woo'st, let the same Nymph be by thee:
> Or quite obscure her from thy lovers face,
> Or hide her beauty in a darker place.
> By this, the Nymph perceived he did espie
> None but himselfe reflected in her eye.
> (689-698)

Like Narcissus, Hermaphroditus's failure to distinguish self from other, and his misrecognition of his own gender, forecasts his physical merging with the nymph as he becomes what he has seen in his own reflected image.

Beaumont's concluding image of metamorphosis has an Ovidian tone of absolute ambivalence:

> Nor man nor mayd now could they be esteem'd:
> Neither, and either, might they well be deem'd
> (907-8)

Ovid's mythic hermaphrodite represented the fictive possibilities of sexual union as effecting a permanent, and potentially grotesque, bodily metamorphosis. However, the gap between myth and reality, the idea and the flesh, was vast. The sexual ambiguity which was delighted upon in these late Elizabethan erotic epyllions was itself transformed into a difficult and complex problem when it was manifested in embodied hermaphroditic individuals.

Legal Problems and Hermaphroditic Solutions

In his commentary on Ovid's 'Salmacis and Hermaphroditus', Sandys discussed Plato's Symposium, Adam and Eve, Aristotle, the Floridian berdaches, astronomy, and the legal status of hermaphrodites. Similarly, in George Havers's translation of the discourses of the Virtuosi of France in 1664, the hundreth conference, which focused on hermaphrodites, presented hermaphroditism from a wide variety of philosophical,

biological and mythological perspectives.[79] The ease with which these commentators moved from one discursive context to another was typical of way in which many Renaissance treatises combined discourses which have since come to be seen as distinct realms of knowledge.

The incorporation of satyrs and centaurs in The Lawes Resolutions characterizes how representations of hermaphrodites tended to be infused by their mythological and artistic associations. Before hermaphrodites were cast out to the margins of the treatise, The Lawes Resolutions first attempted to establish their legal status. The author admitted 'some kind of doubts, not whether they bee persons, but what persons they bee'.[80] The problem centred on how someone who was neither male nor female could be properly defined as a person within the law. As Ian Maclean has argued, the Renaissance law 'consists of contraries (married/unmarried) or opposites of privation (able to succeed to a title/unable to succeed). There is little room for the "species relativa".'[81]

The Lawes Resolutions considered a two-fold hypothetical legal problem: if, in one scenario, a man died leaving three hermaphroditic children, or, in another, an eldest hermaphrodite and two unmarried daughters, who would be the rightful heir? The question signalled how the idea of physical hermaphrodites confused and troubled Renaissance legal taxonomies. How could the borderline figure of the hermaphrodite be comprehended within a legislative context based upon distinct and inflexible categories? If the hermaphrodite could inherit property s/he paradoxically entered into a social and economic system which could not recognize her/his existence.

The legal history of hermaphrodites was subtended by this conceptual incongruity. According to Pierre Darmon 'throughout the Middle Ages and up until the sixteenth-century, the situation of hermaphrodites seems to have

been fairly ill-defined'.[82] The third century Roman statute, Lex Repetundarum had pronounced that hermaphrodites were to be treated as either men or women, according to which sex predominated. This ruling formed the basis of most subsequent legal arguments.

Throughout history the judgements of folklore, if not the letter of the law, often led to the persecution of hermaphroditic individuals. Darmon has suggested that hermaphrodites were, in fact, brutally punished for not conforming to a clear sexual definition. César de Rochefort's Dictionnaire général et curieux of 1685 records a case which occurred in Scotland in 1461 in which an apparently hermaphroditic servant girl impregnated her/his master's daughter. The punishment for this offence was severe: 'in justice for the reparation of this perfidious violation, she was condemned to be buried alive.'[83] The case may have been one of sexual disguise, rather than actual physical hermaphroditism. However, the transgression of hierarchical social boundaries as well as the perception of hermaphroditic sexual practices, clearly provoked an extreme punitive reaction.

From the early sixteenth-century both civil and canon European law drew upon the precepts which had been laid out in the Lex Repetundarum. Hermaphrodites were attributed to whichever sex appeared to dominate and were given all the legal rights and obligations of either a man or a woman. They could marry, inherit, and enter into contracts in accordance with whichever sexual identity was decided upon.[84] Herein lay the answer to the legal problem presented within The Lawes Resolution. The author answered the hypothetical riddle by citing the fundamental tenet concerning hermaphrodites in ancient and Renaissance legal dictums, that they 'must be deemed male or female' according to which sex dominated.[85] As Edward Coke put it in 1628:

> Every heire is either male, or female, or an hermaphradite, that is both male and female.

> And an hermaphradite (which is also called Androgynus) shall bee heire, either as male or female, according to that kinde of the sexe which doth prevaile [...]. And accordingly it aught to be baptized.[86]

Coke's formulation signals the curious way in which the law recognized hermaphrodites as a possible third sexual category only to then legislatively negate their existence. The hermaphrodite could inherit only when s/he was no longer hermaphroditic.

Following Coke's logic, the author of The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights argued:

> Now if these creatures bee no monsters, but are in conjunction to take on the kind which is most ruling in them, this must needs be understood in matrimony, and consequently they may have heires, which being granted, why may they not be heires.[87]

In these terms, if the hermaphrodite was placed within a binary economy of sexual difference s/he could produce heirs and, therefore, could also become an heir. Again, this reasoning is made possible only by erasing the problematic term of the original hypothesis - the hermaphrodite.

The legal solution to the 'problem' of hermaphroditism raised several difficulties. Who, for example, defined the 'true sex' of the apparently hermaphroditic individual? What would happen if neither sex prevailed? And, perhaps most significantly, how could a legal judgement fix sexual identity? According to Foucault, in the Middle Ages the father or the godfather of an hermaphroditic infant was granted the authority, within a patriarchal economy, to name, and thus define, her/his sex.[88] However, during the Renaissance there was, as Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park have noted, an 'increasing reliance on outside testimony to determine the hermaphrodite's predominant sex.'[89] Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries medical experts played a greater role in deciding the sex of hermaphroditically ambiguous individuals.[90] Commissions

of renowned medical authorities were gathered to establish the 'trutn' in cases of doubtful sex. Where neither sex could be proved to predominate, an adult hermaphrodite was, in theory, allowed to choose their own sexual identification, but having done so was legally bound to stay within the prescribed social and legislative confines of that sex.

Faultlines emerged in these legal/sexual taxonomies when individuals were perceived to alternate between sexual positions. Sandys summarized the legal position stating that hermaphrodites, 'were to choose what sex they would use, and punished with death if they changed at any time.' He continued by citing a case in which, 'one not long since burned for the same at Burges: who elected the female, and secretly exercised the male; under the disguize committing many villanies'.[91] Pierre Brillon noted in Dictionnaire des arrêts (1671-1736) that hermaphrodites who chose the male sex and then adopted a passive role in sexual intercourse could be charged with sodomy.[92] The law thus encoded a wider cultural anxiety about disguised and shifting sexual identities.

Such judgements implied a far more unstable picture of the hermaphrodite's place within the law than had been articulated in the definitive legal formulations of Lex Repetundarum. The difficulties of fixing sexual identity within medical jurisprudence were highlighted in two early sixteenth-century legal responses to hermaphroditism: the French case of Marie/Marin le Marcis and the transcripts of the court proceedings from the Virginian colony concerning Thomas/ine Hall. Marie/Marin's story of indeterminate sexual identification was made famous in the seventeenth century by Jacques Duval's Traité des hermaphrodits (1612) and has become well-known to contemporary cultural critics and historians through Stephen Greenblatt's discussion of Renaissance sexual ambiguity in his essay, 'Fiction and Friction' (1986).[93]

Marie le Marcis was a servant who lived as a woman until she was twenty-one, at which time she declared that she was actually a man and changed her name to Marin. She renounced her female identity and stated her intention to marry Jeane le Febvre, a widow with whom she was involved in a sexual love affair. Although English law had no concept of female sodomy, France, and many other European countries, legislated against penetrative sexual practices between women.[94] The scandal that followed Marie/Marin and Jeane's declaration of their love thus resulted in a charge of sodomy being brought against her/him. In 1601 the courts refuted her/his claim that s/he was a man and accused her/him of tribadically 'abusing' her/his lover with an unnaturally enlarged clitoris. S/he was condemned to death. Jeane, who was viewed as the more innocent party (the penetrated not penetrator), was to be forced to watch her lover's execution, to suffer a whipping and to be exiled from the region.

Following Marie/Marin's appeal a medical commission was appointed to define her/his 'true' sex. Jacques Duval probed within the doubtful subject's body, and aroused what seemed to be a latent penis to ejaculation, thus proving that Marie/Marin was not in fact guilty of sodomy. S/he was instead a victim of confused sexual determination. Greenblatt has hailed the moment of Duval's intervention in victorious terms, declaring that 'medical authority had masturbated Marin's identity into existence'.[95] However, as Jonathan Gough has persuasively argued, 'Duval's masturbation [...] actually had quite the opposite effect. It robbed Mari(e/n) of the possibility of any proper legal identity at all.'[96] Duval did not, as Greenblatt suggests, prove that Marie/Marin was really a man locked in a female form. He defined her as a thoroughly sexually ambiguous figure, a woman-man, or Gunantrope. As Gough asserts, 'Duval's discovery does not make Mari(e/n) a man [...]. It makes him/her a woman

with a penis: an hermaphrodite.'[97]

The appeal court's response to the medical commission's pronouncement was hesitant and suggests the pressure that hermaphroditic identity placed on the boundaries of the legal system. The death sentence was withdrawn but Marie/Marin was still not free to follow her chosen sexual identity. S/he was instead ordered to live as a woman but to abstain from any sexual activity until she was twenty-five at which time her/his sex might be more easily defined. The ruling indicates how the legal system in effect had no satisfactory response to such a case. Medical jurisprudence had made Marie/Marin more, not less, indeterminate and s/he was destined to live a liminal existence on the borders of male, female and hermaphroditic identities.

Marie/Marin's case was in many ways typical of the early modern irresolution surrounding judgements on hermaphrodites. Her/his fate, was decided by an inflexible legislative system which could not conceive of any sexual identity which broke apart the binary categories of male and female. However, the rather curious case of Thomas or Thomasine Hall, which was heard by the Virginia Court in 1629, suggests that legal structures were not always able to suppress or contain the challenges which hermaphroditic individuals presented.[98]

Thomas/ine Hall was born in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and christened as a girl but assumed shifting sexual identities throughout her/his life. S/he lived as a woman until she was twenty-two when s/he dressed as a man and joined the army. Later s/he lived in Plymouth where s/he resumed a female identity and made her/his living as a seamstress. Thomas/ine then changed her/his sexual identity again and travelled to America where s/he initially lived as a man, but once again adopted a female persona. Not surprisingly rumours about the sexual status of Thomas/ine Hall began to spread throughout the colony.

The transcript of the court proceedings does not make it clear exactly for which offence Thomas/ine was tried, but it does reveal that her/his continued oscillations between male and female identities evidently caused some consternation, and much speculation, within her/his community.

Thomas/ine appears to have identified her/himself as an hermaphrodite. In the court proceedings s/he answered in response to the question 'whether hee were man or woeman' that 'hee was both man and woeman'(p.194). The court records chart a succession of witnesses who testified to Thomas/ine's mutable sexual identity. S/he was reported to have sometimes dressed as a man and sometimes as a woman. Asked by the examiner, Captain Basse, why s/he wore women's clothes s/he replied it was 'to get a bitt for my catt'(p.194). What Thomas/ine meant by this statement is puzzling, but it does resonate with a range of sexually ambiguous possibilities. In his study of seventeenth-century sexual language Gordon Williams notes that 'cat' is suggestive of prostitution and sexual adventure, and was also used as a slang term for both a penis and a vulva.[99] According to the OED 'bit', dated from the fifteenth century as a synonym for the uterus. Thomas/ine's comment, which is baffling to a late-twentieth-century reader, cannot be fully unravelled but it perhaps also typifies the confused responses in the Virginia colony to her/his apparently incoherent sexual identity.

Some witnesses claimed that Thomas/ine was a man and had been sexually involved with a maid called Great Besse. Others related how they had thrown 'the said Hall on his backe, and then [...] pulled out his members whereby it appeared that hee was a P[er]fect man' (p.194). Some swore that s/he was a woman whilst others insisted that s/he was both 'a man and a woeman' (p.195). Again the question 'whether hee were man or woeman' was put to Thomas/ine who replied that 'hee was both only hee

had not the use of the mans Ptc. [?]' (p.195). The original document is damaged and becomes unreadable at this point. It suggests that Thomas/ine was found to have 'a peece of fleshe growing at the [...] belly as bigg as the topp of his little finger [an] inch long' (p.195). Later in the proceedings Thomas/ine confessed to having a 'peece of a hole' (p.195). The court initially ordered Thomas/ine to dress as a woman but further physical examinations by members of the Virginian community (one carried out while s/he was asleep, another by three curious local women) again concluded that s/he was a man.

Finally, the indeterminacy of the case was recognized by the legal authorities. The declaration which was to be 'published in the planta[ti]on' was that Thomas/ine was both, 'a man and a woeman' (p.195). This acknowledgement of hermaphroditic status contradicted the legal pronouncements on hermaphrodites which had been articulated by authorities such as Coke. The case of Thomas/ine Hall proved to be the exception to the legal rule that hermaphrodites had to be designated as either male or female. It is not known what became of Thomas/ine after the judgement and the 'facts' of her/his sexual status remain a mystery. The transcript of this case does, however, reveal that hermaphrodites were capable of confusing and evading even the most apparently rigid systems of definitions.

Sexual Difference/Sameness: the Biology of Hermaphroditism

When the courts turned to medical experts to define sexually indeterminate figures such as Marie/Marin le Marcis they assumed that the body could be interpreted and understood. Physicians like Jacques Duval were invested with an authoritative insight into the 'truth' of sex. However, as Michel Foucault has argued, 'truth' is always generated within a matrix of discursive

interests: 'its production is thoroughly imbued with relations of power'.[100] Renaissance enquiries into the biology of sexual difference demonstrate that there is (and was) no single truth of sex. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century biological theories placed the hermaphrodite within a diverse epistemological context which highlighted its paradoxical position. It was represented as both the logical effect of a fundamental sexual similarity and an impossible bridge between radically opposed sexual differences.

Hermaphrodites fascinated early modern medical writers. In the early part of the seventeenth century Jean Riolan, and Gaspard Bauhin, as well as Jacques Duval, both published extensive studies of hermaphroditism.[101] The causes and significance of hermaphroditism were debated in a written textual conference which was attributed to the Virtuosi of France, and the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London included several reports of hermaphroditic creatures and persons.[102] Most Renaissance medical treatises produced in both France and England included a chapter or section which described the forms and causes of hermaphroditism. The hermaphrodite was also regularly represented in popular texts which discussed prodigious and monstrous forms as well as the processes of generation and sexual differentiation.[103]

Renaissance biological ideas about sexual difference were rooted in a complicated theoretical background. During the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, discoveries about the mechanics of the human body were drawn not only from experimental anatomy but also from earlier medieval and classical belief systems.[104] The classical medical traditions presented very different theories of sexual difference, with significant implications for the Renaissance interpretation of hermaphroditism. They can be broadly divided into the Hippocratic corpus (a collection of medical writings

produced between 430 and 330 BC) and Aristotle's works of natural philosophy. Renaissance theories of sexual difference were also significantly influenced by the medical works of Galen of Pergamum which were written in the second century AD. Galen's ideas about generation were developed mainly from the Hippocratic tradition but, as Anthony Preus has noted, Galen attempted to be 'passionately syncretistic', and he incorporated and adapted elements of Aristotelian, as well as Hippocratic, earlier influences.[105]

The works of these writers, and those associated with their schools of thought, were transmitted into Renaissance thought through various permutations of Greek, Arabic and vernacular European translated editions.[106] Theories about sex and generation, which were sometimes inconsistent in their original forms, became increasingly conflated in these complex processes of dissemination. Certain models did, however, prevail in different periods. The predominantly Hippocratic tradition in the early medieval period had been followed by a renewed interest in Aristotelian theory in the thirteenth century. The sixteenth-century representation of sexual difference was dominated by a Hippocratic revival, and the works of Galen, but intersected still with elements of the Aristotelian tradition.

The most marked difference between the Hippocratic and Aristotelian positions was that whilst Aristotle perceived male and female as fundamentally opposed categories, the Hippocratic tradition posited an implicitly hermaphroditic theorization of sexual difference.[107] In the Hippocratic schema male and female were placed not in binary opposition, but on a continuum. Although maleness marked the ultimate point of perfection, sexual difference was organized along a gradated scale of variation rather than in absolute categories. Galen proposed that men and women were essentially the same, by observing that there was an

homology between male and female genitalia. He explained that the only substantial difference between the sexes was that men showed externally that which remained hidden within women:

> All the parts then, that men have, women have too, the difference between them lying in only one thing [...], namely, that in women the parts are within, whereas in men they are outside [...]. Turn outward the woman's, turn inward, so to speak, and fold double the man's, and you will find the same in both in every respect.[108]

In Making Sex (1990) Thomas Laqueur has demonstrated that the belief in an isomorphic equivalence between male and female genitalia was powerfully endorsed in Renaissance medical texts and anatomical illustrations. He points out that 'the new anatomy displayed, at many levels and with unprecedented vigor, the "fact" that the vagina is really a penis, and the uterus a scrotum.'[109] Laqueur's argument has been challenged but it demonstrates that despite the vagueness and increasing implausibility of the penis/vagina analogy it remained a pervasive image throughout the early modern period.[110]

The perceived structural parallel between the sexes did not necessarily imply a concurrent equality. Galen compared the male form which was latent within the female genitalia to a mole's eyes. These organs were present but non-functioning attributes which ultimately marked imperfection. Both Galenic/Hippocratic and Aristotelian theories argued that women were colder, moister and less developed than men. However, whereas the Hippocratic writer did not tend to place evaluative judgements upon such differences, Aristotle, and to a lesser extent Galen, ascribed positive and negative values to male and female. For Aristotle, women were 'mutilated', deviant and even monstrous versions of men.[111] Although he acknowledged that women had a role to play in the processes of generation (they provided the matter, and the man the form) Aristotle perceived the relationship between the sexes in terms of rigid hierarchical

distinctions. In contrast, the Hippocratic/Galenic traditions admitted a certain indeterminacy and mutability in the construction of sexual difference.

Galen argued that the male had achieved perfection over the female because of 'his excess of heat'.[112] The belief in the potency of heat, and the notion that women were inverted forms of men, was used to explain stories of women who were miraculously transformed into men. Such accounts appeared regularly in Renaissance texts. Montaigne, amongst others, told the story of Marie Germain/Germain Garnier, who had lived as a girl until one day, when jumping over a ditch, the heat of the motion activated her latent maleness: a penis appeared and she became a man.[113] As Ambroise Paré explained in 1573:

> Women have as much hidden within the body as men have exposed outside; leaving aside, only, that women don't have so much heat, nor the ability to push out what by the coldness of their temperament is held as if bound to the interior. Wherefore if with time, the humidity of childhood which prevented the warmth from doing its full duty being exhaled for the most part, the warmth is rendered more robust, vehement and active, then it is not an unbelievable thing if the latter, chiefly aided by some violent movement, should be able to push out what was hidden within.[114]

Paré was at pains to stress that there was not a reciprocal interchangeability between the sexes. He emphatically added that men never degenerated into women because, 'Nature tends always toward what is most perfect'.(p.33)

The Hippocratic/Galenic position asserted that sex was defined at conception by the outcome of a battle between two seeds which originated from both the male and the female parents. Sexual determination was a precarious process which depended on the relative potency of male and female principles and the position of the seed within the womb.[115] The pseudo-Galenic text <u>De Spermate</u> described the formation of sex as a drama of variable

permutations and possibilities:

> If the seed fall into the right-hand part of the womb, the child is male [...]. However, if a weak virile seed there combines with a stronger female seed, the child, although male, will be fragile in body and mind. It may even happen that from the combination of a weak male seed and a strong female seed there is born a child having both sexes. If the seed falls into the left-hand part of the womb, what is formed is female [...] and if the male seed prevails, the girl child created will be virile and strong, sometimes hairy. It may also happen in this case that as a result of the weakness of the female seed there is born a child provided with both sexes.[116]

This description of a gradated continuum between male and female suggested the importance of gendered as well as genital signs of sexual difference. Subtle secondary sexual characteristics such as strength and hairiness could not easily be categorized as absolutely male or female but were inflected by cultural ideologies of masculinity and femininity.

As late as 1651, Nathanial Highmore, in his History of Generation, drew upon this model to suggest how gendered characterizations were intrinsically linked to the definition of sex:

> For according to the exuberance, or power of the Atomes of either Sex, so is the Foetus fashioned and distinguished [...]. Besides, by how much the more the Masculine Atomes abound in a Female Infant; by so much the more the Foetus is stronger, healthier, and more Man-like, a Virago. If the Female Atomes abound much in a Male Infant, then is that issue more weak and effeminate.[117]

Sex was, in these terms, always a potentially hermaphroditic mixture consisting of variable degrees of masculine and feminine traits.

Paré's chapter on hermaphrodites in Des Monstres et Prodiges (1573) presented a typically Hippocratic analysis of sexual variation. He envisaged four possible hermaphroditic types based on the ability to function sexually: the predominantly male, the predominantly female, those who were in effect neither, and those who

were in effect both. Paré argued that sex could be defined by close observation of male and female gender attributes as well as genital formation. Texture and quantity of hair, 'virile or shrill' speech, and 'whether the whole disposition of the body is robust or effeminate; whether they are bold or fearful' were all to be examined in order to decide which sex dominated (p.28).

However, the Hippocratic/Galenic model, although popular in Renaissance theorizations of sexual difference, was interspersed with a very divergent Aristotelian tradition. Paré's text testifies to the heterogeneity and sometimes uneasy coupling of these theories within Renaissance treatises. He wrote from within the sixteenth-century French Hippocratic revival but nevertheless incorporated many Aristotelian theories into his predominantly Hippocratic/Galenic text. Paré's chapter about hermaphrodites was preceded by an explanation of Aristotle's argument in The Generation of Animals that hermaphrodites, like twins and multiple births, were the result of 'a superabundance of matter' (p.26).

Aristotle attributed apparent hermaphroditism entirely to genital malformation. He admitted that 'in certain cases we find a double set of generative organs', but added that, 'when such duplication occurs the one is always functional but not the other, because it is always insufficiently supplied with nourishment as being contrary to nature; it is attached like a tumour'.[118] 'True' hermaphroditism was thus an impossibility because one set of organs was always an ineffective addition which superficially detracted from, but did not erase, a primary sex differentiation. Hermaphroditism did not disturb the Aristotelian theorization of sex because it did not exist. Men and women were unequivocally different categories.

Thomas Laqueur's provocative thesis in Making Sex is

that within Renaissance thinking, 'there existed many genders, but only one adaptable sex'.[119] Laqueur's 'one-sex' model has thus highlighted the Hippocratic/Galenic position and provides an enticing theorization of Renaissance hermaphroditism based on the premise that sexual difference was perceived as an intrinsically fluid construction. However, Making Sex has been criticized for eliding the discrepancies and contradictions within pre-Enlightenment accounts of sexual difference. Katharine Park and Robert Nye have censured Laqueur for imposing 'a false homogeneity on his sources'.[120] As they point out, the Aristotelian tradition sharply defined a 'two-sex' model based upon essential oppositions between male and female. In this schema there were few possibilities for the expression of intermediate or shifting positions in sexual definition.

Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park have injected a note of caution into the contemporary critical tendency to look for (and find) openness and fluidity in Renaissance constructions of sex. They warn against an exclusive focus on the Hippocratic/Galenic school of thought, and the consequent elision of the Aristotelian perspective, arguing that:

> The 'Hippocratic' model was sexually highly charged; allowing for a spectrum of intermediate sexual possibilities, it posed a potential challenge to the male-female dichotomy and to the whole social and sexual order based on that dichotomy. The Aristotelian model, on the other hand, had none of these resonances.[121]

The hermaphrodite could not fully be absorbed into either tradition. It represented neither absolute difference nor sameness.

The Renaissance hermaphrodite could no more be fixed by medical classification than it could by legal, mythological, linguistic or philosophical representations. These 'Children of Mercury or Venus' evaded singular definitions. Instead they invited multiple, and often contradictory, responses.

Hermaphrodites were rarely placed either fully inside or fully outside of the epistèmes of Renaissance culture. Neither, however, did they exactly mark the threshold itself. Instead they exposed how these thresholds were shifting and ever variable constructions.

Notes to Chapter One

1. The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights (London, 1632), pp. 5-6. The Preface signed by T.E. claims that the text is anonymous.

2. Victor Turner, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press,, 1967; repr.1991), p.97. For Turner's theory of liminality see chapter 4, 'Betwixt and Between: the Liminal Period in Rites de Passage', pp.93-125.

3. Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. by Mary M. Innes, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), p.104. Further references to the Metamorphoses are given after quotations in the text.

4. Francis Beaumont, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus (1602), in Elizabethan Erotic Narrative Verse, ed. by Nigel Alexander (London: Edward Arnold, 1967) pp.168-191 (908). All further line references will be given after quotations in the text.

5. Stuart Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', Past and Present, 87 (1980), 99-127 (p.105).

6. Clark, p.105.

7. Walter Ong, Ramus, Method and Decay of Dialogue (1958; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p.205.

8. Ong, p.203.

9. Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: a Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.27.

10. See John Anson, 'The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif', Viator 5 (1974), 1-32.

11. Caroline Walker Bynum, Jesus as Mother: Studies in Spirituality of the High Middle Ages (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982) and Caroline Walker Bynum, 'The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg', Renaissance Quarterly 39 (1986), 399-439.

12. Bynum Walker, 'A Reply to Leo Steinburg', p.414.

13. For a discussion of the first three chapters of Genesis from a feminist perspective see, Mieke Bal, 'Sexuality, Sin, and Sorrow: the Emergence of Female Character (A Reading of Genesis 1-3), in The Female Body in Western Culture, ed. by Susan Rubin Suleiman (Cambridge MA: Harvard

University Press, 1986), pp.317-338.

14. Quoted from Naomi Yavneh, 'The Spiritual Eroticism of Leone's Hermaphrodite', in Playing with Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit, ed. by Jean R. Brink, Maryanne C. Horovitz and Allison P. Courdet (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), pp.85-98 (p.91). The Midrash Rabbah was a compilation of rabbinical beliefs which spanned from the sixth to the twelfth century.

15. Sir Thomas Browne was characteristically sceptical about the idea, arguing that it was 'contrary to reason, [that] there should bee an Hermaphrodite before there was a woman'. Religio Medici, ed. by C.A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p.88.

16. Leone Ebreo, The Philosophy of Love (Dialoghi d'Amore), trans. by F. Friedeberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes (London: Soncino Press, 1937).

17. Samual Purchas, Microcosmus, or The Historie of Man (London, 1619), p.494.

18. Moses de Leon, Zohar, trans. and ed. by Daniel Chanan Matt (London: SPCK, 1983), p.55.

19. Sir Thomas Overbury, The Overburian Characters to which is added A Wife, ed. by W.J. Paylor, The Percy Reprints XIII (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936), p.101.

20. Quoted from James T. Henke, Gutter Life and Language in the Early 'Street' Literature of England: a Glossary of Terms and Topics Chiefly of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Conneticut: Locust Hill Press, 1988), p.123.

21. Geoffrey Fenton, Monophylo, drawne into english. A Philosophical discourse and division of love (London, 1572), fol. 35. For a detailed study of idealized hermaphroditic imagery in Renaissance poetry see, A.R. Cirillo, 'The Fair Hermaphrodite: Love-Union in the Poetry of Donne and Spenser', Studies in English literature, 9 (1969), 81-95.

22. Marsilio Ficino, Commentary on Plato's *Symposium* on Love, trans. by Sear Jayne (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1985), p.73.

23. The cancelled 1590 stanzas (43-47) are included in Hamilton's edition of The Faerie Queene. For a discussion of the hermaphroditic imagery of these stanzas see Donald Cheney, 'Spenser's Hermaphrodite and the 1590 Faerie Queene', PMLA, 87 (1972), 192-200 and Lauren Silberman, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Metamorphosis of Spensarian Allegory', English Literary Renaissance, 17 (1987), 207-223.

24. This classical image of Hermaphrodite has been interpreted as presenting a paradigm of the androgynous hermaphrodite. However, for a discussion of the mythological ambivalences which suggest a more sexually charged reading of the image see Aileen Ajootian, 'Ex Utroque Sexu: the Sleeping Hermaphrodite and the Myth of Agdistes', American Journal of Archaeology, 92 (1988), 275-276.

25. John Donne, 'The Ecstasy', in The Complete English Poems, ed. by A.J. Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1971; repr. 1986), 34.

26. For an analysis of alchemical images in Donne's 'Ecstasy' see Julia Walker, 'John Donne's "The Extasie" as an Alchemical Process', English Language Notes, 20 (1982), 1-8.

27. For a source of alchemical images in the Renaissance see Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988).

28. St Augustine, City of God, trans. by Henry Bettenson, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 662.

29. St Augustine, p.663.

30. Thomas Elyot, Dictionary (London, 1538; Scolar Press Facsimile, Menston, 1970).

31. Richard Huloet, Abecedarium Anglico-Latinum (London, 1552), sig., $D4^{v}$. The OED cites an early usage of 'screttе' in Caxton's Trevisa's Higden (1485): 'Somtyme one of man-kynde is both man & woman & suche...in englysh is called a screttе'. Thomas Johnson's 1634 translation of Ambroise Paré's chapter on hermaphrodites in On Monsters and Marvels also uses 'scrat'. See The Works of that famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey (London, 1634).

32. Alexander Ross, Mystagogus Poeticus or The Muses Interpreter (London, 1648), ed. by Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland, 1976), p .173.

33. Throughout this thesis I use the word 'hermaphrodite' to denote physically and culturally ambiguous figures. I use the word 'androgyne' to suggest a disembodied ideal or a neutralizing combination of sexual or gender attributes.

34. Sir Thomas Browne, Christian Morals in The Major Works, ed. by C.A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p.432.

35. Hic Mulier: Or, The Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to Cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminines of Our Times (London, 1620), and Haec Vir: Or the Womanish-Man: Being an Answere to a Late Booke Intituled

Hic-Mulier (London, 1620).

36. The Complaint of Alain de Lille, quoted from Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare 2nd edn (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1989), p.19.

37. Joan Cadden, Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.222.

38. Thomas Heywood, annotations on 'Earth and Age', quoted from DeWitt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries: A Study of Renaissance Dictionaries in their Relation to the Classical Learning of Contemporary English Writers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p.219.

39. Thomas Cooper, Thesaurus Linguæ, Romanæ & Britannicæ (London, 1565), sig. M.

40. Guillaume de la Perrière, The Mirrour of Policie (London, 1598), sig. H^{v}.

41. For discussions of these accounts see, Guy Poirier, 'French Renaissance Travel Accounts: Images of Sin, Visions of the New World', Journal of Homosexuality, 25 (1993), 215-229; and Jonathan Ned Katz, Gay/Lesbian Almanac: a New Documentary (1983; repr. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1994), p.23-28.

42. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (1591). Quoted from Jonathan Ned Katz, Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A. (1976; revised ed. Harmondsworth: Meridian, 1992), p.286.

43. For an anthropological analysis of the contemporary berdache role see, Charles Callender and Lee M. Kochens, 'The North American Berdache', in Culture and Human Sexuality, ed. by David N.Suggs and Andrew W. Miracle (California: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1993), pp.367-397; see also Jonathan Ned Katz, 'Native Americans/Gay Americans 1528-1976' in Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A. (1976; revised ed. Harmondsworth: Meridian, 1992), pp.281-334. Similar cultural intersexuality can be seen in the Hijras in Hindu cultures. See Serena Nandu, 'The Hijras of India: Cultural and Individual Dimensions', in Culture and Human Sexuality, pp.279-293.

44. Quoted from Jonathan Goldberg, Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.180.

45. Joshua Poole, The English Parnassus: or, A Helpe to English Poesie (London, 1657), p.111.

46. For an analysis of tribadic women represented as hermaphrodites see Emma Donoghue, 'Female Hermaphrodites' in Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668-1801 (London, Scarlet Press, 1993), pp.25-58.

47. Debate about the history of sexual identification has been broadly divided into two schools of thought. John Boswell's Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), proposes a continuous gay history and represents what has been criticized as an 'essentialist' position. The opposing view, that sexuality is a changing and culturally specific social construction, has been developed from Foucault's work by Jeffrey Weeks and Jonathan Katz. In One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: and Other Essays on Greek Love (London: Routledge, 1990) David Halperin has argued persuasively for the 'social constructionist' view. The debates between Boswell and Halperin are represented in their essays in Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Lesbian and Gay Past, ed. by Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey, Jr. (1989; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991). In this thesis my position is that sexuality is a cultural construction not a universal category.

48. For the Renaissance view of same sex relations between men see Alan Bray, Homosexuality in the Renaissance (London: The Gay Men's Press, 1982); and Bray's more recent article, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', History Workshop Journal, 29 (1990), 1-19.

49. George Sandys, Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures (Oxford, 1632), p. 209.

50. Quoted from Randolph Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists: From Three Sexes to Four Genders in the Making of Modern Culture', in Body Guards: the Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), pp.112-141 (p.115).

51. Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (1590), ed. by Maurice Evans (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p.134. For an analysis of Sidney's representation of gender ambiguity see Mark Rose, 'Sidney's Womanish Man, Review of English Studies, 15 (1964), 353-363.

52. Laura Levine, '"Strange Flesh": Antony and Cleopatra and the Story of the Dissolving Warrior', in Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization, 1579-1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.44-72.

53. Andrés de Laguna, Anatomical Procedure, or a Survey of the Dissection of the Human Body (Paris, 1535), in Studies in Pre-Vesalian Anatomy: Biography, Translations, Documents, ed. by David Lind (Philadelphia: the American Philosophical Society, 1975), p.278.

54. de Laguana, p.278.

55. Nicholas Breton, 'An Effeminate Foole', in The Good and the Badde: Or Descriptions of the Worthies and Unworthies of this Age (London, 1616), p.30.

56. John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, in John Webster: Three Plays, ed by. D.C.Gunby (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), III.ii.221-222.

57. Breton, p.31.

58. Joan Cadden has similarly observed in medieval culture that, 'hermaphrodite anatomical features, transvestite acts, and homoerotic behaviour became associated, even confused, in medieval language', p.212.

59. The Ovidian story was represented in at least twenty visual images from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. For a list of sources see Jane Davidson Reid, The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), I, 561-663. It is also interesting to note the recent return to Ovidian sources in the poetic collection, After Ovid: New Metamorphoses ed. by Michael Hofmann and James Lasdun (London: Faber and Faber, 1994). The volume may implicitly reflect the contemporary fascination with bodily transformation and sexual ambiguity. Here Ted Hughes rewrites 'Salmacis and Hermaphroditus'.

60. Sandys, p. 209.

61. See Marie Delcourt, Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity, trans. by Jennifer Nicholson (London: Studio Books, 1961), p.27.

62. The image is repeated in Colin Clouts Come Home Again, in the lines: 'For Venus selfe doth soly couples seeme, / Both male and female, through commixture ioyned', (801-802).

63. Hesiod, Theogony 188-200, quoted from Robert Graves, The Greek Myths, 2 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955; repr. 1984), I, p.49.

64. Abraham Fraunce, The Third Part of the countess of Pembrokes Yuychurch: Entituled Amnintas Dale (1592), ed. by Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland, 1976), sig. M3.

65. Richard Lynche, The Fountain of Ancient Fiction (1599), ed. by Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland, 1976), sig. 2c2.

66. Martial, Epigrams, trans. by Walter C.A. Ker, 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1920; repr. 1950), II, p.501.

67. Strabo, The Geography of Strabo, trans. by H.C. Hamilton, Bohn's Classical Library, 3 vols (London: George Bell & Sons, 1889) III, p.35. See also Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture, trans. by Morris Hicky Morgan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), pp.54-55. In Book XV of the Metamorphoses Ovid refers to the same source: 'there are some streams which can change not only men's bodies, but their characters as well. Who has not heard of Salmacis loathsome waters' (p.343).

68. Hermaphroditus can be seen in such Christian interpretations of Ovid's pagan myth as an Adamic figure who becomes corrupted by worldly temptations. Salmacis was cast in the terms of Revelations as the Whore of Babylon. Alternatively, some mythographers such as Besuire in the fourteenth century moralized Ovid's hermaphrodite as an allegory of Christ, signifying the conjunction of the masculine (God) and the feminine (humanity). For a detailed exploration of the development of Ovid's story see Lauren Silberman, 'Mythographic Transformations of Ovid's Hermaphrodite', Sixteenth Century Journal, 19 (1988), 643-652.

69. This was originally intended by Peend to have formed part of a larger project based on the entire Metamorphoses which was never completed. Apparently Peend abandoned the project when Golding published his translation of the Metamorphoses in 1567.

70. Thomas Peend, The Pleasant Fable of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus (London, 1565). Quoted from, Silberman, 'Mythographic Transformations, pp. 648-649.

71. Arthur Golding, The XV bookes of P.Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis (1567), in Shakespeare's Ovid Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses, ed. by W.H.D. Rouse (london: Centaur, 1961), 13-16.

72. Sandys, p.206.

73. There is some doubt about the authorship of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus. It was first published anonymously in 1602 and was attributed to Beaumont's when it was published in his poetic volume of 1640. See Philip J. Finkelpearl, 'The Authorship of 'Salmacis and Hermaphroditus', Notes and Queries, 214 (1969), 367-368.

74. Boccaccio's De Genealogia Deorum (Genealogy of the Gods) was written in the mid- to late-fourteenth century and translated and reprinted throughout the Renaissance; Lilius Giraldus's De Deis Gentium (The History of the Gods) was first published in 1548; Natalis Comes's Mythologiae sive explicatis fabularum libri decem (Mythology) was published in 1551; and Vincenzo Cartari's Le Imagini, con la Spositione de i Dei degli Antichi (The Images of the Gods) was published in 1556. For a discussion of these sources in Renaissance literature see Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods: the Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, trans by. Barbara F. Sessions (1940; repr. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1953).

75. For a discussion of these epyllions see William Keach, Elizabethan Erotic Narratives: Irony and Pathos in the Ovidian Poetry of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and their Contemporaries (Brighton: Harvester, 1977).

76. James M. Saslow, Ganymede in The Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p.77.

77. Christopher Marlowe, Hero and Leander (1598), in Elizabethan Narrative Verse, pp. 56-77 (1.83-84).

78. William Shakespeare, Venus and Adonis (1593), in The Complete Works, pp.597-603, (II.157-159).

79. A General Collection of Discourses of the Virtuosi of France, upon Questions of all sorts of Philosophy, and other Natural Knowledge, trans. by George Havers (London, 1664), pp. 577-580.

80. The Lawes Resolutions, p.5.

81. Maclean, p.81. The formulation of species relativa '(e.g.double/half, father/son)' is from Jacopo Zabrella's sixteenth-century works of logic. See Maclean, p.3.

82. Pierre Darmon, Trial By Impotence: Virility and Marriage in Pre-Revolutionary France, trans. by Paul Keegan (1979; London Chato & Windus, 1985), pp.41. I am indebted to Darmon's work about the legal status of hermaphrodites. Other sources of information come from Julia Epstein, 'Either/Or- Neither/Both: Sexual Ambiguity and the Ideology of Gender', Genders, 7 (1990), 99-142 (pp.101-104); and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France, Gay and Lesbian Quarterly, 1 (1995), 419-438. I am grateful to Daston and Park for sending me a copy of this paper prior to its publication.

83. Quoted form Darmon, p.41.

84. Although as Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park point out, in Renaissance France those hermaphrodites who chose maleness were still prohibited from holding positions as lawyers, judges and university rectors. 'The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature', p.435.

85. The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights, p.5.

86. Edward Coke, The First part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England: Or, a Commentary upon Littleton (London, 1628), Lib I., p.8.

87. The Lawes Resolutions, p.5.

88. Michel Foucault, 'Introduction', Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth Century French Hermaphrodite, trans. by Richard McDougall (1978; New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp.vii-xvii (vii-viii).

89. Daston and Park, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature', p.430.

90. For case histories of hermaphrodites see (in addition to Darmon, Epstein, and Daston and Park), F.Gonzalez-Crussi, 'Sexual Undifferentiation', in Three Forms of Sudden Death and Other Reflections on the Grandeur and Misery of the Body (London: Picador, 1987), pp.43-64.

91. Sandys, p.208.

92. See Epstein, p.102.

93. Jacques Duval, Traité des hermaphrodits, parties génitales, accouchemens des femmes, etc. (Rouen, 1612); Stephen Greenblatt, 'Fiction and Friction' in Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought, ed. by Thomas Heller, Morton Sosna and David Wellbery (California: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp.30-52.

94. See Louis Crompton, 'The Myth of Lesbian Impunity: Capital Laws from 1270 to 1791', Journal of Homosexuality, 6 (1980/81), 11-25.

95. Greenblatt, p.32.

96. Jonathan Gough, 'The Hermaphrodite: a Study of its Medical, Legal, and Philosophical Status, and of its Appearance in some Examples of English Renaissance Literature', D.Phil thesis, Keble College, University of Oxford, 1994, p.136. I am grateful to Jonathan Gough for sending me a copy of his doctoral thesis, and am indebted to his thorough exploration of the medical hermaphrodite.

97. Gough, p.136.

98. The case is reported in Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia 1622-1632, 1670-1676, ed. by H.R. McIlwaine (Richmond, Virginia, 1924), pp.194-195. Pages numbers will be given after quotations in the text. Jonathan Ned Katz also summarizes the case in Gay/Lesbian Almanac, pp.71-72.

99. Gordon Williams, A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature, 3 vols (London: the Athlone Press, 1994), I, p.214. Both 'bitt' and 'cat' also have nautical associations - the cat is the vessel and the bitt a post used for fastening cables. Perhaps there is an obscure sexual reference in this - was Thomas/ine's female dress an attempt to attract a man to secure her/him?

100. Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: an Introduction, trans. by Robert Hurley (1976; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p.60.

101. Their treatises were in debate about the possibility that hermaphrodites existed. Gaspard Bauhin, De hermaphroditorum monstorumque partuum natura ex theologrum, jureconsultorum medicorum, philosophorum et rabbinorum sententia libri duo (Oppenheim, 1614); Jean Riolan, discours sur les hermaphrodits. Où il est demonstré contre l'opinion commune, qu'il n'y a point de vrays Hermaphrodits (Paris, 1614).

102. See George Haver's translation of the Virtuosi of Frances's conference on hermaphrodites and The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, II, p.264, XIV, p.282, XXXVI, p.290 and XLVII, p.142.

103. See for example, chapter four of Ambroise Paré, On Monsters and Marvels (1573), trans. by Janis L. Pallister (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1982), pp.26-30; and Jacob Rueff, The Expert Midwife or an Excellent and Most Necessary Treatise of the Generation and Birth of Man (1554,) (London, 1637), pp.151-159.

104. For an outline of the different traditions in Renaissance theories of sexual difference see Maclean, 'Medicine, anatomy, physiology', pp.28-46; Thomas G. Benedeck, 'Beliefs about Human Sexual Function in the Middle Ages and Renaissance', in Human Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, ed. by. Douglas Radcliffe-Umstead (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Publications, 1978), pp.97-119; and Helen Rodnite Lemay, 'Masculinity and Femininity in Early Renaissance Treatises on Human Reproduction', Clio Medica, 18 (1983), 21-31.

105. Anthony Preus, 'Galen's Criticism of Aristotle's Conception Theory', Journal of the History of Biology, 10 (1977), 65-85 (p.80).

106. See Joan Cadden for the evolution of medical theories of sex in the Middle Ages, pp.11-165.

107. See Michael Boylan, 'The Galenic and Hippocratic Challenges to Aristotle's Conception Theory', Journal of the History of Biology, 17 (1984), 83-112.

108. Galen, On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body, trans. by Margaret Tallmadge May, 2 vols. (Ithaca and new York: Cornell University Press, 1965), II, p.628.

109. Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex:Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.79.

110. Jacques Duval, for example, speculated that 'if you imagine a vulva completely turned inside out...you will have to envisage a large-mouthed bottle hanging from a woman, a bottle whose mouth rather than base would be attached to the body.' Quoted from Laqueur, p.94. For criticism of Laqueur's thesis see Katharine Park and Robert A. Nye, 'Destiny is Anatomy', review of Laqueur's Making Sex, in The New Republic, 18 February, 1991, 53-57.

111. For discussions about Aristotle's theorization of sexual hierarchies see Maryanne Cline Horowitz, 'Aristotle and Woman', Journal of the History of Biology, 9 (1976), 183-213, and Johannes Morsink, 'Was Aristotle's Biology Sexist?', Journal of the History of Biology, 12 (1979), 83-112.

112. Galen, Usefulness, II, p. 630.

113. Michel de Montaigne, 'On the Power of the Imagination', in The Complete Essays, trans. and ed. by M.A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993) p.111. For a discussion of this account see Patricia Parker, 'Gender Ideology, Gender Change: the Case of Marie Germain', Critical Inquiry, 19 (1993), 337-364.

114. Paré, On Monsters and Marvels, pp.32-33.

115. For the Hippocratic description of the role of male and female seeds see, The Seed, in Hippocratic Writings, ed. by G.E.R. Lloyd, trans. by J.Chadwick and W.N.Mann, I.M. Lonie and E.T. Withington, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp.320-321. The Hippocratic writer's statement of the sexed position of the seed in the womb was articulated in Aphorisms 49: 'A male foetus inclines to the right, a female to the left.' Hippocratic Writings, p.225.

116. De Spermate quoted from Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages, trans. by Matthew Adamson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p.141.

117. Nathanial Highmore, The History of Generation, (London, 1651), pp.92-93.

118. Aristotle, Generation of Animals, Book 4, in The Complete Works of Aristotle, ed. by Jonathan Barnes, the Revised Oxford Translation, 2 vols. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), I, p.1195.

119. Laqueur, p.35.

120. Katharine Park and Robert A. Nye, p.54.

121. Daston and Park, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature', p.3.

CHAPTER TWO

'Mingle Mangle': Gender Performance in Elizabethan and Jacobean Culture

Introduction

Hermaphroditism was only partially figured through the body. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Renaissance depictions of homoeroticized youths and masculine women, in poetry and the visual arts, demonstrate how hermaphroditic sexual ambiguity was represented in terms of gender transgression as well as biological sex. In the Ovidian myth of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, the embodied hermaphrodite is created in response to a gender imbalance between the desiring nymph and the effeminate youth. The combined and confused hermaphroditic body is thus presented as the logical outcome of confused gender. In this context, the figure of the hermaphrodite functioned as a locus for the denaturalization of sex and gender. It focused questions about how gender is produced in relation to sex to suggest that sex and gender were not necessarily contiguous terms.

In the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, ideas about how gender was performed, where it was corrupted, and how it should be reformed, were debated with vigour. As the material world was explored and charted, and the human body was dissected, looked into, broken into its component parts and examined, so too gender was opened up, and its mechanisms exposed and scrutinized. This chapter traces some of the processes of that anatomization. It sets out the context in which two hermaphroditic figures (Mary Frith and Aniseed-Water Robin) were represented to examine the relationships between enacted and embodied hermaphroditism.

The Royal Context of Hermaphroditism: Elizabeth I and James I

Renaissance monarchs were positioned within an imaginary and an actual realm. Ideally they were represented as

divinely androgynous beings who reconfigured sexual difference within a transcendent form. Henri II and Francis I had both been represented as transcendent royal figures who blended male and female qualities in a neoplatonic coincidentia oppositorum.[1] Alchemical images celebrated the perfect union of male and female (symbolized by the archetypal figures of King and Queen) as marking a vital stage of transmutation.[2] Within this esoteric schema the hermaphroditical chemical wedding leads to the 'birth' of the Philosopher's Stone, and the promise of fulfilment in the alchemical quest. However, as the last chapter suggested, androgyny was an ambivalent ideal which was shadowed by hermaphroditic possibilities. In practical terms the biological sex of a monarch and the gender that they effected were of vital importance. Biological maleness, and gender attributes which were perceived as masculine, such as military strength, control and virility, were equated with power, security and, most importantly, stability in the continuation of the royal line.

The cultural construction of gender was inevitably inflected by the presence of Elizabeth I on the English throne from 1558 to 1603. A female monarch represented, for many Renaissance commentators, an aberrant distortion of gender and power. John Knox in The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, published in 1558, the year of Elizabeth's accession infamously expressed the perceived unnaturalness of female rule.[3] Following the familiar Renaissance conception of the body politic, Knox declared that God had created a natural order between the parts of the human body which was analogous to the structure of the commonwealth.[4] His vision of the body politic was not however an abstract symbol - it was specifically gendered as male. A female ruler was thus for him a monstrous perversion of the divine order:

> For who wolde not judge that bodie to be a monstre, where there was no head eminent aboue

> the rest, but that the eyes were in the bodie, and the eares in the feet. Men, I say, shulde not onlie pronounce this bodie to be a monstre: but assuredlie they might conclude that such a bodie could not long indure. And no lesse monstrous is the bodie of that comon welth, where a woman beareth empire. For ether doth it lack a lawfull heade (as in very dede it doth) or els there is an idol exalted in the place of the true head. An idol I call that, which hath the forme and appearance, but lacketh the vertu and strength, which the name and proportion do resemble and promise.[5]

Knox's invocation of this deformed and decaying monarchic body belied a fear that appearances may deceive. He suggested that female rule veiled a monstrous form beneath the semblance of order. The spectre of the female monarch thus destabilized the relationship between what is and what seems to be, as the false idol supplemented the true head. The implication was that if women could effect the 'forme and appearance' of a true monarch then monarchy itself might be no more than a series of effects.

Elizabeth I played the part of female monarch by manipulating the apparent discontinuities between her biological sex, her position within a gendered economy, and her public role. She was a notoriously multiple figure who adopted shifting gender roles throughout her reign. Leah Marcus, in her analysis of these positions has asserted that, 'Queen Elizabeth presented herself to the nation as both man and woman, queen and king, mother and first born son'.[6] Her famous address to the troops at Tilbury in 1588, which she was reported to have presented in quasi-military costume, emphasized the political effects of this self-constructed gender ambiguity.[7] She declared that, 'I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and a king of England too.'[8] This announcement reinforced her connection to her father, Henry VIII, by asserting her monarchy as a natural inheritance which superseded the limitations of sex. But it also drew attention to the

female body that she suggested was no more than a container for her kingly inner self. This contradiction subtended her representation throughout her reign.

The myth of the gynocentric rule of the Amazons was a preoccupying trope within Elizabethan cultural production.[9] Spenser's Faerie Queene, for example, features the female warriors, Britomart and Radigund, who embody the virtues and dangers of female rule in the sixteenth-century courtly imagination.[10] The way in which they are paired suggests an uncertainty about female power beneath the explicit glorification of Elizabeth. Artegall is symbolically emasculated by the amazon Radigund ('halfe like a man' (V.iv.36)), who has forced him to yield to 'th'insolent commaund of womens will' (V.vi.i). When Britomart's heroic combat frees the subjugated knight she presents an idealized, but equally unsettling, version of female power. Within Elizabethan culture, as Louis Montrose has suggested, 'Amazonian mythology seems symbolically to embody and to control a collective anxiety about the power of the female not only to dominate or reject the male but to create and destroy him.'[11]

Elizabethan rule thus foregrounded male insecurities about the construction and maintenance of masculinity. Despite the parallels which were drawn between the Queen's power and the legendary Amazon warriors, Elizabeth was also associated with peaceful rather than military rule. As John Lyly wrote in Euphues and his England (1580):

> What greater meruaile hath happened since the beginning of the world, then for a young and tender maiden, to gouern strong and valiaunt menne, then for a Uirgin to make the whole worlde, if not to stand in awe of hir, yet to honour hir, yea and to liue in spight of all those that spight hir, with hir sword in the sheth, with hir armour in the Tower, with hir souldiers in their gownes.[12]

A different, and more disturbing spectre to that of Amazonian dominance emerges - the potential

effeminization of England's men who, having no wars to fight, are denied a primary signifier of masculinity definition. As Helen Hackett has recently argued, within this peaceful gynocracy 'the whole nation might be seen as effeminised'.[13]

If the nation was effeminized by the Virgin Queen, she was correspondingly also de-feminized by this construction. After her death Cecil wrote to Harrington that she was 'more than a man, and, in troth sometimes less than a woman.'[14] But what does such a statement imply? If she had surpassed masculinity had she also in those terms failed to be feminine? The cult of Elizabeth, which drew upon multiple female archetypes of power, also represented the Queen as a divine androgyne, a figure in which gender difference is negated. Like Spenser's veiled Venus in The Faerie Queene, Elizabeth's enigma and power were in this way located in her harmonious absorption of sexual difference:

> But for, they say, she hath both kinds in one,
> Both male and female, both vnder one name:
> she syre and mother is herself alone,
> Begets and eke coceiues, ne needeth other none.
> (IV.x.41)

Yet this idealization also implicitly draws attention to the Queen's virgin body, which was not, in reality, self-generating. Representations which associated her with mythical figures such as Astraea, Diana and Venus biformis did not solve the material problems associated with the succession to the throne. Elizabeth's body was a focus of intense attention: her gender, virginity, chastity, and reproductive potential were preoccupying political and cultural themes.

It has been argued that Elizabeth manifested embodied hermaphroditic traits. Ben Jonson suggested to William Drummond that the Queen had a physical defect which rendered her body impenetrable. He claimed: 'she had a membrana on her which made her uncapable of man, though for her delight she tryed many'.[15] This presents a more disturbing version of the Virgin Queen than

Spenser's self-contained Venus, or the iconographic associations of Elizabeth with the sieve (the symbol of impenetrable chastity) suggest.[16] Jonson's comment may have been based in fact or rumour. He mentions a French doctor who was called to break the Queen's hymen, apparently without success. However, perhaps more significant is Jonson's scurrilous interest in the Queen's body. His characterisation of her as a woman who sexually desired men but whose body presented an impermeable barrier to them describes, in his terms, a monstrous and distorted femininity, perhaps also explaining Cecil's description of Elizabeth as 'less than a woman'.

There is some evidence to support the hypothesis that Elizabeth displayed characteristics associated with the congenital syndrome known as testicular feminization (male pseudohermaphroditism). R. Bakan, in a recent medical speculation about Elizabeth, has defined the disorder as a chromosomal imbalance which can be transmitted through the maternal line, explaining:

> It is the most inconspicuous form of intersexuality since unlike other congenital syndromes, it is rarely accompanied by abnormalities other than those of the reproductive system. The external genitalia are female, but the vagina ends blindly in a pouch or is absent, and the uterus and uterine tubes are absent or rudimentary. In a few cases, some menstruation may occur, but primary amenorrhea is more typical and the individual is always sterile.[17]

In contrast to traditional Galenic theories which proposed that women contained maleness as an unrealised potential within them, this contemporary medical discourse interprets Elizabeth's sexual ambiguity as an absence. Her vagina is thus figured as a blind alley leading not to a female space, but to a missing part. Bakan finds substantial evidence to support this thesis, ranging from anecdotal accounts and portraits of Elizabeth, to the fact that Ann Boleyn had six fingers on one hand. Clearly there is no way of knowing if Elizabeth

did embody hermaphroditic traits, although in its own terms the argument is persuasive. Most significant perhaps is that there is an enduring cultural preoccupation with unravelling what is perceived as the paradox of Elizabeth I.

Elizabeth was and is such a fascinating figure not only because she was a female monarch, but because she was an unmarried female monarch. Her cultivation of a virginal identity and her refusal to marry disturbed the heterosexual economy which structured a social order based on marriage, property and inheritance. Jonathan Goldberg has argued in response to interpretations of Elizabeth as an anomalous figure within a normalizing schema of sexual difference, that 'her dazzling displays refuse the stabilization of gender and cannot be flattened out as "androgyny"'.[18] This assertion of the textured nature of Elizabeth's gender ambiguity is significant. She represented an uncomfortable disruption of the logic between sex and gender within and beyond her cultural context. Not only did her presence on the throne suggest that a king might not be male but her cultural construction implied that gender might not be a natural progression from sex, or that sex itself might be questionable. Underlying her explicit glorification in quasi-religious and neoplatonic art and literature was the spectre of hermaphroditism, androgyny's uneasy other.

The accession of James I to the English throne in 1603 did not mark a simple resolution of the Elizabethan culture of gender incongruity. Biological maleness in the body of the king did not secure an unambiguously masculine monarchy. Whilst Elizabeth's gender had been constituted as an overdetermined excess, the gender ambiguity of James's court suggested an equally diffuse, and, for many, disconcerting model for gender relations.

Christopher Marlowe's Edward II (1592) in many ways anticipated the atmosphere of James's court. As Stephen Orgel has noted, the fact that Edward II was reissued in

1612 and performed in 1622 is 'startling' when the parallels between Edward and James are considered.[19] It is a play about a 'pliant king', seduced by 'wanton poets, pleasant wits' and made vulnerable by his homoerotic relationships with his favourites.[20] Although James (like Edward) passionately endorsed the symbolic function of monarchy, his personal character and the style of his court were often perceived with distaste. The Jacobean court was viewed by many contemporary observers as degenerate, characterized by extravagant excesses, improper sexual relations, and foppish courtiers. As Graham Parry has recently argued, 'while the intellectual life of the court was invigorating in the highest degree, the moral tone was often remarkably seedy.'[21] The picture that Sir Anthony Weldon, a disaffected contemporary commentator, painted of James was extremely unflattering. 'His character' he wrote, 'was obvious to every eye':

> He was of middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes then in his bodie, yet fat enough, his cloathes ever being made large and easie [...]. He was naturally of a timorous disposition [...] his Beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink [...]; his skin was as soft as Taffeta Sarsnet, which felt so, because he never washed his hands, only rub'd his fingers ends sleightly with the wet end of a Napkin, his legs were very weak [...] that weakness made him ever leaning on other mens shoulders; his walk was ever circular, his fingers ever in that walk fiddling about his codpiece.[22]

This portrait of a timid and physically weak man, dirty and dribbling, fiddling with his codpiece (the signifier of his masculinity) and locked in non-productive auto-eroticism, is a repulsive vision of monarchy. It is in contra-distinction to the symbolic fullness associated with the idealized self-generating royal body. If Elizabeth's reign had in some ways been seen as emasculating England, James was perceived as enacting that effeminacy within his own person.

Figure 2.1. Thomas Artus, 'Les Hermaphrodites' (1605).

The atmosphere of sexual ambiguity within Jacobean court culture was suggestive of the mid-sixteenth-century French court of Henri III. Jerome Schwartz has summarized Agrippa d'Aubigné's Les Tragiques description of the transvestite king:

> dressed in feminine clothes, his face caked with white and red makeup, and with mincing gait and gestures so effeminate that those seeing him for the first time could hardly tell if what they were seeing was 'un Roi femme ou bien un homme Reine'.[23]

Thomas Artus's parodic voyage narrative, L' Isle Des Hermaphrodites Nouvellement descouerte (1605) satirized Henri's court by presenting a dystopian world-turned-upside-down which was characterized by diffuse and depraved sexuality (see fig. 2.1). In 'Contre les Hermaphrodite', a poem included in the text, hermaphroditism is denigrated as a dangerous vice, 'cette confusion, cette masse difforme', and an 'horrible Sphinx'.[24] However, as Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass observe, the hermaphroditism in question is behavioural not embodied. It is motivated by sexual desire not genital abnormality, and is 'produced by a corrupt culture, not by a nature given by physiology.'[25]

Goldberg has discussed the contradictions between James's self-presentation as a transcendant figure in his public role (a 'loving nourish father' to the kingdom), and his personal qualities. These discontinuities are focused on the ambivalence of the hermaphroditic function:

> As father and mother, the king is sui generis, self-contained as a hermaphrodite, an ideal form. But such terms for self-ownership were also appropriate to a king who married for reasons of state but who courted male favourites.[26]

In itself, the fact that James's relationships with his favourites (Carr and Buckingham in particular) were probably homoerotic did not constitute a difficulty for his contemporaries.[27] As the Elder Mortimer remarks in Edward II, 'the mightiest kings have had their

minions'(II.i.393). Early modern sexual relations were determined more by hierarchy (organized around the social positions of the penetrator and penetrated) than biological sex alone. In this way boys and male servants, for example, could 'play' women in homoerotic sexual encounters without disrupting the sexual order. As Alan Bray has argued, sodomy in this period was a category of transgression which incorporated many perceived sins including, and beyond, sexual practice.[28] James's erotic attachments were disturbing to his contemporaries because, like Edward II, he was seen to be excessive and uncontrolled in his passions, and, by implication, womanish. Francis Osborne noted in his memoirs that it was James's indiscretion, above all, which caused dismay:

> The love the king showed [to his favourites] was as amorously conveyed as if he had mistaken their sex [...] Nor was it carried on with discretion [...] for the king's kissing them after so lascivious a model upon the theatre as it were of the world prompted many to imagine some things done in the tyring-house that exceed my expressions no less than they do my experience.[29]

The suggestion that James misrecognized the sex of his lovers implies not only the fear that appearances may deceive but also that appearances have the power to seduce and corrupt. The 'theatre [...] of the world' is for Osborne the imaginary realm where all identities are performed. This vision of radical denaturalization is subtended by the spectre of sexual sins which are committed out of sight.

Goldberg has argued that 'the theater pervaded the king's sense of self and role'.[30] The Jacobean court was thus figured as a place in which gender had become an empty performance upon a vast stage. The question which emerges is where could gender, in particular masculinity, be most properly performed? The answer, to many Elizabethans and Jacobeans, would have been - in the theatre of war. However, James's motto was, '<u>beati pacifici</u>' and his reign was characterised by lack of

military engagement. Anthony Weldon, noted dryly that the king 'naturally loved not the sight of a souldier, nor of any Valiant man'.[31] The homoerotic atmosphere of the court, which was underpinned by James's notorious misogyny, had replaced the homosocial bonds of war.

Linda Woodbridge has observed that the vigorous contemporary debates about gender were partially a response to the waning of military activity in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. She suggests that:

> The malaise which attended literary treatments of war in the 1590s may have been a response to the protracted and demoralizing Spanish war which throughout these years was dragging its slow length along. But when fruitless war yielded to unpopular peace, literary unease about effeminacy in society only increased.[32]

Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida (1602) was performed in the last disillusioned years of Elizabeth's reign. When Patroclus persuades Achilles of the manly virtue of war, he articulates an unease about distorted gender relations:

> A woman impudent and mannish grown
> is not more loath'd than an effeminate man
> In time of action.
> (III.iii.217- 219)

Soon there was to be no 'time of action' in English military life. The assertion of virile militarism in Henry V (1597) can be seen to inscribe a nostalgia for the gendered certainties of war. The fear that masculine vigour could be eroded is expressed most powerfully in Antony and Cleopatra (1607), as Antony, the valiant soldier, is shown to be increasingly effeminized by his passion for Cleopatra, a powerful, desiring woman. Their erotic union is seen as a perilous loss of gender distinction. He, 'is not more manlike/Than Cleopatra, nor the queen of Ptolemy/More womanly than he' (I.iv.4-6). This imagined emasculization is tellingly symbolized in Cleopatra's remembrance of a time when Antony, in a depleted drunken sleep, had symbolically abandoned his masculinity. She relates how as he lay passive and

vulnerable she dressed him in her clothes. Furthermore, this archetypal phallic woman, literally disarmed him of his most war-like and masculine accessory by wearing his sword (II.v.22-23).[33]

Again Marlowe's Edward II provides a dangerously close parallel to the Jacobean identity crisis. The Younger Mortimer complains about 'the idle triumphs, masques, lascivious shows' (II.ii.157) and gifts to the king's favourite which have exhausted the treasury. Moreover, the concern which he expresses to Lancaster is focused on the country's lack of military vigour:

> When wert thou in the field with banner spread?
> But once, and then thy soldiers march'd like players,
> With garish robes, not armour;
> (II.ii.182-184)

Here Mortimer's fear presents a vision of war as a theatre in which gender is performed in disarray. The Jacobean court, which staged battles in extravagant masques, and routinely denaturalized gender in dramatic productions, to some extent fulfilled such a vision. Without war what was the difference between the sexes? How was gender constituted within this culture of sexual ambiguity?

The Social Context: Transvesticism and Transgression

In their different ways both Elizabeth and James confused clear relationships between sex and gender. Cultural responses to these monarchs were infused with the possibilities and problems of gender ambiguity. However, representations of monarchic indeterminacy were perhaps only the most obvious aspects of a wider destabilization of gender roles in Elizabethan and Jacobean society. There were other, more dispersed factors, which disturbed gender. As Karen Newman has argued, gender functioned as a key difference in a context in which many other differences were being eroded:

> In a period that witnessed the breakdown of

> traditional distinctions between lay and clergy, court and city, urban and rural, local and regional, literate and illiterate, to name only the most obvious, difference was problematic. [...] Sexual difference, as a seemingly essential, ineffaceable category became the overdetermined imaginary for organizing social distinctions.[34]

As social boundaries were perceived to be under pressure so sexual difference was scrutinized and examined. Within a general context of transition and insecurity could gender ambiguity be cast as a problem which focused wider questions of authenticity, hierarchy, origins, artifice, the natural and the performative?

In 1628, in The Unlovliness of Lovelockes, William Prynne condemned contemporary fashions for hair-styles which confused the traditional marks of gender difference, declaring that these were 'Unnatural and Unmanly times'. In this anxious vision of gender chaos Prynne imagined effeminized men and women who were 'hermaphrodited, and transformed into men'.[35] The seeds of such a perception can be traced throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. Anxieties about the effeminization of men were inevitably subtended by the idea of masculine women. From classical misogynist satires to the medieval 'querelle des femmes' the idea of the monstrous masculine woman had engaged the popular imagination.[36] However, it was in the late sixteenth century that the masculine woman became a particularly engrossing figure.

William Averell's A mervailous combat of contrarieties (1588), for example, consists of a dialogue between parts of the body which allegorizes the vices of the Elizabethan commonwealth. As the title suggests friction and discord torment this monstrously self-divided body. In the Bellie's violently misogynistic diatribe, monstrous women, 'more mutable than the moon', are cast as inherently unstable aberrations. Moreover they are associated with an artificiality which veils their inner corruption. He describes them as presenting a

veneer of respectability outside of their homes but lapsing within the domestic sphere into their true 'sluttish and bestiall' selves.[37]

Averell's attack focuses on cross-dressed women, who, he asserts:

> from the top to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sere Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfayting the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition Women, and would seeme in apparell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine monsters.[38]

For women to 'appeare to be men' is thus a gross deceit. These 'unnatural' women are thereby cast as 'artificial' men who embody the 'combat of contrarieties' and there is finally, for Averall, no category left open to them but that of 'plaine monsters'. The act of counterfeiting which he so condemns raises questions about the relationship between copy and original, between the authentic and artificial; questions, in other words, about the structures of (sexual) difference.

Significantly Averell's attack focuses on clothes, the most obvious signifiers of gender and social distinction. In a society which, as Stephen Greenblatt has suggested, was preoccupied and shaped by notions of theatricality, clothing had a particularly charged significance.[39] What one 'put on' was in many respects who one was, or could, become. As late Elizabethan England became more socially fluid, urban and mercantile in focus, so a commodity culture developed. Clothing was central to this new market economy.[40] Clothes were ideal consumer items: they were obviously displayed, they represented novelty and luxury, and they were transferable. Clothing was also the target of numerous attacks by moralists and traditionalists. As Lisa Jardine has argued, 'nowhere is the tension between the old, outgoing feudal order and the new mercantile order more apparent than in the Elizabethan preoccupation with dress as status'.[41] Elizabethan sumptuary laws elaborately

signified, and attempted to fix, demonstrations of social status. These regulatory discourses were motivated by an imperative to reinforce social roles as natural laws. So, for example, in 1566, a ballad about a child born with folds of flesh which gave the appearance of ruffs declared that the child was a natural sign of England's corruption, ('This ruffling world in ruffs all rolled'). It interpreted the infant's body as a sign of inner corruption, claiming: 'Deformëd are the things we wear,/Deformëd is our heart'.[42]

However, sumptuary laws were widely transgressed and in reality had very little effect.[43] Moreover, the focus upon the immorality of false dress drew attention to what it ostensibly tried to suppress: the unnatural and artificial construction of status through clothing. If, for example, a burgher's wife wore purple silk (the proper preserve of countesses and above) how was she essentially different from a countess? How could she be recognized? As Philip Stubbes wrote in The Anatomie of Abuses (1583):

> But now there is such a confuse[d] mingle mangle of apparell in Ailgna, and such preposterous excesse thereof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out, in what apparell he lust himselfe, or can get by anie mind of meanes. So that it is verie hard to knowe, who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not.[44]

Clothing represented the most obvious mark of difference by which social distinctions were organized and recognized. As Stephen Gosson had noted, in his anti-theatrical diatribe of the previous year, the human mind understood best simple signs 'without mingle mangle of fish & flesh, good and bad'.[45] The repetition of the phrase, 'mingle mangle', by Gosson and Stubbes, suggests the way in which this confusion was characterized as both a dangerous pollution and a violent deformation of difference.

For Stubbes, like Averell, the confusion of sexual difference represented by the cross-dressed woman

engendered a monstrous birth, the logical outcome of the erosion of sexual distinctions. Drawing on Biblical doctrine he asserted that:

> Our apparell was given us as a signe distinctive, to discerne betwixt sexe and sexe, and therefore one to weare the apparell of another sexe, is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these women maie not improperly be called Hermaphroditi, that is, monsters of both kindes, half women, half men.[46]

The cross-dressed woman was monstrous because she polluted and destabilized the divisions between genders thereby revealing how the marks of gender were constructed and could, like clothes, be assumed and transferred between the sexes. The image of the monstrous hermaphrodite was the embodiment of this anxiety. The fear which is implicit in these attacks is that masculine women will effectively emasculate men. As William Harrison, in his Description of England (1587) declared of cross-dressed women, 'thus it is now come to pass that women become men and men transformed into monsters.'[47] As Prynne would suggest thirty years later, these were dangerous times for masculinity.

Exploring Gender Inversion: Joseph Hall's New World

Joseph Hall's Mundus alter et idem, which was translated by John Healey as The Discovery of a New World (1609), satirized Jacobean gender ambiguity, and particularly the figure of masculine woman. Following the style of Lucian's True History, Hall effectively defamiliarized contemporary gender relations by evoking an unfamiliar world characterized by familiar vices.[48] In his sermons Hall had directly condemned masculine women: 'What shall we say to the dames, yea to the hermaphrodites of our times, whom it troubles that they may not be all man?'.[49] In many respects his description of the imaginary Viraginian Islands (Aphrodysia, Hermaphroditica and

Amazonia, or Gynandria) appears to be a straight-forward attack on such masculine women. However, Hall's representation of gender inversion also implicates the male narrator by questioning the stability of his own masculinity. Again, beneath the culturally encoded image of the masculine woman lurks the more disturbing figure of the effeminate man.

In 'Aphrodysia', Hall's voyager escapes from the island's beautiful women who seduce and then enslave men. These women embody the dangers (and implied pleasures) of artifice, inhabiting a society which is based on sensual pleasures, appearance and display. The narrator describes how these women epitomize the aestheticization of surface appearance: 'their naked parts appear so obviously painted with white lead [...] that you would swear you saw a mask, a statue, or a plastered wall, not a human skin'(p.62). He escapes these emasculating women not, he informs the reader, because of his 'immense learning' (p.62) but because of his self-declared ugliness, reminding us that this is a place in which appearances are entirely determining.

When he moves on to 'Hermaphroditica' he finds a absolutely balanced order of gender and expresses a grudging admiration for the perfect fusion of its natural life (hybridized fruit trees, mules, hares and shellfish) and people. Unlike Thomas Artus's invocation of corrupt bisexuality ('double plaisir') in L'Isle des Hermaphrodites, here the inhabitants boast that they can practice hermaphroditic sex 'naturally' through their double bodies.[50] They inform the narrator that the 'infamous sodomites of old - and, indeed, of new - Rome, [...] coveted through evil means what is naturally given to us'(p.63). Their logic is that if one is both male and female there can be no sin based upon same sex desire. All sexual activity is in this respect hetero- as well as homo-sexual. Hermaphroditica is therefore a place in which sexual transgression is suggested but textually

repressed. The fantasy of perfect hermaphroditism functions here as a curious novelty rather than a disturbing excess.

It is 'Amazonia', or 'Gynandria' which most unsettles the narrator. Here the rule of masculine women suggests for Hall's voyager a monstrously unbalanced hermaphroditism. Seeing 'some in manly dress' he believes himself free from islands peopled by monstrous women (p.64). However, he soon realises 'how illusory was the appearance of the inhabitants':

> For here the women wear the breeches and sport long beards, and it is the men who wear petticoats and are beardless, who remain at home strenuously spinning and weaving while the women attend to military matters and farming. (p.64)

The narrator details this gender inverted society at some length and with considerable dismay. In fact what he actually describes is the rigid enforcement of a gender system in which one sex is oppressed by the other. He thus holds up a mirror to the position of most Renaissance women. Amazonia presents an exaggerated fantasy of reversed gender. Here masculine women rule over emasculated men with savage precision. Hall's voyager eventually escapes from 'so dangerous and corrupt a place' not by an assertion of an authentic male presence but because of his own compromised masculinity. He explains, 'because I was walking in man's attire and was in the first phase of an adolescent beard, I was able to conceal my sex easily' (p.66). He has thereby been absorbed into the culture of artifice and gender deception which Hall's displaced narrative ostensibly satirizes. He is spared from an absolute loss of masculine privilege because by displaying only tentative signs of masculinity he resembles the Amazon women who are also placed at the borders of gender differentiation. Hall's fantasized islands thus presents a parody of Jacobean culture in which gender is shown to be a continuous and partial process of disguise, imitation and

approximation.

Acting Out of Gender: Masculine Women and Effeminate Men

Debates about gender performance, and cross-dressed women in particular, resurfaced in 1620 in the pamphlets, Hic Mulier and Haec Vir. John Taylor, in his Superbiæ Flagellum (1621), summed up the atmosphere of this popular controversy:

> The Dev'll laugh'd lately at the stinking stir,
> We had about Hic Mulier, and Haec Vir,
> The Masculine apparel'd Feminine,
> And Feminine attired Masculine,
> The Woman-man, Man-woman, chuse you whether,
> The Female-male, Male-female, both yet neither;
> hels Pantomimicks, that themselves bedights,
> Like shamelesse double sex'd Hermophradites,
> Virago roaring Girles, that of their middle,
> To know what sexe they were, was halfe a Riddle[51]

It appears from the context of the pamphlets that the transvestite woman was perceived as a real threat to the social order at the time. In January 1625 James I ordered the clergy to 'inveigh vehemently' against the 'insolencie' of women who wore male clothes.[52] John Williams in his Sermon of Apparell, delivered in 1619, and published in 1620, focused on the cross-dressed woman as a monstrous hybrid, whose presence within the sanctity of a church was an unnatural (and suggestively exotic) aberrance: 'Chimera-like [...] halfe male, and halfe female; or as the Priests of the Indian Venus, halfe black, halfe white'.[53] Williams's argument against these women, who 'enter Gods house, as if it were a Play-house' is directed precisely at their artificial construction.[54] He suggests that their's is an impure mixture and a continuous performance which confuses the sacred and profane, the true and the false. In 1623 Francis Rous condemned the 'Monster of Apparell' which blurred sexual difference in terms of a profound betrayal of the 'natural' order:

> For such an hideous confusion hath Impudence attempted; & by a curious invention hath

> wittily found out the chiefest fashion of Lothsomnesse. This Earth that beareth and nourishest us, hath beene turned into a Stage, and women have come forth acting the parts of men.[55]

Rous's image confirms, as it condemns, that gender was an ongoing performance.

Jonathan Dollimore has argued that, 'in appropriating, inverting, and substituting for masculinity, the female transvestite inevitably put masculinity itself - and sexual difference more generally - under scrutiny.'[56] The monstrous hermaphroditic woman thus engendered a possibly even more disturbing birth: the effeminate man. Denunciations of cross-dressing disguised the deeper fear that transvesticism would expose the mechanisms of gender, revealing that all gender was enacted and potentially hermaphroditic.

These anxieties were self-consciously staged in the drama of the period. Whilst anti-theatricalists denounced gender ambiguity as a monstrous instability, early modern audiences, who watched it performed as a recurring dramatic motif, evidently delighted in it.[57] Gender was portrayed as an increasingly mobile effect. In the urban context of the city comedies, for example, women were presented as consumers who were able to buy the accessories of femininity (clothes, jewellery, cosmetics) within a frenzied economy. Jonson's Epicoene (1609), a play in which gender is thoroughly anatomized on many levels, describes Mrs Otter, an aggressive urban woman, in terms of a commodified anti-blazon. Her husband declares of her:

> A most vile face! And yet she spends me forty pound a year in mercury and hogs' bones. All her teeth were made i' the Blackfriars, both her eyebrows i' the Strand, and her hair in Silver Street. Every part o' the town owns a piece of her. [...] She takes herself asunder still when she goes to bed, into some twenty boxes, and about next day noon is put together again, like a great German clock;[58]

Gender is reduced to a fragmented construction, which can

be assembled, and by implication disassembled and reassembled. This startling denaturalization of femininity problematizes notions of a real or natural woman. Gender, such works repeatedly suggest, is no more than a masquerade.

The anonymous author of Hic Mulier argued that there was a natural female essence, but implied that it was precarious and vulnerable to corruption. By affecting masculine gender attributes the cross-dressed woman would distort her 'womanly' essence:

> What can be more barbarous than with the gloss of mumming Art to disguise the beauty of their creations? To mould their bodies to every deformed fashion, their tongues to vile and horrible profanations, and their hands to ruffianly and uncivil actions?[59]

This, the author asserts, is a dangerous and undiscriminating disease: 'an infection that emulates the plague and throws itself amongst women of all degrees, all deserts, and all ages' (p.269). It is the acting out of gender (in the sense of both performance and transgression), which is perceived as a pollutant.

In Haec Vir the suggestion of subversion in the existing gender hegemony is ultimately contained. Hic Mulier's conclusion in her debate with Haec Vir finally reinforces the moral tracts of Prynne and Stubbes by positing gender as a natural essence, constructed through binary distinctions, which has been temporarily inverted. Women, she argues have become masculine because men have become effeminate. She claims, 'it is necessary there be a distinct and special difference between Man and Woman' (p.287). When Hic Mulier and Haec Vir swap clothes and reclaim their 'proper' gender identities, the preceding vision of gender chaos is apparently resolved. However, whether this reorganization of ambiguous gender fully erases its effects is questionable. In fact, the dynamics of gender performance are placed in a potentially endless dialogue. If acting more or less like a man or woman is always a response to acting more or less like a woman or

man then the degrees of gender difference become infinite.

A similar scenario is presented in Beaumont and Fletcher's Loves Cure (1624).[60] The drama is predicated upon the gender confusion surrounding a brother and sister, Lucio and Clara, who have each been successfully raised in terms of the 'wrong' gender: 'as she appears/ Alter'd by custom, more than Woman, he/ Transform'd by his soft life, is less than man' (I.ii). When the action demands that they are returned to their 'natural' gender positions the play highlights the pervasive effects of their cultural conditioning. The servant Bobbadilla cries despairingly of Lucio 'was there ever such an Hermaphrodite heard of?' (I.ii) and suggests that it is culture not nature that has determined this problematic gender identity: 'Oh custom, what hast thou made of him?' (I.ii). He notes the problem in relation to Clara in similar terms, 'Custom hath turn'd nature topsie-turvie in you' (II.ii).

This gender confusion, as in the Haec Vir pamphlet, is resolved by recourse to a notion of 'true sex' beneath the constructed effects of mistaken gender. In this case heterosexual desire motivates Clara and Lucio to assume their proper genders. As Dollimore argues, 'Reconstituted, not repressed: desire itself is transformed, not coerced, back from the perverse to the natural'.[61] The words of the epilogue remind the audience that gender disruption has only just been checked by the action of the play as love self-consciously made nature 'blush to see Her so long monstrous Metamorphoses' (V.iii).

As these works contain gender instability they also incite it. Each representation of incongruous gender behaviour presents an alternative, however temporarily, to a social order organized around binary gender differences. Stephen Orgel notes this apparent inconsistency, arguing that 'even as the age defined its

gender boundaries, it also continually - one might almost say compulsively - produced figures who overstepped or violated them'.[62] When the hermaphrodite is repeatedly named in these tracts, satires, poems, pamphlets and plays, only to be suppressed or reconfigured, it nevertheless remains as a trace of gender disturbance. Under erasure it lingers as a disruptive presence in a continual process of metamorphoses.

Performing Gender: Mary Frith/Moll Cutpurse

Mary Frith, the inspiration for Dekker and Middleton's Moll Cutpurse in the Roaring Girl (1611), was an archetypal 'masculine' woman, a successor to the legendary Long Meg of Westminster, and a figurative hermaphrodite.[63] Mary Frith's nickname, Moll Cutpurse, which familiarizes and describes her criminal identity, already implies her foundation within urban myth-making as well as fiction. Her name resonates with the contemporary slang which denoted prostitute, pick-pocket, vagina, and eunuch, suggesting multiple sexual personae.[64] The compound of the names Mary/Moll (which I shall use in the following discussion) also signals an important inter-relationship between historical and fictional personae. In fact, this Mary/Moll character appears to have been created as much from the charged contemporary debates about gender as the person of Mary Frith.

Her fame was, and is, enduring.[65] James Caulfield summarized her life in 1794 in his Portraits, Memoirs and Characters of Remarkable Persons:

> Mary Frith, or Moll cut-purse, a woman of a masculine spirit and make, who was commonly supposed to have been an hermaphrodite, practised, or was instrumental to, almost every crime, and wild frolick, which is notorious in the most abandoned, and eccentric of both sexes.[66]

We have limited access to the 'facts' of Mary/Moll's

life. Most information can be gleaned from The Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith (1662) an anonymous 'auto'-biography which comprises an extensive preface followed by a first person narrative. From this account it seems likely that Mary Frith was born in 1584 and died in 1662. She was, in various combinations, a pickpocket, a cross-dressed woman, a prostitute, an inn-keeper and the 'original' Roaring Girl of Dekker and Middleton's play. According to the Consistory of London Correction Book Mary/Moll had transgressed public decency when she had 'sat [...] vppon the stage [of the Fortune theatre] in the publique viewe of all the people there p[rese]nte, in man's apparell, and playd vppon her lute & sange a songe'.[67] In 1612 she was brought before the ecclesiastical courts on charges of immorality. Here she:

> voluntarily confessed [...] she had long frequented all or most of the disorderly & licentious place in this Cittie, as namely she hath vsually in the habite of a man resorted to alehowses, Tavernes, Tobacco shops & also to play howses.

Her story is characterized by the crossing of boundaries - she habitually dressed in men's clothes, she frequented public places, smoked, drank, and lived a notorious life in London on the edges of the law. As the author of the Life put it, 'She was the Living Discription and portraiture of a Schism and Separation';[68] S/he continues, 'she lived in a kind of mean betwixt open, profest dishonesty, and fair civil deportment, being an Hermaphrodite in Manners as well as in Habit'(p.2). Mary/Moll, the compound of fact and fiction, was thus placed on the borders of gender and legitimacy, 'a perfect Ambodexter'(p.2). Invariably, and perhaps inevitably, this extraordinary character was described in terms of hermaphroditism. But how precisely was that hermaphroditic characterization effected? Was it located in her body or as an enacted gender transgression?

In The Roaring Girl, Sir Alexander draws upon the

terms of the current gender debate to describe Moll as a monstrous creation, an unnamable excess:

> [...] brought forth
> To mock the sex of woman. It is a thing
> One knows not how to name: her birth began
> ere she was all made: 'tis woman more than man,
> Man more than woman[69]

In Middleton and Dekker's dramatic recreation, Moll is represented as a borderline figure who mediates the heterosexual economy of the play. By pretending to be Sebastian's love object Moll allows the 'true' lovers, Sebastian and Mary, to unite. Sebastian's father, Sir Alexander, cannot fail to sanction this union of masculine and feminine when confronted with the spectre of Moll, the roaring girl, as a daughter-in-law. However, the hetero-sexual relation which is sustained in the play is also disturbed by the erotic implications of Moll's composite gender attributes. She is, in Sir Alexander's words, 'woman more than man,/Man more than woman' (I.ii.130-131) - or, as Sir Davy exclaims, 'a monster' (I.ii.134). She is thus presented as an hermaphroditic figure who, as the exchange between Mistress Gallipot and Laxton, suggests cannot be fixed in terms of language or erotic identification:

> Some will not stick to say she is a man
> And some both man and woman.
>
> That were excellent, she might first cuckold
> the husband and then make him do as much for
> the wife.
> (II.i.190-193)

Although in the action of the play Moll is presented as chaste, her sexuality is an implied overdetermination which cannot be contained within a heterosexual model.[70] As she herself suggests when arguing against the constraints of marriage, her erotic identifications are potentially fluid: 'I love to lie o' both sides o'th'bed myself' (II.ii.36-7).

The cross-dressed figure of Mary/Moll, a woman in drag, was repeatedly represented in terms of acting and artifice, as precisely a performance of gender which

destabilized its reification. Indeed, her self-representation in her arraignment in 1612 was inextricably linked with a sense of theatricality. The report of her statement in court (another kind of stage) demonstrates how she drew on the paradoxical discontinuity between her outward gender and inner sex:

> being at a playe about 3 quarters of a yeare since at [the Fortune] in man's apparell & in her boot[s] & with a sword by her syde, she told the company there p[re]sent [that] she thought many of them were of opinion [that] she was a man, but if any of them would come to her lodging they should finde she is a woman & some other imodest and lascivious speaches she also vsed at [that] time.

Beneath the clothes, the drinking, smoking and criminal lifestyle, she claimed she was indeed a woman, but an unconventional and disruptive one. To doubt that she was a woman was to miss the point of her transvesticism - she was a self-consciously constructed masculine woman. Thus, she was able to show that both masculinity and femininity were performed, and in so doing present an exaggerated and sexually charged parody of gender.

Mary/Moll's gender transgression is suggestive of the 'gender trouble' that Judith Butler detects in contemporary practices of drag. Such performances of gender, Butler argues, imply that there is no 'natural' gender essence based upon sexual difference, but that gender may be constituted through a series of repeated acts of mimicry which have no authentic origin. She explains:

> Because there is neither an 'essence' that gender expresses or externalizes nor an objective ideal to which gender aspires, and because gender is not a fact, the various acts of gender create the idea of gender, and without those acts, there would be no gender at all.[71]

For Butler drag is the exaggerated practice that exposes gender as a construction, an imitative process. Following that logic, a man acting like a woman is no less a performance than a woman acting like a woman. She argues

that, 'part of the pleasure, the giddiness of the performance' is in the recognition of 'a radical contingency in the relation between sex and gender'.[72]

Such a questioning of the relationships between sex and gender, is, I would argue, inherent in many early modern texts which prise open gender and expose its inner workings in a process of increasing denaturalization. The erotic allure, as well as deconstructive potential, of cross-dressing was not unfamiliar to Jacobean theatrical culture. The possibilities for the endless layering of gender effects on the Renaissance stage was, as many recent critics have noted, fully exploited.[73] One particularly resonant moment occurs in The Roaring Girl when Mary, the conventional feminine love-object, is disguised as a page. When she is kissed by her lover, Sebastian, Moll having observed the scene, remarks, 'How strange this shows, one man to kiss another'. Sebastian responds:

> I'd kiss such men to choose, Moll,
> Methinks a woman's lip tastes well in a doublet.
> (IV.i.46-48)

This is an important moment in the play. Mary functions as the feminine woman to Moll's masculine woman. However, within the dramatic conventions of the early modern theatre both were played by boy actors, who were themselves, as neither women nor adult men, poised on a threshold of gender. The homoerotic desire enacted by Sebastian on the one hand seems to realise his father's fears about his (pretended) attraction to Moll - that in desiring a masculine woman he may really desire a man; and on the other hand, presents a parody of all gender positions on (and off) the stage by unveiling the seductive artifice of its construction.

Mary/Moll's gender transgression is predicated upon the idea that there was a woman's body beneath its surface male effects, a discontinuity which she played upon in her arraignment. But how precisely was that relationship between sex and gender represented? The Life

signals the constructed nature of gender but posits it as a response to a recognition of an essential inner self:

> Generally we are so much acquainted with our selves and so often do dislike the effect of too much familiarity, that though we cannot alter the inside yet we diversifie the outside with all the borrowed pomp of Art in our Habits; no doubt Mals converse with herself [...] informed her of her defects, and that she was not made for the pleasure or delight of Man; and therefore since she could not be honoured by him in that garb and manner of rayment she wore [...] she resolved to usurp and invade the Doublet, and vye and brave manhood, which she could not tempt nor allure. (p.17-18)

This suggests that although Mary/Moll is in body a woman, she is unable (rather than unwilling) to 'tempt and allure' men and so operate within a heterosexual economy. Therefore, she appropriates masculine gender effects as substitution for, rather than challenge to, the heterosexual hegemony from which she is excluded.

Clothing marks the transgression which is cast as a violation of masculinity, a literal invasion of the doublet. But the author of the Life asserts that Mary/Moll's masculine style of dress did not in fact betray an inconsistency between inside and outside (or sex and gender). Her male clothes, s/he asserts, 'served properly as a fit Covering, not any disguise of her, (according to the Primitive invention of apparel) wherein every man might see the true dimensions and proportions of body, onely hers shewed the mind too' (p.19). In this way Mary/Moll's transvesticism is suggestive of the model of drag as a 'double inversion' which Butler draws upon from Esther Newton:

> Drag says "my 'outside' appearance is feminine, but my essence 'inside' is masculine." At the same time it symbolizes the opposite inversion; "my appearance 'outside' is masculine but my essence 'inside' is feminine."[74]

These terms can suggestively be applied to Mary/Moll: on the one hand, her outside (her clothes) were masculine, but her essence (her body) was feminine; on the other

hand, her outside (her body) was feminine whilst her inside (her sense of self) was masculine. The construction becomes a tautology which problematizes the binary difference between an inner and outer self.

This reading of early modern sex and gender through the lens of recent 'queer theory' suggests the openness and seemingly endless permutations of gender's construction.[75] Renaissance displays of gender ambiguity in many ways invite the application of these contemporary theoretical models. In both the early modern and postmodern moments the idea of identity as a stable and knowable category cannot be assumed. However, there are clearly also significant discontinuities between early modern gender transgression and the self-conscious gender parody of the late twentieth century, most notably in terms of self-determination.

John Williams's A Sermon of Apparell (1620), for example, published at the height of the Jacobean gender debates, suggests the dangers of understating the context in which gender ambiguity is produced. Williams posited a notion of origins, surface and depths determined by a dominant Christian ideology. In this way gender transgression was wholly interpreted as an effect of the ongoing conflict between God and Satan. Williams set out the terms of battle thus:

> Hee [God] had created free bodies, but the devill hath bound them; hee had made natural faces, but the devill hath changed them. In a word, hee had divided male and female, but the devill hath joy'nd them, that mulier formosa, is now become, mulier monstrosa supernè, halfe man halfe woman, all (outwardly) of her new-maker.[76]

In this model, gender identities are not the manifestation of any sense of self but the result of a conflict between the forces of good and evil. Gender transgression is thus interpreted by Williams as a distortion of God's authentic creation effected not by the subject but by the devil. This presents an anxious response to what Greenblatt has defined as processes of

self-fashioning. The fear that perhaps also subtends Williams's protest is that the creator or 'new-maker', of this monstrous hermaphrodite might in fact be the 'self'.

Mary/Moll, a woman who self-consciously positioned herself on the borders of gender differentiation, embodied precisely the mulier monstrosa supernè that Williams and other moralists most feared. However, the fame of Mary/Moll within popular folklore and cultural production also suggests that to many early modern women and men she presented a fascinating, and possibly thrilling, reconfiguration of sex and gender.

'Rare Enigmatick Robbin': Hermaphroditic Relationships

Mary/Moll is a figure who focuses themes of gender indeterminacy which were so preoccupying within early modern culture. In contrast to this perhaps over-familiar character there exists, however, another sexually ambiguous but unfamiliar hermaphroditic figure, known as Aniseed-Water Robin. Aniseed-Water Robin was, according to the partial evidence available, a well-known hermaphrodite in the seventeenth century yet very little attention has been paid to this curious individual within Renaissance cultural history.[77]

Contemporaries consistently referred to Aniseed-Water Robin as 'he' suggesting that he was a male-identified or predominantly male hermaphrodite. He perhaps displayed primary but partially formed male physical traits with lesser female characteristics. His body represents a confusion between sexes but he was not, however, represented as a foppish or effeminate Haec Vir figure. His depiction raises questions about how embodied hermaphroditism intersected with the enactment of ambiguous gender and suggests that these may not be entirely distinct categories.

The most substantial representation of Aniseed-Water Robin is the ballad, 'On the Death of Annyseed-water

Robbin' (1656). This mock elegy, which was signed F.S., was printed as part of 'Death in a new Dress: or Sportive Funeral Elegies'. It includes an explicit celebration of Aniseed-Water Robin's hermaphroditism:

> Nor wert thou fram'd (as I myself can tell)
> Without the Adjunct of a miracle;
> Problem of Sexes; Natures Jumble; Adam
> And Eve conglutinated; Sir, or Madam;
> Harry, or Madge; a knight and Lady Errant[78]

Unlike the more general deployment of hermaphroditism as an abusive term within tirades against sexual ambiguity or gender transgression, the ballad does not elide Robin's hermaphroditism with an unnatural or aberrant identity. It presents him rather as a truly extraordinary creation, an hermaphroditic miracle of nature. His hermaphroditism is even imagined as a self-impregnating fecundity:

> thou couldst do
> The office of the Man and Woman too:
> Rare Enigmatick Robbin, when grown great
> With-child thy self, thou couldst perform the feat;
> Which gives the world Inhabitants[79]

This auto-generative body parallels, and implicitly travesties, the reification of the idealized monarchic body as sui generis within élite cultural production.

Because this satirical elegy was a piece of topical and popular entertainment, it implies that its subject must have been well known as an hermaphrodite. The ballad draws upon familiar references, alluding, for example, to Cleveland's hermaphrodite poems ('Upon a Hermophrodite' and 'The Author to his Hermophrodite') which had been published together in 1651. Whereas Cleveland's hermaphrodites were imaginary abstractions used for poetic effect, F.S. now uses the tropes which described the metaphoric hermaphrodite to describe its actual embodiment.

From the ballad it appears, however, that Robin's hermaphroditism '(though great) is not the chiefest matter'. When F.S. laments that other ballad writers have ignored the passing of Aniseed-water Robin, it is in

terms that suggest his association with alcohol:

> You fail'd to mention this deceased Robbin,
> It seems you ne'r-quaft Nectar in his Noggin,
> As I have done; then may my Verse be mighty
> Spirited by his potent Aqua-vitae:
> was not thy voyce (dear Robbin) very sweet?
> wert thou not wondered at in every Street?
> Annyseed-water,
> Water fire;
> Water that passes
> Ale or Wine[80]

This signals the meaning of the epithet, Aniseed-Water. Aniseed-water may have been used as a medicinal tonic or perhaps as a remedy for bad breath, but this ballad suggests that it was a potent alcoholic drink which was made and sold by Robin.[81] Indeed it implies that Robin was as famous for 'his potent Aqua-vitae' as for his hermaphroditism. The oxymoronic compound of 'water fire' is itself an hermaphroditic construction. The ballad praises this transformative beverage ('Spagirick Water') in hyperbolic and lengthy terms claiming that amongst its many qualities it 'could put the Staggers on the Puritan'.

Other references to Aniseed-Water Robin invariably locate him in relation to ambiguously gendered characters, particularly, in the words of the Hic Mulier pamphlet, to those 'new Hermaphrodites' (p.275), masculine women. Within these relationships a slippage tends to occur between physical hermaphroditism and effeminacy, as the boundaries between embodied and enacted gender chaos begin to collapse. His name is used casually, for example, in a ballad published in the 1650s, known as 'The West-Country Dialogue: Or a Pleasant Ditty between Aniseed-Robin the Miller, and his Brother Jack'.[82] The ballad presents a scenario in which the hesitant and fearful Robin prevaricates about proposing marriage to the overbearing Joan (fearing her physical violence) whilst his brother tries to persuade him to action. The name, Aniseed-Robin, is evidently used comically here to signal a weak male personality in a

standard reworking of the 'woman on top' theme.[83]

In 1620, following the publication of Hic Mulier and Haec Vir, a third, opportunistic spin-off, pamphlet was produced. Mulde Sacke: Or the Apologie of Hic Mulier: To the later Declamation against her. Mull'd-Sack was the nickname given to John Cottington, a man who was well known for drunken excess and had encountered the hermaphroditic Robin. James Caulfield relates the following story:

> One night, drinking at the Devil tavern in Fleet Street, a match was made up betwixt him and one he took to be a real woman, but when he was married at the Fleet prison, the common place for joining all rogues and whores together, and came to be bedded at night, he found his co-partner to be a noted person called Anniseed-Water-Robin; who being an hermaphrodite, that is to say, a person of both sexes, he soon found nature's impotency, by reason her redundancy, in making the supposed bride both man and woman, had in effect made the party neither; as having not the strength nor reason of the male, nor the fineness and subtlety of the female.[84]

Mull'd Sacke, whose judgement is muddied by alcohol (perhaps Robin's 'potent Aqua-vitae'), is duped into a parody of marriage. Osborne's fears that James I had mistaken the sex of his favourites are comically now realised. If a man can mistakenly marry an hermaphrodite then what does that imply about his own masculinity?

It is significant that the practical joke is played in an urban and felonious context: the 'marriage' takes place in a prison not a church and the congregation is comprised of prostitutes, drunkards and criminals. There is a distinct contrast between this account of mistaken gender and the lightness and ultimate heterosexual resolution of, for example, the gender play in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night or As You Like It. This mock-wedding takes place not in the imagined court of Illyria or the forest of Arden but in the taverns and prisons of seventeenth-century London. Moreover, the false wedding of Mull'd Sack and Aniseed-Water Robin, is not followed

by an 'authentic' union between a complete man and woman which restores the order of sex and gender. This gender deception is a comic escapade enacted in the dark underside of the city. Its humour is based on the fear that sexual difference can be consistently destabilized and that appearances may always deceive.

This disruption to the sex-gender system is suggested most strikingly in the meeting of Aniseed-Water Robin, the physical hermaphrodite and Mary/Moll, the figurative hermaphrodite. In the first person narrative which forms part of the Life the authorial persona of Mary/Moll relates their encounter:

> There was also a fillow a cotemporary of mine, as remarkable as my self, called Anniseed-water Robin; who was cloathed very near my Antick Mode, being an Hermaphrodite, a person of both Sexes; him I could by no means endure, being the very derision of natures impotency, whose redundancy in making him Man and Woman, had in effect made him neither, having not the strength nor reason of the Male, nor the fineness nor subtlety of the Female: being but one step removed from a Natural Changeling, a kind of mockery (as I was upbraided) of me, who was then Counted for an Artificial one. (p.74)

Here the encounter between these two hermaphroditic figures results not mutual recognition or empathy but in a violent antipathy.

Mary/Moll was clearly disturbed by the ('natural') hermaphrodite who evidently destabilized her own (self-constructed) position on the borders of gender differentiation. Her condemnation of 'natures impotency' which created him as both less than a man or woman (lines which were later quoted in Caulfield's account of Mull'd-Sack, above) conflict with F.S.'s earlier characterization of Aniseed-Water Robin's hermaphroditism as embodying plenitude. Evidently, hermaphroditism was not easily fixed within any singular construction. Mary/Moll's description of Aniseed-Water Robin's hermaphroditism as a negative gender effect is also in contradistinction to the characterization of her own

hermaphroditic qualities by the anonymous author of the Life. Here she was described as enacting an excess of gender attributes which combined to create a superlative criminal nature:

> Not to be guided either by the reservedness and modesty of her own Sex, or the more imperious command of the other; she resolved to set up in a neutral or Hermaphrodite way of Profession, and stood up on her own leggs, fixed on the basis of both Concerns and Relations; like the Colossus of Female subtlety in the wily Arts & ruses of that Sex; and of manly resolution in the bold and regardlesse Rudenesses of the other, so blended and mixed together, that it was hard to say whether she were more cunning, or more impudent. (p.26)

Mary/Moll's antipathy towards Aniseed-Water Robin was rooted in a discomfort about natural as opposed to artificial transgression. In 1650 John Bulwer had published Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: or, the Artificial Changeling, an attack on the corruption of the natural body by techniques of artificial transformation from circumcision to scarification. He asserted that:

> [...] men have taken upon them an audacious Art to form and new-shape themselves, altering the Humane figure, and moulding it according to their own will and arbitrement, varying it after a wonderfull manner, almost every Nation having a particular whimzie as touching Corporeal fashions of their own invention. In which kinds of mutations, they do Schematize or change the Organical parts of their Bodies into divers depraved figures.[85]

When Mary/Moll uses the terms natural and artificial changeling, Bulwer's hierarchy between the natural and artificial is alluded to but inverted. She condemns Aniseed-Water Robin as being close to 'a Natural Changeling', who as a physical hermaphrodite presents 'a kind of mockery' of her artificial self-fashioning of ambiguous gender. Where she has created herself as a singular being, a figurative hermaphrodite, Aniseed-Water Robin challenges her uniqueness with a deeper, more disturbing transgression - a 'natural', embodied hermaphroditism.

Mary/Moll attempts to retain her transgressive integrity in opposition to Aniseed-Water Robin by asserting that she would admit no relationship or similarity between them:

> And, indeed I think nature owed me a spight in sending that thing into the world to mate and Match me, that nothing might be without a peer; and the vacuum of Society be replenished, which is done by the likeness and similitude of manners: but contrariwise it begot in me a natural abhorrence of him so strange an Antipathy, that what by threats and my private instigating of the Boyes to fall upon, and throw the Dust at him, I made him quit my Walk and Habitation, that I might have no further scandall among my Neighbours, who used to say, here comes Malls Husband. (p.74)

Her violent response to Aniseed-Water Robin is to expel him from her world. The idea that two hermaphrodites could be paired in marriage repulses her because, on the one hand, it smooths over the differences between disparate forms of hermaphroditism (enacted and embodied) which were vital to her sense of singularity; and, on the other hand, it reinscribes the notion of sexual difference (represented by marriage) which she had potentially subverted. It thus threatens to undermine her identity as an extraordinary being by replacing her within a heterosexual economy.

Aniseed-Water Robin's name had been used in a comparable derision of a masculine woman in Henry Neville's, Newes from the New Exchange (1650). Neville satirized Lady Hungerford:

> Now, as brave Woman-man-of-mettle, heigh for my Lady Hungerford. Since Sir Edward is in heaven, the fittest mate for her upon Earth, must needs be Annis-water Robbin, for they may fit one another by turns and be beholding to nobody.[86]

Like Mary/Moll, Lady Hungerford was perceived as a masculine woman whose only suitable partner could be the hermaphroditic Aniseed-Water Robin. The hermaphroditic husband ostensibly resituates the supposedly masculine woman in the feminine role of wife. However, he also places her beyond the parameters of sexual difference as

a figurative hermaphrodite whose only fitting 'mate and Match' was a 'Natural Changeling'. Such a positioning partially diffused the radical implications presented by both types of hermaphrodites - the physically ambiguous figure as well as the cultural transgressor of gender boundaries. But it also reinstated sexual ambiguity as a disturbing presence in the sex-gender system.

Representations of the hermaphroditic Aniseed-Water Robin which placed him in relation to other indeterminate characters demonstrate the impossibility of reducing the hermaphrodite to a singular figure. From the gender ambiguities associated with Elizabeth I and James I, to the energetic social debates about masculine women and effeminate men, and the hermaphroditic challenges presented by Mary/Moll and Aniseed-Water Robin, it is apparent that this society was engaged in a compelling interrogation of the categories of sex and gender. Hermaphroditism was a malleable concept within a culture in which sex and gender were repeatedly placed in uneasy relationships; in which distinctions that had seemed natural were made to appear artificial; and in which identities became a process of continuous performance. In this context, hermaphroditisms were diverse and many shaped.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. For a discussion of the hermaphroditic image on the medal of Henri II (dated 1552) and the Bisexual Portrait of Francis I (attributed to Niccolò Bellin da Modena) see Jerome Schwartz, 'Aspects of Androgyny in the Renaissance' in Human Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, ed. by. Douglas Radcliffe-Umstead (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Publications, 1978), pp.122-131. See also Raymond B. Waddington, 'The Bisexual Portrait of Francis I: Fontainbleau, Castiglione, and the Tone of Courtly Mythology' in Playing With Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit, ed. by Jean R. Brink, Maryanne C. Horovitz and Allison Courdet (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), pp.99-132.

2. For pictorial examples of these images see Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings in the Seventeenth Century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), and C.J. Jung, Psychology and Alchemy (London: Routledge, 1989).

3. John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (London, 1558). The coincidence was unfortunate for Knox. His pamphlet had, in fact, denounced gyneocracy specifically in terms of the Catholic women rulers, Mary Tudor and Mary Queen of Scots. For the context of this debate see, Constance Jordan, 'Women's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought', Renaissance Quarterly, 40 (1987), 421-451.

4. For extensive analyses of the body politic metaphor see, Leonard Barkan, Nature's Work of Art: the Human Body as Image of the World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); and David Hale, The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1971). For more about the symbolic function of monarchy and the Elizabethan succession see, Marie Axton, The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

5. Knox, p.27.

6. Leah S. Marcus, 'Shakespeare's Comic Heroines, Elizabeth I, and the Political Uses of Androgyny', in Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. by Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp.135-153 (p.137).

7. Winifried Schleiner has discussed how contemporaries reported that Elizabeth appeared at Tilbury in amazonian costume in 'Divina virago: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon', Studies in Philology, 75 (1978), 163-180.

8. Quoted from Marcus, p.138.

9. See Schleiner, 'Divana virago' and Simon Shepherd, Amazons and Warrior Women (Brighton: Harvester, 1981).

10. See Pamela Joseph Benson, 'Rule Virginia: Protestant Theories of Female Regiment in The Faerie Queene', English Literary Renaissance, 15 (1985), 277-292.

11. Louis Adrian Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies"; Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', Representations, 2 (1983), 61-94 (p.66).

12. Quoted by Helen Hackett, Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (London: Macmillan, 1995), p.115.

13. Hackett, p.115.

14. Quoted by Montrose, p.78. We might also note the parallels between such a comment and the characterization of Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s in similarly overdetermined gendered terms. See Marina Warner, Monuments and Maidens: the Allegory of the Female Form (London: Picador, 1987), pp.38-52.

15. Ben Jonson, Notes of Conversation with Ben Jonson made by William Drummond of Hawthornden (1619) ed. by G.B. Harrison (London: Bodley Head, 1923), p.15. Again the characterization of Thatcher as the 'Iron Lady' and 'Iron Knickers' comes to mind.

16. See Constance Jordan, 'Representing Political Androgyny: More on the Siena Portrait of Queen Elizabeth', in The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon, ed. by Anne M. Hasekorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), pp.157-176.

17. R.Bakan, 'Queen Elizabeth I: a Case of Testicular Feminization?', Medical Hypotheses, 17 (1985), 277-284 (p.278).

18. Goldberg criticizes Montrose and Marcus in particular. Jonathan Goldberg, Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.42. For a detailed study of how Elizabeth's chastity was represented in the Renaissance see, Philippa Berry, Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen (London: Routledge, 1989).

19. Stephen Orgel, 'Nobody's Perfect: or Why Did the English Stage Take Boys for Women?' South Atlantic Quarterly, 88 (1989), 7-29 (p.25). The revival of Edward II can also be interpreted as part of the Protestant resistance to James's policy of peace in Europe in the early 1620s.

20. Christopher Marlowe, Edward II, in The Complete Plays ed. by, J.B.Steane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969; repr. 1983) I.i.54-52.

21. Graham Parry, The Seventeenth Century: the Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1603-1700 (London: Longman, 1989), p.25.

22. Sir Anthony Weldon, The Court and Character of K. James Written and taken by Sir A.W. being an Eye, and Ear witness (London, 1650), pp.177-179.

23. Schwartz, p.125-126.

24. Thomas Artus, L'Isle Des Hermaphrodites Nouvellement descouverte (Paris, 1605), p.178-179.

25. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, 'Fetishizing Gender: Constructing the Hermaphrodite in Renaissance Europe', in Body Guards: the Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity, ed. by Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), pp.80-111 (p.92).

26. Jonathan Goldberg, James I and the Politics of Literature (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1983), p.142.

27. His letters to Buckingham are characterized by their passionate tone and manipulation of multiple gender positions. For example:

> I cannot content myself without sending you this present, praying God that I may have a joyful and comfortable meeting with you and that we may make at this Christmas a new marriage ever to be kept hereafter; for, God so love me, as I desire only to live in the world for your sake, and that I had rather live banished in any part of the earth with you than live a sorrowful widow's life without you. And so God bless you, my sweet child and wife, and grant that ye may ever be a comfort to your dear dad and husband.

James I to Buckingham, in Letters of King James VI and I, ed. by, G.P.V. Akrigg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p.431.

28. Alan Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982). See also Bray's article, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', History Workshop Journal, 29 (1990), 1-19.

29. Francis Osborne, Traditionall Memoyres, quoted in Goldberg, p.143.

30. Goldberg, James I, p.147.

31. Weldon, p.182.

32. Linda Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620 (Brighton: Harvester, 1984), p.161.

33. In The New Cambridge Shakespeare edition of Antony and Cleopatra David Bevington notes that 'Cleopatra's actions recall those of Omphale, the Amazonian Queen of Lydia who enslaved Hercules'(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.132. The image also evokes Botticelli's Mars and Venus.

34. Karen Newman, Fashioning Femininity: Femininity and English Renaissance Drama (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p.120.

35. William Prynne, The Unlovelinesse of Lovelockes (London, 1628), sig.A3.

36. See Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

37. William Averell, A mervailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striving in the members of mans bodie, allegoricallie representing unto us the envied state of our florishing Common wealth: wherein dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreme vices of this present time (London, 1588), sig.B.

38. Averall, sig.B.

39. Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

40. N.B. Harte suggests some of the complexities in determining the social and economic structures which motivated the sartorial crisis in Elizabethan England but argues that 'two developments in late medieval and early modern society made sumptuary legislation necessary. The first was the expansion in the number of different stations in life and the increasing mobility between them; the second was the rise of fashion.' N. B. Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change, in Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England, ed. by D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976), pp.132-161 (p.139).

41. Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare 2nd ed (London: Harvester, 1989), pp.141-142.

42. H.B.,'The true description of a child with ruffs born in the parish of Micheham in the county of Surrey, 1566', in Monstrous Births: An Illustrative Introduction to

Teratology in Early Modern England, ed. by Simon McKeown (London: Indelible Inc., 1991), p.28. Extravagant and highly starched ruffs were often condemned by moralists. In his The Anatomie of Abuses (1583) Philip Stubbes attacked 'great and monsterous ruffes' and imagined the devil's 'kingdome of great ruffes', p.22.

43. See Harte, pp.143-148 and Newman, p.119.

44. Phillip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses (London, 1583), p.10.

45. Stephen Gosson, Plays Confuted in Five Actions (London, 1582). Quoted from Jonas Barish, The Antitheatrical Prejudice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p.89. The OED cites the first usage of 'mingle-mangle' as 1542.

46. Stubbes, p.38. Stubbes cites Deuteronomy 22.

47. William Harrison, The Description of England (1587), ed. by Georges Edelen, Folger Shakespeare Library (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), p.147.

48. For a discussion of Hall's imaginary voyage narrative see, Claire Jowitt, 'Old Worlds and New Worlds: Renaissance Voyage Narratives' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1996).

49. Quoted in Joseph Hall, Another World and Yet the Same (Mundus Alter et idem), trans. and ed. by John Millar Wands (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), p.158. All references are to this edition and will be included after quotations within the text.

50. Artus, frontispiece verse.

51. John Taylor, Superbiæ Flagellum , Or the Whip of Pride (London, 1621), sig. C6.

52. Quoted from Woodbridge, p.143.

53. John Williams, A Sermon of Apparell (London, 1620), p.20-21.

54. Williams, p.22.

55. Francis Rous, Oile of Scorpions (London, 1623), p.173.

56. Jonathan Dollimore, 'Subjectivity, Sexuality and Transgression: the Jacobean Connection', Renaissance Drama, 17 (1986), 53-81 (p.77).

57. For discussions of anti-theatricalism see Barish and Laura Levine, 'Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization from 1579 to 1642', Criticism, 28

(1986), 121-143.

58. Ben Jonson, Epicoene or the Silent Woman, New Mermaids, ed. by R.V. Holdsworth (London: Ernest Benn, 1979), (IV.ii.83-92). For a reading of the hermaphroditic motif and performativity in Epicoene see, Julie Sanders, 'Corporeal Acts in Ben Jonson's Epicoene (unpublished paper presented at 'the Borders of the Human' colloquium at Senate House, London, February, 1995).

59. Hic Mulier; or, The Man-Woman (1620), in Henderson and McManus, p.268. All further references to Hic Mulier and Haec Vir are to this edition and will be included after quotations in the text.

60. All references are included after quotations in the text and are from The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, ed. by A.R. Waller, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), VII, pp.164-236.

61. Dollimore, p.73.

62. Stephen Orgel, 'The Subtexts of The Roaring Girl', in Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage, ed. by Susan Zimmerman (london: Routledge, 1992), p.12-26 (p.13).

63. For the relationship between these two characters see Frederick O. Waage, 'Meg and Moll: Two Renaissance London Heroines', Journal of Popular Culture, 20 (1986), 105-117.

64. See Gordon Williams, A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature, 3 vols (London: the Athlone Press, 1994).

65. There is contemporary interest in Mary/Moll within the popular as well as the critical context. See for example, the historical novel by Ellen Galford, Moll Cutpurse: Her True History (Edingburgh: Stramullion, 1984; repr.1986). Galford portrays Moll as an adventuring lesbian heroine.

66. James Caulfield, Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons, from the Reign of Edward the Third to the Revolution (London, 1794), 1, p.81.

67. Quoted from Paul Mulholland, 'The Date of The Roaring Girl', Review of English Studies, 28 (1977), 18-31 (p.31). All references to the Consistory of London Correction Book are quoted from this source, p.31.

68. The Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith Commonly Called Mal Cutpurse (London, 1662), sig.A4. All further references will be given after quotations in the text.

69. Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, ed by. Andor Gomme, New Mermaids, (London: Ernest Benn, 1976), I.ii.127-11. All further references are to this

edition and will be included after quotations in the text.

70. For recent discussions of these issues see , Marjorie Garber, 'The Logic of the Transvestite: The Roaring Girl', in Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama ed. by David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.221-234; and Jean E. Howard, 'Sex and Social Conflict: the Erotics of The Roaring Girl', in Zimmerman, pp.170-190.

71. Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (London: Routledge, 1990), p.140.

72. Butler, p.137-138.

73. See in particular, Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters, pp.9-36; Peter Stallybrass, 'Transvesticism and the "body beneath": Speculating on the Boy Actor', in Zimmerman, Erotic Politics, pp.64-83; and Jean E.Howard, 'Crossdressing, the Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England', Shakespeare Quarterly, 39 (1988), 418-440. For a more sceptical discussion of the homoerotic appeal of the boy actor on the Renaissance stage see Kathleen McLuskie, 'The Act, the Role, and the Actor: Boy Actresses on the Elizabethan Stage', New Theatre Quarterly, 30 (1987), 120-130.

74. Quoted from Butler, p.137.

75. Queer theory represents a postmodern form of lesbian and gay studies which addresses sexual identities in terms of performativity and multiple identifications. Its inception is associated with the works of Judith Butler and Eve Kosofsky Sedgewick. Jonathan Goldberg has specifically related queer theory to Renaissance studies in the recent collection, Queering the Renaissance (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994); Alan Sinfield also explores the possibilities of queer theory in Renaissance criticism, in Cultural Politics: Queer Reading (London: Routledge, 1994), chapter 1.

76. Williams, p.7.

77. To my knowledge only Susan Shapiro has published research about Aniseed-Water Robin, 'A Seventeenth century Hermaphrodite', Seventeenth Century News, 45 (1987), 12-13. Shapiro mentions Robin again in 'Amazons, Hermaphrodites, and Plain Monsters: the "Masculine" Woman in English Satire and Social Criticism from 1580-1640', Atlantis, 13 (1987), 66-76 (p.71). Shapiro does not, however, refer to either of the two ballads about Aniseed-Water Robin (see notes 78 and 82, below).

78. F.S., 'On the Death of Annyseed-water Robbin', in Death in a New Dress: or Sportive Funeral Elegies (London, 1656), sig. A3.

79. F.S., sig. A3.

80. F.S., sig. A2^{v}.

81. The meaning of Aniseed-Water Robin's name is perplexing. Williams suggests that Robin was slang for penis. See A Dictionary of Sexual Language, III, p.1163. Aniseed may also have been a pun on hermaphroditic ambiguity, implying any seed or any side. I am grateful to Jonathan Sawday for this suggestion.

82. 'The West-Country Dialogue: Or a Pleasant Ditty between Aniseed-Robin the Miller, and his Brother Jack the Ploughman, concerning Joan, poor Robin's unkind lover'. Britsh Library, Roxburgue Ballads, II, 500 and 514.

83. See Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women on Top', in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (1965; Cambridge: Polity, 1987) pp. 124-151.

84. Caulfield, p.150.

85. John Bulwer, Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transformed; or , the Artificial Changeling (London, 1650), Introduction.

86. Henry Neville, Newes From the New Exchange (London, 1650), p.7.

CHAPTER THREE

The Monstrous Hermaphrodite: Doubled and Divided Bodies

Introduction

In his satirical poem The Moone-Calfe (1627) Michael Drayton envisaged a monstrous hermaphrodite: the progeny of a degenerate union between the World and the Devil.[1] The moone-calfe represented a grotesquely embodied emblem of social and sexual collapse. It was depicted as a dangerous and unnatural violater of boundaries, a polluted and polluting presence which both personified and spread moral decay. As we have seen, the hermaphrodite had been a powerful signifier of gender ambiguity throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, but the moone-calfe shifted such characterizations into the realm of monstrous embodiment.

Mary Douglas has discussed how the margins between the self and the other are encoded through the body. She argues that 'the body is a model which can stand for any bounded system. Its boundaries can represent any boundaries which are threatened or precarious.'[2] In these terms the early modern fascination with monsters suggests a culture whose boundaries were porous and vulnerable. Monsters represented exaggerated ciphers of difference which ostensibly reinforced the borders between the human and non-human. However, as this chapter suggests, those divisions were rarely distinct or sustained but were mutually inflected within a dialogic relationship.

The monstrous hermaphroditic body marked a signal site of confusion between the self and the other. As the previous chapter demonstrated, sexual difference was represented as a key signifier within the shifting social, political, religious and economic landscape of early modern England. Anxieties about the perceived slippage between male and female suggested a more general uneasiness about the corrosion of ideological and epistemological boundaries. Renaissance images of ideal androgynous union effectively erased problems of (sexual) differentiation in a transcendence of the body. In

contrast, the monstrous hermaphrodite reinscribed those differences on its overdetermined body which presented both the doubling, and the collapse, of sexual difference. It was a disturbing but intriguing figure.

This chapter suggests the ways in which the monstrous hermaphrodite placed pressure on definitions of human as well as sexual and gendered identities. It asks questions about how hermaphroditism was represented within images of diffuse monstrous forms; and how these hybridized monstrous bodies were used to signify aspects of the inner self. Drawing upon these themes, the latter part of the chapter focuses on the ways in which the monstrous hermaphrodite was used to represent moral and political disorder during the English Civil War.

On <u>The Moone-Calfe</u>, Monsters and Misconception

At the beginning of <u>The Moone-Calfe</u> the World is described in the throes of an agonizing labour: 'Her big-swolne bulke/Stuff'd with infection, rottennesse, and stenche' (16-17). In this most grotesque of pregnancies the feminized World has grown to monstrous proportions ('her huge wombe did past all compasse swell'(90)) and is filled with 'foule excesse' (140). The Furies are called to act as midwives at the birth of a 'most abhorrid' (166) creature: a pair of conjoined twins. Although one twin is seemingly male and the other seemingly female it is soon evident that this aberrant creation is in fact an hermaphroditic monster, a hideous confusion of bodies, sex and gender:

> The birth is double, and growes side to side
> that humane hand it never can divide;
> And in this wondrous sort as they be Twins
> Like Male and Female they be <u>Androgines</u>,
> The Man is partly Woman, likewise shee
> Is partly Man, and yet in face they be
> Full as prodigious, as in parts; the Twinne
> that is most man, yet in the face and skinne,
> Is all meere Woman, that which doth take
> From weaker woman: Nature seemes to make
> A man in show, thereby as to define,

A Fem'nine man, a woman Masculine;
Before bred, nor begott: a more strange thing,
Then ever Nile, yet into light could bring,
Made as Creation meerely to dispight,
Nor man, nor woman, scarse Hermophradite.
(175-190)

The horrified Gossips who witness this shocking double birth first consider killing it ('for a Monster, quicke lets bury it' (196)) and then contemplate the consequences of surgically dividing it into its male and female parts and allowing it to live. It is observed, however, that a complete separation would not be possible because the moone-calfe represents an inextricable confusion of sexual difference: 'Hee's too much woman, and shee's too much man' (204).

There follows a prophetic vision of how the divided twins would develop if their lives were to be realized. In Drayton's bitter satire on contemporary social and gender chaos the male half of the moone-calfe is envisaged leading a debauched life, engaging in the dubious pleasures and excesses of Jacobean London. He is represented as vain, foppish and effeminate, obsessed by fashion and superficial values. In this vision of contemporary vice the moone-calfe is not only ridiculous but also morally and sexually corrupt. He visits a whore, jests at incest and nothing delights him more than, 'his smooth-chind, plump-thigh'd, Catamite'(316). The predominately female twin is also associated with sexual depravity and represented as an equally monstrous creation. Like Hic Mulier, the archetypal masculine woman, she is shown to betray nature as she distorts and alters her womanly appearance in a violent refusal of femininity:

With Oyles and Broathes most venemous and base,
Shee plaisters over her well-favoured face;
And those sweet veynes by nature rightly plac'd,
Wherewith she seem'd that white skin to have lac'd,
Shee soone doth alter; and with fading blewe,
Blanching her bosome, she makes others newe;
Blotting the curious workmanship of nature;
(463-469)

This creature, who embraces deformity and 'strange excesse' (510), thus embodies the artificiality that contemporary moralists railed against.

The moone-calfe twins suggest a grotesque variant on Clara and Lucio, the sister and brother who mis-perform their gender in Beaumont and Fletcher's Loves Cure (1624). But whereas Clara and Lucio were comically restored to their 'true' genders, the moone-calfe twins remained fixed as a monstrous creation which could not be reorganized into an acceptable form. Drayton's hideous conjoined twins thus represent a fantasy of monstrous hermaphroditism in which a perceived sickness within society in general is mapped onto a particular aberrant body.

The use of the moone-calfe figure located Drayton's monstrous birth within a register of errant reproduction. In the Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ (1565), Thomas Cooper's entry for 'mola' reads: 'a piece of fleash without shape growen in the womans wombe, which maketh hir to thinke she is with childe: a moone calfe.' 'Mooncalf' is defined similarly in the OED as 'an abortive, fleshy mass in the womb; a false conception'.[3] In Drayton's poem the monstrous birth is the result of a collective false conception, an absolute corruption of the social order. As the poem's opening lines indicate, moral disease is everywhere:

> Doe yee not see in ev'ry Streete and place,
> The generall world now in a piteous case. (9-10)

Drayton's description of this monstrous birth explored contemporary fears about gender confusion in their most horrific form. By explicitly transposing social transgression onto physical abberation The Moone-Calfe suggested a chilling coda to the debates about gender ambiguity which had culminated in the publication of the Hic Mulier and Haec Vir pamphlets earlier in the 1620s. As the previous chapter noted, Renaissance commentators routinely condemned gender transgression as unnatural and monstrous behaviour, but The Moone-Calfe inscribed this

sexual confusion within the body itself. The moone-calfe twins represented not only a deviation from gender roles but a deviation from the human.

Drayton's creation drew directly upon the popular Renaissance fascination with monsters. Throughout the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries the monstrous body (whether real or imagined) was the subject of prodigy and wonder books, learned medical treatises, and popular ballads and broadsides.[4] As Rudolf Wittoker has observed, there exists an 'inexhaustible history of monsters', and many early modern images were drawn from classical and medieval sources.[5] Renaissance monsters were displayed, catalogued, and collected; they were interpreted as signs of divine judgement and as examples of the infinite variety of creation.

The sixteenth-century humanist revival of classical literature had excavated theories of monsters and prodigies which, when inflected by medieval religious and popular folk-belief systems, effected a powerful hold on the Renaissance imagination. Medieval and Renaissance literature drew upon a vocabulary which distinguished (although not always clearly or consistently) between monsters, marvels, portents and prodigies. These terms structured a semiotic system that was based on the belief that signs were transmitted from God and mediated through nature. In the early fifth century, St Augustine had emphasized how these marvels were all inherently connected to representation (demonstration), pointing out that the etymology of the word monster 'evidently comes from monstrare, "to show", because they [monsters] show by signifying something'. In this lexicon of representation, portents, 'show beforehand' and prodigies derive from 'porro dicere, to foretell the future'.[6] As Thomas Cooper put it, a monster was, 'a token or shewing: a thing that signifieth'.[7]

In his 1579 translation of Melanchthon and Luther's anti-Catholic pamphlet, Of Two Wonderful Popish Monsters

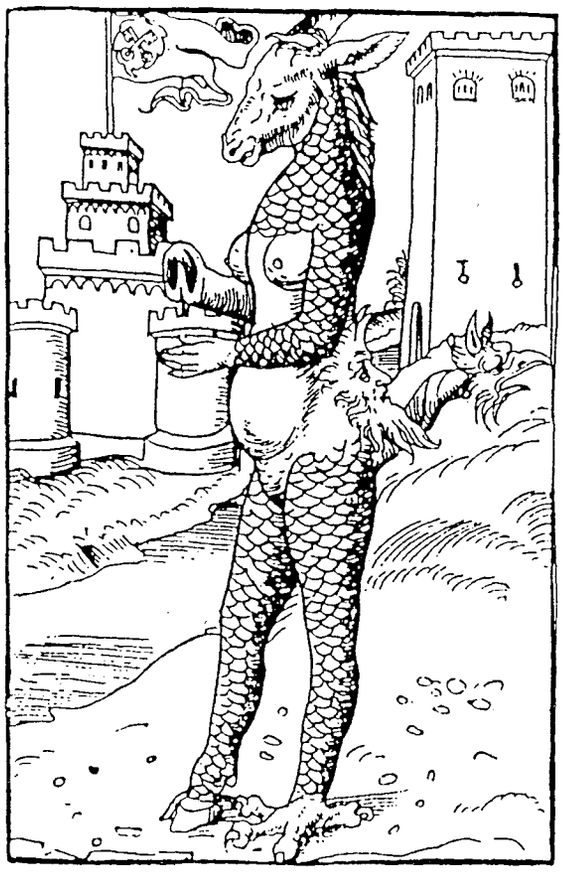


Figure 3.1. 'The Pope-Ass' (1523).

Figure 3.2. 'The Monk-Calf' (1523).

(a 'Popish Asse' and a 'Moonkish Calfe'), John Brooke explained that:

> There is nothing can stirre up the mind of man, & which can engender more fere unto the creatures then the horrible Monsters, which are brought forth dayly contrary vnto the workes of Nature. The which the most times doe note and demonstrate unto us the ire and wrath of God.[8]

Monsters were to be read, he suggested, as God's 'advertisements' (see figs.3.1-3.2). The form, origins and significance of the monstrous body invited interpretation and explanation. A misplaced limb, an extra head, or double genitalia all contributed towards the depiction of monstrosity. Inevitably, images of monstrous bodies actually told stories not so much about themselves but about those who viewed, analyzed, and represented them.

In 1569 Edward Fenton published Certain Secrete Wonders, an adapted version of Pierre Boaistuau's earlier collection of monsters and prodigies.[9] In his preface Fenton claimed that the monstrous body was a uniquely thrilling spectacle, which, as he phrased it, 'stirreth the spirite of man' and 'ravishest [...] his senses'. 'Misseshapen and deformed' bodies, he suggested, aroused powerful desires to, 'enter into our selves, to knock with the hammer of our conscience, to examine our offices, and have in horror our misdeeds'.[10] Such introspection was particularly significant in the predominantly Protestant context of post-Reformation England. Calvinistic doctrine encouraged the searching of one's conscience and the contemplation of the monstrous sins which were held to be inherent within humanity. To view the monstrous body was, in these terms, to view the inner self. As a 1562 ballad which described a severely deformed child born in Essex asserted, the monstrous body, 'declares what sinnes beset the secrete minde'.[11]

This process, by which sins were represented through grotesque embodiments, was inflected by gender. Women were held to be especially responsible for the creation

of monsters either because of their aberrant sexual desires which tempted them towards copulation with the devil or animals, or through the power of their imagination alone. Monstrous births were commonly attributed to the power of the maternal imagination in pregnancy to determine the shape of the infant in a literal act of misconception.[12] So, for example, in a case which was often cited in Renaissance studies of monsters and prodigies, the birth of a black child to white parents was explained by the mother having seen a picture of an Ethiopian at the moment of conception.[13] In these terms, female fantasy was a powerful force which inextricably linked representation and physiological processes. If the monstrous body was a kind of story, then the maternal imagination was able to circumvent biological paternal authority and write another, corporeal narrative.

Hermaphroditic bodies stretched the limits of what seemed possible within the human form and straddled boundaries between medical and mythological discourses, between social and sexual differences and between the human self and the non-human other. Hermaphrodites were compelling figures because, although they represented a deviation from the familiar form of the body, they also disconcertingly resembled it. The genital organization of the physical hermaphrodite constituted an overdetermined confusion of parts which were anomalous in their formation but nevertheless recognizably human in themselves. These were thoroughly uncanny bodies. Freud noted the point of convergence between the unheimlich and the heimlich, 'the meaning of which develops in the direction of ambivalence, until it finally coincides with its opposite, unheimlich'.[14] Hermaphrodites were both strangely familiar and absolutely strange. They thus marked the faultlines in the uneasy oppositions constructed between the human and the monstrous.

Precedents, Portents and Entertainments

Drayton's poem had claimed that the moone-calfe was a singular horror - 'the most fearefull sight/that ever eye beheld'(166-7) - and suggested that it was unique amongst monstrous births: 'a more strange thing/Then ever Nile, yet into light could bring' (186-7). However, the reference to the Nile as a site of monstrous autogeneration clearly situated the moone-calfe within a mythological and literary genealogy of monstrous hermaphroditic creation. In Book One of The Faerie Queene, Spenser described how in the warm, moist 'fertile slime' of the River Nile, 'old father Nilus', bred multiple hermaphroditic forms:

> Ten thousand kindes of creatures, partly male
> And partly female of his fruitfull seed;
> Such vgly monstrous shapes elsewhere may no man read.
> (I.i.21)

However, the idea that the Nile was a site of autogenerative proliferation was well-known amongst sixteenth-century readers and can be traced back to Lucretius's description of hermaphroditic monsters:

> Hence, doubtless, Earth, prodigious forms at first Gendered, of face and members most grotesque: Monsters half-man, half-woman, not from each Distant, yet neither total; shapes unsound, Footless and handless, void of mouth or eye.[15]

These hermaphroditic births bear a superficial resemblance to the human form but, like the moone-calfe, are grotesque fleshy masses; they are incomplete and mis-conceived, 'shapes unsound'.

As I have argued throughout this thesis, whereas the idea of hermaphroditism was often safely contained within neoplatonic philosophies of disembodied androgyny, the physical actuality of sexual doubling was a far more disturbing matter. The origins of both attitudes can be located in ancient Greece and Rome when, although the androgyne was represented as a figure of divine

transcendence, actual hermaphroditic births were interpreted as direct signs of divine displeasure. Livy, for example, described how, following a time of political turmoil at around 200 BC, a series of deformed births were reported. He concluded that:

> All these monsters were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errours of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those birthes both male and female, (or rather neuter) were most abhorred and detested, and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea.[16]

Hermaphrodites represented a most excessive confusion of parts, a truly monstrous 'mingle-mangle' of forms.

Marie Delcourt has explored how the classical world interpreted physical signs of sexual ambiguity, noting that:

> An abnormal formation of the generative organs seemed to the Ancients the extreme of monstrosity. When a child was born bearing real or apparent signs of hermaphroditism, the whole community felt itself threatened by the anger of the gods. To avert its consequences they must first suppress the abnormal child, who was thus made to bear the sins of which he was the token.[17]

Delcourt suggests that as a consequence of this belief many children who displayed hermaphroditic characteristics were exposed and left to die or killed at birth. However, by the first century BC Pliny had noted a shift in attitudes towards hermaphroditic births, claiming that although they had formerly been 'reputed for prodigious wonders, howsoever now men take delight and pleasure in them'.[18]

Renaissance representations of monstrous hermaphrodites exploited this ambivalence. The hermaphrodite figure was placed somewhere between horror and fascination. The 'real' and fictional monstrous hermaphroditic body inevitably merged in the images and stories about monsters which were energetically circulated in this period. Renaissance travellers's tales

presented intriguing and exciting narratives of difference drawing upon Plinian images of the 'monstrous races'.[19] The fantastic images found within the voyage narratives of John Mandeville and Leo Africanus were repeated as facts throughout a wide range of Western European Renaissance literature.[20] Montaigne's description is typical:

> There are lands where men are born without heads, having eyes and mouths in their chests; there are androgynous creatures who walk on all fours, have only one eye in the middle of their forehead, or have a head more like a dog's than our own; some are fishes below the waist and live in water; some have wives who give birth at five and die at eight.[21]

These fantasies were reiterated and illustrated in most popular collections of natural wonders and monstrous births produced in this period.

Hermaphrodites were invariably included within these representations of, to use Stephen Bateman's term, the 'divers formes and shapes' of exoticized others.[22] In his 1581 adaptation of Lycosthenes' chronological prodigy book, Bateman included a typical description of 'Androginæ' who he claimed were, 'a people of Africke, which have in them the office of both natures, as wel male as female, one of theyr breasts are lyke the breast of a man, and the other breast like to a womans [...], we cal them Hermaphroditæ, that is people of both kindes'.[23] They appear in a list of the 'monstrous races' which detail various combinations of limbs, eyes, sexual organs and hybridized human and animal parts.[24]

Whilst hermaphrodites may have been 'read' as signs from God they were also often placed within a context of popular and commercial appeal. There is evidence to suggest that hermaphroditic individuals were shown as popular curiosities (at fairs and 'freak shows' as well as within texts and images) throughout the early modern period. In Act III of Francis Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle (1607), the Citizen's Wife comments upon the contemporary fashion for such shows, remarking

that 'the hermaphrodite' was amongst the prettiest 'of all the sights that ever were in London'.[25] Since topical allusion characterized such comedies it is likely that Beaumont was referring to a popular spectacle of the time. Scientific discussions, anecdotal evidence and records of advertisements for shows, indicate that by the second half of the seventeenth century hermaphrodites were often displayed for popular entertainment. John Evelyn, for instance, reported in August 1667 that there was currently an hermaphrodite being shown to 'divers curious persons' in London, but added (without further comment) that he did not himself intend to view it.[26]

The monstrous hermaphrodite figure was alarming, comic, entertaining and edifying. Jonson's Androgyno appears in Volpone with his monstrous 'brothers', Nano the dwarf and Castrone, the eunuch, as representative of the degeneracy within Volpone's household.[27] The deployment of this hermaphroditic character forms only one strand within the intricate and dark comic pattern of the play. The hermaphrodite directly signifies Volpone's immorality (it is rumoured that this unnatural triad might be his bastard offspring (I.v.47-49)), as well as a more profound and more generalized social corruption. In the conceptual scheme of the play the audience is invited to place this relatively minor character within a wider understanding of monstrous hermaphroditism. The hermaphrodite figure was always implicated within a nexus of philosophical, mythical, medical, moral, and aesthetic representations.

Hermaphrodites and Twins

It is clear that fictional representations of hermaphroditic monsters, such as The Moone-Calfe and Jonson's Androgyno, assumed a knowledge of the form and meanings of the hermaphrodite figure. Popular treatises which combined medical accounts of monstrous births with

stories of wonders and prodigies formed the basis for the dissemination of many stories of hermaphroditic births. These discussions of hermaphrodites as monsters were often marked by the characteristically Renaissance combination of medical observation, anecdotal evidence and superstitious belief. A survey of the literature relating to monsters in this period highlights how any attempt to separate discourses of biology, myth and folklore is to misunderstand the essential heterogeneity of such Renaissance texts.[28]

Ambrose Paré's On Monsters and Marvels (Des Monstres et prodiges, 1573) illustrates the ways in which hermaphrodites were absorbed into diverse studies of monstrous births and bizarre occurrences.[29] Paré's popular treatise consisted of a collection of anecdotes and images relating to anomalous bodily forms which was largely culled from earlier works by writers such as Pliny, Galen, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Lycosthenes, and Boaistuau. Since the same stories and images of monsters were repeated and recycled so often it is impossible to establish how authentic such accounts were. However, in a moment of wry self-reflexivity, Paré noted in his own ambitious collection of such phenomena, 'I believe either fiction, or want of observation has made more monsters than nature ever produced' (p.434).

Paré prefaced his text by distinguishing between monsters and marvels (prodiges). 'Monsters', he claimed:

> are things that appear outside the course of Nature (and are usually signs of some forthcoming misfortune), such as a child who is born with one arm, another who will have two heads, and additional members over and above the ordinary. (p.3)

Marvels were, in contrast, 'things which happen that are completely against Nature'(p.3) [my emphasis]. Stories of women who gave birth to serpents and dogs were placed in this category and Paré included several chapters on fantastic celestial, terrestrial and sea creatures. Hermaphrodites were invariably included in Renaissance

discussions of monsters and prodigies.[30]

Paré listed thirteen causes of monstrous births which ranged from the glory and wrath of God, to the power of the maternal imagination, and the effects of demonic possession. The third cause he cited was 'too great a quantity of seed' and hermaphrodites, he claimed, like conjoined twins, 'come from a superabundance of matter' (p.26). In a chapter devoted to the discussion of hermaphrodites ('hommes et femmes') Paré defined four different types which were based on classic Galenic models of sexual gradation: the predominantly male, the predominantly female, those who were in effect neither, and those who appeared to be both. Paré's taxonomies of these hermaphroditic possibilities highlight how the hermaphroditic body was not a singular sign but rather a collection of multiple signifiers which were always open to interpretation. He claimed, 'the most expert and well-informed physicians and surgeons can recognize whether hermaphrodites are more apt at performing with and using one set of organs than another, or both, or none at all' (p.27).

Paré's text presents a multiplicity of doubled and muddled hermaphroditic figures which defy singular classification. Figure 3.3 shows a two-headed hermaphroditic infant, apparently born in Italy in 1540 who was also a double hermaphroditic form , 'having both feminine and masculine sexual organs, and two heads, the one of a male and the other of a female' (p.19). The intricacies of doubling are displayed through the increasingly complex combinations presented in these indivisible fusions. So, whilst, one figure of a 'hermaphrodite man-and-woman' (fig.3.4) depicts double genitalia in a single body, another (fig.3.5) shows a more complicated conjoined birth in which each child (one who is otherwise male and one who is otherwise female) is also hermaphroditic.

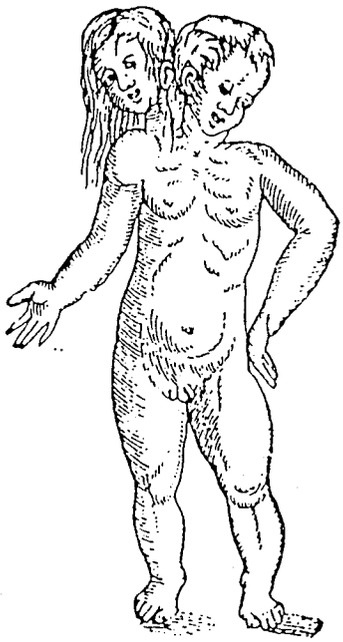


Figure 3.3.
'A Monster having two heads'
(1573)

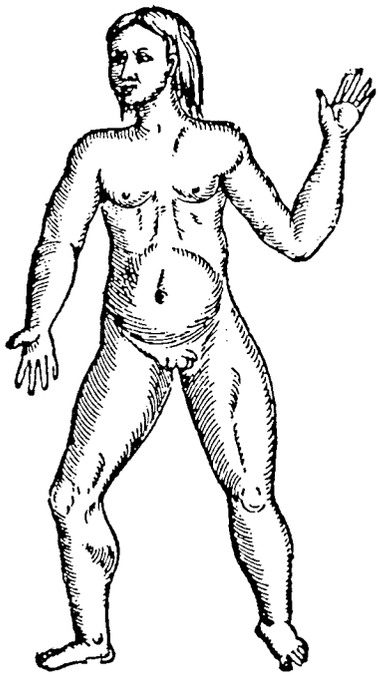


Figure 3.4.
'Hermaphrodite man-and-woman
(1573)

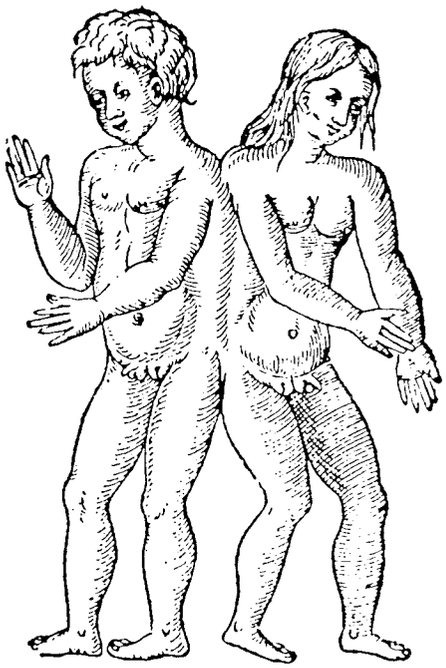


Figure 3.5. 'Hermaphroditic twin children' (1573).

The boundaries between and within these bodies are increasingly unclear in these hermaphroditic images, in John Cleveland's phrase, of 'Twins-in-One'.[31] The philosophical and theological complications evoked by conjoined bodies were focused particularly on the question of whether a fused birth was defined as one or two people.[32] In 1480, Mont Rocher's Manipulus Curatorum Officia Sacerdotus posed the question, 'But what if there is a single monster which has two bodies joined together: ought it be baptized as one person or as two?'.[33] Where, in other words, could the borders of the body be drawn?[34]

If the boundary between one body and another was blurred then so too was the demarcation of sexual difference. Were male and female twins intrinsically hermaphroditic forms, or could sexual distinctions be contained in different parts of the conjoined body? As we have seen, the moone-calfe twins embodied the monstrous moral possibilities of such a (con)fused birth. Twinship was a familiar trope in Renaissance literature which was often used to explore more subtle and ambiguous sexual mirroring. In Twelfth Night, for example, Viola describes her gender disguise as creating a monstrous hybridity. She laments, 'And I, poor monster' (II.ii.33), as she observes her hermaphroditic gender performance, 'As I am man' (II.ii.35) 'As I am woman' (II.ii.37). The play dramatizes moments of profound gender ambivalence but eventually avoids the hermaphroditic merging of male and female which would challenge those gendered categories. Viola and her twin, Sebastian are ultimatley presented as feminine and masculine halves of an androgynous ideal. Observing them together when they are reunited the Duke observes their, 'One face, one voice, one habit, and two persons!' (V.i.214). Antonio remarks the similarity between them as an uncanny doubling: 'How have you made division of yourself?/An apple cleft in two is not more twin/Than these two creatures' (V.i.220-222).[35]

However, as The Moone-calfe illustrates, twinship

was a potentially more grotesque relationship. Argante and Ollyphant, Spenser's monstrous twins in The Faerie Queene, present a hideous fantasy of the consequences of moral misconception. Their abject birth shadows the earlier immaculate conception of the pure twins Amoret and Belophoebe. Argante and Ollyphant are conceived by an incestuous union, a deviancy compounded further by their copulation together within their mother's womb: 'In fleshly lust were mingled both yfere', (III.vii.48). The unholy union of these twins suggests an ontology of monstrous hermaphroditism, as the double-sexed body is fixed in solipsistic fusion.[36]

Monstrous Hermaphrodites and Unspeakable Sins

The sexual depravity ('a thing far passing thought') of Argante and Ollyphant signified the absolute degeneration of moral certainties into monstrous excess (III.vii.48). Renaissance studies of monsters drew upon similar notions of the role of prenatal sin in determining and shaping aberrant births. Monstrous sins generated ever more monstrous births, and we see in these accounts increasingly surreal monstrous forms placed amongst relatively naturalistic and medically defined monsters.

In a chapter 'An Example of the Wrath of God', Paré discussed 'the fusing together of strange species, which render the creature not only monstrous but also to be marvelled at, that is to say, which is completely abhorrent and against nature'(p.5). In this account of monstrous hybrids Paré included a bizarre hermaphroditic creature known as the Ravenna monster (figs.3.6-3.7). This monster was thought to have been born in Italy in 1512 and was widely reported and illustrated within most studies of monsters throughout the period. It was described by Paré as 'having a horn on its head, two wings, and a single foot [...], at the knee joint an eye, participating in the natures of both male and female'.

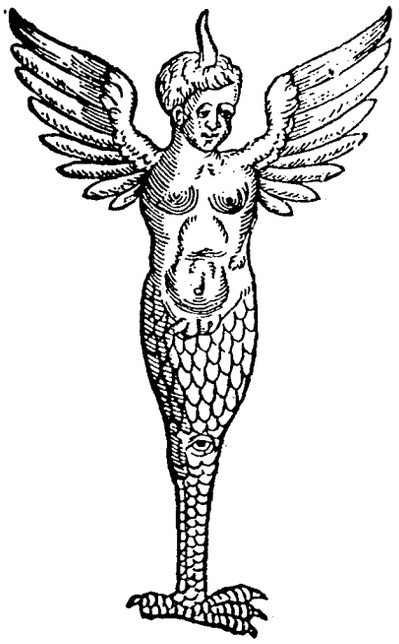


Figure 3.6. 'A horned monster' (1573).

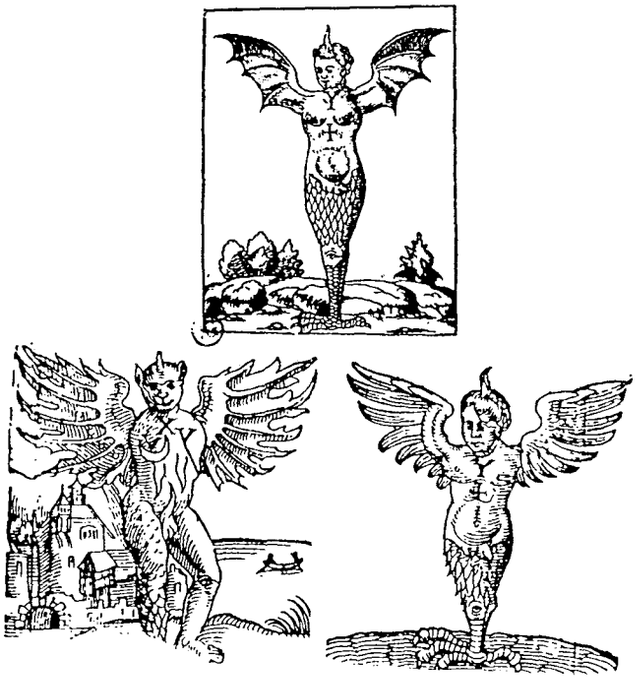


Figure 3.7. 'Ravenna monsters' (1573).

Paré interpreted this monster as a sign of divine punishment, caused by Pope Julius II's battle against Louis II, which took place at Ravenna in 1512. In The Expert Midwife (trans. 1637) Jakob Rueff claimed that each part of the monster signified a particular sin. So, for example, as the horn showed pride and the wings fickleness, the creature 'was of both sex, to signifie filthy Sodomy'. As Alan Bray has argued, sodomy was understood in Renaissance culture as a diffuse form of debauchery and could siginify a spectrum of religious, social and political, as well as sexual, sins.[37] Sodomy was, in Foucault's words, an 'utterly confused category'.[38] In Renaissance terms sodomy could be interpreted as both the cause and the result of monstrous births, which could spawn aberrant creations like the moone-calfe (born of 'unnatural polution') and the Ravenna monster. Paré's discussion of monsters born of bestiality, 'produced by sodomists and atheists who join together, and break out of their bounds contrary to nature' (p.62), suggests the extreme abhorrence reserved for such unholy fusions. The contamination of human integrity presented by such miscegenations created monsters which Paré condemned as, 'so hideous and abominable' that he refused to represent them within his text.[39]

Paré suggested that sodomy was a self-perpetuating abberation which created an unnatural hermaphroditical sexuality. In his discussion of 'perfect' (equally balanced and functioning) hermaphrodites he reiterated the legal judgement that those people displaying signs of hermaphroditism must choose to be one sex only and adhere to that choice or risk the death penalty. He explained the importance of this decision:

> For some of them have abused their situation, with the result that, through mutual and reciprocal use, they take their pleasure first with one set of sex organs and then with the other: first with those of a man, then with those of a woman, because they have the natures

> of man and woman suitable to such an act. (p.27)

The imagined fear was that the hermaphrodite could, like the inhabitants of Joseph Hall's 'Hermaphroditica', play both the man's and the woman's parts in penetrative sexual acts. This fantasy of 'mutual and reciprocal' sexual hermaphroditical performance suggested a more disturbing possibility: that a man could assume an hermaphroditic sexual position by allowing himself to be penetrated like a woman. As we have already seen, there was a profound anxiety in Renaissance culture about the permeable borders between men and women. Men, in these terms, were always at risk of slipping or falling into the feminine in an hermaphroditic blurring of boundaries.

Sodomitical desires were not thought to be exceptionally aberrant, but were perceived rather as potential vices which were latent within every person. As John Rainolds asserted in 1599, 'men's natural corruption and viciousness' made them prone to this 'monstrous sin against nature'.[40] If hermaphroditic monsters represented the secret self this process also involved a slippage between images of physical sexual ambiguity and ideas of transgressions within gender and sexual practice. It was this imagined oscillation between sexual roles which pushed the hermaphrodite beyond the course of nature and into the realms of the monstrous. Samuel Purchas, in his Microcosmos (1619), made explicit the connection between those he termed, 'Hermaphrodite Devills [...] buried in Sodoms Lake', and transgressive sexual practices.[41] In a contradictory rhetorical gesture, he placed hermaphrodites beyond representation, declaring that 'My Inke is not blacke enough, my Penne abhorres their mention'.[42] Sexual ambiguity for him reduced the human into the monstrous. In a statement which reasserted the primacy of difference, he insisted, 'to be both is to be neither, a meere Hermaphrodite a meere monster.'[43]

The boundaries between inner sin and outer form were complicated by images of monstrous bodies which were

fixed in poses of partial revelation. These bodies were shown to signify something strikingly visceral about the viewer's inner self. Stephen Bateman presented a disturbing image when he described a curiously open hermaphroditic figure whose 'entrailes came out at the backe, and that which did hang out at the lower part of the belly was the liver coming oute from the secrets.'[44] Here the body literally overspilled its boundaries in a grotesque confusion of its inner and outer parts. The permeability of this border was (de)monstrated by Edward Fenton, who related a case of a living monster whose inner organs were revealed through a kind of viewing window. He described how 'the uppermost part of his belly [was] so open, that men might see his intrails naked and uncovered'. As Fenton put it, this figure quite literally revealed, 'the secretes within the shop of mans body'.[45]

Such images presented, on one level, a thrilling peep-show glimpse within the human body, but there was also an element of metaphysical recognition in these sights. Fenton's partially open monster echoes the images of self-dissecting bodies which illustrated Renaissance anatomical works. As Jonathan Sawday has argued, the Delphic wisdom, Nosce Te Ispum (know thyself) was a structuring motif in these representations. To see within the body was a process of spiritual self-revelation and Sawday suggests the significance of Calvinist ideology within anatomical discourses, noting its assertion of an 'obsessive inward scrutiny [...] a never-ending process of spiritual self-reckoning'.[46] A look inside the monstrous body might then reveal those sins that, as Thomas Shephard suggested in The Sincere Convert (1641), 'lie lurking in the heart' of us all.[47]

The Body Politic and Political Bodies

Representations of violent rupture, of division and discord, of monstrous births and endless multiplication,

dominated the troubled period in England between 1642 and 1660. Whatever their political allegiance and religious conviction in these years English people witnessed the dissolution of their collective body politic as it mutated into a previously unrecognisable form. I would argue that this metamorphosis fundamentally challenged existing conceptualizations of personal and collective relationships. During the Revolutionary years of the seventeenth century the shape of the body politic became increasingly more complicated as the imagined unity of the Tudor and Jacobean state was re-formed into a diffuse mass of conflicting political bodies. As Abraham Cowley put it in his abandoned epic, The Civil War, 'What rage does England from itself divide?'.[48]

In civil war the pressing imperative is how to recognise your enemy when that enemy is essentially indistinguishable from one's self. In other words, when spouses, families and communities could be internally divided by conflicting political and religious loyalties how could the enemy be identified? Montaigne noted this unnerving potential for misrecognition in relation to the sixteenth-century French Wars of Religion:

> The worst of these wars is that the cards are so mixed up, with your enemy indistinguishable from you by any clear indication of language and deportment, being brought up under the same laws, manners and climate, that it is not easy to avoid confusion and disorder.[49]

The exaggerated monstrous images found in the anti-Catholic pamphlet, Two Popish Monsters, suggest that Renaissance representations of the enemy's body created and continually reinforced difference (figs.3.1-3.2). Otherness was reinscribed at precisely the points where, as Montaigne suggested, it was closest to the self.

Douglas's observation that, 'the body can stand for any bounded system' is imbued with a particular resonance when we note the Renaissance predilection for analogizing in terms of the body politic.[50] In Christian theology, the Epistles of St Paul reinscribed the classical motifs

of the body politic by developing the analogy to express the sacred doctrine of the corpus mysticum:

> For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? if the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? (I Corinthians 12.8-31)

The assertion of this essential interdependence of the body's parts, 'that there should be no schism in the body', continued to be articulated in religious and political rhetoric.

Specific analogies were constructed between actual bodies and political situations. In 'On a monster-child', Montaigne had written about a parasitic conjoined birth which he interpreted as reflecting an ideal union between king and country. He related the form of these conjoined twins in some detail:

> They were joined facing each other, looking as though a slightly smaller child were trying to put his arm round the neck of a slightly bigger one [...]. There was no sign of a navel in the imperfect child, though all the rest of the belly was there: the parts of the imperfect child which were not attached, such as the arms, buttocks, thighs and legs, dangled down loosely over the other one.[51]

Montaigne interpreted this birth as a positive portent of what constituted the proper relationship within the body politic, suggesting that:

> This double body and these sundry limbs all depending on one single head could well provide us with a favourable omen that our king will maintain the sundry parties and factions of our State in unity under his laws.[52]

The harmonious body politic, in which each part knew its place and interlocked to create a coherent system, was, however, largely a fantasy. In reality the body politic was vulnerable to fragmentation and disorder and Renaissance narratives of monstrous births repeatedly suggest the dissolution of social and cultural systems.[53]

A 1568 ballad about a monstrous child born in Kent presented a typical allegory when it announced that:

> This monstrous shape to thee, England,
> Plaine shows thy monstrous vice
> if thou each part wilt understand
> And take thereby advice.

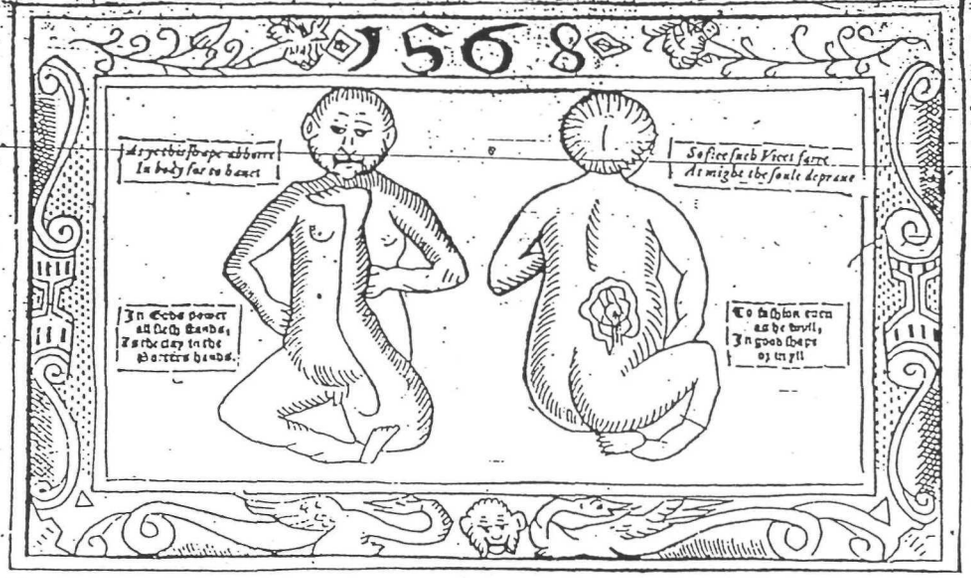
This chaotic and distorted body, at odds with itself (see fig.3.8), was read as a clear sign of political mayhem:

> The leg so climbing to the head,
> What meaneth it but this?
> that some do seek not to be led,
> But for to lead amiss,
>
> And as this makes it most monstrous,
> For foot to climb to head,
> So those subjects be most vicious
> that refuse to be led.

The ballad was published in a politically fraught year in Elizabeth's reign.[54] In May 1568 Mary Queen of Scots had escaped from prison, and in October (the month that the ballad was published), Elizabeth authorized an investigation into the charges of treason made against Mary. The monstrous body thus marked this moment of flux and disorder, literally embodying contemporary anxieties (and perhaps excitement) about threats to the body politic.

Typically, the popular literature relating to monstrous births repeatedly dwelt on the monster as a divine sign which warned against human sin and corruption. For instance, a ballad reporting the case of 'A marvellous strange deformed swine', in the 1570's, described this hybridized conjunction of a pig and a ram as an admonition, urging that 'God's wrath we should beware.'[55] The ballad directly related the deformed birth to two topical cases of treason, condemning the traitors (John Felton and the Norton brothers) as unnatural monsters, 'quite changed from true subject's shape.'[56] In this transformation from 'true subject' to false shape the visible, external, monstrous body was used to represent the covert deceptions of the traitors which lurked within the body politic.

The forme and shape of a Monstrous Child/borne at Maydstone in Kent, the xxiiij. of October. 1568.



AT Maydstone in Kent there was one Margret Mere, Daughter to Richard Mere of the sayd Towne of Maydstone, who being vnmaryed, played the naughty packe, and was gotten with childe, being deliuered of the same childe the. xxiiij. daye of October last past, in the yeare of our Lord. 1568. at. vij. of the clocke in the after noone of the same day being Sonday. which child being a man child, had first the mouth slitted on the right side like a Libardes mouth, terrible to beholde, the left arme lying vpon the brest, fast therto ioyned, hauing as it were stumps on the handes, the left leg growing vpward toward the head, and the right leg bending toward the left leg, the foote therof growing into the buttocke of the sayd left leg. In the middest of the backe there was a broade lump of flesh in fashion lyke a Rose, in the myddest whereof was a hole, which voyded like an Issue. Thys sayd Childe was borne alyue, and lyued. xxiiij. houres, and then departed this lyfe. which may be a terrour aswell to all such Workers of filthynes & iniquity, as to those vngodly liuers. Who (if in them any feare of God be) may mooue them to repentance and amendement of lyfe, Which God for Christes sake graunt both to them and vs. Amen. Witnesses hereof were these, William Plomer, John Squier Glasier, John Sadler Goldsmith, besides diuers other credible persons both men and women.

A warnyng to England.

THis monstrous shape to thee England
Playn shewes thy monstrous vice.
If thou each part wylt vnderstand,
And take thereby aduice.

For hauing first the gaspyng mouth,
It doth full well declare:
What rauine and oppression both
Is vsed wyth greedy care.

For, as the backe and gorging paunch,
Do lyue in wealth and ease:
Such foylmen take that none may launch
Their greedy intake, nor pleale.

For in such sort their mouthes they infect,
With lying othes, and slaughter:
Blaspheming God, and Prince reiect,
As they were brutish beastes.

Their filthy talke, and poysoned speech,
Disfigures so the mouth:
That som wold think ther flood & breech
Such filth it breatheth forth.

The hands which haue no fingers right
But stumps fit for no vse:
Doth well set forth the idle plight,
Which we in these dales chuse.

For rich and poore, for age and youth,
Scarce one would labour fre:
Few seeke to do the deedes of truth,
To helpe others there by.

The leg so ioyning to the head,
What meaneth it but this:
That some do seeke not to be lead,
But for to leade amis.

And as this makes it most monstrous,
For foote to clyme to head:
So those Subiects be most vicious,
That refuse to be lead.

The hinder part doth shew vs playne,
Our close and hidden vice,
Which doth behind vs run amayne,
In vyle and shamefull wyse.

Wherefore to cry in England now,
Let this Monster them teach:
To mend the monstrous life they low,
Least endles death them reach.

¶ Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwelling in little Britain Streete without Aldersgate: The. xvij. of December.

Figure 3.8. 'The Form and Shape of a Monstrous Child', (1568).

Such characterizations were circulated with particular energy in the uncertain context of Revolution. In 1643, John Vicars, in his Prodigies and Apparitions, described a monstrous birth (a double body with partially formed arms) which had apparently been viewed as an object of curiosity by Charles I and Henrietta Maria in 1633.[57] Vicars suggested that what the King and Queen had, in fact, been witness to when they viewed that body, was a clear forewarning of their coming misfortune. He interpreted this monstrous body as a gloomy anticipation of the political and religious discord which would, in his terms, devastate the body politic. Vicars thus presented these conjoined twins as a clear personification of the sins and factions within the state, explaining that:

> God, by these two heads, two hearts, two armes, and a stump of another in this child, might let us now see his hastning judgements and wrath on our Kingdoms of England and Ireland, wherein hath beene too manifestly seen to our sorrow, such divisions; by two heads, the King and this renouned Parliament, some siding with the one, and some with the other: by two hearts, Papists and Protestants, or Malignant and well affected Christians, some standing for Truth, and some for Errour; some for Christ, and some for Antichrist; some for Gospel and a holy Reformation, and some for beggarly Ceremonies and Romish trash and trumpery; two armes or armies for just defence in England and Scotland, and a miserable stump of an arme in lamentably torne and mangled Ireland.[58]

The monstrous body was thereby cast as the fragmented and fractured surface on which contemporary troubles were inscribed.

Royalist poets of the Civil war period repeatedly represented the rebellion against Charles as a monstrous deformation of the body politic. In the desolate world-turned-upside down which Joseph Beaumont described in Psyche (his epic poem written during the 1640s) 'strange and hideous monsters' proliferate. This dystopian vision is dominated by, 'the hideous Chaos of Preposterousness', an anarchic force which 'disjoints and scatters' the

natural order of things.[59] Richard Lovelace in 'To Lucasta from Prison' described the Commonwealth in similar terms. The ideal, healthy state, like Hobbes's mechanistic vision of the Leviathan, was likened to a clockwork mechanism with the king functioning as the operating spring. For Lovelace the Commonwealth represented the misplaced and unbalanced interrelation of parts: 'Like watches by unskilful men/Disjoynted, and set ill againe.'[60]

John Cleveland's 'Upon an Hermaphrodite', which was first published in Randolph's Poems of 1640, provided a fitting image of contemporary friction.[61] The poetic voice which speaks to the hermaphrodite subject could have been directed to the English people who, on the brink of civil war, contained an uneasy tension of opposites within the body politic:

> Ravell thy body, and I finde
> In every limb a double kinde.
> Who would not thinke that Head a paire,
> That breeds such faction in the haire? (19-22)

The poem suggested the frustration of a futile attempt at reconciliation in which sexual confusion signalled political discord:

> How many melting kisses skip
> 'twixt thy Male and Female lip? (35-6)

This endless exchange leads to the empty hope of a 'perfect Dialogue' between parts which are, however, characterized by difference.

This vision of the self-divided body politic is in contrast to Lovelace's presentation of another hermaphroditic creature in 'The Snayl'. This 'Wise Emblem of our Politick World' knows no division because it knows no difference and is celebrated for its self-containment and absolute interiority.

> Thou thine own daughter then, and Sire,
> That Son and Mother art intire,
> That big still with thy self doist go,
> And liv'st an aged Embrio; (p.136)

The condition of permanent embryonic existence within its own womb suggests an imaginary retreat from the world.[62]

This union of the self, within the self, presents incestuous possibilities which are however, sterile. This creature will not spawn an Argante and Ollyphant. The double potential contained within the snail is for its own creation and negation. After a time, it will 'in a jelly [...] dissolve', leaving the Royalist's crumbled world unchanged (p.137).[63]

In contrast, Cleveland's hermaphrodite represented a self-reflexive but dialogic figure. It is a doubled and divided being. The poet urges it to 'Feele but the difference'(47) in its contrasting and composite parts:

> Thy breasts distinguish one another
> This the sister, that the brother (43-4)

The monstrous hermaphrodite anticipates the state of civil war in which siblings, part of the same body politic, oppose each other, as the body collapses in upon itself. Cleveland describes the dancing hermaphrodite as a lonely, self-divided figure engaging in a clumsy ritual intended for two. It thus prefigures an eerie dance of death in which civil war forces the self to fragment into others:

> When musick doth thy pace advance,
> Thy right legge takes thy left to dance. (55-6)

In this multiple and shifting body, gender positions (the most obvious signifiers of difference), are easily alternated. However, even this anarchic heterogeneous form has a stable centre:

> Thus everie heteroclite part
> Changes gender, but thy heart. (58-9)

Was Cleveland suggesting that there was, after all, something secure within the endless mutations of the Civil War body politic? Or, perhaps, that even the monstrous hermaphrodite had a heart? How far could the symbolic body divide before it became a dissolute collection of fragments? These were increasingly pressing questions, but ones which were not contained within poetic abstractions. Contemporary responses to these themes can also be traced within the popular literature

which responded to events of the time.

'Sad and Monsterous Times': Civil War Pamphlets

The collapse of effective censorship during the revolutionary years of the 1640s and 1650s led to an unprecedented explosion within the popular press.[64] George Thomason's vast collection of printed material, which was compiled between 1640 and 1661, testifies to the quantity and diversity of the political literature that was produced and consumed in these years. As Bernard Capp has argued, 'the Civil wars [...] opened up political debate to a large public'.[65] Parliament's attempt in 1643 to suppress the selling of ballads resulted in the re-channelling of popular material into the form of cheap and topical pamphlets, many of which were written anonymously or marked by initials.

Many of these pamphlets recycled popular themes, such as stories of bizarre natural phenomena, witchcraft and monstrous births, and used them to political effect.[66] Dramatic times demanded dramatic signs and these stories were imbued with a particular energy during the turbulent years of the English Revolution. A remarkable number of prodigies and apparitions were recorded during this period. As the author of a 1645 pamphlet describing the appearance of a pool of blood in a Leicestershire village remarked, 'Every day almost bringeth forth some new Miracle'.[67] Unusual weather conditions, monstrous births and apparently miraculous occurrences were all interrogated for hidden meanings. Such signs could be harnessed to most partisan perspectives and as John Spencer would argue in 1665, they, '(like mercenary soldiers) may be easily brought to fight on either side'.[68]

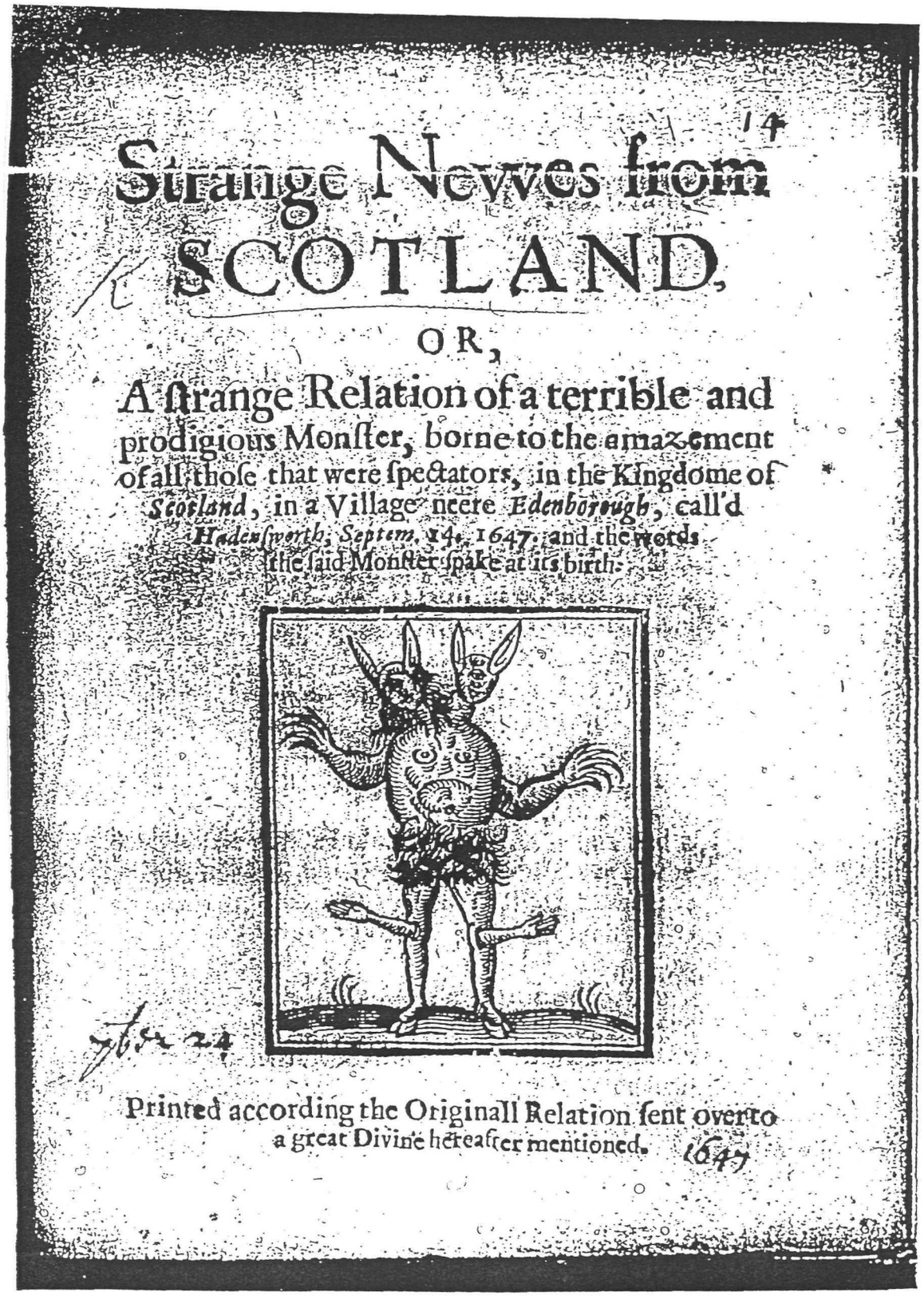
The spirit of millenarianism, which predicted that the world would end during the 1650s, infused these pamphlets.[69] The 1645 Leicestershire pamphlet cast a

typically apocalyptic light on events:

> Whosoever shall consider these sad times, wherin not onely the sonne riseth against the father the brother against the brother, and the spirit of dissention and warre is spread over the whole face of the earth but such prodigious and wonderfull things have apheared as no age before have ever seene or heard of he must confesse that he liveth now in the evening of time, and in the last age of the world, wherein all things do begin to suffer a change:

The world of these pamphlets was characterized by the violent disintegration and division of any organic unity. Conceptions of the self as part of an interdependent order, practically or ideologically, were increasingly placed under pressure. If, in civil war, families could be rent apart, then it followed that the self, like Cleveland's hermaphrodite, could also become a defamiliarized site of warring parts. St Augustine, in his discussion of the Roman Civil Wars fought between Marius and Sulla in 88 to 82 BC, stressed the exceptional violence of such internal division. He argued that, 'the ferocity vented on those who were parts of their own body' during these wars constituted 'the foulest and most horrible spectacle ever seen in Rome'.[70]

The monstrous birth became a powerful motif of the revolutionary years. A pro-Royalist account of a hybrid monster found in the sea in 1642 attested to the contemporary tension between divided parts. The Toad-fish monster (comprised of toad, fish and human characteristics) was presented as a symbolic threat to the integrity of the human form. This repulsive creature was also, because of its humanoid hands, ribs and chest, strangely familiar. It was perhaps this recognition of the potentially monstrous fusion between self and other which made the Toad-fish such a disturbing sight. The monster, which was engendered by political division and ideological disjuncture, was directly connected to the 'distractions, jars and distempers [which] are a foote in a Common-weale or kingdome'.[71]



14

Strange Newes from SCOTLAND,

OR,

A ſtrange Relation of a terrible and prodigious Monſter, borne to the amazement of all thoſe that were ſpectators, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, in a Village neere *Edenborough*, call'd *Hadenſworth*, *Septem.* 14. 1647. and the words the ſaid Monſter ſpake at its birth.

Printed according the Originall Relation ſent over to a great Divine hereafter mentioned. 1647

Figure 3.9. 'Strange News from Scotland' (1647).

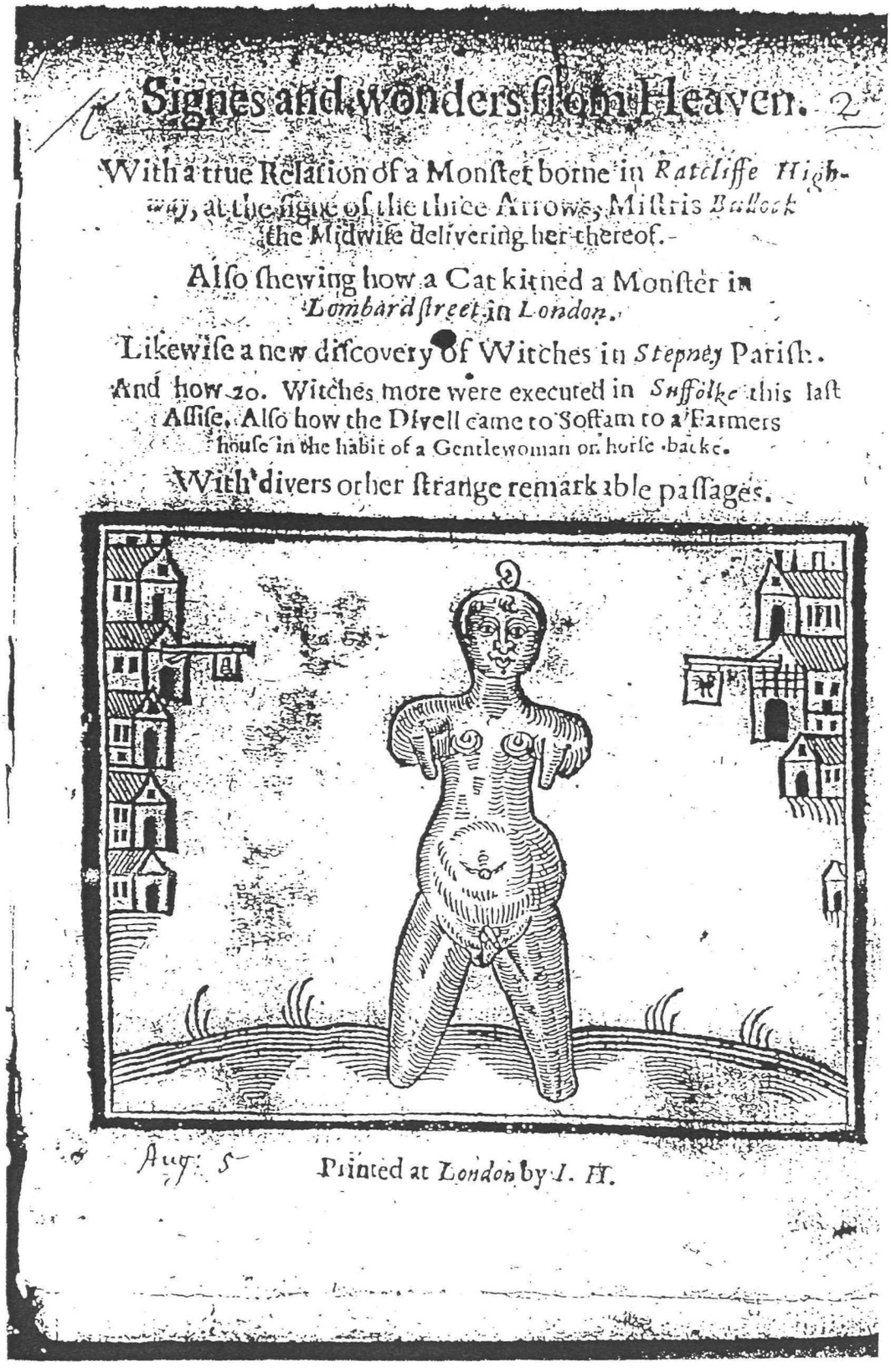
In 1647, 'Strange Newes from Scotland' represented a complicated hermaphroditic monster (see fig.3.9). Its two heads 'somewhat distant one from the other, bearing the similitude of man and woman', one hairy and the other smooth, and its genitals, 'the secret parts (which shewed it to bee both Male and Female)', mark this figure as a thoroughly doubled hermaphroditic body.[72] The pamphlet sums up the effect of this embodiment of confusion and excess: 'In short, all the parts about it were monstrous and ill-shapen; insomuch, that it strooke into a quaking terrour all those that were eye-witnesses of this horned production'(p.2).

This monster is unusual however, for more than its extraordinary body: in the middle of the storm that accompanied its birth it, 'with a hoarse, but load voyce' uttered the words, 'I am deformed for the sinnes of my parents' (p.3). Its statement and death are followed by its mother's death-bed confession to a catalogue of sins against the church and state. The monster is read as a sign that people must examine their inner selves for similar traces of impurity. Ostensibly a figure of complete difference, it is nevertheless presented as marking the lingering possibilities within every body:

> Though for the present they labour not with the same births, (yet too many I feare, with the same Disease) whose out-sides though they appeare not so horrid to the eye as this mishapen Monster, I feare their insides are hung Round with all sorts of Crying sinnes (pp.4-5).

Again, a distinctly Calvinistic tone underlies this material vision of internal corruption. The monster represents the point at which the secret self has become the enemy within; the creature that nestles and grows within the vulnerable body politic and must be brought to light.

In 'Signs and Wonders from Heaven' (1645) an hermaphroditic monster was presented within a collection of prodigious events, including the appearance of the



Signes and wonders from Heaven. 2

With a true Relation of a Monster borne in *Ratcliffe* High-way, at the ſigne of the three Arrowes, Miſtris *Bullock* the Midwife delivering her thereof.

Alſo ſhewing how a Cat kitned a Monſter in *Lombard ſtreet* in *London*.

Likewiſe a new diſcovery of Witches in *Stepney* Pariſh.

And how 20. Witches more were executed in *Suffolke* this laſt Aſſiſe. Alſo how the Divell came to Soffam to a Farmers houſe in the habit of a Gentlewoman on horſe-backe.

With divers other ſtrange remarkable paſſages.

Aug. 5 Printed at *London* by *I. H.*

Figure 3.10. 'Signs and Wonders from Heaven' (1647).

devil in disguise, the discovery of witchcraft in Stepney, and the relation of a cat who gave birth to a human-monster hybrid. Each of these phenomena suggests an essential instability of forms, as categories between human and animal, pure and defiled, and male and female are blurred. The pamphlet was dated by Thomason on 5 August. By this time the distribution of power within England was also increasingly unstable and indeterminate. In January 1645 Archbishop Laud had been executed and the Royalists were decisively defeated by the newly formed New Model Army at the battle of Naseby in June. The pamphlet claimed that the anomalous events which it presented were direct signs of God's displeasure at this world-turned-upside-down. It posited an assertion of personal responsibility ('the Lord is angry with us every one') and evoked a climate of intense anxiety about the unpredictability of the conflict 'whereby every mans heart een trimbles to thinke what shall become of them.'[73]

The depiction of the hermaphroditic monster presents a (perhaps appropriately) perplexing image (see fig.3.10). The text describes it as:

> both hee and shee, borne without a nose, without hands and feet or legs, one eare, and that grew in the neck, and where the legs and armes should have beene, there grew pieces of flesh, and no bones nor ioints. (p.5)

It reads as a dismal series of negations and misplaced substitutions. The accompanying illustration, which confuses some of the detail of this description (the inclusion of a nose, and the ear placed on top of the head), presents an overdetermined but ultimately disabled body.

What meanings could be attached to such an anomalous form? Were people being asked to compare it to the body politic which, although increasingly dismembered by internal division, nevertheless contained two leaders? Jerome Friedman has asked, in relation to this image, if 'England, with both a powerful Parliament and a king,

[was] a hermaphrodite?'[74] The question (which is not answered by Friedman) is provocative. However, it perhaps oversimplifies both the complexities of this monstrous image and the gendered politics of the Civil War. Who, for example, was given the male or female part in this aberrant sexual equation? What kind of hermaphrodite had the country become? Was it monstrous distortion or an ideal balance? What gendered ambiguities were present in the representation of power in the Civil war?

The creature's hermaphroditism is significant, but it is only one element within a catalogue of monstrous parts. This representation of sexual confusion within a chaotic body precludes the elision of the more disturbing aspects of monstrous hermaphroditism. This hybrid creature cannot be contained within philosophical ideals of perfect union or biological taxonomies of sexual difference. In Kristeva's terms it is an abjection: it 'disturbs identity, system, order.' It is that which 'does not respect borders, positions, rules.' It is 'the inbetween, the ambiguous, the composite'.[75] To respond to Friedman's question, and to trace the complexities of hermaphroditic representation within the Civil War, we need to place the monster's confusion of sexual difference within its transgression of multiple borders.

(En)Gendering Monsters: the Hermaphroditic Body Politic

In 1643 a broadsheet called 'The Kingdomes Monster' was published. The woodcut image depicted a composite figure comprised of figures which were considered to threaten the country - 'Popish Conspirators, Malignant Plotters, and cruell Irish' (fig.3.11).[76] The cloak (an emblematic womb) is held open to unveil the horrible spectacle - the internal growth which has festered within. The verse describes how the healthy kingdom's body had been supplemented by the violent eruption of this multiple monster:

THE KINGDOMES MONSTER

Vncloaked from Heaven:

The Popish Conspirators, Malignant Plotters, and cruell Irish, in one Body to destroy Kingdome, Religion and Lawes: But under colour to defend them, especially the Irish; who having destroyed the Protestants There, flye hither to defend the Protestant Religion Here.

O England looke upon this monstrous Thing,
That would our Kingdome unto ruine bring,
'Tis framed and composed of three parts
Which are all joyned both in hearts and hearts:
Doe not behold it with a carelesse eye,
This Monster brings this Land to misery:
This Monster following its forefathers hate,
Seeks to destroy the Kingdome and the State:
While Church and Kingdom should oppressed lie
Subjected to their blinded Popery:
Long time it walked muffled in a cloak
Till *Straffords* head was cut off, then it broke
Out of the cloud, but Heavens holy hands
Hath now uncloak'd it, so that now it stands
In a full figure as this Picture here
Doth make it lively to your view appeare,
And in fit Emblems to your sight presents
His shape, his postures, and his blacke intents;
So that if you behold it round about
You shall see how this Monster is set out;
His Spanish Ruffe, and Jacket shew him here
To be halfe Papist, and halfe Cavalier;
His left side Popish is, which on his breast
Is by the figure of the Crosse expreст;
Besides his Beads and Popish pardon be
Emblemes that speak his love to Papistry:

So on the left side Popish heads are got
Together ready to conspire and plot (want
Unfathom'd mischiefe, and lest they should
Brain to be wicked; and should so be scant
Of knowledge how they might undo this land,
Plotting malignant heads against them stand:
The winged cluster of heads do discover
That Papists Rebels from Ireland flye over:
These to make strong their party, do combine
While in one body they together joyne,
Which in this Monster of the times expreст,
And to shew that these lodges in his breast
Nothing but cruelty, while 'tis his desire
To kill the Protestants, and their houses fire:
His double hands a sword, a knife containes,
A match, a Polcaxe, and a torch that flames;
Thus arm'd you may aske what he means to do,
Alas! his dayly actions this doe shew;
He doth intend to change the Churches coat,
That masse may be sung through a Friars throat;
And that the Protestants true Church may grow
Catholicke, and unto the Pope may owe
Supremacie, while Popery that hath bin
Long purged out, may be brought in agen:
In hope whereof, they oppose the Parliament,
Which Papists once to blow up did consent,

As here the match in hand doth represent,
While the blacke fiend did further their intent,
Besides this monstrous Body here compact
Of Papists, Irish and malignants act
Most horrid cruelties where they do approach
See out here by the sword in hand and torch;
Firing both Towns & houses where they come,
As they of late to Brimidgham have done;
And like unthankfull wretches have no pity
Neither upon this Kingdome nor this City,
But *Nero* like would laugh while it did burn,
And would massacre such as would not turn
To their Religion, robbing them of life,
Described by the hand armed with a knife:
Thus under sword and fire this Kingdome lies
Bleeding, and is this Monsters sacrifice;
While Papists, Irish, and Malignants are
Drawne all into the body of a war,
Who breath destruction, and would ruinate
Church, Kingdome, City, Parliament, and State
Therefore this Picture here set out may be
Called the Kingdomes Map of misery:
But there's a God that will at last regard
Our sufferings, and give them their just reward
Let them take heed, here on this side we see
They and the gallows at the last shall meet.

FINIS.

Printed in the Year, 1643.

Figure 3.11. 'The Kingdome's Monster Uncloaked from Heaven' (1643).

> Long time it walked muffled in a cloak
> Till Straffords head was cut off, then it broke
> out of the cloud.

This image is suggestive of Marvell's later description of Cromwell's supremely masculine autogeneration in 'An Horatian Ode' (1650).[77] In that poem, Cromwellian power was also represented as tearing through the feminized clouds 'where it was nurst' (14). However, whereas Cromwell's violent birth ('thorough his own Side/His fiery way divide' (15-16)) symbolized the virile regeneration of a listless order, the birth of 'the Kingdome's Monster' represented a corrupt degeneration of the body politic into the many-headed monster.[78]

The image is clearly topical: Parliament's execution of Strafford in May, 1641 which was followed by an uprising in Ireland in the same year exacerbated the crisis within English political life. As Royal authority was openly challenged so too new powers were generated. Whether these seemed to hold the promise of rebirth or to signal the misconception of a monstrous birth obviously depended upon relative partisan perspectives. Either way, images of heroic virility, monstrous fecundity and autogeneration pervaded the literature of this period. Such images suggested that the political confusion of the times demanded a renegotiation of existing conceptions of power and gender.

In 1648, the year of the second Civil War in England, two pamphlets were produced by Mercurius Melancholicus which characterized Parliament as the mother of a monstrous birth. 'Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation' was published in April and was followed soon after by 'Mistris Parliament in her Bed, after the sore travaile and hard labour which she endured last week, in the Birth of her Monstrous Off spring, the Childe of Deformation'.[79] The premise of these satirical attacks on Parliamentary rule was that the Commonwealth, Parliament's offspring, would be a hideously deformed

rather than reformed body.[80] When 'Mistris Parliament's' monstrous progeny is born it is described as 'a deformed shape, without a head, great goggle eyes, great bloody hands growing out of its devouring panch, under the belly hung a large bagge, and the feet are like the feet of a Beare' (p.8). It is, in short, a moon-calf, a monstrous misconception, 'beget in obscenity'.[81]

'Mistris Parliament in her Bed' opens with an ironic celebration of the birth by recommending it as a sight worth the '3 half-pence' admission. The pamphlets take the form of dramatic dialogue between a cast of female characters, including Mistris London (the mid-wife), Mrs Schisme, Mrs Synod (the dry-nurse) and Mrs Universall toleration. Mistris Parliament is presented in her labour following seven years of 'Teeming, bitter Pangs, and hard Travaile, that she hath undergone in bringing forth her first-borne'. The monstrous birth is preceded by a series of misbirths in which the labouring woman expels various repulsive bodily substances (blood, choller, and the stinking declaration against the king) each of which represent sins against the country. She is, by implication, placed within a catalogue of other literary and mythical monstrous female figures, such as Error, Spenser's snaky hybrid, whose misshapen offspring are spewed forth amongst Popish papers.

Although, in her agony, Mistris Parliament recognizes her misconception and almost miscarries the child of reformation she is characterized as a morally depraved woman who has 'imprisoned her Husband, and prostituted her body to a very Eunuch'(p.4). Charles, who had been imprisoned at Carisbrook Castle from November 1647, was evidently the husband who Mistris Parliament had supposedly betrayed. Cromwell was then the implied eunuch father of the monstrous Commonwealth. The representation of Charles's masculinity, when he had been symbolically effeminized by his political disempowerment, is effected through a complex series of slippages and

displacements. He is a cuckolded husband, a diminished but not absolutely negated, male figure. The characterization of Cromwell as a fertile eunuch was a necessary inconsistency which both reduced and restored the King's vulnerable masculinity. Such contradictions reveal profound anxieties about how power was (en)gendered which implies a powerfully hermaphroditic subtext.

Nigel Smith has pointed out a similar tension within these pamphlets, arguing that, 'the challenge to divine right kingship, and its concomitant patriarchal assumptions, has resulted in a perceived disruption in the sexually symbolic order'.[82] Traditionally the relationship between King and Parliament was perceived in terms of a marriage in which Parliament was placed in the role of wife. But this metaphor could be twisted and turned to most political perspectives. Milton, for example, subverted the assumed naturalness of such a relationship when he suggested in Eikonoklastes (1649) that Charles's rejection of parliament constituted a portent of unnatural and tyrannical desires:

> And if it hath bin anciently interpreted the presaging signe of a future Tyrant, but to dream of copulation with his Mother, what can it be less then actual Tyranny to affirme waking, that the Parlament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth any autoritative Act without his Masculine coition.[83]

This mocking image of Charles's degenerate incestuous sexuality (placed within a reference to Julius Caesar) compromises the masculinity of power and raises questions about true authority. Milton explicitly linked the King to monstrous births. Discussing his miscarriages of judgement he noted, 'And thus his pregnant motives are at last prov'd nothing but a Tympany, or a Queen Maries Cushion'.[84] Milton was referring to the well-known phantom pregnancies of Mary Tudor. A tympany was a mola, or moone-calf, a misconceived fleshy mass. By connecting Charles to these empty signs of female reproduction

Milton cast the King as an unnatural and hermaphroditic creator.

For Royalists, hermaphroditism was perhaps the only image which could begin to accommodate the gendered confusion of the King's increasing loss of power. Alchemically based notions of an ideal Royal transcendence of gender could not express the profound destabilizations of the Revolution. Hermaphroditism more accurately described what was perceived as a material renegotiation of gender in the Royal body. Charles's decapitation, in January 1649, was frequently described as an act of patricide but it also represented a symbolic castration of monarchic power. When, in Marvell's words, Charles, 'bow'd his comely Head/Down, as upon a Bed' (3-4), he was effeminized in a gesture of noble but yielding renunciation. The eroticized passivity of the moment compares with Desdemona's sacrificial death-bed scene in Othello. The country's 'husband' had become a wronged bride. But Charles was also associated with a fecundity in his death, an act which had generated a new (but possibly monstrous) birth - Cromwellian rule.

In 'A Mock-Song' Lovelace described a post-regicidal universe of disintegration and disorder in which 'All the Stars', like the snail, 'dissolv'd to a Jelly'(p.155). The political and the erotic implicitly converge in this poetry of desire and loss. Lovelace maps the boundaries of the body politic on to his own sexual bodily integrity and the moment of regicide becomes an orgasmic 'death' followed by post-coital emptiness. His body thus, in 'To Lucasta', becomes a dismembered sexual offering as he declares, 'Then let me be/Thy cut Anatomie' (p.132). When, in 'The Mock-Song', the Royal body is described as a tree which is brutally 'lopp'd down' (p.155) what remains for Lovelace is an emasculated version of the body politic. These images of dismemberment are incorporated into an ambivalent erotic identification in 'To Lucasta from Prison'. Lovelace suggests an unease

aroused by this association with the hermaphroditized monarchic body, asking, 'Who's he that would be wedded/To the 'fairest body that's beheaded?' (p.49). For Royalists the 'family romance' of the Revolution had precipitated an oedipal crisis.[85] The King was neither father nor mother but had come to represent the overdetermined impotence of the hermaphrodite.

In contrast to this figurative emasculization of the King, Cromwell was habitually represented as a virile masculine agency, who, in Marvell's words, could 'both act and know' (76). The arch-Royalist Cowley presented an extraordinary image of this monstrous (patricidal) son in his relation of a vision, which he claimed to have fallen into after Cromwell's funeral. Cowley articulated a profound ambivalence towards this figure: a mixture of 'horror and detestation' and an inclination towards 'a little reverence and admiration of his courage, conduct and success.' He described 'a strange and terrible apparition' of a gigantic hyper-masculine figure who rose from the earth:

> His body was naked, but that nakedness adorn'd, or rather deform'd all over, with several figures, after the manner of the antient Britons, painted upon it: and I perceived that most of them were the representation of the late battels in our civil wars.[86]

This is a striking vision of Cromwell as a monstrous anti-body politic. 'Who', Cowley asks, 'would be rather a great Monster, than/ A well-proportion'd Man' (p.59)? The literal inscription of the wars on his flesh presents Cromwell as both the author and the text of the Commonwealth. But, as Cowley observes, this is a deformed body politic, scarred by Cromwell's monstrous authority: 'What sores deform'd the Ulcerean State?'(p.60).

The exaggerated and almost parodic eroticization of Charles II and the Restoration Court culture constituted an attempt to erase the memory of Cromwell's masculine power.[87] Images of Charles II's sexually charged masculinity symbolically re-membered his father's

hermaphroditic Royal body. But as Rochester suggested, in 'A Satire on Charles II', 'the merry Monarch' was ultimately diminished by his association with the (effeminizing) excesses of sexual adventure. The lines, 'His Sceptter and his Prick are of a length', imply the hollow substitution of pleasure for authority, as Royal identity becomes a degenerate quest for sexual fulfilment.[88] The ultra masculine monarch is tainted by a feminine excess which reinscribes the Royal body as a sexually ambivalent borderline figure. As Mary Douglas has argued, 'all margins are dangerous'.[89] The monstrous hermaphrodite, that habitual transgressor of borders, lingered as an (im)potent metaphor in the Renaissance imagination.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Michael Drayton, The Moone-Calfe (1627), in The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. by J.Williams Hebel, 5 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1932), III, pp.166-202. All line references are given after quotations in the text. Richard F. Hardin suggests that although it is difficult to date exactly when the poem was written it, 'seems to belong to Drayton's melancholy phase of the early 1620s, for it is permeated with the derisive fatalism of a man who has already made up his mind that his society is on the way to hell.' Michael Drayton and the Passing of Elizabethan England (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973), p.98.

2. Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (1966; London: Routledge, 1991), p.115.

3. Thomas Cooper, Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ (London, 1565), sig. 4G8. For similar definitions see also Peter La Primaudaye, The French Academie (London, 1618), p.539; and Helkiah Crooke, Microcosmographia: The Description of the Body of Man (London, 1615), p.297. In Act Two of The Tempest Stephano and Trinculo repeatedly describe Caliban as a mooncalf (II.ii.104, 109, and 132).

4. For the Renaissance development of the study of monsters see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, 'Unnatural Conceptions: the Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century France and England', Past and Present, 92 (1981), 20-54. See also Ronald E. McFarland, 'Teratology in Late Renaissance English Popular Literature', English Miscellany, (1979/80), 103-123; Paula Findlen, 'Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: the Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe', Renaissance Quarterly, 43 (1990), 292-331; Dudley Wilson, Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment (London: Routledge, 1993); and Mark Thornton Burnett, '"Strange and woonderfull syghts': The Tempest and the Discourses of Monstrosity', unpublished paper. I am grateful to Mark Thornton Burnett for his useful comments on this chapter and for sharing his work on Renaissance monsters with me.

5. Rudolf Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942), 159-97 (p.159).

6. St Augustine, City of God, trans. and ed. by Henry Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p.588.

7. Cooper, sig. 4H2^{v}.

8. John Brooke,'Unto the Christian Reader', in Of two Woonderful Popish Monsters, to wyt, of a Popish Asse which was found at Rome in the River of Tyber, and of A Moonkish Calfe, calved at Friberge in Misne, Which are the very foreshewings and tokens of Gods wrath, against blinde, obstinate and monstrous Papists, Witnessed and declared, the one by Philip Melanchthon, the other by Martyn Luther (London, 1579), sig. A2.

9. Pierre Boaistuau, Histoires prodigieuses (Paris, 1560).

10. Edward Fenton, Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature (London, 1569), sig. Aiiij. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

11. 'The true reporte of the forme and shape of a monstrous Childe borne at Muche Horkesleye, a village three miles from Colchester, in the Countye of Essex, the xxi daye of Apryll in this yeare 1562', in A Collection of 79 Black Letter Ballads and Broadsides, Printed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, between the Years 1559 and 1597, ed. by Joseph Lilly (London, 1867), pp.27-29 (p.27).

12. For a study of this idea see Marie-Hélène Huet, Monstrous Imagination (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

13. See for example, Thomas Lupton who told the story to support his claim that 'imagination is of marvelous force at the time of generation'. A Thousand Notable things of sundry sortes (London, 1579), p.156.

14. Sigmund Freud, (1919) 'The "Uncanny"', in Art and Literature, ed. and trans. by James Strachey and Albert Dickson, The Penguin Freud Library, 15 vols (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1985) XIV, 339-376 (p.347).

15. Quoted from, C. W. Lemmi, 'Monster-Spawning Nile-Mud in Spenser', Modern Language Notes, 41 (1926), 234-238 (p.235). For a sixtenth-century example of such a belief see, Shakespeare, Antony and Cleopatra, II.VII.26-27.

16. Livy, The Romane Historie, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1600), p.780.

17. Marie Delcourt, Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity, trans. by Jennifer Nicholson (London: Studio Books, 1961), p.43.

18. Pliny, The Historie of the Worlde, Commonly called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1601), p.157.

19. See Rudolf Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East'; and John Block Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

20. Both John Mandeville's Travels (c.1357) and Leo Africanus's, Geographical Historie of Africa (1526) were widely translated and reprinted throughout the early modern period.

21. Michel de Montaigne, The Complete Essays, trans. and ed. by M.A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), p.588.

22. Stephen Bateman, The Doome, warning all men to the Judgemente: Wherein are contayned for the most parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with divers secrete figures of Revelations tending to mannes stayed conversion towardes God: in maner of a generall Chronicon, gathered out of sundrie approved authors (London, 1581), p.4. Bateman's text was an adaptation of Conradus Lycosthenes's, Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon quae praeter naturae ordinem (Basil, 1557).

23. Aristotle's Problems described hermaphroditic breasts in this way. See also John Mandeville's description:
thei han but o pappe on the o syde, and on that other non. And thei han membres of generacoun of man and womman,and thei usen bothe whan hem list, ones that on and another tyme that other. And thei geten children when thei usen the membre of man, and thei bere children whan thei usen the membre of womman.
John Mandeville, Mandevilles Travels, ed. by M.C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p.148.

24. Shakespeare's Othello incorporates these images of monstrous races into his self-presentation.
And with it all my travel's history;...
And of cannibals, that each other eat;
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders; this to hear
Would Desdemona seriously incline; (I.iii.139-146)

25. Francis Beaumont, The Knight of the Burning Pestle, ed. by Michael Hattaway, New Mermaid (London: Ernest Benn, 1969), III.273-274.

26. John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. by E.S. de Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 22 August, 1667, p.513.

27. Ben Jonson Volpone (1607), in Three Comedies, ed. by Michael Jamieson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966; repr.1985).

28. Thomas Lupton's A Thousand Notable things of sundry sortes (1579), which declared that it contained 'so many notable, rare, pleasaunt, profitable and precious thinges' was a typically eclectic collection of diverse material.

29. Ambroise Paré, Des Monstres et prodiges (1573). Thomas Johnson translated a crudely adapted version of this treatise in The Workes of That Famous Chirurgion Ambrose

Parey (London, 1634). All references are to On Monsters and Marvels, trans. by Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982) and are given after quotations in the text.

30. See, for a typical discussion Jakob Rueff's, The Expert Midwife (1545, trans. 1637). Rueff discussed hermaphrodites in a chapter headed, 'Of unperfect children, also of monsterous births'. Rueff argued that hermaphroditism was in fact an illusion, explaining:

> It happeneth also that some are ingendred and do grow and increase untill some time, that hee that vieweth them cannot determine and be resolved of what sex or kinde they may be of. The more unskilfull doe suppose them to be of both kindes, but they are faire deceived. (p.155)

31. John Cleveland, 'The Author to his Hermophrodite', in The Poems of John Cleveland, ed. by Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp.12-13 (line 3). All further references to Cleveland's poetry are to this edition.

32. For a discussion of these issues see Stephen Pender, 'No Monsters at the Resurrection': Inside Some Conjoined Twins', in Reading Monsters/Reading Culture, ed. by Jeffry Cohen (University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming). I am grateful to Stephen Pender for sharing his work with me before its publication.

33. Quoted from John Block Friedman, p.182.

34. Paré related a case when he dissected a doubled infant and found in it only one heart, from which he concluded it was only one person. He cited Aristotle's Generation of Animals, arguing that,

> a monster having two bodies found together, if it is found to have two hearts, one can truly say that there are two men or two women; otherwise, if it is found to have only one heart with two bodies, there is only one. (p.14)

35. See also Shakespeare, As You Like It and Comedy of Errors.

36. Not all representations of conjoined twins were equated with immorality in the twins themselves. Most accounts of conjoined births which were published in popular broadside ballads were interpreted as signs of God's displeasure at the sins within society in general. 'The True description of two monstrous children' born in Buckinghamshire in 1566, presents conjoined twins, a male and a female, named John and Joan, who were reported to have lived for only half an hour. The description of these embracing bodies, neither fully united nor full divided, is interpreted as a warning against wallowing 'in filthy sin' and the audience is urged

to behold this spectacle 'with inward eyes'. This ballad is reproduced in Monstrous Births: An Illustrative Introduction to Teratology in Early Modern England, ed. by Simon McKeown (London: Indelible Inc, 1991), pp. 29-33.

37. Alan Bray, Homosexuality In Renaissance England (London: Gay Mens Press, 1982) pp.13-32 and 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England' History Workshop Journal, 29 (1990), 1-19. See also Jonathan Goldberg, Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) especially, Introduction, 'That Utterly confused Category', pp.1-26.

38. Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: An Introduction (1976), trans. by Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p.101

39. For a discussion of attitudes towards bestiality see Arnold Davidson, 'The Horror of Monsters', in The Boundaries of Humanity: Humans, Animals, Machines, ed. by James J. Sheehan and Morton Sosna (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp.36-67.

40. Quoted from Bray, (1991), p.2.

41. Samuel Purchas, Microcosmus, or the Historie of Man (London, 1619), p.494.

42. Purchas, p.496. William Prynne made a similar comment in relation to sodomites 'who have beene deeply plunged in this abominable wickednesse, which my inke is not blacke enough to discypher.' Histrio-mastick (London, 1633), p.211.

43. Purchas, p.494.

44. Bateman, p.373.

45. Fenton, p.100. The medical condition that Fenton describes seems to be that of prolapsis.

46. Jonathan Sawday, The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture (London: Routledge, 1995). See in particular, Chapter 12 '"The Spear's Sad Art": the Rhetoric of Self Dissection', pp.236-275 (p.238).

47. Quoted from Bray, (1991), p.3.

48. Abraham Cowley, The Civil War, ed. by Alan Pritchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p.73.

49. Montaigne, p.411.

50. See Leonard Barkan, Nature's Work of Art: the Human Body as Image of the World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) and David Hale, The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1971). Literary examples can be found in Spenser's House of Alma episode in The Faerie Queene, II.ix. and Phineas Fletcher's, The Purple Island (Cambridge, 1633). For an analysis of The Purple Island in terms of its specifically Protestant ethic see Thomas Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island and the Poetry of Purgation', Renaissance Studies, 5 (1991), 341-352.

51. Montaigne, p.807.

52. Montaigne, p.808.

53. Norman Jones has discussed the numerous reports of monstrous births in the context of the political situation of England in the 1560s. He argues that the interest in monstrous births demonstrated how 'the material and the metaphysical worlds meshed in the minds of Tudor people'. Norman Jones, The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p.47

54. Neville Williams argues that the escape of Mary from Lochlevean in May 1568 represented a 'turning point in Elizabeth's reign' shattering 'the fragile unity of the kingdom'. All the Queen's Men (London: Cardinal, 1974), p.109.

55. J.P., 'A marvellous strange deformed swine', in McKeown, p.18.

56. McKeown, p.18.

57. John Vicars, Prodigies & Apparitions or Englands Warning Pieces (London, 1643). Vicars notes that 'the Queen, who [was] greatly astonisht at the sight thereof, most graciously and charitably sent the poore woman, the mother of it, five pieces, to refresh her in her present poverty and weaknesse.'p.23.

58. Vicars, p.20.

59. Joseph Beaumont, The Complete Poems of Dr. Joseph Beaumont, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1880), V.190.

60. Richard Lovelace, The Poems of Richard Lovelace, ed. by C.H. Wilkinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p.50. Further page references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

61. In 'Smectymnuus, or the Club-Divines' Cleveland again drew on popular contemporary discourses of monstrous births to parody the authors of the religious tract which appeared in 1641. Cleveland compared it to the famous Italian touring spectacle, Lazarus Colorado, whose parasitic brother, John Baptista grew from his stomach. The brothers were shown for several years in England from 1637 and were the subject of a broadside ballad called 'The Two Inseparable Brothers'.

62. For a discussion of images of self division in the Civil War see, Jonathan Sawday, '"Mysteriously Divided": Civil War, Madness and the Divided Self', in Literature and the Civil War, ed. by Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.127-143.

63. Lovelace pursues the image of the snail in 'Another' and here a provisional resolution is suggested. The snail is celebrated over other hybridized creatures (the centaur, siren, sphinx and hermaphrodite) perhaps because these double figures have an openness which is opposed to the snail's intense introspection. The snail in this poem is 'his own Double man' (p.138) who is sick but self-sufficient.

64. Margaret Spufford has noted the increase in rates of literacy in English society in this period and suggests that 'the political and religious ferment of the Civil War in itself led to a heightened level of debate in the countryside, and to interest in print.'Small Books and Pleasant Histories (1981: repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.22-23. For more on the relationship between text and visual images in these works see Tamsyn Williams, '"Magnetic Figures": Polemical Prints of the English Revolution', in Renaissance Bodies: the Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660, ed. by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), pp.86-110. For a Spanish perspective on similar themes see Henry Ettinghausen, 'The Illustrated Spanish News: Text and Image in the Seventeenth-Century Press' in Art and Literature in Spain: 1600-1800, ed. by Charles Davis and Paul Julian Smith (London and Madrid: Tamesis, 1993), pp.117-133.

65. Bernard Capp, 'Popular Literature', in Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England, ed. by Barry Reay (London and Sydney: Croom and Helm, 1985) pp.198-242 (p.228).

66. For a historical survey of some of this material see, Jerome Friedman, Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: the Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies (London, UCL Press, 1993) and Chris Durston, 'Signs and Wonders and the English Civil War', History Today, 38 (1987), 22-29.

67. 'The Most Strange and Wonderfull Apperation of Blood in a Poole at Garraton in Leicestershire', London 1645. BL, TT E303 (22). This is one of the five pamphlets reproduced in Anomalous Phenomena of the Interregnum, ed. by Andrew Hopton (London: Aporia Press, 1991), pp.14-19.

68. John Spencer, A Discourse Concerning Prodigies: Wherein the Vanity of Presages by them is reprehended, and their true and proper ends asserted and vindicated (Second ed; London, 1665), p.16.

69. See Christopher Hill, '"Till the Conversion of the Jews"' Collected Essays' 3 vols (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1965), II, pp.269-300.

70. St Augustine, City of God, p.130.

71. 'A Relation of a Terrible Monster taken by a Fisherman neere Wollage', London, 1642. BL, TT E107 (7), p.3.

72. 'Strange Newes from Scotland', London, 1647. BL, TT E408 (14), p.1. Further page references are given after quotations in the text.

73. 'Signs and Wonders from Heaven with a True Relation of a Monster Borne in Ratcliffe Highway', London, 1645. BL, TT E295 (2), p.2. Further page references are given after quotations in the text.

74. Friedman, p. 50.

75. Julia Kristeva, Powers of Horror: an Essay on Abjection, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p.4.

76. 'The Kingdomes Monster Uncloaked from Heaven: The Popish Conspirators, Malignant Plotters, and Cruell Irish, in One Body to destroy Kingdome, Religion and Lawes', London, 1643. BL, Huth Collection.

77. Andrew Marvell, The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. by H.M. Margoliouth, 2 vols (oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; repr. 1951), 87-90. Line references are included after quotations in the text.

78. 'The Kingdomes Monster' might be contrasted to another many-headed monster in the frontispiece image to Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan (1651). Whereas 'The Kingdomes Monster' presents an uncontrolled confusion of parts, Hobbes's Leviathan contains the mass of heads and torsos within its hugely powerful body. The faces, in 'The Kingdomes Monster' look outwards and threaten, whilst those in the Leviathan are turned inwards towards the body of their sovereign forming the uniform segments of armour. In Hobbes's image the body politic is transformed from the messy factions which constitute 'The Kingdomes Monster' into the fantasy

of a well oiled machine.

79. 'Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation', in Mercurius Melancholicus (London, April, 1648), BL, TT E437 (24); and 'Mistris Parliament Presented in her Bed, after the sore travaile and hard labour which she endured last week, in the Birth of her Monstrous Off spring, the Childe of Deformation', in Mercurius Melancholicus (London, May, 1648), BL, TT E441 (20). For a discussion of these pamphlets see Susan Wiseman, '"She-politics" and Adamic Kings: Parliament and the Female Body', unpublished paper.

80. The characterization of Parliamentary rule as an unnatural and monstrous collection of disparate parts was a recurring motif within discourses of opposition throughout the Civil War period. See, 'A Monster to be seen at Westminster, 1642' and 'The Parliaments Pedigree', in Rump: or an Exact Collection of the choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times. By the most Eminent Wits, from Anno 1639 to anno 1661, London, 1662, I.85 and 1.24.

81. The pro-Parliamentarian pamphlet, Prerogative Anatomized (London, 1644) used similar birth imagery:

> 'the womb of the intended birth being declar'd to be the Word of God, the fruit can be nothing but the childe of truth, and therefore the surest way is to hinder the birth, and in the mean time make the people believe, the Parliament is in labour of a Moon-Calfe' (p.12).

82. Nigel Smith, Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p.83.

83. John Milton, 'Eikonoklastes' (1649), in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, 5 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-1971), III, pp.337-601 (pp.467).

84. Milton, 'Eikonoklastes', p.379.

85. See Freud, 'Family Romances' (1909), in On Sexuality, ed. and trans. by James Strachey and Albert Dickson, The Penguin Freud Library, 15 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985) VII, pp.221-225.

86. Abraham Cowley, 'A Discourse By Way of Vision, Concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell', in The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley (London, 1668), pp.52-78 (p.52, p.54).

87. For an analysis of the eroticization of the Restoration see, Paul Hammond, 'The King's Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II', in Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800, ed. by Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.13-48 and Jonathan Sawday, 'Re-Writing a Revolution: History,

Symbol, and Text in the Restoration', The Seventeenth Century, 7 (1992), 171-199 (pp.181-182).

88. Rochester, 'A Satire on Charles II', in The Poems of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester, ed. by Keith Walker (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, Basil Blackwell, 1984), pp.74-75 (p.74).

89. Douglas, p.121.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Masculine Matrix: Hermaphroditic Creation and the Return to Origins

Introduction

> And dreams of filiation
> that is masculine, dreams
> of God the father
> issuing from himself
> in his son - and
> no mother then
> (Hélène Cixous, 'Sorties')[1]

In the 1630s, Sir Thomas Browne wrote in Religio Medici that he 'would be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction'. He desired that 'there were any way to perpetuate the world without this triviall and vulgar way of coition'. His wish stemmed from an urge to escape what he termed 'the crooked piece of man', in other words, woman.[2] As Posthumus asked in Shakespeare's Cymbeline, 'Is there no way for men to be, but women must be half-workers?' (I.V.1-2). These fantasies of autogenerative male birth expressed a desire to return to a pure, original condition before the creation of sexual difference. Milton's Adam expressed this yearning when, following his fall, he bitterly lamented the creation of woman. He questioned why 'God, Creator wise', did not 'find some other way to generate Mankind?' (X.888-889, 894-895). This chapter traces some of the hermaphroditic implications of these Renaissance 'dreams of filiation', to explore further how gendered roles and the sexed body were constructed and reconstructed in this period.

The previous chapter showed how men, as well as women, were sometimes represented as engendering monstrous births. So, for example, propagandist literature such as the 'Mistris Parliament' pamphlets feminized a collective enemy to assert the aberrance of its creation. But male births were not only perceived in terms of monstrous hermaphroditic reproduction. They were also represented as superlative acts of transcendant androgyny. Renaissance men appropriated images of birth to describe both their textual production and their

intellectual, technological and mystical aspirations and achievements. The ideal male birth was clean, noiseless, bloodless, and odourless. No after-birth was expelled from a stretched and torn body. Instead a brain-child was produced, a perfect legacy of its masculine primogenitor.

However, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century representations of male births also suggest the limitations and complications of this model. Was a man who gave birth effeminized? Was he actually a woman? Was he always an hermaphrodite? Or was he a superman whose hyper-masculinity was so impermeable that he could reproduce without the mediation of a female body? In Renaissance culture, images of male creation can be traced in many discursive contexts. Male births range from images of pregnant men, to the representation of hermaphroditic writing subjects. They inform the masculinism of the 'New Science', as well as contributing to alchemical experiments to create the homonculus and rabbinical myths of golem making. Male reproduction disturbs the opposition between a classical (disembodied) masculinity and a grotesque (embodied) femininity. This troubling of boundaries develops the questions which structure this thesis. How were the boundaries between male and female constituted in the intersections between biology, culture and society? Were such boundaries fixed or mutable? Who, in the Renaissance, could be defined as a man, or a woman, or an hermaphrodite?

Pregnant Men: the Grotesque/Classical Body

Fantastical representations of autogenesis can be traced back to Lucian's True History (2 AD), in which he related that amongst the 'strange and wonderful things' that he had observed on his voyage to the moon was 'the fact that they [the moon people] are not born of women but of men'. He explained:

> They marry men and do not even know the word woman at all! Up to the age of twenty-five each

> is a wife, and thereafter a husband. They carry their children in the calf of the leg instead of the belly. When conception takes place the calf begins to swell. In the course of time they cut it open and deliver the child dead, and then they bring it to life by putting it in the wind with its mouth open.[3]

This fabulous vision of womanless birth makes reproduction an entirely male preserve which not only avoids the female but does not even know that such a being exists. In fact, the birth which is performed by caesarian section is not really a birth at all but rather a process of resuscitative animation.

Lucian's account included a surrealist image of generation which anticipated Browne's desire to 'procreate like trees':

> But I will tell you something else, still more wonderful. They have a kind of men whom they call the Arboreals, who are brought into the world as follows: Executing a man's right genital gland, they plant it in the ground. From it grows a very large tree of flesh, resembling the emblem of priapus: it has branches and leaves, and its fruit is acorns a cubit thick. When these ripen, they harvest them and shell out the men.[4]

The tree of flesh from which the Arboreals are grown is clearly, as Lucian notes, a priapic or phallic image. Men are born from the generative power of unmediated masculinity without the taint of passing through or combining with the female body. This idea, although expressed in the context of Lucian's satirical fantastic voyage, had a powerful hold on the imaginations of early modern men. The phallic tree of life which generated new forms from the perfect male body was a recurring alchemical symbol. As late as 1676 Gabriel de Foigny repeated Lucian's image in his own imaginary voyage narrative, La terre Australe connue in which he described how the hermaphroditic people of his ideal society grew their children within them, 'like Fruits upon the Trees'.[5]

However, these idyllic forms of generation were the

fantasies of distant and imaginary worlds. Images of male reproduction could equally suggest an unhealthy immoderation of the flesh. When Shakespeare's Falstaff in 2 Henry IV cried 'My womb, my womb, my womb undoes me' (IV.iii.22-23) he presented a somatic parody of the reproductive female body. The idea of the pregnant male body was a comic but potentially monstrous paradox. Julia Kristeva has described the male fear of, and fascination with, the maternal body as 'the ultimate of abjection' and argues that birth represents a disturbing explosion of boundaries:

> Giving birth: the height of bloodshed and life, scorching moment of hesitation (between inside and outside, ego and other, life and death), horror and beauty, sexuality and the blunt negation of the sexual.[6]

Falstaff's womb signified the belly as well as the uterus. It suggested a corrupted form of masculinity which mimicked the abject excesses of the reproductive female body through an absurd proliferation of flesh.[7] As Falstaff recognized, to be a man with a womb was to risk the dissolution (or undoing) of a secure male identity.[8] It also implied a more profound decay in the social order. Neil Rhodes has argued that whereas in I Henry IV Falstaff's body was represented as a carnivalesque vessel which was 'distended and filled up with extraneous material', in 2 Henry IV this grotesque body figured the bloated and diseased condition of Elizabethan England.[9] The pregnant male body thus represented the need to purge a profound degeneracy from within the body politic.

The rare cases in which men were reported as having experienced physical pregnancy were viewed as freakish aberrations and were usually attributed to transgressive sexual activity. Accounts of these extraordinary cases, which intersected with fantastic stories about male reproduction, blurred the lines between fact and fiction. Pierre Bayle, for example, in his commentary on de Foigney's fantasy of ideal hermaphroditic reproduction, cited a case which had been reported in the Chroniques

Scandaleuse of 1540. In 1478 a monk living in Auvergne who 'had both Sexes, and made use of them in such a manner' apparently became pregnant. The erring monk was 'Seized, Prosecuted, and confined till he should be Delivered, that he might be dealt afterwards as the Judges should think fit.'[10]

By the end of the seventeenth century, male pregnancy was reported as a matter of scientific curiosity. In his Treatise on Hermaphrodites (1718) Giles Jacob included a letter written by Domat in 1697:

> I am at this very time employ'd in tending a Person of Quality that's come a great way off. In the right Side of his Scrotum he had a great Lump, bigger than the Head of a Child; which I cut off, and afterwards ty'd up the Spermatick Artery. This Lump was a Mass of Flesh, all over Spermatick, and very Solid, with very hard Bones in every part.'Twas contain'd in an After-birth with a great deal of Water. The Spermatick Vessels which perform'd the Office of those we call Umbilical, were overgrown much beyond their natural size.[11]

He explained that the growth had developed when the man had been involved in a sexually active relationship with a woman but had not allowed himself to reach orgasm. The seed which should have been expelled had thus begun to develop into a baby within his own body.[12]

Such horrific images of pregnant men simultaneously evoked and suppressed the presence of a pregnant woman. A presence which was familiar, but as Kristeva reminds us, perhaps no less disturbing. Neither of these cases actually describes a birth, only an unnatural pregnancy. This mimicry and disavowal of the maternal body suggests the negotiation of bodily limits which Bakhtin has defined in terms of grotesque and classical distinctions.[13] Mary Russo has summarized these categories:

> The grotesque body is the open, protruding, extended, secreting body, the body of becoming, process, and change. The grotesque body is opposed to the classical body, which is monumental, static, closed, and sleek.[14]

Bakhtin's study focused primarily on social classification through his analysis of the symbolic inversions of high and low cultures in the folk rituals of Rabelaisian carnival. However, his formulation of the classical and grotesque models can, as critics such as Russo have demonstrated, usefully be applied to categories of gender. The male body, which secretes and smells, has nevertheless traditionally been encoded as classical in contrast to the relatively greater excesses of the grotesque female body. As Valerie Traub has argued:

> Although Bakhtin elides gender specificity in his work, the symbolic functioning of the bodily processes of menstruation, pregnancy, childbearing, and lactation - which render women, particularly in respect to their genitals and breasts, open, protuberant, and never-quite-sealed-off - all metonymically instantiate the maternal body as 'grotesque'.[15]

It is important to note that for Bakhtin the classical and grotesque forms cannot be separated. They were always relational and interactive. Peter Stallybrass makes the point that they were 'diacritical, each in turn formed by the redrawing of the boundaries of the other'.[16] Renaissance images of male births, which both assert and problematize ideas of pure masculine and feminine origins, present such a 'redrawing of the boundaries'.

Ambroise Paré's sixteenth-century narratives and images of porous bodily forms presented repeated versions of the tension between the classically sealed male body and the grotesquely open female body which is 'unfinished, outgrows itself, [and] transgresses its limits'.[17] The paradox of male birth was encapsulated in the often reproduced contemporary image of a man with a head in his belly (fig.4.1). This emblematic example of male pregnancy positions the brainchild within the male body in a disturbing imitation of the unsealed, reproductive female body. In <u>On Monsters and Marvels</u> (1573), Paré also illustrated the case of 'a man whose belly issued another man' (fig.4.2).[18] These conjoined

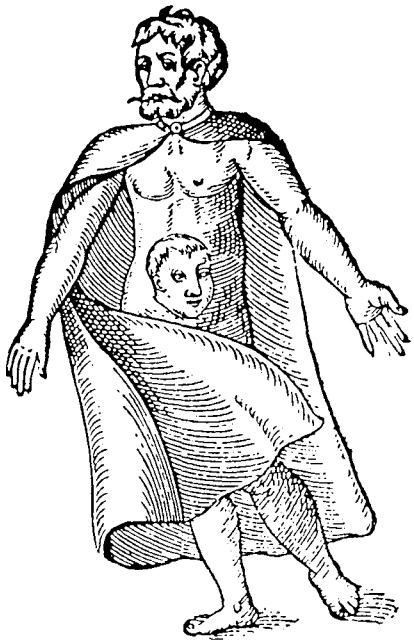


Figure 4.1.
'Man having head in the middle of his belly' (1573).

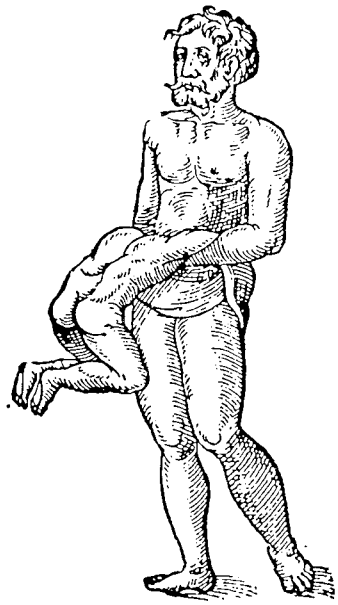


Figure 4.2.
'Man from whose belly another man issued' (1573).

The two inseparable brothers.
OR
A true and strange description of a Gentleman (an Italian by birth) about seventeene yeeres of age, who hath an imperfect (yet living) Brother, growing out of his side, having a head, two armes, and one leg, all perfectly to be seen. They were both baptized together; the imperfect is called *Iohn Baptist*, and the other *Lazarus*. Admire the Creator in his Creatures.

To the tune of *The wandring Iewes Chronicle.*

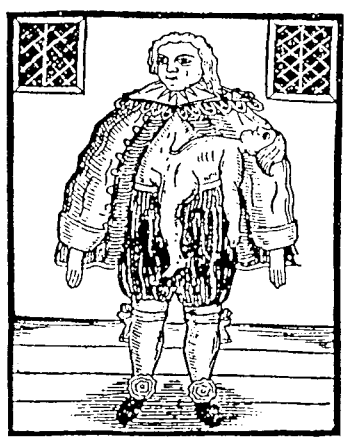


Figure 4.3. 'The two inseparable brothers' (1637).

twins were a famous Renaissance curiosity and toured Europe extensively in the early seventeenth century. Martin Parker's illustrated broadside ballad 'The Two Inseparable Brothers' (1637) depicts the twins as fixed in a moment of ongoing birth, explaining that, 'the brother beares the brother' (fig.4.3).[19] In his poem 'Smectymnus' (1662) John Cleveland similarly described this spectacle as 'Th'Italian Monster pregnant with his Brother'.[20]

These births, whilst escaping the 'triviall and vulgar way of coition' with women, which Browne had disparaged, were placed in a more complex relation to the grotesque female body.[21] By overspilling the boundaries of their own bodies and becoming associated with untidy reproduction, these men (like Falstaff) take on some of the grotesque characteristics of openness, excess and what has been termed as 'leakiness' traditionally attributed to women in early modern culture.[22] Rather than erasing the maternal body they figuratively become it.

'Ever pregnant by thy verse': the Birth of the Author

Writing represented a form of production which negotiated a male impulse towards creation without implicating him in the messier aspects of procreation. It approximated a birth but ultimately circumvented the grotesque characteristics associated with female reproduction. Susan Stanford Friedman has observed the paradoxes which are inherent in a male tradition which has characterized books as births. She argues that:

> A male childbirth metaphor has three collisions for the reader to overcome: the literally false equation of books and babies, the biological impossibility of men birthing both books and babies, and the cultural separation of creation and procreation.[23]

For Renaissance writers, however, the equation between textual production and biological processes of

reproduction was a standard literary convention. When Ben Jonson wrote his elegy to his dead son (Benjamin, his namesake) he explicitly coupled authorship with fatherhood. The lost child was, Jonson claimed, 'his best piece of poetry'.[24]

Similarly, Marvell's Latin poem 'Upon an Eunuch; a Poet' explicated a tradition in which poetry was equated with paternity. The eunuch was represented as a figure of negative hermaphroditism. One contributor to the Discourses of the Virtuosi of France (1664) explained that a eunuch was no longer a man, 'nor yet a Woman, but something less than both'.[25] In Marvell's poem this altered and incomplete form of masculinity relates to the female body as neither self nor other:

> Nec sterilem te crede; licet, mulieribus exul,
> Falcem virginiæ nequeas immitere messi,
> Et nostro peccare modo. Tibi Fama perennè
> Prægnabit; rapiesque novem de monte Sorores;
> Et pariet modulos Echo repititat Nepotes.[26]
>
> [Deem not that thou art barren, though forlorn,
> Thou plunge no sickle in the virgin corn,
> And, mateless, hast no part in our sweet curse.
> Fame shall be ever pregnant by thy verse;
> The vocal Sisters nine thou shalt embrace,
> And Echo nurse thy words, a tuneful race.][27]

Although physically emasculated and therefore unable to procreate the eunuch is nevertheless able to leave a legacy of his life through his poetic creation: 'Fame shall be ever pregnant by thy verse'. The poem, a lasting textual offspring, suggests that poetry is comparable and perhaps preferable to the 'sweet curse' of physical reproduction.

Cerebral and corporeal creation are thereby placed in a dialogue which reverberates throughout Renaissance literature. The equation between masculine authorship and parenting effected a gender slippage which substituted authorship for parturition. Was such a slippage an appropriation (a masculine colonization of the female body)? Or did it signal a more subtle anxiety about both the creative process and the cultural performance of

gender? In other words, was writing itself an hermaphroditic practice?

Sidney's lines in 'Astrophel and Stella', in which the search for words is equated with the fullness of pregnancy, demonstrate how poetic creation was placed in an imagined relation to the maternal body. In the opening verse the male poetic voice encounters a void of inspiration. Surrounded by layers of previous textual inscription, which are ultimately empty, the frustrated poet is left, 'great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes'.[28] Although this may be, as Katherine Eisaman Maus has argued, 'pregnancy without impregnation [...] essentially self-generated', Astrophel nevertheless needs the mediation of the female Muse, to complete his poetic birth.[29] He is the progenitor of his textual offspring whilst the Muse, performing the (traditionally female) role of midwife, directs him to search for language within himself: 'look in thy heart and write'. By appropriating maternity as authorship the male poet is able to self-reflexively inquire into the creative process whist claiming a (disembodied) intensity associated with childbirth.

This poetic trope, however familiar, is also potentially disconcerting. Maus has suggested that the exploitation of such images by Renaissance male poets constitutes:

> A bland appropriation of what does not seem 'appropriate', [it] is not a search for a substitute but a claim that they already possess the real thing. [...] The female body provides a risky but compelling model for the structure of male poetic subjectivity in the English Renaissance.[30]

However, the male childbirth metaphor was far from a 'bland appropriation'. The riskiness of this model lies in a self-conscious affectation of an hermaphroditic authorial persona. In Elizabeth Harvey's words this 'strange transvesticism of the male poet' who figuratively gives birth to 'his own voice' suggests a

gender discontinuity which goes beyond the clichéd device of masculine poetic birth.[31] Masculine intellectual creativity was in many ways circumscribed by female biological procreativity; for how could the artistic process be represented without recourse to images of maternity and childbirth?

The trope of delivery (birthing the text) appeared in Milton's treatise on censorship 'Areopagitica', in which books, 'the living labours of publick men', are represented as being analogous to children.[32] Milton suggested that before book licensing was instigated 'Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifl'd then the issue of the womb'.[33] This was a familiar philosophical motif. In the Theatetus, Socrates had claimed that as a Sage his role was analogous to, but more important than, that of midwives because he acted upon men not women. Montaigne commented on this comparison in a striking synthesis of intellectual and bodily images. He argued that, 'he too [Socrates] gave up his capacity for producing brain-children of his own by acts of manly love, in order to encourage and help other men to deliver theirs: he opened the genitals of their minds, lubricated the passages and made it easier for their child to issue forth'.[34]

Renaissance writers drew from a range of metaphorical physical processes associated with child-bearing women. According to anecdotal evidence, Milton apparently characterized himself, like Sidney's Astrophel, as being compelled to discharge his words from within his own body. After he became blind, he depended upon his amanuensis to transcribe his words on to paper. Whilst waiting for the amanuensis to arrive he would wander around restlessly, complaining, 'I want to be milked'.[35] The poet thus ironically aligned himself with a nursing mother, needing to release the fullness of his creation. His words represented maternal nourishment but

his text was also figured as his child.

The creative matrix is thus transferred from the site of the feminine (the womb) and becomes instead located in the masculine (the brain). However, this absorption of the feminine is more than a simple appropriation of childbirth as metaphor. Male textual production was represented as an hermaphroditic process. The metaphor resonated differently, however, when used by male and female writers. In early modern society female textual production was not simply opposed to her reproduction. Both childbirth and writing were potentially dangerous for women and their metaphorical combination presented a charged complication to the conventional male trope.

Women writers were often received with suspicion if not open hostility. Mary Wroth's authorship of Urania (1621), for example, was vehemently condemned by Lord Denny (who recognized a critique of his personal life within it) as transgressive and unnatural. He declared the poet herself to be an, 'Hermophrodite in show, in deed a monster', and asserted that writing was not a proper female pursuit.[36] Significantly Wroth's poetic response, 'Railing Rimes returned upon the Author by Mistress Mary Wrothe' turned Denny's own verse against him. Her opening words now accused him of this transgression of natural boundaries, 'Hirmophradite in sense in Art a monster'.

Although she was not always perceived as monstrously hermaphroditic, the early modern woman writer was often seen as a transvestite figure who had adopted the effects of masculinity to participate in a male world. Aphra Behn suggested that there was a pre-existing condition of internal hermaphroditism in which writing was gendered as male. She argued for her right to write, by demanding that, 'All I ask, is the Priviledge for my Masculine Part the Poet in me'.[37] Behn was both praised and condemned by her contemporaries for being a literary hermaphrodite.

One poetic accolade celebrated her blend of gender attributes, stating:

> With all the thought and vigour of our sex
> the moving softness of your own you mix.[38]

Elsewhere, however, she was satirized as a monstrous hermaphrodite:

> Since her Works had neither Witt enough for Man, nor Modesty enough for a Woman, she was to be look'd on as an Hermaphrodite, & consequently not fit to enjoy the benefits & Priviledges of either Sex.[39]

An opposition was implied between an androgynous and an hermaphroditic writing subject: the androgyne signified the balanced fusion of opposites whilst the hermaphrodite embodied an impure hybridity.

Many women writers negotiated this fine line by reappropriating the masculine metaphor of text-as-child. Margaret Cavendish in the preface to her Poems and Fancies (1653) manipulated the idea that women's writing was a substitute for childbirth. As a childless woman she claimed her text was an alternative creation.[40] By casting herself as protective mother who was defending her 'Strengthlesse Childe' Cavendish was able to disguise any explicitly authorial ambition.[41] Her apologetic portrayal of her writing as a feminine weakness, a substitute for maternity, was disingenuous. It allowed her to participate in the masculine poetic tradition whereby books were represented as births whilst her female body placed her in a superficially more authentic relation to the source of that trope. In this way she exploited her femininity as an authorial gesture whilst ostensibly undermining it.

Other female authorial personae were equally vexed. An Collins, also a childless woman, described her verses in The Divine Songs and Meditacions (1653) as the humble and homely 'offspring of my mind'.[42] Although such religious meditations may have offered internal strategies of resistance and avoided the social censure that had been suffered by women writers of secular texts

these works were predicated explicitly upon a prior male presence. The women who wrote these texts represented themselves as Brides of Christ and their poetry as the product of that union. The female voice of the anonymous Eliza's Babes: or the Virgin's Offering (1652), for example, presented an explicit disavowal of the feminine in her work:

> Look on these babes as none of mine,
> For they were but brought forth by me;
> But look on them, as they are divine,
> Proceeding from Divinity.[43]

The sentiment of such lines echoed the Catholic Marian tradition which emphasized the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the Virgin birth. The writer may have been female but the generatrix was definitely male.

Male Renaissance writers did not escape the blurring of gender boundaries which these examples of female (pro)creativity suggest. The question remained, did the male writer, pregnant with poetry, present a supreme masculinity which could play both parts, or was he implicitly feminized by this metaphorical construction? The ambivalences which subtended images of male textual creation are aptly illustrated in the works of the two English Renaissance poets who wrote explicitly about the hermaphrodite, Francis Beaumont and John Cleveland.

In his prefatory verse to Beaumont's Poems (1640), which opened with the epyllion Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, Laurence Blaikelocke drew upon hermaphroditic imagery to celebrate Beaumont's talents:

> Some praise a manly bounty, some incline
> More to applaud the vertuous feminine
> Some, severall graces in both sexes hid;
> But only rare Beaumont's he alone that did
> By a rare strategem of wit connex,
> What's choyce and excellent in either sex.
> Then cherish (Sir) these Saplings, whose each straine,
> Speakes them the issue of brave Beaumont's braine;[44]

Here Beaumont's poetic creations, the issue of his brain, were presented as the result of his balanced mixture of

masculine and feminine qualities. The praise is superficially similar to the tribute to Behn, combining 'vigour' and 'moving softness'. But, for Blaikelocke, Beaumont's singularity, in finding and incorporating into his poetic voice the best qualities of each sex, raised him to the status of a cerebral androgyne who was informed, but untainted, by femininity.

Fuller's biography of John Cleveland written in 1662 drew from a similarly gendered vocabulary to characterize Cleveland's verse. However, in this case, poetic brilliance was exclusively masculine and defined against hermaphroditic creation. Fuller claimed that:

> Such who have Cleavlandized, indeavouring to imitate his Masculine Stile, could, never go beyond the Hermophrodite, still betraying the weaker Sex in their deficient conceits.[45]

In this assertion of Cleveland's masculinity, Fuller distanced him from the hermaphroditic subjects of his poems ('Upon an Hermophrodite' and 'The Author to His Hermophrodite'). The implication was that although Cleveland wrote about sexually ambiguous figures their creation was generated by a vigorously masculine author.

In his verse Cleveland presented a more subtle discussion of the gendering of creativity. In 'The Author to his Hermophrodite' he utilized the motif of the hermaphrodite to explore the relationship between poetic and paternal authority. Written after the death of Thomas Randolph, Cleveland protested at the inclusion of his earlier poem 'Upon an Hermophrodite' in Randolph's works.[46] He wrote as the father of the hermaphroditic offspring:

> Probleme of Sexes; must thou likewise bee
> As disputable in thy Pedigree?
> Thou Twins-in-one, in whom Dame Nature tries
> To throw less than Aumes-ace upon two dyes;
> Wer't thou serv'd up two in one dish, the rather
> To split thy Sire into a double father? (1-6)

The double creation had in turn engendered a double creator.

The image of splitting the father is resonant. The

bifurcation of the royal/paternal body in January 1649 implicitly informed many images of fatherhood in this period. When, in Andrew Marvell's 'An Horatian Ode', Charles I's 'bleeding Head' fell, the moment poetically marked the sacrificial generation of the Commonwealth State and Cromwell's subsequent masculine auto-generation.[47] Like Caesar, Cromwell was represented as 'not of woman born':

> And, like the three-fork'd Lightening, first
> breaking the Clouds where it was nurst,
> Did thorough his own Side
> His fiery way divide. (13-16)

This dramatic exclusion of female origins was thus figured as a brutal but regenerative rupture of the maternal body.[48] By effectively birthing himself, Cromwell had replaced, not only the mother's body, but also the king's paternal authority.

In Cleveland's poem, Randolph had similarly undermined authorial paternity.[49] Cleveland identifies with the usurped King, and the poem (or child) metonymically and metaphorically becomes representative of the kingdom. Cleveland explains: 'For since the child is mine, and yet the claime / is intercepted by anothers name' (13-14). Finally, the tenuous unity of the hermaphrodite poem, 'I'th body joyn'd, but parted in the-head' (50), leads Cleveland to accept that singular creation is an impossibility. He concludes that both Randolph and he 'are the joynt-fathers of my Poetry' (67) and thus transforms the image of poetic male birth into a process of hermaphroditic production.

Concept and Conception: Hermaphroditic Discourses of Science

The metaphorically hermaphroditic male birth was always placed in ambivalent relation to the female reproductive body. The 'New Science' of the seventeenth century demanded a renegotiation of traditional tropes of male

creation as examinations of the physical processes of birth were harnessed into the Restoration programme of regeneration. William Harvey was a key figure in the seventeenth-century construction of the scientist as a masculine hero. His Exercitationes de generatione animalium (1651) presented an inquiry into, what Harvey termed, the 'dark, obscure business' of conception.[50] Through a close examination of the embryology of chickens, Harvey's study proposed, albeit inconclusively, that life was produced epigenetically: that is, it developed within the female egg. This emphasis on the primacy of the maternal egg resulted in a description of generation in which men were almost incidental participants.

Harvey's text thus presented a somewhat uneasy, if unresolved, case for female primogenesis. However, de generatione was framed textually and pictorially by representations of male births which attempted to reclaim creation as masculine. The frontispiece image to de generatione, which depicts Zeus opening the cosmic egg, summarizes the tension between scientific heroism and the reproductive female body (fig.4.4). The god sits high on a pillar holding the egg in which life is encapsulated. He is the supreme masculine generatrix. The egg is the feminine agent of birth but this powerful male figure holds and controls it. The creatures released from it (a reptile, snake, child, insect, bird, and goat) encapsulate all forms of life. The writing on the shell, 'ex ova omnia', proclaims Harvey's thesis that all life springs from the egg. But the masculine inscription on this symbol of female generation also reminds the reader who owns the concept if not the conception.

This insistence on the supremacy of masculine creation is further enforced again before Harvey's thesis is presented. Martin Lluelyn's prefatory poem signals the childless Harvey's role as the consummate masculine

Figure 4.4. 'Zeus opening the cosmic egg', frontispiece for William Harvey, Exercitationes Anatomicae (1651).

scientist whose textual offspring confirms his generative powers:

> Live Modern Wonder, and be read alone,
> Thy Braine hath Issue, though thy Loins have none.
> Let fraile Succession be thy Vulgar Care;
> Great Generation's selfe is now thy Heire. (sig.A4)

The scientist is thus placed as the primogenitor in a tradition in which male textual production is privileged over female reproduction. Harvey is celebrated as the singular father of all generation. Lluelyn hails him as the ultimate figure of male androgenesis: the man who can 'scape the Woman'.[51]

In his final chapter entitled, 'Of the conception', Harvey returns to a theorization of male creation. He proposes that the brain is a generative matrix and presents an extended analogy between the brain and the womb. The male role in generation is figured as a disorientated journey within the female body. Harvey cannot understand where the sperm goes when it enters the dark recesses of woman:

> But I cannot but wonder, where that faculty [...] when the act of coition is finished, before the production of the Egge or Conception doth reside? and to what that active vertue of the male is imparted? namely, whether to the Uterus alone, or to the whole Female? or rather, primarily to the Uterus, but secondarily to the female? or lastly, whether, as we see with our eyes, and think with our braines, so a female doth conceive with her uterus? (p.540)

Harvey's difficulty in locating the sperm (the lost male presence) is resolved by placing the brain, which is gendered as male, as an original which is in turn reproduced in the uterus.

Harvey's argument becomes increasingly abstract as he observes that both concept and conception are 'Immaterial' created from 'phansie'(p.543, p.545). The brain conceives in order to produce art whilst the womb conceives in order to produce an embryo. His observations into the wombs of deer after conception, conducted in a famous experiment demonstrated to Charles I, had shown

that no trace of seed could be observed within the uterus. He concluded 'since I plainly see that nothing at all doth remaine in the Uterus after coition, whereunto I might ascribe the principle of generation; no more remaines in the braine after sensation and experience'.(p.546) The reinscription of masculinity into generation is thereby presented in an equation between brain and womb, concept and conception, which is predicated on absence. Harvey had prefaced his text with the confident assertion that 'Nature's Book' was 'open and legible', arguing that scientific ocular penetration would allow entry into 'her Closet-secrets' (sig.A2^{v}). But by the end of this rather hesitant and insecure version of masculine creation the heroic male scientist concludes by reflecting on that which cannot be seen.

As Jonathan Sawday has argued, Harvey was acclaimed as a central figure in the (re)construction of a virile 'New Science'.[52] Natural philosophy was held, as Cowley famously asserted in his ode 'To the Royal Society', to be a thoroughly 'Male-virtue'.[53] The establishment of the Royal Society in 1662, with its emphasis on Baconian scientific principles and objectivity, formed part of the political project to present the Restoration of Charles II as the resurrection of a supreme royal masculinity. Experimental science was consequently steered towards the ideology of the modern monarchy. Science was, as Cowley depicted it, a hitherto neglected child, 'well bred and nurst'(1) but badly brought up on an effeminizing diet of 'wanton Wit', and 'Desserts of poetry'(2). In the logic of Cowley's ode, the virile paternal intervention of Bacon had saved the infant science for its realization in the vigorous work of the Royal Society.

Bacon was in many respects the obvious choice of primogenitor. His work presented an abundance of sexualized images which foreground a tradition that placed the virile masculine scientist in combat with a resisting female Nature.[54] Harvey was cast as Bacon's

heir, and was famously celebrated in Cowley's ode, 'Upon Dr. Harvey', as the heroic penetrator of 'Coy Nature' (1). However, the translated fragments of Bacon's little known work, Temporis Partus Masculus, or The Masculine Birth of Time present, like Harvey's de generatione, a more complexly coded representation of gender and creation.

This short experimental text takes the form of a prayer followed by philosophical musings from a father addressed towards a son. Bacon's fantasy is of the heroic birth of science:

> My dear, dear boy, what I plan for you is to unite you with things themselves in a chaste, holy, and legal wedlock. And from this association you will secure an increase beyond all the hopes and prayers of ordinary marriages, to wit, a blessed race of Heroes or Supermen.[55]

The male child which Cowley's ode later celebrated was anticipated in this dream of generative union between the scientist son and 'things themselves'. According to Benjamin Farrington, 'the tacit insinuation [was] that older science represented a female offspring, passive, weak, expectant, but now a son was born, active, virile, generative'.[56]

However, Bacon's vision in this text is not simply of androgenesis. It presents a slippage between male and female roles which casts the male scientist as a receptive vehicle, who is inspired, or impregnated, by a super-masculine presence. It is only when the scientist has been placed in this implicitly female position that he is able to unite generatively with nature. The singular masculinity of the heroic male scientist is undoubtedly compromised in this image. As Evelyn Fox Keller argues:

> Behind the overt insistence of the virility and masculinity of the scientific mind lies a covert assumption and acknowledgement of the dialectical, even hermaphroditic, nature of the 'marriage between Mind and Nature.'[57]

Within this 'marriage' the male scientist is feminized

but never female. Bacon's creative matrix is, like Harvey's concept, located in the brain not the womb. Bacon's fatherly words, 'Take heart, then, my son, and give yourself to me, so that I may restore you to yourself' construct a masculinist scientific register in which the seeds of wisdom are transferred in a dialect between passive and active subject positions.[58]

The mind, Bacon argues, is a palimpsest. It can only erase past errors by reinscription:

> On waxen tablets you cannot write anything new until you first rub out the old. With the mind it is not so: you cannot rub out the old till you have written in the new.[59]

Bacon represents the words of science as being imbued with a religious significance. Like Moses, the scientist will receive the truth passed on holy tablets from the father to the son, but only when this new truth has been received can all misconceived golden calves be destroyed. The fantasy of a receptive mind, purged of 'unholy' and 'unclean' errors and idols of the past is effected through an entirely discursive generation. This masculine revisioning of scientific creation which is subtended by an hermaphroditic relationship is thoroughly embedded in a primary dream of filiation.

Man-made Life: The Homonculus, the Golem and the Automaton

The work of Bacon and Harvey articulated a more complicated gendering of scientific creation than has often been assumed. In spite of (or perhaps because of) these hermaphroditic sub-texts, one of the implicit aims of the seventeenth-century scientific programme was to reinstate the supremacy of male creation. Nature became increasingly viewed as matter which could be fashioned by masculine art, or techné. So the scientist 'Fathers of Salomon's House' in Bacon's New Atlantis (1627), for example, are celebrated for their deposition of the

creative power of female nature. They alter and recreate the beasts, birds and plants which are held within their experimental domain.[60]

Within the discourses and practices of alchemy, the scientific fantasy of circumventing the female body in creation, was transformed into a material as well as mystical aspiration. In both its philosophical and experimental forms alchemy attempted to make male autogenesis a reality. The creation of the homonculus, a 'little man' which was generated ex-utero, was the ultimate alchemical ambition. To discover the secret of life was both to break the coded power of women (the mother) and to supplant the role of God (the Father). In aspiring to create life through secret rituals and scientific experimentation the alchemist rehearsed a fantasy of giving birth to himself in a parturition of unmediated masculinity. The poetic convention of male texts as births was unnervingly realized as alchemical rituals of reproduction literally attempted to transform the word into flesh.

Alchemical knowledge, from the ancient mystical writings attributed to Hermes Trigsmegistus to the secret experiments of John Dee in Elizabethan England, was necessarily shrouded in mystery.[61] Evelyn Fox Keller has argued that such discourses of secrecy are inherently gendered:

> Secrets function to articulate a boundary: an interior not visible to outsiders, the demarcation of a separate domain, a sphere of autonomous power. And if we ask whose secret life has historically been, and from whom it has been kept secret, the answer is clear: Life has traditionally been seen as the secret <u>of</u> women, a secret <u>from</u> men.[62]

Early modern debates about midwifery suggest that men intervened in this secret women's world of reproduction in an attempt to claim the secret of life. The growing medicalization of childbirth, the rise of the man-midwife, and the tradition of male surgeons performing caesarean sections, all increasingly engaged men in the

professional processes of birthing.[63]

The history of obstetrical forceps presents a striking example of the ways in which men attempted to possess the secret of childbirth. Forceps were invented by Peter Chamberlen, in the early seventeenth century, but their exact form and application was kept secret by Chamberlen's male heirs until well into the eighteenth century. The secret was so elaborately ritualized that the apparatus was hidden within a locked chest. The Chamberlen's performed their undisclosed procedures under the cover of sheets and even blindfolded the delivering woman in order to keep their knowledge exclusive and precious. The creation of this masculine mystique of secret knowledge effectively reinvested birth as a masculine topos.

Alchemical fantasies of creation similarly allowed men their own secret births which were not only distant from the female body but were entirely removed from it. The generation of the homonculus, within the artificial womb of the alembic, was intricately encoded in alchemical recipes for creation. As Paracelsus explained, this was 'one of the greatest secrets' within a discourse structured around ciphers and secrets.[64] Experiments to create the homonculus thus constituted a particular escape from the mysterious inner processes of female conception. By mixing what he believed were the vital ingredients of life, outside of the female body, the alchemist aspired to expose the secret of life whilst re-encoding it as masculine.

Such ritualized acts of attempted creation were also performed by rabbinical cabbalists who combined alchemical experimentation with the Judaic tradition of golem-making. The medieval scholar, Rabbi Yohanan ben Isaac Alemarro, proposed a method of creation which presented a blueprint for masculine non-sexual creation:

> It was possible to take from the four elements, parts which are measured in such a way that are in the human semen. And he will provide for it

> a measured heat, similar to the heat provided by the womb of a woman so that it was possible to give birth without the male semen and the blood of the female.[65]

Both the alchemical and rabbinical traditions represented paradigms of male creation: they were the dark, lonely births of the masculine imagination. It is no coincidence that Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, the male creator of an automated golem creature, prepared for his task by reading the works of the famous alchemists and magicians: Agrippa, Paracelsus and Albertus Magnus.[66]

To create life was to emulate God. Rabbi Loew of Prague, the legendary sixteenth-century creator of the golem, wrote that only by a pure and whole identification with God could imbue an adept with powers of creation: 'It is possible' he claimed 'for a person to cleave completely to God to such a degree that he, too, could create a world.'[67] The golem was traditionally formed from earth, and animated by its creator through a linguistic ritual. Adam, the first man, is clearly also the first golem (meaning an amorphous mass) and, as Gershom Scholem points out, the etymological connection between the words Adam and earth (_'adamah_) was the subject of much Rabbinical and Talmudic discussion.[68] Susan Niditch observes that '_gölem_ appears to mean "embryo". Its etymology is taken from _glm_, "to wrap up", "fold together".'[69] This implied the nascent state of the golem, who was, like the alchemical 'little man', a partial unfinished being.

The golem's generic status was uncertain. Questions about whether this man-made creature was really human, if it could speak, and if it could properly substitute for a human man in Jewish religious services were debated at length in rabbinical commentaries. Moreover, it was also represented as a changeable, and potentially uncontrollable, creation. Stories about the golem often narrated how it was originally created as a servant, or protector, but evolved into a dangerous monster that

threatened to destroy its maker. Consequently, if the male creator was to know the secret of life he also needed to understand the secret of death.

Rabbinical students of Book Yetsirah (the book of creation) learned that the word was the origin and end of all things. One story about the creation of the golem (by a father and son) explicates the legendary power of language:

> A man was created to them, on whose forehead stood emeth, as on Adam's forehead. Then the man they had made said to them: God alone created Adam, and when he wished to let Adam die he, erased the aleph from emeth and he remained meth, dead.[70]

Masculine creation was, then, primarily a linguistic act which was determined by the manipulation of the alphabet. The golem was thus represented as a supreme example of male textual creation. It was a literal embodiment of its maker's 'best piece of poetry', which could be erased as well as written.

The golem, as a linguistic construction, exemplified both the pleasures and dangers of male creation. As Marie-Hélène Huet has argued:

> One could call it a symbolic birth, entirely determined by the father, in opposition to the rich maternal imagination that had produced the monsters of earlier times. The creation of the golem by means of letters, recitations of letters, inscriptions of letters on the creature's forehead, or, in the popular versions, by means of a scroll inserted in the mouth of the statue of clay could serve as a powerful image of giving birth in the symbolic, the linguistic order [...]. The Name-of-the Father literally inscribed on the forehead of the inanimate statue brings the human shape to life.[71]

The golem was animated by language but its body was created from earth, making it a hybridized construct of the word and the flesh. The word was literally a beginning and was, in St John's New Testament image, to be 'made flesh' (St John 1.14). The fabled transformation of this male creation into a monster troubled the

masculine imagination as it presented a dangerous slippage from male autogenesis into the uncontrollable realm of female intemperance. In its ideal inception the golem was an enormous, strong, hyper-masculine protector. However, in its evolution into an excessive, irrational monster it was characterized as womanish, less than a man, and sub-human.

The fascination with the golem legend has continued into the twentieth century.[72] These stories about mythical male creation articulated early modern cultural anxieties about the place of the body within an increasingly mechanized society. They resonate powerfully in our own postmodern age as we question what it means to be human in a technologically accelerating cyborg culture.[73] Isaac Bashevis Singer has noted the relation between golem stories and the technological imagination:

> The golem-makers were actually the fiction makers of their times. In a way they were lying to themselves and others, but their lies precursed the truths of the future: men's attempts to endow mechanisms with qualities God has given to the human brain.[74]

As mystical tales of creating the homonculus and golem intersected with the rise of early modern mechanization, they can be read as speculations about the meaning of humanity in a changing social and technological context.

Scholem cites an account from 1625, which related how a German golem-maker created a woman for his servant. The story is unusual, partly because golems were rarely female.[75] However, this woman was not strictly speaking a golem; that is, made from the earth. When her maker was denounced to the authorities for practising magic he apparently 'proved that she was not a real, whole creature, but consisted only of pieces of wood and hinges, and reduced her to her original components'.[76] This describes the disassembly of an automaton rather than the symbolic dissolution of a golem. It raises questions about what would constitute a 'real, whole creature'. Could it be man-made from earth? Was the

technologized human form less 'real' and 'whole' than a creature made by God or by magic? Did this mechanized being move male creation away from hermaphroditic metaphors of birth and the messiness of female reproduction towards the realm of purely masculine construction? The story suggests a preoccupation with demarcating boundaries which infused early modern thought: the golem was legend but the automaton was science.[77]

Susan Bordo has explored the epistemology of the seventeenth-century development of a scientific culture in terms of a narrative of birth. She describes it as a 'drama of parturition' in which the maternal body became progressively estranged and disavowed, resulting in 'the Cartesian re-birthing and re-imagining of knowledge and the world as masculine'.[78] Whilst focusing on the gynophobia present within early modern culture, Bordo also suggests that the masculinization of knowledge was predicated on a desire for, as well as a disgust with, femininity. As creation became seen increasingly as a mechanistic process so the creator was implicitly a male scientist. Bacon's old adversary, female Nature, had become for Boyle, by the late-seventeenth century, 'God's great pregnant Automaton.'[79]

Hobbes's mechanistic vision which opens the Leviathan (1651) famously sets out the seventeenth-century zeitgeist:

> For seeing life is but a motion of Limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principall part within; why may we not say, that all Automata (Engines that move by themselves by springs and wheeles as doth a watch) have an artificiall life? For what is the Heart, but a Spring; and the Nerves, but so many Strings; and the Joynts, but so many Wheeles, giving motion to the whole Body, such as was intended by the Artificier. Art goes yet further, imitating that Rationall and most excellent work of Nature, Man.[80]

The representation of human life as an automatic process evoked potentially confusing and unsettling reactions. If

the body was a machine then what constituted humanity?

Descartes attempted to resolve his own disturbing vision about mechanization by proposing how the human body-machine could be distinguished from artificial life forms. His argument was that whilst animals ('these natural automata') could be artificially created, a mechanistic human, 'which had a likeness to our bodies and imitated our action', would be recognized as a false construction of a person because it would lack language and reason.[81] However, both these qualities, which were for him the only means of defining humanity, were also imperceptible, and Descartes's recurring anxiety was that he would misrecognize a machine as human. He expressed a paranoid fantasy in which the boundaries of humanity were dissolute and deceptive:

> If I chance to look out of a window on to men passing in the street, I do not fail to say, on seeing them, that I see men [...] and yet, what do I see from this window, other than hats and cloaks, which can cover ghosts or dummies who only move by means of springs?[82]

The fantasy of androgenerative creation was rearticulated by Descartes as a fear of self-deception. In a world in which the human body was no more than a collection of parts, which could (in theory) be imitated by man-made forms, the early modern masculine creator sacrificed a secure faith in the authenticity of origins. In other words, the golem had outgrown its maker. The reiteration of stories about masculine creation had gone beyond a problematizing of femininity or an appropriation of traditionally female generative power to a point of exhaustion as all origins became insecure and questionable. The masculine matrix had recreated itself, in stories and in science, as a reproductive machine.

The 'All-One Paternall': Returning to Origins

In this context of increasing ontological and epistemological uncertainty Renaissance writers continued

to return to Judeo-Christian religious principles as a way of interpreting their shifting world. The primogenitor of all early modern fictions of male birth was YAHWEH, the original 'artificier', patriarchal golem-maker and divine generative power. Du Bartas celebrated God's singular creation of Christ, his son, as a sublime idea, a perfect origin:

> For sans beginning seed, and Mother tender,
> This great Worlds Father he did first ingender,
> (To wit) his Sonne, Wisedome, and Word eternall,
> Equall in Essence to th'All-One paternall.[83]

Such fantasies of male creation were intrinsic to the Judeo-Christian tradition.

In their explorations of origins, Renaissance Biblical commentators and mystics alike repeatedly returned to Adam, who was for many the first hermaphrodite, and the first man to give birth. Pierre Bayle's Dictionary reports the visionary revelations of Antoinette Bourignon, a seventeenth-century mystic (and ritual cross-dresser). Bourignon claimed to have had an apparition of the original Adam, describing him as a luminous being:

> Whose Body was more pure and transparent than Crystal, all light and flying, in appearance; in and through which were seen Vessels and Streams of Light, penetrating from the inside to the outside, through all his Pores [...] And instead of the bestial Parts not to be named, he was made like as our Bodies shall be restored in eternal Life, after a manner which I know not whether I dare reveal. In this Region of his Body, was situated the Structure and Resemblance of a Face; which was a Source of admirable Odors and Perfumes: From thence likewise Men were to spring, whose Principles he had all within himself: for there was a Vessel in his Belly, which had bred small Eggs, and another Vessel full of Liquor, which impregnated the Eggs [...] which being impregnated, came out some time after from the Man, by the forementioned Canal, in the form of an egg, and a little after hatch'd a perfect Man.[84]

This curious account figures Adam as not only a self-generating being, who fertilizes and hatches from his egg

a perfect man (a homonculus), but also as embodying the vessel of propagation. He thereby enacts the chemical wedding within the alembic of his own body. Moreover, this perfect being, without the genital marks of fallen humanity, is claimed to prefigure the reformed bodies of humanity after the Second Coming in which Christ is prophesied as returning to an original Adamic hermaphroditic unity.

Bourignon was influenced by Jacob Boehme, the seventeenth-century German mystic, whose idiosyncratic vision of the universe combined cabbalistic, neoplatonic, and Christian imagery. By 1661 Boehme's major works had been translated into English by John Sparrow, and inspired diverse sectarian thinkers. Boehme proposed that the original man was an angelic being who propagated autogeneratively and whose outward body was transparent, without teeth, internal organs or genitals:

> For just as light is lost in darkness, and fire swallows water and still is not filled with it, so man has a centrum in his mouth according to the manner of eternity. And in such a magical manner he could bear [one] like to himself without tearing and opening his body and spirit.[85]

Boehme's Adam was, as many early rabbinical scholars argued, a perfect, whole hermaphrodite, 'for he was male and female, with both divine heavenly tinctures'.[86]

The question of sexuality which troubled so many speculations on the Edenic condition was only partially resolved in Boehme's account.[87] This prelapsarian man procreated, 'not by a sundry peculiar issue from Adam's body, as now, but as the sun through-shineth the water, and rends or tears it not.'[88] In this way Adam remains an untorn being complete in virginal plenitude. In his foreshadowing of Christ (the second Adam, and the second hermaphrodite) Adam's virginal status is even more significant: 'Adam was a man and also a woman, and yet none of them [distinct] but a virgin.'[89] Christ, Boehme asserts, reunited the divided sexes into the original

hermaphroditic whole:

> Therefore Christ became man in the woman's part, and brought the man's part again into the holy matrix, so that the limbus and the female matrix were again one image, viz. a manly virgin.[90]

This hermaphroditism (Christ's and Adam's) was, however, more accurately a form of transcendental androgyny. These divine bodies were figured as (in Bakhtin's terms) classically sealed and intact.

The creation of woman was described as the breaking point in Adam's perfect condition: 'For we find that the woman was taken and formed in the Fiat out of Adam's essence, both in body and soul. But the rib betokeneth Adam's dissolution or breaking.'[91] This male birth, which focused on the extraction of Adam's rib, signified for Boehme the decline of a pure masculinity into a corrupt exchange with femininity. In this engendering of sexual difference the divinely hermaphroditic male, became disturbingly and grotesquely embodied. Boehme names 'the bestial Parts' which Bourignon had evaded. The male genitals were, he declared, 'the bestial worm's carcass of the bowels'[92]. Although Boehme celebrated copulation as an act which recreated the original hermaphrodite unity of Adam it was, nevertheless, a tainted return: 'she is his woman, his instrument, a half-man; and the man is a half-woman.'[93]

For other writers the reunion of opposites represented by heterosexual intercourse was celebrated and cast as central to Renaissance ideals of sexuality and marriage. Du Bartas described this sexual fusion joyously as 'sweet Hee-Shee-Coupled-One'.[94] However, the moment prior to this fantasy of reintegration was also one of separation as Adam bore Eve in a emblematic male birth. Renaissance Biblical exegesis focused seemingly endless attention on the precise constitution of this creation. Questions about which side Adam's rib was extracted from, why Eve was formed from a rib and not another part of Adam's body, and what this signified for

the relation between the sexes, were debated at length.

God's creation of Adam from the earth figured a primary act of golem-making. The birth of Eve was in comparison a piece of divine surgery, suggesting that the first human to give birth was male and did so by caesarean section. The birth was often depicted as an operation effected on Adam's body while he was in a trance-like anaesthesicized state. This, 'sence-lesse slumber', as Du Bartas' phrased it, was interpreted by commentators such as Andrew Willet as an ecstasy, 'an extraordinarie sleepe caused by the Lord'.[95] The first male birth in this way symbolized a pure original moment which pre-figured the birth of the Church from the body of Christ. It signified, as Alexander Ross put it, 'a great mysterie: for as Eva was formed out of the side of Adams sleeping: so the Church was reformed by water and blood, out of the body of Christ dying'.[96]

When Eve is born in Milton's Paradise Lost, Adam is expectant, yielding and penetrated. In a state of suspended consciousness, Adam witnesses the birth as an inner vision: 'Mine eyes he clos'd, but open left the cell / Of fancy my internal sight', suggesting that this original male birth was created from within Adam's imagination (VIII.460-461). The idea of woman was born of Adam and also within him. The moment of separation when another was created from the self was also the point from which men would be of woman born. The creation of the first mother also represented the last male birth. Fantasies of androgenesis rehearsed a fictional return to a pre-original condition in which this determining maternal body could be suppressed.

Paradise Lost explores the creative process as well as the Creation.[97] The poem's return to origins through the presentation of a series of creation narratives presents a model in which clear oppositions between the classical, disembodied male creations and grotesque embodied births are eroded. In his opening invocation to

his poetic muse Milton depicts his poetic persona as open and awaiting impregnation:

> thou from the first
> Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
> Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss
> And madest it pregnant: what in me is dark
> Illumine,
> (I.19-23)

In Paradise Lost birth is authorship. God, 'thee author of all being' (III.374), ignites Milton's cycle of male birth producing both Eve's address to Adam as, 'My author' (IV.635), and Sin's monstrous claim to Satan: 'Thou art my father, thou my author, thou / My being gavest me' (II.864-865). Troubled origins saturate the narratives of the poem, presenting a series of contradictory and contested versions of authorship. Satan's challenge to God's authority is posed as a question about ontological origins:

> who saw
> When this creation was? Remember'st thou
> Thy making, while thee maker gave thee being?
> We know no time when we were not as now;
> Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
> (V.856-860)

This demand for ocular proof of an external maker echoes the language of Baconian plunder and Harveian enquiry into the reproductive body, to be 'confer[ed] with our own eies'.[98] Satan speaks with the voice of the 'New Scientist', exploring and colonizing the universe with an 'Unspeakable desire to see, and know' (III.662).

Satan's fantasy of autogenesis becomes hideously realized in his encounter with his monstrous progeny, Sin and Death. This degenerate male birth, the issue of incest and abjection, is placed in contrast to the later narrative of Adam giving birth to Eve. Paradigms of male creation which were based on fantasies of classical androgynous disembodiment are inverted when we meet Satan's creations. Sin and Death represent a grotesque expression of uncontrolled bodily proliferation. They are like the deformed issues of political propaganda the monstrous births of a monstrous imagination.

It is no coincidence that Satan meets his offspring on his journey towards the confusion of boundaries which is Chaos: 'The womb of nature and perhaps her grave' (II.911). Sin embodies Kristeva's description of the abject horror and fascination associated with female birth, which she terms 'a scorching moment of hesitation'.[99] This monstrous female is posted at the Gates of Hell, the precise limen between worlds. Within this context of collapsing and porous boundaries Satan's meeting of his grim anti-family is a telling misrecognition. Satan's story of autogeneration is no longer his own and it is his prodigious offspring who must relate this narrative of origins:

> Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seized
> All the host of heaven; back they recoiled afraid
> At first, and called me Sin, and for a Sign
> Portentous held me;
> (II.758-761)

So Satan's brainchild, born like Athena from Zeus, from the left side of her father's head, tells the story of her own birth.[100]

In contrast to Adam's painless generation of Eve as an abstract vision, Sin's fiery entrance into life is a confusing and painful parturition. As she tells her father:

> All on a sudden miserable pain
> Surprised thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
> In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
> Threw forth, till on the left side opening wide,
> Likest to thee in shape and countenance bright,
> Then shining heavenly fair, a goddess armed
> Out of thy head I sprung
> (II.752-758)

The grotesque births which Sin's body continually bear are the results of Death's incessant and incestuous rapes. These creatures, which 'howle and gnaw' at their mother's bowels in a monstrous frenzy of destructive reproduction, are the most dramatically abject creations within the poem (II.799). The story which Sin embodies, and narrates, is of sexual degeneracy, incestuous union and monstrous creation. It is in every respect an

inversion of dreams of pure male generation. Sin's hideous form and presentation of distorted and debased maternity clearly echoes the figure of Error, Spenser's serpentine female monster.[101] Sin is Satan's own error passed onto humanity: she is the primary sign of a misconceived creation.

When Adam bears Eve, a paradigm of pure origins is presented, as male creation is implicitly contrasted to the grotesque multiplication of woman. But God's divine surgery on Adam was not a bloodless birth. Adam narrates how he witnessed God's delivery:

> Who stooping opened my left side, and took
> From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
> And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
> But suddenly with flesh filled up and healed:
> (VIII.465-468)

It is a moment in which the human body, a visceral collection of flesh, blood, bones and organs, is temporarily revealed. However, the wound is miraculously sutured, and the classical surfaces of masculine impenetrability are reinscribed.

How then does the tainted and tangled version of Satan's male creation, which as Maureen Quilligan notes is the first birth-story in the poem, implicate the seemingly perfect birth of Eve from Adam?[102] The exploration of narcissistic desire which has most often been focused on Eve's creation account in Book Four, is central to each creation story of the poem. Both fathers unite sexually with their creations in solipsistic infatuation. In his initial response to his daughter, Satan is attracted to himself, 'Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing / Becamest enamoured' (II.764-765). Adam's joyous reaction to Eve is similarly figured as self-recognition: 'I now see / Bone of my bone, flesh of my Flesh, my self / Before me' (VIII.494-496). The suggestion of incest between Adam and Eve, author and creation, was an uncomfortable problem which had been addressed in commentaries upon Genesis. Alexander Ross, for example, argued that Adam and Eve escaped the taboo

of incest because 'Eva was not begotten, but created of Adam; therefore she was not his daughter, but his wife'.[103] The distinguishing point was subtle and depended on the presence of an outside maker as God sculpts Eve from the original rib, 'formed and fashioned with his hands' (VIII.469). Adam's Eve was derived from him, Satan's Sin was nascent within him.

In representing these original moments of male reproduction Milton suggests the limits, as well as the possibilities of masculine creation, procreation and (re)creation. These images of male births undermine, as well as maintain, the oppositions between classical and grotesque (male and female) births which this chapter has traced. Renaissance representations of male autogenesis could only ever flirt with the fantasy of erasing the female presence in reproduction. Such 'dreams of filiation' belie an underlying preoccupation with the maternal body and the hermaphroditic interdependence of procreation. The masculine matrix was ultimately most fertile in the generation of narratives about its own reproduction.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Hélène Cixous, 'Sorties', in Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, The Newly Born Woman (1975), trans. by Betsy Wing (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p.65.

2. Sir Thomas Browne, Religio Medici, in Sir Thomas Browne: The Major Works, ed. by C.A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p.148. As Samuel Johnson reminds us, Browne was in fact married and fathered at least ten children. See Samuel Johnson, The Life of Sir Thomas Browne (1756), in Sir Thomas Browne: The Major Works, pp.489-490.

3. Lucian, A True Story (Verae Historiae), trans. by A.M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library, 8 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1927), I, p.275.

4. Lucian, I, p.275-277.

5. Gabriel de Foigny (James Sadeur), La Terre australe connue: c'est à dire, la description de ce pays inconnue jusqu'ici (Geneva, 1676). I am quoting from the modified English translation, A New Discovery of Terra Incognita Australis, or the Southern World (London, 1693), p.85.

6. Julia Kristeva, Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p.155.

7. His obesity also implied the swelling which could be a symptom of venereal disease.

8. I am indebted to Valerie Traub's discussion of Falstaff in terms of the female reproductive body. See Valerie Traub, Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.50-70.

9. Neil Rhodes, The Elizabethan Grotesque (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp.89-130 (p.109).

10. Pierre Bayle, An Historical and Critical Dictionary by Monsieur Bayle Translated into English, with many Additions and Corrections, made by the Author himself, that are not in the French Addition (London, 1710), p.2639.

11. Giles Jacob, Tractatus de Hermaphroditis: Or, a Treatise of Hermaphrodites (London, 1718), pp.86-87.

12. Even by the late-eighteenth century similar cases were still being reported. Diderot, for example, related the story of a young soldier who had died an agonizing death and was discovered to have a foetus within his stomach. According to Diderot the soldier had been sexually penetrated by his male bed companion who had impregnated him. The story is cited in Marie-Hélène Huet, Monstrous

Imagination (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p.87.

13. See Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, trans. by Hélène Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1968).

14. Mary Russo, 'Female Grotesques: Carnival and Theory', in Feminist Studies/Critical Studies, ed. by Teresa de Lauretis (London, Macmillan, 1988), pp.213-229 (p.219).

15. Traub, p.57.

16. Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: the Body Enclosed', in Rewriting the Renaissance: the Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, ed. by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp.123-142 (p.124). For an extensive discussion of Bakhtin's theorization of the classical and grotesque see also Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, The Poetics and Politics of Transgression (London: Methuen, 1986).

17. Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, p.27.

18. Ambroise Paré, On Monsters and Marvels, trans. by Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), p.10.

19. Martin Parker, 'The Two Inseparable Brothers, or a Strange Description of a Gentleman Who hath an Imperfect Brother Growing out of His Side'(1637), in The Pack of Autolycus, ed. by Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp.7-14 (p.13).

20. John Cleveland, 'Smectymnus, Or the Club-Divines', The Poems of John Cleveland, ed. by Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp.23-26 (line 25).

21. Browne, p.148.

22. For discussion of women as overspilling the boundaries of their bodies see Stallybrass, 'The Body Enclosed'; and Gail Kern Paster, 'Leaky Vessels: the Incontinent Women of City Comedy', Renaissance Drama, 18 (1987), 43-65.

23. Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Creativity and the Childbirth Metaphor: Gender Difference in Literary Discourse', Feminist Studies, 13 (1987), 49-82 (p.56).

24. Ben Jonson, 'On My First Son', in Poems, ed. by Ian Donaldson (London: Oxford University press, 1975), pp.26-27 (line 10).

25. A General Collection of Discourses of the Virtuosi of France, upon Questions of all sorts of Philosophy, and other Natural Knowledge, trans. by George Havers (London, 1664), p.574.

26. Andrew Marvell, 'Upon an Eunuch; a Poet', in The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. by H.M. Margoliouth, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; repr. 1951), I, p.54.

27. Andrew Marvell, 'Upon an Eunuch; a Poet', trans. by A.B. Grossart, in Andrew Marvell: Complete Poetry, ed. by George deF. Lord (London: Dent, 1984) p.248.

28. Sir Philip Sidney, 'Astrophel and Stella', in Silver Poets of the Sixteenth Century, ed. by Gerald Bullett (London: Dent, 1984), pp.173-226, (p.173).

29. Katherine Eisaman Maus, 'A Womb of His Own: Male Renaissance Poets in the Female Body', in Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe, ed. by James Grantham Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.266-288 (p.275).

30. Maus, p.268.

31. Elizabeth D. Harvey, Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts (London: Routledge, 1992), p.79.

32. John Milton, 'Areopagitica' (1644), in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, 5 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-1971), II, pp.485-570 (p.493).

33. John Milton, 'Areopagitica', p.505.

34. Montaigne, 'An Apology for Raymond Sebond', in Montaigne: the Complete Essays, trans. and ed. by M.A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), p.568.

35. The Early Lives of Milton, ed. by Helen Darbishire (London: Constable, 1932), p.33.

36. Lord Edward Denny, 'To Pamphilia from the father-in-law of Seralius'. This poem and Mary Wroth's reply, 'Railing Rimes returned upon the Author by Mistress Mary Wrothe' are quoted from Josephine A. Roberts, 'An Unpublished Literary Quarrel Concerning the Suppression of Mary Wroth's "Urania" (1621)', Notes and Queries, 222 (1977), 532-535 (p.533, p.534).

37. Aphra Behn, The Lucky Chance (1687). Quoted from Janet Todd, The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing and Fiction, 1660-1800 (London: Virago, 1989), p.75. For a recent exploration of androgynous themes in Behn's writing see, Warren Chernaik, 'My Masculine Part: Aphra Behn and the Androgynous Imagination', Sexual Freedom in Restoration

Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.160-213.

38. Poems (1684). Quoted from Sara Heller Mendelson, The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987), p.176.

39. 'A Journal from Parnassus', quoted from Mendelson, p.176.

40. Margaret Cavendish, 'Preface to the Reader', Poems and Fancies (London, 1653).

41. Cavendish, 'An excuse for so much writ upon my Verses', Poems and Fancies, sig. A8^{v}. Cavendish's ambition is most clearly explicated in her claim in the Blazing World in which she admitted to being 'as ambitious as any of my sex was, is or can be, which makes that though I cannot be Henry the Fifth or Charles the Second, yet I endeavour to be Margaret the First'. See 'Preface', The Blazing World (1666), in An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Fiction, ed. by Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.252-253.

42. An Collins, 'Preface', Divine Songs and Meditacions in Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of 17th Century Women's Verse, ed. by Germaine Greer, Jeslyn Medoff, Melinda Sansone and Susan Hastings (London: Virago, 1988), p.148.

43. Eliza's Babes: or the Virgins-Offering (1652) Quoted from Elaine Hobby, Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing 1649-88 (London: Virago, 1988), p.57.

44. Laurence Blaikelocke, in Francis Beaumont Poems (London, 1640), sig. A2^{v}.

45. Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, 1662. Quoted in Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington, 'Introduction', The Poems of John Cleveland, p.xix. All further references to Cleveland's poems are from this edition and will be given after quotations in the text.

46. The full title of the poem is 'The Author to his Hermophrodite, made after M. Randolphs death, yet inserted into his Poems'. 'Upon an Hermophrodite' was included in Cleveland's, The Character of a London-Diurnall: with severall select Poems; By the Same Author (1647), as well as the 1651 edition of Cleveland's Poems. It had been attributed to Thomas Randolph in his Poems with the Muses Looking-Glasse, and Amyntas (1640). Both poems were also included in Francis Beaumont's Poems (1653).

47. Andrew Marvell, 'An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's return from Ireland', in Poems, ed. by H. M. Margoliouth, pp.87-90 (p.89). All further line references are to this edition and will be given after quotations in the text.

48. The image of Caesarian birth as regenerative also suggests Macduff's role in Shakespeare's Macbeth. For an analysis of the Caesarian birth motif in Macbeth see Janet Adelman, '"Born of Woman": Fantasies of Maternal Power in Macbeth' in Cannibals, Witches and Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance, ed. by Marjorie Garber (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp.90-122. For a history of the representation of Caesarean births see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

49. Abraham Cowley made a similar point when he characterized somebody else's text which had been published under his name as, 'the Bastard' and his own works as 'numerous Legitimate Off-Spring'. See 'Preface', in The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley (London, 1668), sig. B3.

50. William Harvey, Anatomical Exercitations, Concerning the Generation of Living Creatures (London, 1653) p.539. All further references are to this edition and are included after quotations in the text.

51. Janice Raymond makes the point that the etymological similarity between the words androgyny and androgeny is suggestive of the way in which the term androgyny is often used to privilege the male (andro) over female (gyne). See 'The Illusion of Androgyny' in Building Feminist Theory: Essays from 'Quest' a Feminist Quarterly, ed. by Charlotte Bunch (London: Longman, 1981), 59-66 (p.59).

52. See Jonathan Sawday, 'Autogenesis: the Masculine Discourse of Science and Reason', in The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 230-248.

53. Abraham Cowley, 'To the Royal Society', in Abraham Cowley: Poems, ed. by A.R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), p.448. Cowley's Ode was originally published with Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society (London, 1667). All further references to Cowley's poems are from Waller's edition. Line references will be included after quotations in the text.

54. For an exploration of the gendering of science and nature see, Carolyn Merchant, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980; repr. Harper, 1990), and Evelyn Fox Keller, Reflections on Gender and Science (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

55. Benjamin Farrington, 'Temporis Partus Masculus: An Untranslated Writing of Francis Bacon', Centaurus, 1 (1951), 193-205 (p.201).

56. Farrington, p.194.

57. Evelyn Fox Keller, 'Baconian Science: A Hermaphroditic Birth', The Philosophical Forum, 3 (1980), 299-308 (p.305). I am indebted to Keller's reading of The Masculine Birth of Time in terms of its hermaphroditic subtext. However, her interpretation has been criticized by Graham Hammill. See 'The Epistemology of Expurgation: Bacon and The Masculine Birth of Time', in Queering the Renaissance, ed. by Jonathan Goldberg (1994), pp.236-252. Hammill argues that the birth which Bacon's text describes is not so much a case of 'hermaphroditic identification' but rather a process of 'anal purging'(p.247).

58. Farrington, p. 201.

59. Farrington, p.201.

60. Francis Bacon, New Atlantis, in The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1857-1861), III, pp.125-166 (pp.158-159).

61. For a recent fictional exploration of these themes see Peter Ackroyd, The House of Doctor Dee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994). Ackroyd's description of the alchemical quest in 'Doctor Dee's Recipe' emphasizes the tradition of secrecy: 'So that it may grow without the help of any womb! This is the secret of all secrets', p.123.

62. Evelyn Fox Keller, 'From Secrets of Life to Secrets of Death', in Body/Politics: Women and the Discourses of Science, ed. by Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller and Sally Shuttleworth (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 177-191 (p.178).

63. For a history of the male intervention into midwifery see Jean Donnison, Midwives and Medical Men (London: Historical Publications, 1988); Adrienne Rich, Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution (London: Virago, 1977); Hilda Smith, 'Gynecology and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England', in Liberating women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays, ed. by Berenice A. Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp.97-114.

64. Paracelsus, De Natura Rerum (1537), in Paracelsus: Essential Readings, trans. by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (Northamptonshire: Crucible, 1990), p.175.

65. Quoted from Moshe Idel, Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions in the Artificial Anthropoid (Albany: SUNY, 1990), p.171.

66. Marie-Hélène Huet makes the point that these authors all wrote on questions of generation and monstrosity. Monstrous Imagination, p.131.

67. Rabbi Loew of Prague. Quoted from Byron L. Sherwin, The Golem Legend: Origins and Implications (New York: University Press of America, 1985), p.14. Although, from the eighteenth century onwards, he was often attributed with creating the golem Rabbi Loew did not actually write explicitly about the legend.

68. Gershom G. Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, trans. by Ralph Manheim (London: Routledge, 1965), p.160.

69. Susan Niditch, 'The Cosmic Adam: Man as Mediator in Rabbinic Literature', Journal of Jewish Studies, 35 (1983), 137-146 (p.143).

70. Rabbi Judah the Pious of Speyer. Quoted from Scholem, p.179.

71. Huet, p.244.

72. For the development of the golem myth in literature, art and film see, Emily D. Bilski, Golem! Danger Deliverance and Art (New York: the Jewish Museum, 1988). See also Gustav Meyrink, The Golem (1915), trans. by M. Pemberton, (Cambridge: Dedalus European Classics, 1985). Connections between the golem and twentieth century technological inventions are often made. See, for example, Marge Piercy's novel, Body of Glass (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), which was originally published under the title of He, She and It. Piercy explicitly links the golem legend with the futuristic creation of cyborgs (who are named by the letters of the Hebrew alphabet). It is also interesting to note in this context that scientists at the Weizmann Institute in Israel named their first large computer system, 'Golem I'.

73. On the cyborg culture see Donna Haraway, 'A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, technology, and Socialist feminism in the 1980s', in Feminism/Postmodernism, ed. by Linda J. Nicholson (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.190-233.

74. Isaac Bashevis Singer, 'Foreword', in Bilski, Golem! Danger Deliverance and Art, p.7-8.

75. Pygmalion's artistic creation of his ideal woman can also be interpreted as a kind of golem making. Although in this instance it is the goddess Venus who animates the statue into life rather than the male creator. See Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. by Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), pp.231-232.

76. Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1625). Quoted from Scholem, p.199.

77. For an analytical history of automata see Jean-Claude Beaune, 'The classical Age of Automata: An Impressionistic Survey from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century',

Fragments for a History of the Human Body, ed. by Michael Feher, Romonn Naddaff and Nadia Tuzi, Part One (Cambridge, MA: Zone, 1989), pp.431-475.

78. Susan Bordo, 'The Cartesian Masculinization of Thought', Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 11 (1986), 439-456 (p.441).

79. Robert Boyle. Quoted from Bordo, p.453.

80. Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1651), ed. by C.B.Macpherson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p.81.

81. René Descartes, 'Letter to More' (5 February, 1649), in Descartes: Philosophical Letters, trans. and ed. by Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p.244; Descartes, 'Discourse 5', in Descartes: Discourse on Method and the Meditations, trans. and ed. by F.E. Sutcliffe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.) p.73-4. See also Descartes's letter to Reneri for Pollut (1638), in Kenny, p.53-4.

82. Descartes, 'Second Meditation', in Discourse on Method and Meditations, p.110.

83. Du Bartas, The Divine weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur Du Bartas, trans. by Joshua Sylvester, ed. by Susan Snyder, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), I, p.114, (89-92).

84. Pierre Bayle, Selections from Bayles Dictionary, ed. by E.A. Beller and M.duP. Lee, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p.17.

85. Jacob Boehme, The Way to Christ, trans. by Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), p.145.

86. Boehme, Way to Christ, p.

87. St Augustine's speculations about the theological problems of prelapsarian sexuality form the basis of many later discussions. See, in particular, St Augustine, City of God, trans. and ed. by Henry Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), Book XIV, p.590-592.

88. Jacob Boehme, Mysterium Magnum Or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called GENESIS (1623), trans. by John Sparrow, (London, 1654), p.79.

89. Boehme, Mysterium Magnum, p.78.

90. Boehme, Mysterium Magnum, p.85.

91. Boehme, Mysterium Magnum, p.83.

92. Boehme, Mysterium Magnum, p.78. James Grantham Turner has noted that, 'Madensack, the word translated in the seventeenth century as "wormes-Carkasse", would more accurately be rendered maggot-bag.' Turner, One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p.145. This etymology also suggests the origins of the homonculus as existing within the sperm as an embryonic being.

93. Boehme, Mysterium Magnum, p.92.

94. Du Bartas, p.291, (1051).

95. Du Bartas, p.290 (1022); Andrew Willet, Hexapla in Genesis...A Sixfold Commentary upon Genesis (London, 1608), p.37.

96. Alexander Ross, An Exposition on the Fourteene first Chapters of Genesis, by way of Question and Answere (London, 1626), p.53-54.

97. For discussions of creation in Paradise Lost see Michael Lieb, The Dialectics of Creation: Patterns of Birth and Regeneration in *Paradise Lost* (MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970) and Regina Schwartz, Remembering and Repeating: Biblical Creation in *Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

98. Harvey, 'Preface', sig. A2^{v}.

99. Kristeva, p.155.

100. For more extensive discussions of the origins of Sin in Paradise Lost see A.B. Chambers, '"Sin" and "Sign" in Paradise Lost', Huntingdon Library Quarterly, 26 (1963), 381-382; and Philip J. Gallagher '"Real or Allegoric": the Ontology of Sin and Death in Paradise Lost', English Literary Renaissance, 6 (1976), 317-335.

101. For descriptions of Error which compare with Sin see The Faerie Queene, I.i.14-21.

102. Maureen Quilligan, Milton's Spenser: the Politics of Reading (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p.90.

103. Ross, p.57.

CHAPTER FIVE

Unspeakable Desires: Secrets, 'Discovery' and the Erotic

Introduction

In Paradise Lost Satan is motivated by an 'unspeakable desire to see, and know' (III.662). Satan's words, which anticipate his voyage into the New World, resonate with a particularly Renaissance excitement about specular exploration and the pursuit of knowledge. However, I will argue in this chapter that, as Paradise Lost demonstrates, these were complex and potentially dangerous thrills. In the Confessions, St Augustine had meditated upon the temptations aroused by the 'lust of the eyes', arguing that such ocular desires were most dangerous when motivated by 'a relish for investigation and discovery'.[1] These urges proved to be irresistibly seductive to the seventeenth-century culture of heroic scientific 'discovery'.

In The Great Instauration (1620), Bacon outlined an intellectual programme which would be based on visual proof alone. He declared that he would admit nothing in his relentless pursuit of knowledge 'but on the faith of my eyes'.[2] As Abraham Cowley later styled it, in his celebration of the philosophical principles of the Royal Society, Bacon was a Moses-like figure who led science from the barren wilderness of superstition. In Cowley's rhetoric, the 'New Science' had replaced illusive representations with empirical truths. Bacon, he declared, illuminated the expanding world of natural philosophy through his visionary message: he 'saw it himself, and shew'd us it'(5).[3]

The impulse 'to see and know' was both symbolized and actualized by Robert Hooke's development of the microscope, a device which visually probed and penetrated previously uninvestigated worlds. As Hooke announced in his preface to Micrographia (1665), which was published two years before Cowley's 'Ode to the Royal Society' and Milton's Paradise Lost, technological developments in seeing the world represented a new confidence in knowing

it:

> By the means of Telescopes, there is nothing so far distant but may be represented to our view; and by the help of Microscopes, there is nothing so small, as to escape our inquiry; hence there is a new visible World discovered to understanding.[4]

The seventeenth-century scientist was thus cast as an heroic explorer of a newly discovered world. For Cowley, the purifying scientific endeavours which Bacon had instigated were equated with colonial possession. Knowledge was represented as undiscovered terrain which promised 'large and wealthy Regions to subdue'(6). In Hooke's words, the scientist was a conqueror of 'new Worlds and Terra-Incognitas'.[5]

As Donne's elegy, 'To his Mistress Going to Bed', so astutely exemplifies, the Renaissance colonial expansion into uncharted territories was infused with the language of erotic excitement. The poet's visual exploration of his mistress's body ('my America! my new-found-land') is predicated on an urge to see the desired object fully revealed.[6] Freud has theorized this scopophilic desire to 'see and know' as an erotic drive which he terms epistemophilia.[7] He argues that it originates from the child's visual curiosity about the sexual body. In his study of Leonardo da Vinci (the paradigmatic 'Renaissance Man') Freud noted the Renaissance convergence of the specular with the scientific and cast Leonardo as 'the Italian Faust'. For Freud, Leonardo was characterized by epistemophilia, an 'insatiable and indefatigable thirst for knowledge'.[8]

The Renaissance privileging of the visual, through both scientific and colonial 'discovery', was, for Freud, inextricably linked to an ultimately unfulfillable expression of erotic desire. This ambivalent relation between the erotic and the erudite is exemplified in late-seventeenth century and early-eighteenth century studies of hermaphrodites. This chapter traces the intersections between the discourses of science and the

discourses of sex in the examinations of hermaphrodites which appeared in early modern scholarly and popular accounts. The ambiguous genitalia of hermaphrodites positioned them as both figures of scientific enquiry and as objects of erotic curiosity. However, the distinction between these seemingly different desires for knowledge was not always easily drawn.

When, in 1668, Samuel Pepys perused the pornographic text L'Escholles des Filles, he did so, he argued, 'for informations sake'. His account of this guilty episode of textual/sexual engagement suggests not only the slippage between education and titillation but also a developing concern with the privacy of such moments. Pepys's resolution to burn that 'idle, roguish book' after reading it presented a developing mileau of private pleasures.[9] It marks, as Francis Barker has argued, a signal moment in the evolution of the modern bourgeois subject.[10]

Representations of hermaphrodites in this context focused increasingly on the sexual anatomy and sexuality of hermaphroditic individuals. These were sights to be looked at and classified as part of an emerging 'enlightenment' codification of physical and social abnormality.[11] In early modern culture, hermaphrodites were the objects of a sustained curiosity, which simultaneously invited and defied representation. These representations suggested a particular early modern gaze, a specularity which was mediated through the lens of colonial possession, erotic tension and scientific interpretation. Although structured around images of exploration and revelation, this gaze was also subtended by an impulse towards suppressing or veiling the sights which scientific and sexual curiosity had partially revealed.

The Science of Pornography/the Pornography of Science

When placed under scrutiny, the hermaphrodite's anomalous genital organization superficially determined its representation. It was understood as the sum of its sexual 'parts'. But the public display of what were increasingly seen as 'private parts' also exposed the changing perception of what constituted private and public in this period. In early modern society the relationship between public and private was increasingly problematic as the 'privates' became more explicitly sexualized. As John Guillory has noted:

> 'Private parts' began to supersede 'privy parts' in the early modern period [...]. If privy parts names the genitalia by association with the excretory function, the privy, the word private has the advantage of somewhat distancing the function in favor of the sexual, as well as reassociating the genitalia with newer sense of privacy.[12]

This 'newer sense of privacy' which infused Pepys's secret and shameful masturbatory confession was also deployed in medical accounts of sexual anatomy. Such accounts became reinscribed as secret knowledge at the same time as they became increasingly more accessible.

Discussions of human biology and the reproductive body had, until the sixteenth century, traditionally been written in Latin and Greek and were thereby circulated primarily within an élite (and mainly male) culture. As these works were translated and adapted in vernacular versions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so the dilemma of how the sexed body could be represented objectively without exciting the reader to lustful thoughts had to be negotiated.[13] When, in St Augustine's words, 'the genital organs have become [...] the private property of lust', how could they be represented without taint?[14] When did a 'scientific' naming of the 'parts' become pornography?

St Augustine's meditation on Adam and Eve's Fall from Grace in the City of God focused, with a kind of

neurotic delight, on the rhetoric of vision in Genesis. It thus presented a founding parable about the unruly pleasures and dangers of seeing and knowing. For St Augustine, the pudenda etymologically and symbolically marked the genitals as 'parts of shame'.[15] However, these 'parts' were increasingly exposed as the classic works of Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates which discussed sex and generation were returned to, translated and reiterated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Medical knowledge thus became more accessible and popularized as a new 'science' of sex began to emerge.[16] Sex, the secret of the body, thus began (in Foucault's characterization of the modern age) to be spoken of 'ad infinitum, while exploiting it as the secret'.[17] The dissemination of texts such as the medieval, De secretis mulierum (The Secrets of Women), which was translated many times and remained popular well into the eighteenth century, suggested how this secret knowledge was self-consciously and repetitively invoked.[18]

Female sexual organs were especially encoded as newly colonized lands. In 1559 Renaldus Columbus claimed 'discovery' of the clitoris through the authority of looking at and dissecting the human body. As Thomas Laqueur notes, Columbus (like Christopher before him) named what he found with the confidence of a 'conquistador in an unknown land'.[19] Of course, like America, the clitoris had existed for a long time before it came into Columbus's view, but science had created in itself a new defining gaze. As William Harvey declared in his preface to de Generatione (1651), 'to Us the whole Theatre of the World is now open'.[20] But what did it mean to open up the world of the sexed body? Such imperial rhetorical flourishes avoided the ambivalent responses which were evoked by bringing these secrets to light.

In fact, many representations of genitalia in this period reinscribed metaphors of secrecy as they participated in discourses of disclosure. Helkiah

Crooke's English anatomy text, Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man (1615), had been typical of this tendency towards the veiled representation of female genitalia when it placed them under the heading of 'the Lap or Privities', and discussed them as 'too obscoene to look upon'.[21] In 1671, Jane Sharp included a chapter entitled 'Of the Secrets of the Female Sex' in her guide to midwifery. She noted that:

> The Lips, or Laps of the Privities are outwardly seen [...] both are to keep the inward parts from cold, and that nothing get in to offend the womb, some call this the womans modesty, for they are a double door like Floodgates, to shut and open.[22]

These secret parts were interpreted as having a dual function. Like the bodily gates which framed Spenser's House of Alma, they were simultaneously both 'shut and open' (II.23). The lips functioned to retain the secret interior of the female body but also to indicate its presence.

Patricia Parker has identified the meaning of 'lap' in Crooke's text as something folded, which could, by implication, be unfolded and opened to view.[23] She argues that the penetration of the secrets of female sexuality in early modern medical literature can be read against contemporary explorations of the geographical world. Parker cites John Pory's 1600 translation of Leo Africanus's voyage narrative as evidence of the epistemophilic impulse which marked these early colonial encounters. She explains that the text:

> Literally enacts the experience of unfolding and exposing to the eye, including [...] a map of Africa folded and closed upon itself, which when opened up, brings before the reader's gaze the land of monsters, of Amazons, of prodigious sexuality and of peoples who expose those parts which should be hid.[24]

The eroticized exposure of both foreign lands and bodily excess as the map is unfolded suggests that this was an illicit revelation. The map, like Sharp's 'Lips, or Laps of the Privities', reveals the location of otherness

which is simultaneously encoded as secret knowledge. Adam and Eve were only truly naked when they became aware of their bodies in the post-lapsarian world. Milton's Adam demonstrated, in this new moment of self-awareness, the interchangeability of covering and revealing, when in 'guilty shame he covered, but his robe / Uncovered more (IX.1058-1059). To suppress what had come to light could only ever constitute a temporary suspension of the unsettling nature of that knowledge.

The early modern development of scientific studies of the sexed body could be described, in Foucault's terms, as a scientia sexualis, a series of discourses which attempted 'to tell the truth of sex' (p.57). This development, which Foucault argues began in the eighteenth century and took hold during the nineteenth century can be seen to emerge from within seventeenth-century enquiries into the sexed body. Foucault claims:

> Misunderstandings, avoidances, and evasions were only possible, and only had their effects, against the background of this strange endeavour: to tell the truth of sex. An endeavour that does not date from the nineteenth century, even if it was then that a nascent science lent it a singular form. It was the basis of all the aberrant, naive, and cunning discourses where knowledge of sex seems to have strayed for such a long time. (p.57)

The 'strange endeavour' which constructed sex as something to be told also intrinsically cast it as secret knowledge which could only be revealed by the authority of a scientific gaze. The developing science of sex generated an 'incitement to discourse', a compulsion to speak of sex in a variety of ways, which can be traced back to early modern explorations of the sexed body (p.34).

These early discourses of science, or natural philosophy, were always implicated in other forms of knowledge and interpretation. Foucault points out that the ars erotica, the knowledge of sexual pleasure which circulated as a secret between master and adept, was

woven into the scientia sexualis as new pleasures were developed in the production of discourses about sex. This entwinement of erotica and edification is apparent in Renaissance studies of sex. Many authors of books about human reproduction were careful to emphasize the educational and scientific intention of their work by constructing it as a scientia sexualis in a self-conscious attempt to distance it from the ars erotica. But the erotic potential of the subject was difficult to dissipate. These texts were often prefaced by the author's or translator's disclaimer of any lewdness which might be read into their subject matter. This inevitably drew attention to the exact interpretation which they were ostensibly trying to suppress.

However, the question was not only one of authorial intention. With increasing levels of literacy and the emergence of print culture, the readership of a text was becoming unpredictable and potentially uncontrollable.[25] Jane Sharp wrote The Midwives Book (1671) in English and addressed it explicitly to women who had hitherto been denied knowledge of classical texts. She frankly acknowledged the dangers (and implicit pleasures) of making this knowledge accessible when she advised readers of her text to:

> Use as much modesty in the perusal of it, as I have endeavoured to do in the writing of it, considering that such an Art as this cannot be set forth, but that young men and maids will have much just cause to blush sometimes.[26]

In spite of such protestations many supposedly medical advice manuals were often close to the developing genre of pornography. As Lynn Hunt has pointed out, 'pornography was not a given' but had a history in which it almost always intersected with other discourses.[27] Rather than constituting a genre in itself it often figured as part of political commentary, social satire and scientific enquiries.[28] In early modern medical and erotic works the discourses which, to a twentieth-century reader, might be classified as science and pornography

often drew upon exactly the same material and presented it in a remarkably similar style. So, for example, Ambroise Paré's popular exploration of the physiology of hermaphrodites had originally included a coda on sexual activities between women which was deemed pornographic and suppressed by the French authorities.[29] The line between knowledge and erotica was finely drawn.

In practice a great deal of erotic material was disseminated through the vast amounts of sensational paramedical literature which was produced for profit.[30] These texts could often inform as well as arouse the reader.[31] Popular and enduring works such as Aristotles Master-Piece contained some practical information about sex and generation as well as more explicitly titillating material.[32] However, it remained a convention for the author of these studies to deny, perhaps with a certain amount of irony, the book's erotic content. This was held to be entirely in the eye of its reader. As the anonymous writer of the 1684 edition of Aristotles Master-Piece explained, the work was scientific in intention and not meant for the eyes of any 'obscene person':

> I shall proceed to unravel the mystery of Generation, and divers other Mysteries, as I well hope, to the satisfaction of the learned and ingenious of the Age, whose discretion, past doubt, will wrest it to no other than what it was designed; viz. for the benefit and advantage of the modesty of either Sex;[33]

The subtext of these works was clear: by uncovering the secrets of generation, in a penetration of scientia sexualis, the mysteries of ars erotica would also be revealed.

In 1657 Richard Head, under the pseudonym of 'Erotodidascalus', translated Geneanthropeiae, an erotic Latin text which was written by Joannes Benedictus Sinibaldus in 1642. The title of Head's text, Rare Verities: the Cabinet of Venus Unlocked, and Her Secrets Laid Open, played on familiar tropes of secrecy and revelation in erotic discourse. Head confronted potential

accusations of obscenity by admitting that: 'It may be some seemingly modest, will hold me for a Capitall offender for Transcribing those things into English, which should have remained still in the obscurity of an unknown tongue'.[34] He argued, on the contrary, that he was performing a valuable service by transmitting such knowledge. In the spirit of the 'New Science', he cast himself as the heroic explorer of Nature's secrets:

> Either commend or pity me for the pains I have taken, to make you and others more intelligent in these occult mysteries. I am content to be the pick-lock of Venus her Cabinet, to let you with more ease enter and rifle and despoile her inestimable treasure.[35]

The language of erotica and science coincided as Head echoed Cowley's characterization of Harvey as the penetrator of 'coy nature'.[36] Harvey's entry into Nature's (as he termed it) 'Closet-secrets' through scientific knowledge is supplemented by the language of sexual pleasure as the scientist and pornographer explore similar terrain.[37] In Head's metaphor, however, he is only the lock-picker, not the agent of penetration. He merely clears the way for the reader, the erotic explorer, 'to enter and rifle' within.

Studies of hermaphrodites routinely combined an interest in physical anomalies, human biology, scientific taxonomies and sexual excitement. The hermaphrodite had been popularized as a subject of scientific enquiry in the studies of Jaques Duval (1612), Gaspard Bauhin (1614), and Jean Riolan (1614) as well the medical works of Jacob Rueff (1554) and Ambroise Paré (1573).[38] All of these works (apart from Bauhin's) were published in the French vernacular and were either translated into English or transmitted into English texts. Such works often straddled an unclear boundary between science and sensation, and writers of medical and paramedical enquiries into hermaphrodites skilfully manipulated the slippage between these unstable terms. As Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park have observed, the authors of

vernacular works which discussed hermaphrodites exploited the commercial possibilities attached to the erotic nature of their subject matter.[39]

Duval's introduction to his study of hermaphrodites (which was seized by the Rouen authorities shortly after its publication) constituted a frank admission of the pornographic implications of his material. It amounted to an effective advertisement for the rest of his text:

> Powerful Nature, that excellent artisan, desiring to encourage men to the propagation of their species, was not content to produce great enjoyment when we actually use our genitals, but also - moved by what instinct I do not know - arranged that we would experience such pleasurable titillation and lustful attraction when they are but named or indicated, that even if I were to use hieroglyphics borrowed from the Egyptians [...] to designate them [...] I could not eliminate the simple wantonness with which Nature has ornamented and decorated their commemoration.[40]

Duval thus articulated a definition of pornography, and the hermaphrodite had a special place within that discourse. In scientific studies the hermaphrodite was determined by its genital organization. Its representation consequently necessitated a detailed and repeated naming of its parts. In this way it was an ideal subject of the sort of 'pleasurable titillation' which Duval described as inextricably linked to the depiction (however codified) of sexual parts.

The hermaphroditic body could be seen therefore as the paradigmatic focus of a pornographic gaze. To describe it was to engage in the language of genitalia. Antonio Beccadelli, the author of the notorious fifteenth-century pornographic Latin poem, Hermaphroditus, made this point succinctly. 'In effect', he wrote, 'my book has both a penis and a vagina'.[41] Its title thereby entirely described its subject. Beccadelli had bluntly recognized the hermaphrodite as a symbol for sexuality, a codification which would remain current throughout later treatments of similar material.

Giles Jacob's A Treatise of Hermaphrodites (1718) secured the place of the hermaphrodite within eighteenth-century erotica. The treatise was printed by Edmund Curll with the blatantly pornographic work, A Treatise of the Use of Flogging at Venereal Affairs. Jacob's text coupled a well-worn account of the causes and manifestations of hermaphroditism with a long textual excursion into lesbian adventures. Whereas Beccadelli's poem had drawn on the explicit pornography of classical priapi, Jacob embedded his subject in the language of curiosity and exploration. In his preface he argued that:

> The Secrets of Nature have in all Ages been particularly examin'd by Anatomists and others, and this of Hermaphrodites is so very wonderful, that I am perfectly assur'd my present Enquiry will be entirely acceptable to all Lovers of curious Discoveries, and as it is my immediate Business to trace every Particular for an ample Dissertation on the Nature of Hermaphrodites, (which obliges me to a frequent Repetition of the Names of the Parts employ'd in the Business of Generation) so, I hope, I shall not be charg'd with obscenity, since in all Treatises of this kind it is impossible to finish any one Head compleatly, without pursuing the Methods of Anatomical Writings.[42]

For Jacob, 'the Names of the Parts' had to be repeated in order to, in Foucault's formulation, 'tell the truth of sex' (p.57). The imperative to 'trace every Particular' marks the confluence between the methodologies of early modern science, and the techniques of pornography.

Jacob's process of erotic discovery and Head's lock-picking pursuit of the secrets of sex, thus echoed the explicitly heroic principles of the 'New Science'. In 1667 Thomas Sprat had described the aims of the Royal Society as a quest for truth based on a rigorous process of naming. The scientific mission, he proclaimed, was:

> To make faithful records, of all the Works of Nature, or Art, which come within their reach [...] to restore the truths, that have lain neglected: to push on those, which are already known [...] and to make the way more passable, to what remains unreveal'd.[43]

Sprat argued that a detailed and accurate recording of

observable facts would direct natural philosophy towards the fulfilment of its valiant quest. The explorers of both scientific and sexual knowledge thus shared a manifestly similar impulse as they each sought to penetrate and reveal the 'secrets of nature'.

Case Histories, Curiosities and Display

The anomalous and confusing spectacle of hermaphroditic bodies focused the seventeenth-century 'New Scientific' desire 'to see and know'. Potentially, hermaphrodites were both intellectually intriguing and erotically stimulating sights. Many earlier representations of hermaphrodites, such as those depicted by Ambroise Paré in the sixteenth century, were represented as anonymous bodies without social or cultural history. Duval's detailed account of the case of Marie/Marin le Marcis in 1612 marked a shift in the representation of hermaphrodites. Throughout the seventeenth century hermaphrodites were increasingly depicted as specific and distinctive cases rather than as universalized examples of God's wonder, or as the abstract signs of social or religious corruption. By the late-seventeenth century the 'New Science' demanded names, locations, histories and most importantly ever more probing anatomical details.

Two particular cases of hermaphroditism which were related in letters published in the Philosophical Transactions of 1667 and 1686 characterized the ways in which the hermaphrodite became the focus of a developing scientific gaze in this period. Significantly, neither were published in English. The use of Latin in one letter and French in the other identified hermaphroditism as a fitting subject of scientific detachment in one case and cultural distance in the other.

'An Exact Narrative of an Hermaphrodite now in London' (1667) was written in Latin by the physician Thomas Allen who was a member of the Royal Society. It

concerned the case of Anna Wilde, an hermaphrodite who had been born in 1647 in Ringwood, Hampshire.[44] This account is characteristic of the mid-seventeenth-century scientific representation of hermaphrodites. Its preface in the Philosophical Transactions declared it to be fit 'for the view of the Learned'. It was clearly marked as scientia sexualis, an object to be placed under the inquiring gaze of the educated spectator. Accordingly, this case of hermaphroditism was presented as an unfolding development of sexual ambiguity rather than as a depiction of a static moment of abnormality.

The story that Allen related was marked by dramatic moments of transformation in a narrative structured by the visible signs of changed sex. Anna Wilde had been classified as female at birth, but at the age of six, whilst wrestling with boys of her/his own age, testicles apparently were seen. Allen explained that the scrotum developed from the labia of her/his vulva. However, Anna Wilde was still regarded as a girl until s/he was thirteen. At this time a penis suddenly emerged, which Allen described as being capable of erection but not ejaculation. The ejaculate was instead issued (apparently with considerable force) from the vagina. From the age of sixteen, Anna Wilde began to menstruate but s/he also developed a beard and other secondary male characteristics which made sexual classification problematic. Allen thus presented her/him to the Royal Society as one of nature's rare occurrences: a case of physical hermaphroditism.

Allen's report was presented as the authoritative observations of a member of the Royal Society. But evidence suggests that his account was largely compiled from the stories of Anna Wilde's 'owner' who displayed her/him as freak in a travelling show. In his diary entry for 22 August 1667, John Evelyn mentioned that this popular spectacle was currently being shown in London:

> There was also now an Hermaphrodite shew'd both Sexes very perfectly, the Penis onley not

> perforated, went for a woman, but was more a man, of about 21 years of Age: divers curious persons went to see her, but I would not.[45]

Evelyn did not elaborate on why he would not view this show, although it was clearly something of considerable contemporary interest. S/he was viewed for entertainment by 'divers curious persons' and the 'facts' of her/his history were mediated through the stories told in this commercial context.

The early modern scientist was part of a viewing public who paid to look at curiosities. An advertisement from the early-eighteenth century, for example, announced that for one shilling an hermaphrodite could be viewed:

> Compleat Male and Female, perfect in both Parts, and does give a general Satisfaction to all Quality, Gentry, Physicians, Surgeons and Others, that have seen it, constant Attendance is given from One a Clock in the Afternoon 'till Nine at Night [...] There is a paper Lantern over the Door, with these Words upon it, The Hermaphrodite is to be seen here without a Moments loss of Time.[46]

Allen's description of his viewing of Anna Wilde for the Philosophical Transactions was drawn from this culture of curiosity and display. James Parsons in his later, more sceptical study of hermaphrodites, A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites (1741), reviewed the case. He dismissively referred to Allen's account as a clear sign of 'how little credit ought to be given to the Tales of Shew-men, by the Learned'.[47]

The Dutch physician Isbrand de Diemerbroeck, whose Anatomy of Human Bodies was translated by William Salmon in 1689, reported viewing an hermaphrodite in Utrecht in 1668 (the year after Anna Wilde had been shown in London). Although s/he is unnamed in this account the evidence suggests that Diemerbroeck was also describing Anna Wilde.[48] Before he related the details of the case, Diemerbroeck signalled how hermaphrodites were presented as popular spectacles in street shows as well as in specifically learned contexts. He recalled that he had

previously seen a similar hermaphrodite in Anjou, who 'for a small matter turn'd up her Coats to any one that had a mind to satisfy Curiosity' (p.183). However, the curious passer-by might also be the enquiring scientist. His anecdote demonstrated that the desire to fulfil the epistemophilic urge 'to see and know' could be easily exploited as a money-spinning show and tell.

Diemerbroeck's account of viewing Anna Wilde in 1668 was again predicated on the history given by the hermaphrodite's 'Governour'. This verbal history was supplemented by a visual examination of the hermaphrodite's anatomy and Diemerbroeck reported that, 'We saw the Yard hanging forth about half a Finger long' (p.183). According to 'his Governour' the hermaphrodite menstruated every month, and also ejaculated semen at orgasm, but Diemerbroeck noted that 'the Hermaphrodite himself could not tell whether it flow'd through his Yard, or from his Female Privities' (p.183).

As Parsons later observed, there were several inconsistencies between Allen's and Diemerbroeck's versions of the case. For example, in Utrecht the 'owner' claimed that the hermaphrodite menstruated regularly, in London he had reported that s/he had stopped menstruating at eighteen. Parsons wrote disdainfully about Allen's account that:

> The inconsistencies that appear thro' this whole Narration from first to last, should promise no great credit, for it is entirely taken from the Owner of the Girl, and securely presented [...] without the Author's considering that no one Part of his History can be reconciled to the known structure of the human Body. (p.20-21)

The integrity of the report was derided because it was based on second-hand information. Allen had neglected Bacon's maxim to trust nothing 'but on the faith of my eyes'. But, for Parsons, looking through the lens of 'enlightenment' rationality, the real weakness of Allen's muddled narrative was that it contradicted the known facts of the body.

In December 1686, Monsieur Veay, a French physician, wrote a letter to the Philosophical Transactions about another sensational case of hermaphroditism which he had seen in Toulouse.[49] A note in the Philosophical Transactions underscored the special nature of this account when it explained that 'this communication is reprinted in the original French, it being judged improper to appear in English'. But in 1687, Edmond Halley commented that:

> There is some difficulty to believe this story, tho it seems well attested, being from a noted physitian of the place; but the bantring ridiculing humour of that light nation makes one suspect all that comes from thence.[50]

Halley's suspicion, based on a mistrust of the French, suggests a particular doubt about French scientific integrity. This was, perhaps because although 'that light nation' had produced all the significant contemporary studies of hermaphrodites, it was also associated with the production of pornography. In general the Continent was inextricably linked with erotic representation and, as Peter Wagner claims, by the eighteenth century it was 'an English myth that everything perverse or "unnatural" could only have had its origin in such immoral and sexually corrupt countries as Bulgaria, France, Italy and other Mediterranean localities'.[51] It is no coincidence that when Pepys read (and later destroyed) a pornographic work in 1668, it was the French L'Escholles des Filles ('a mighty lewd book'), and probably the most popular pornographic work of the time.

The case of Marguerite Malause which Veay related in his letter was widely discussed in early modern medical, paramedical and pornographic literature.[52] The story of this young French woman, who might also have been a man, excited much contemporary interest. The case typified the way in which hermaphrodites were discussed within a variety of intersecting discourses. The medical reports of the case formed the basis of many popular stories about erotic transgression which circulated in texts

throughout the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Veay's account gives a detailed description of the history and anatomy of Marguerite Malause. S/he was born in Pourdiac, near Toulouse, where s/he lived as a woman until s/he became ill in 1686 and was examined by Veay. He declared that s/he was an hermaphrodite, 'une chose fort extraordinaire'. S/he was, according to his account, in all superficial respects an attractive young woman of about twenty-one, but on closer examination it was discovered that, although she appeared to be female, she could only be penetrated to about two finger widths deep.[53] Moreover, s/he was found to have a penis ('un membre viril d'une grosseur fort considerable') which could erect to about eight inches. According to Veay both urine and semen, as well as menstrual blood, flowed through this penis.

Veay stressed that he would not have believed this possible it if he had not seen it with his own eyes. He showed this extraordinary figure to several other doctors, who, in consultation with the governors of the hospital declared her/him to be predominantly male and ordered her/him to change her/his name to the masculine Arnaud and adopt the clothes and life-style of a man. The testimony of Marguerite her/himself was not considered to be credible. Veay noted that there was no hesitation over the verdict because 'notre hermaphrodite' was able to perform the functions of a man and not a woman.

Later anecdotal evidence suggests that Marguerite/Arnaud did not live happily with this new male persona. S/he was the subject of considerable local curiosity and scandal and eventually left Toulouse and reverted back to a female identity. In 1691 s/he was arrested for transgressing the boundaries of the sex and gender which had been attributed to her and was ordered again to live as a man. In 1693 s/he came to Paris where her case was considered by the famous physicians Helvétius and Saviard who concluded finally that s/he was

in fact a woman.

In Saviard's account of the case, which was published in 1702, he described how Marguerite/Arnaud had arrived in Paris:

> [...] in the guise of a boy, sword at his side, with his hair nonetheless hanging like a girl, and tied behind with a ribbon in the manner of the Spaniards and Neapolitans. She used to appear at public assemblies and allow herself to be examined for a small tip by those who were curious.[54]

Marguerite/Arnaud may have participated in presenting her/himself as a spectacle for the view of 'those who were curious'. One anonymous pornographic work which shifted the emphasis of the case from medical curiosity to erotic titillation, also suggested that 'she got Mony by shewing herself'.[55] In contrast to the situation of Anna Wilde, there is no evidence that Marguerite/Arnaud had a master who controlled this commercial display.

Saviard's account of the case represented the hermaphrodite without compassion. He described her/him in purely scientific terms, declaring that he 'examined her in each part with exactitude' (p.51). Marguerite/Arnaud's body was thus fragmented into a series of pieces which were objectified by this scientific/pornographic examination. For the hermaphrodite nothing could be hidden from the scientist's probing gaze. Saviard reported the physical demonstration which Marguerite/Arnaud was obliged to perform to himself and the gathered assembly in the hospital, Hotel Dieu:

> I made her urinate before the gathered assembly, upon her claiming that urine did issue from two separate places; and in order to make apparent the contrary, while she urinated I did spread apart the lips of her vulva, by which means I did make the spectators see the urinary meatus from whence the flow did proceed exclusively. (p.51)

On this evidence, couched in the language and methodology of scientific objectivity, the hermaphrodite was presented as a public experiment, as the proof of 'true' sex was viewed, witnessed and recorded.

Foreign Parts: Tribades, Hermaphrodites and Colonialism

Such potentially sensational material translated easily into pornographic discourse. By the early-eighteenth century the case of Marguerite Malause was widely circulated within paramedical and pornographic literature. It appeared, for example, in An Apology for a Latin Verse (1709), an anonymous work which consisted of a series of titillating anecdotes culled from other sources. In this account the sexual aspects of the hermaphrodite were highlighted:

> A certain young woman at Tholouse had a relaxation of the Vagina, resembling a Man's Yard, and some pretended she abused it that way, it being Six inches in Length, and four in Circumference in the middle, where it was very hard [...] She was brought into the Hotel Dieu, where the descent was soon put up, and she was forced to resume her Female Dress, to her great Regret. This is a very remarkable Story, and may be sometimes of great use, yet some people will call it Bawdy.[56]

The confusion here about her 'great Regret' at dressing as a woman, although earlier accounts suggested that she had been ordered to live as a man, provided the premise for relating the exploits of a tribade rather than a case of mistaken sexual identity. This was typical of many discussions of hermaphroditism in this period which increasingly conflated hermaphroditism with lesbian sexuality and the 'abuse' of a false member.

The emergence of a penis owing to a relaxation of the vagina was based on the popular Renaissance belief, derived from Galenic theory, that the vagina was in fact an inversion of male genitalia. Given the right conditions (usually based on vigorous exercise or heat), this latent member could, in theory, spring from within the woman's body. Such a belief had informed many sixteenth-century anecdotal accounts of apparent sex change, including Montaigne's widely circulated story of Marie Germain and Jacques Duval's study of Marie le Marcis (see chapter one above). However, during the mid-

to late-seventeenth century another explanation of apparent hermaphroditism began to take hold. Hermaphroditism became increasingly attributed to the development of an enlarged clitoris which could be put to tribadic use and substituted for a penis. In 1657 Richard Head, in Rare Verities, summarized this notion:

> This Clytoris lies latent within a womans pudenda, which answers to a mans virile; this if chance to grow over-much, may stand in stead of a mans members, yet without effusion of seed. Wherefore heretofore there hath been laws enacted against feminine congression, being it is a thing that happens too too common and frequent.[57]

In her recent study of early modern lesbian sexuality, Emma Donoghue notes that stories of penis-like clitorises, which often derived from classical erotic sources, were inevitably exaggerated in early modern processes of translation and textual borrowing. She argues that these stories 'are useful [...] not as factual sources but as cultural fantasies'.[58]

The enlarged clitoris became, in the early modern imagination, the visible sign of female desire. Yet, this fascination with the prodigious clitoris also masked an uncertainty about how it could ordinarily be seen. Diemerbroeck commented that the clitoris was hardly visible in dead women but boasts, 'and yet we publicly shew'd it at the Theater in the dissected body of one not above twenty four years of Age' (p.183). The male scientist's delight in unveiling the clitoris was subtended by a fear of women's own discovery of those parts. Diemerbroeck continued:

> Sometimes it happens, that contrary to the Common Course of Nature, this part grows out much more in length like the Yard of a Man, so that Women have made an ill use of it, by copulating with others of their own Sex, hence called Confricatrices, but anciently Tribades. (p.183)

Early modern medical texts explained sex between women as the result of enlarged clitorises which served as pretended penises. This located same sex desire within a

recognizable register of sexual practice which was based on penile penetration with the performance of active and passive roles. These accounts signal the confusion that was provoked by the imagined sexual practices of female same sex desire well before the works of the nineteenth-century sexologists, such as Richard Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, and Carl Westphal began to define homosexuality as an identity and an aberration.[59]

As hermaphroditism had provided a model for the expression of male homoeroticism in the Renaissance, so by the beginnings of the eighteenth century, the hermaphrodite was increasingly associated with emerging definitions of lesbian sexuality.[60] There was not, however, a clear shift from one categorization to another and the hermaphrodite was variously used to represent both male effeminacy and female masculinity. Supposedly masculine women had been condemned as hermaphrodites in the 1620s pamphlet debates about gender performance and, as Randolph Trumbach has noted, during the early eighteenth century men who had sex with men were still being termed hermaphrodites despite the development of 'molly' as a classification.[61] Throughout the early modern period and beyond, the hermaphrodite was represented as being synonymous with various wanderings from heterosexual practice.

The characterization of tribadic women as being physically hermaphroditic coincided with an increasing scepticism about the existence of 'perfect' hermaphrodites. Theories of sexual deviancy and genital abnormality gradually replaced the idea that male and female sexual characteristics could ever coexist in balance in the same body. In 1688, in The Anatomy of Human Bodies Epitomiz'd, Thomas Gibson stated that,

> Yea, there are many stories of such as have had it [the clitoris] so long and big, as to be able to accompany with other Women like unto Men, and such are called Fricatrices, or otherwise Hermaphrodites, who, it is not probable, are truly of both Sexes.[62]

By 1740, in his 'mechanical' study of hermaphrodites, James Parsons sought to dispel 'Ignorance and Superstition' and prove that hermaphrodites were only ever women with enlarged clitorises, or in his term, Macroclitorideæ.[63] Giles Jacob's preface to his Treatise on Hermaphrodites (1718) made it clear that in his view no such examples of genital hybridity really existed:

> The intrigues of my HERMAPHRODITES are indeed very amazing, and as monstrous as their Natures; but that many Lascivious Females divert themselves one with another at this time in this city, is not to be doubted; And if any Persons shall presume to censure my Accounts, grounded on Probability of Truth, I shall be sufficiently reveng'd in proclaiming them, what my HERMAPHRODITES are found to be in the Conclusion - Old Women. (p.iv)

His focus was clearly on the erotic escapades of women. Hermaphroditism merely provided the justification for his presentation of a series of lesbian adventures. His text signals how hermaphroditism, by the eighteenth century, had been fully subsumed into erotica. The hermaphrodite had evolved from its classical and Renaissance figurations as an image of transcendant androgyny, erotic ambiguity or prodigious significance into a prurient sexual curiosity.

As transgressive sexual behaviour became located in anatomical abnormalities there was a commonly held belief that the size of a woman's clitoris reflected her sexual appetite. As Diemerbroeck put it, 'this part is manifestly to be seen, especially in the more Lascivious, that have more voluptuously addicted themselves to Copulation' (p.183). The association of anatomy with lust had for a long time been used to characterize non-European women, as anxieties about female sexuality were displaced onto the exoticized others who were located by Europeans in Africa, Asia and the New World. In these accounts we can see perhaps most clearly how the discourses of science, exploration and sexuality intersected.

In 1671 Jane Sharp discussed the belief that 'Hermaphrodites are only women that have their clitoris greater, and hanging out more than others have, and so shew like a Mans Yard'.[64] She continued by distancing English women from the imagined sexual acts that such hermaphroditic anatomy could facilitate:

> Sometimes it grows so long that it hangs forth at the slit like a Yard, and will swell and stand stiff if it be provoked, and some lewd women have endeavoured to use it as men do theirs. In the Indias, and Egypt they are frequent, but I never heard but of one in this Country, if there be any they will do what they can for shame to keep it close.[65]

The association of tribadism with African women can be traced back to Leo Africanus's Geographical Historie of Africa which was widely circulated in Europe throughout the sixteenth century. In 1573 Paré cited an account of 'fricatrices' (tribades) which was drawn from Africanus. He argued that 'with such women one must tie them and cut what is superfluous because they can abuse them'.[66] By 1710, in the English translation of Nicholas Venette's popular The Mysteries of Conjugal Love Reveal'd, 'African Maids' were still being represented as a monstrous tribades who could only be 'cured' by the practice of female genital mutilation.[67]

Thomas Laqueur has discussed the case of Henrika Schuria, a Dutch woman who passed as a man in the seventeenth century, and was accused of performing a male role in sex. Her clitoris reportedly 'equalled the length of half a finger and in its stiffness was not unlike a boy's member'.[68] She was convicted of tribadism and sentenced to death by burning. However, her sentence was later reconsidered so that she was to be 'nipped in the bud, and sent into exile'.[69] Here the sexually transgressive woman had to be surgically de-sexed and expelled from her own country. Such a vicious punishment, placed in the context of Jane Sharp's denial of tribadic possibilities closer to home, inscribed the 'hermaphroditic' woman as a necessarily secret and

shameful abberation. The preoccupation with stories of tribadic activity in early modern medical, paramedical and pornographic texts suggests a developing interest in, and anxiety about, female sexuality in general. By exoticizing tribadic women these texts titillated the reader whilst relocating the threat of such prodigious female sexuality elsewhere.

Rare examples of non-European women who showed the physical signs of genital irregularity were occasionally brought to Europe and exhibited as hermaphrodites. These displays implicitly contrasted the bodies of African and Asian women with a constructed idea of European femininity. The exhibition of non-European women as examples of exaggerated sexuality reached a climax in the nineteenth century when a South African woman, the so-called 'Hottentot Venus', was shown in London at the time when ethnological studies were evolving into a 'human science'. Richard Altick's analysis of the shows of London demonstrates how, before this voyeuristic frenzy of empire reached a peak, early modern audiences were also fascinated with sights from distant lands. He observes that 'the demand for human and animal freaks kept well abreast of the increasing supply'.[70] In The Tempest Trinculo had recognized the profitability of showing foreign bodies in a commercial context. In England, he claimed, 'any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian' (II.ii.30-32).

In a collection of advertisements dated between 1680 and 1700 which are held in the British Library there is a handbill headed Faemina, Mas, Maurus, Mundi mirabile monstrum, 'An HERMAPHRODITE (Lately brought over from ANGOLA)'.[71] The general description of this hermaphroditic woman was written in English, and was followed by a Latin section which provided the details of genital organization that were presumably intended to

attract the educated 'curious examiner'. Again Latin was used as an exclusive language which encoded sexual knowledge for the learned whilst signalling the special (and sensational) nature of that knowledge to the unlearned. This spectacle could be viewed near Charing-Cross, for the price of 2s 6d.

The background to this show demonstrates how the early modern European plunder of the world was not only an economic enterprise. It was also motivated by an epistemophilic desire 'to see and know' the bodies of racially encoded others. The Angolan woman had been taken from Africa to America as part of the slave-trade and was later brought to Bristol and exhibited as a freak. In 1741 James Parsons claimed that his study of hermaphroditism had been motivated by what he considered to have been the misinterpretation of this case. His aim was to present the case objectively to 'all Lovers of Truth in Natural History'.[72] The large fold-out engraving of the vulva of the Angolan woman, which Parsons meticulously detailed and reproduced in his medical text, is a graphic illustration of the eroticization of the colonial gaze within a scientific context. Emma Donoghue has claimed that this anatomical illustration is the most pornographic item she has encountered in her study of eighteenth-century literature.[73] Such displays drew from a pornographic and scientific requirement to represent the genitals in explicit detail but was intensified by the frisson of fear and desire aroused by the idea of 'foreign parts'.

Seeing and Knowing: the Hermaphrodite as Erotic Entertainment

Francois de Chavigny de la Bretonnière's The Gallant Hermaphrodite (1688) typified the interplay between erotic 'discovery', hermaphroditic anatomy, and female same sex desire that characterized the development of the

pornographic novel. The body of the text, which described itself as 'An Amorous Novel', comprised a complicated plot of sexual intrigue and disguised identity. The story's denouement comes when the Princess heroine makes love to a character called Iphigenia, believing her to be a woman, 'who instructed her of what she was ignorant of till then', and discovers that she is an hermaphrodite.[74] This scene of lesbian seduction, and the revelation of hermaphroditism, is representative of much contemporary erotic literature.[75] However, the narrator in this story, with a self-conscious display of modesty, does not relate details about what exactly occurred between the lovers. He pauses tactfully, and intimates that 'the curtains have robb'd us of the rest'.[76]

The preface to this text provides a striking insight into the strategies of veiled representation which formed a motif of these texts. The hermaphrodite is clearly placed within the context of early modern popular entertainment which, as we have seen, insistently focused on the gap between seeing and knowing. The author declares:

> As to those Ladies who delight in the sight of the Elephants, Hairy Maids, Turks, &c. I hope our Gallant Hermaphrodite will be kindly entertain'd by them, since they may, without scandal, even in their Alcoves, freely view and converse with this ----- what shall we call it?
>
> Sir, or Madam, chuse you whether;
> Nature twists them both together.[77]

The word left blank, 'what shall we call it?', and the couplet, quoted from Cleveland's 'Upon an Hermophrodite', create a discursive openness. The playful suggestion of an interaction between the gallant hermaphrodite and the reader, the object of observation and the observer, points to a realm of textual reception within domestic, and in this case implicitly female, spaces. The consumption of such erotic literature was presented therefore as a particularly private viewing pleasure of an emerging bourgeois readership.

In Jacob's Treatise of Hermaphrodites (1718) the woman reader was again made a focus of prefatory attention. He teasingly disclaimed the possibility that women could be incited to imitate the enjoyable behaviour which his text related:

> My Design in the following sheets is meerly as an innocent Entertainment for all curious Persons, without any Views of inciting Masculine-Females to Amorous Tryals with their own Sex; and I am perswaded there will not be one single HERMAPHRODITE the more in the World, on account of the publishing this TREATISE. (p.ii)

Jacob's denial that the 'innocent Entertainment' of his text could possibly transform the female reader into an hermaphrodite implied that such a corruption was indeed possible.[78] In other words, hermaphrodites were defined by their sexuality as well as their sexual anatomy. For Jacob, hermaphrodites were, in effect, lustful women whose enlarged clitorises reflected their equally enlarged sexual appetites. His textual revelations about hermaphrodites thus brought to light an uncomfortable but potentially thrilling realm of female sexual desires.

Jacob continued by light-heartedly bringing into focus the dialectic between the hidden and the revealed which infused such erotic explorations of hermaphroditism:

> It may be expected by some faithless Persons, that I should produce an HERMAPHRODITE to publick view, as an incontestable Justification of there being Humane Creatures of this kind; but as I have no Authority to take up the Petticoats of any Female without her Consent, I hope to be excus'd from making such demonstrable Proofs; (p.iii)

The textual examination of this potentially salacious material was part of the prevailing cultural appetite for curiosities and display. Jacob's treatise engaged in a textual exploration of hermaphroditic anatomy and sexual activity but his comment was subtended by an implicit criticism of the scientification of such spectacles.

The 'New Scientific' principles of the seventeenth

century imbued observers such as Allen, Veay, and Saviard with the authority to scrutinize the bodies of hermaphroditic subjects such as Anna Wilde and Marguerite/Arnaud Malause in a relentless search for 'demonstrable proofs'. But Jacob's ironic admission of his own lack of such authority highlighted how both the scientific and pornographic gaze continually probed into forbidden places to unpick the secrets of Venus. By relating the scientific 'proof' of hermaphroditism to the indecent explorations beneath the petticoats of women, Jacob exemplified the paradox of early modern scientific display. The earnest medical accounts written about Anna Wilde and Marguerite Malause were derived from a culture of commercialized shows and sensationalized anecdotes as much as 'scientific' observation. Such narratives were easily absorbed into salacious or erotic discourse. The epistemophilic imperatives of scientia sexualis and ars erotica converged in this enduring, but permanently deferred, attempt to represent the ultimately unrepresentable 'truth' of hermaphroditism.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. St Augustine, Confessions, trans. by R.S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), p.242.

2. Francis Bacon, The Great Instauration, in The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols (London: Longman, 1857-1874), IV, p.30.

3. Abraham Cowley, 'To the Royal Society', in Poems, ed. by A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1973), p.448. Cowley's ode was originally published with Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society (London, 1667).

4. Robert Hooke, Micrographia: Or some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses with Observations and Inquiries thereupon (London, 1665), sig.A^{v}.

5. Hooke, sig.D^{v}.

6. John Donne, 'To his Mistress Going to Bed', in The Complete Poems, ed. by A.J. Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971; repr. 1986), pp.124-126 (p.125).

7. For a discussion of this epistemophilic drive see, Toril Moi, 'Patriarchal Thought and the Drive for Knowledge', in Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis, ed. by Teresa Brennan (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.189-205.

8. Sigmund Freud, 'Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood' (1910), in Art and Literature, The Penguin Freud Library, 15 vols, ed. by Angela Richards and Albert Dickson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), XIV, pp.145-231 (p.164).

9. Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: Bell and Hyman, 1976), IX, 9 February 1668, p.57. Pepys first referred to seeing the book in a shop on 13 January and bought it on 8 February.

10. For an analysis of Pepys's account see Francis Barker, The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection (London: Methuen, 1985), pp.3-14.

11. For a study of the enlightenment rhetoric of the visual see Barbara Maria Stafford, Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1991).

12. John Guillory, 'Dalila's House: Samson Agonistes and the Sexual Division of Labor', in Rewriting the Renaissance: the Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, ed. by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen

Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp.106-122 (note 22, p.343).

13. For an analysis of some of the issues surrounding the translation of medical texts into the vernacular in the early part of the seventeenth century see H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475-1640, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; repr.1989), III, pp.140-143.

14. St Augustine, City of God, trans. and ed. by Henry Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972; repr. 1984), p.581.

15. City of God, p.578. The English definition of the Latin 'pudendus' is, 'of which one ought to be ashamed, shameful, scandalous'. Freud also noted the uncanny function of the 'heimlich parts of the human body, pudenda'. See Freud, 'The Uncanny' (1919), in Art And Literature, Penguin Freud Library, 15 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), XIV p.346.

16. Patricia Crawford notes that 'from the early to the mid-seventeenth century, especially during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, there was a movement to popularize medical knowledge'. See 'Sexual Knowledge in England, 1500-1750', in Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: the History of Attitudes to Sexuality, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikulàs Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.82-106 (p.86).

17. Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: Vol.I, an Introduction, trans. by Robert Hurley (London: Allen Lane, 1978; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p.35. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

18. Attributed to the Pseudo-Albertus Magnus.

19. Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.64.

20. William Harvey, Anatomical Exercitations Concerning the Generation of Living Creatures (London, 1653), sig. A3.

21. Helkiah Crooke, Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man (London, 1615), p.293.

22. Jane Sharp, The Midwives Book (London, 1671), pp.41-42.

23. The OED notes one of the meanings of 'lap' as being 'a fold of flesh or skin (1615)'.

24. Patricia Parker, 'Fantasies of "Race" and "Gender": Africa, Othello, and Bringing to Light', in Women, 'Race' and Writing in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Margo

Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London: Routledge, 1994), pp.84-100 (p.88).

25. For a discussions of levels of literacy in the early part of the seventeenth-century see Bennett, English Books and Readers, pp.78-86.

26. Sharp, p.5.

27. Lynn Hunt, 'Introduction: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800', in The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800, ed. by Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone, 1993), pp.9-45 (p.11).

28. For discussions of early modern pornography, see Roger Thompson, Unfit for Modest Ears: a Study of Pornographic, Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century (London: Macmillan, 1979); David Foxon, Libertine Literature in England 1660-1745 (Reprinted with revisions from The Book Collector, 1964); and Peter Wagner, Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America (London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1990).

29. The Paris Faculty of medicine declared it 'unfit to be read, recited and heard by Christians'. Quoted from Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France", GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, 1 (1995), 419-438 (p.425).

30. See, Peter Wagner, 'The Discourse on Sex - or Sex as Discourse: Eighteenth-Century Medical and Paramedical Literature', in Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment, ed. by G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.46-68.

31. See Roy Porter, 'The Literature of Sexual Advice before 1800', in Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science, pp.134-157.

32. Aristotles Master-Piece was first published in 1684 was reprinted regularly throughout the eighteenth century. See Roy Porter, '"The Secrets of Generation Display'd": Aristotle's Masterpiece in Eighteenth-Century England', in Unauthorized Sexual Behaviour During the Enlightenment, ed. by R.F. Macubbin (special issue of Eighteenth-Century Life, 1985), pp.1-21.

33. Anon, Aristotles Master-Piece or the Secrets of Generation Displayed in all the Parts Thereof (London, 1684), p.4.

34. Richard Head, Rare Verities: the Cabinet of Venus Unlocked, and Her Secrets Laid Open (London, 1657), sig. A5.

35. Head, sig.B^{v}.

36. Cowley, 'Upon Dr. Harvey', I.

37. William Harvey, 'Preface', Anatomical Exercitations, Concerning the Generation of Living Creatures (London, 1653), sig.A2^{v}.

38. Jaques Duval, Traité des hermaphrodits, parties génitales, accouchemens des femmes, etc (Rouen, 1612); Gaspard Bauhin, De hermaphroditorum monstrorumque partum natura ex theologorum, jureconsultorm medicorum, philosophorum et rabbinorum sententia libri duo (Oppenheim, 1614); Jean Riolan, Discours sur les hermaphrodits. Ou il est demonstré contre l'opinion commune, qu'il n'y a pont de vrays Hermaphrodits (Paris, 1614).

39. Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature', p.422.

40. Quoted from Daston and Park, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature', p.428.

41. Antonio Beccadelli, Antonio Beccadelli and the Hermaphrodite, ed. by Michael de Cassant (Liverpool: Janus Press, 1984), I, p.iii.

42. Giles Jacob, Tractatus de Hermaphroditis: Or, A Treatise of Hermaphrodites (London, 1718), sig.B.

43. Thomas Sprat, The History of the Royal-Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge (London, 1667), p.61.

44. Thomas Allen, 'An Exact Narrative of an Hermaphrodite now in London', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London (1667), no. 32, p.624. I am grateful to Anthony Archdeacon for his advice on the translation of this letter.

45. John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. by, E.S. de Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 22 August, 1667, p.513.

46. A Collection of 77 Advertisements relating to Dwarfs,Giants, and Other Monsters and Curiosities exhibited for Public Inspection (London, 1680-1700).

47. James Parsons, A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites (London, 1741), p.21. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

48. Diemerbroeck describes the hermaphrodite as being English and aged approximately twenty-two in 1668. Isbrand de Diemerbroeck, The Anatomy of Human Bodies, trans. by William Salmon (London, 1689), p.183. Further references

will be included after quotations in the text.

49. Mr Veay, 'An Extract of a Letter written by Mr. Veay Physician at Toulouse to Mr. de St. Ussans, concerning a very extraordinary Hermaphrodite in that City', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London (1687), no. 282, pp.282-3. I am grateful to Jonathan Sawday and Bill Marshall for their advice on the translation of this letter.

50. Edmond Halley, Correspondence and Papers of Edmond Halley, ed. by E.F. MacPike (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), April 9, 1687, p.81.

51. Wagner, 'The Discourse on Sex - or Sex as Discourse', p.57.

52. It is an ironic coincidence that Marguerite Malause's family name also suggests the misfortune she suffered as a result of her genital malformation. Wilde can similarly be read as indicative of Anna Wilde's life in which she was displayed, like an animal, as an example of untamed sexual proliferation.

53. The foreshortening of the vagina is one of the characteristics of the syndrome known as testicular feminization. See chapter two (above) for a discussion of R. Bakan's argument that Elizabeth I may have displayed this condition, in 'Queen Elizabeth I: A Case of Testicular Feminization', Medical Hypotheses (1985), 17, 277-284.

54. Barthélemy Saviard, (Paris, 1702). Quoted in Pierre Darmon, Trial by Impotence: Virility and Marriage in Pre-Revolutionary France, trans. by Paul Keegan (Paris, 1979; London: Chatto and Windus, the Hogarth Press, 1985), p.50. Further references to Darmon's citation of Saviard's account are given after quotations in the text. For a discussion of this and several other case histories of hermaphrodites, see F. Gonzalez-Crussi, 'Sexual Undifferentiation', in Three Forms of Sudden Death and Other Reflections on the Grandeur and Misery of the Body (London: Picador, 1986), pp.43-64.

55. Anon, An Apology for a Latin Verse in Commendation of Mr. MARTEN'S Gonosologium Novum (London, 1709), p.17. This was written (possibly by John Marten) as a defence of John Marten's Gonosologium Novum, or a New System of all the Secret Infirmities and Diseases Natural Accidental and Venereal in Men and Women (London, 1708) which had been published as an appendix to his treatise on venereal disease, and was prosecuted for obscenity.

56. Anon, An Apology, pp.16-17.

57. Head, p.13.

58. Emma Donoghue, Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668-1801 (London: Scarlet Press, 1993), p.27.

59. For an analysis of the ways in which homosexuality was defined by these sexologists see Jeffrey Weeks, 'Questions of Identity' in Against Nature: Essays on History, Sexuality and Identity (London: River Oram Press, 1991), pp.68-85 (pp.68-74). For a study of the categorization of sexuality see Arnold Davidson, 'Sex and the Emergence of Sexuality', Critical Inquiry, 14 (1987), 16-48.

60. See Cath Sharrock, 'Hermaphroditism; or, "the Erection of a New Doctrine": Theories of Female Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century England', Paragraph, 17 (1994), 38-48.

61. Randolph Trumbach, 'London's Sapphists: From Three Sexes to Four Gender in the Making of Modern Culture' in Body Guards: the Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity ed. by Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.112-141 (pp.115-116).

62. Thomas Gibson, The Anatomy of Human Bodies Epitomiz'd (London, 1688), p.182.

63. Parsons reiterated his opinions about hermaphrodites in, 'A Letter to the President, concerning the Hermaphrodite Shewn in London', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London (1750), no.424, pp.142-145.

64. Sharp, p.44.

65. Sharp, p.45.

66. Ambroise Paré, On Monsters and Marvels, trans. and ed. by Janis Pallister (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), pp.188-189.

67. Nicholas Venette, Tableau de L'Amour Conjugal, trans. as The Mysteries of Love Reveal'd (London, 1707), p.15.

68. Laqueur, p.137. For a more detailed analysis of the case see Laqueur's article, 'Amor Veneris, vel Dulcedo Appeletur', Zone, 5 (1989), 90-131. The case of Henrika Schuria (who was also known as Hendrickje Lamberts van der Schuyr) was made famous by Nicolaas Tulp in his Observationum Medicarum (1641). For further details see Rudolf M. Dekker and Lotte C. van de Pol, The Tradition of Female Transvesticism in Early Modern Europe (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp.52-53.

69. Laqueur, p.137.

70. Richard Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p.37. For the variety of anomalies which were shown in the early modern period see, A Collection of advertisements, cuttings from periodicals,

prints and drawings, ms notes, etc., relating to Bartholomew Fair (London, 1687-1849); and Daniel Lysons, Collectanea: or a collection of advertisements and paragraphs from the newspapers, relating to various subjects (London, 1660-1825). Volume one includes cuttings about (amongst other subjects), giants, dwarfs, masculine women, monstrous births and 'extraordinary foreigners'.

71. A Collection of 77 Advertisements (London, 1680-1700)

72. Parsons, p.liv.

73. Donoghue, p.34.

74. Francois de Chavigny de la Bretonnière, The Gallant Hermaphrodite, An Amorous Novel (London, 1688), p.122. The use of the word 'gallant' in this context contains the sense of a 'ladies man' thus punning on the gender ambiguity of the hermaphrodite.

75. See for example, Anon, The Supplement to the Onania (1724); Giles Jacob, Treatise of Hermaphrodites (1718); and Nicholas Venette, Le Tableau de L'Amour Conjugal (1696), translated as, The Mysteries of Conjugal love Reaveal'd (1707).

76. Chavigny de la Bretonnière, p.122.

77. Chavigny de la Bretonnière, sig. A2.

78. Jacob's suggestion recalls Francis Beaumont's address to his reader in Salmacis and Hermaphroditus (1602): 'I hope my Poeme is so lively writ, / That thou wilt turne halfe-mayd with reading it'. Francis Beaumont, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, in Elizabethan Erotic Narrative Verse, ed. by Nigel Alexander (London: Edward Arnold, 1967), p.168.

CONCLUSION

Unveiling the Hermaphrodite

> Hermaphrodites [...] have been banished, tormented, abused, and employed in such Offices as were in themselves severe; cut off from the common Privileges and Freedoms enjoyed by the Publick wheresoever they have been; yea put to death in an inhuman and pityless Manner. But the Disgrace which hangs over human Nature, from Mens harbouring such strange Notions of one another, is almost as bad.
> (James Parsons, 1741)[1]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, James Parsons, in A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites (1741), placed the hermaphrodite in the context of rationalist science to argue that a third sex could not logically exist. Hermaphroditism was the error of ignorant and superstitious commentators who had misinterpreted those 'poor human creatures' who were tragically 'distorted in some particular part'.[2] The hermaphrodite had been severed from its mythological and artistic origins. It was no longer represented as the delicate and petulant child of Hermes and Aphrodite, or placed in a visual and literary register of classically inflected homoerotic desire. The deployment of hermaphroditic motifs in the gender debates of the early-seventeenth century had depended on the representation of sex and gender as essentially porous terms. But, by the eighteenth century, an increasingly more systematic and rigid categorization of sexual difference was redefining the Renaissance hermaphrodite, in all its contradictory and complex forms.

This thesis has concentrated on the ambiguities associated with the representation of Renaissance hermaphrodites. By focusing on the intersections between the sexed body, gender and sexuality, I have traced a trajectory which charts representations of the hermaphrodite from a figure of erotic ambiguity in the late-sixteenth century, to its role as the object of a scientific and pornographic gaze in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. I have questioned the stability of the term hermaphrodite to demonstrate that

it was an enduring and powerful motif throughout the early modern period, but one that persistently evaded any clear definition. It is, I would argue, this slipperiness which made it such a compelling figure in Renaissance culture.

Whichever way it was depicted, the hermaphrodite could always also suggest its opposite. It was never entirely real or imaginary, but a hybrid of both these modes of conceptualization. It could not be confined to images of the divine or the monstrous, to élite or popular representation, to the sexed body or gendered behaviour. It was characterized by its ability to perplex those who tried to define it. As the legal judgements in the cases of Marie/Marin le Marcis and Thomas/ine Hall demonstrated, hermaphroditic identities confused any clear systems of classification. The hermaphrodite was, by its nature, always doubled. It was thus a fitting symbol of the social and sexual fragmentation engendered by the disruption of power and authority during the period of the English Revolution.

Above all the hermaphrodite was an absorbing figure. As the previous chapter showed, it generated a particular curiosity which marked a convergence between science and sensationalism, a convergence which has characterised representations of sexually ambiguous individuals up until the present day.[3] In 1714 Alexander Pope described an hermaphrodite which was currently being shown in London, as 'the most reigning Curiosity in the town'.[4] Pope described the hermaphrodite with palpable relish as:

> A Person who is equally the toast of gentlemen and ladies, and is at present more universally admired than any of either sex. You know few proficients have a greater genius for Monsters than my self; but I have never tasted a monster to that degree I have done this creature: it was not, like other monsters, produced in the deserts of Arabia, nor came from the country of the Great Mogul, but is the production of the joint-endeavours of a Kentish parson and his Spouse, who intended in the singleness of heart to have begot a christian but of one sex, and

> providence has sent them one of two. (pp.277-278)

For Pope the hermaphrodite represented a consummate opportunity for entertainment. Monsters were objects to be 'tasted', savoured and digested with wit.[5] He related gleefully that some commentators interpreted this person, who would 'expose her personal curiosities for a shilling', as a sign of the licentious corruption of the Augustan age. Others saw the hermaphrodite as a prodigious sign of impending national disaster. One women who viewed the spectacle, 'admire[d] what people wonder at so much? and [said] she is just so herself'. Pope commented that the hermaphrodite was dressed in 'that habit in which the Ladies affect an Hermaphroditical imitation of Men - [...] a Riding-habit' (p.278).

Renaissance preoccupations about defining the hermaphrodite were thus satirically (re)presented in this account. Was the hermaphrodite a monster, a prodigy, a physical anomaly or a cross-dresser? Was it, in other words, an authentic example of embodied hermaphroditism or an imitative performer of enacted gender roles? The question, as always, focused on how any singular definition could be proven. In a parodic reiteration of so many Renaissance approaches to hermaphrodites which combined the medical, the spiritual and the curious, Pope visited this spectacle accompanied by 'a Physician and a Divine, the one to inspect the state of its Body, the other to examine that of its Mind' (p.278). So the doctor, the cleric and the poet undertook the process of 'seeing and feeling' the hermaphrodite (p.279). Their conclusions were inevitably contradictory. The hermaphrodite was declared by the three different men to be predominantly male, predominantly female, and a skilful manipulator of gender roles. For Pope, the significance of the visit was not related to whether or not this person was in fact an hermaphrodite. It represented instead a splendid occasion 'to gratify [...]

curiosity' in an age which delighted in such spectacles (p.277).

In 1680 James Du Plessis Paris began to compile a manuscript collection of stories about monsters and prodigies.[6] Paris had been a servant of Samuel Pepys and whilst travelling abroad with Pepys's nephew, John Jackson, had engaged in the popular seventeenth-century pursuit of collecting and recording curiosities.[7] His account of viewing 'An Hermaphrodite' explicated the hermaphrodite's role as an object of inquiry. The hermaphrodite that he described had apparently been born in Yorkshire in 1680 and shown in London in 1702. Paris reported that he had interrogated the hermaphrodite both verbally and physically and, deploying the language of scientific observation, he described how he engaged in a literal and intimate exploration beneath the hermaphrodite's skirts.[8]

Paris's manuscript takes recourse in a similarly material strategy. In the illustration accompanying the account the hermaphrodite is depicted as fully dressed (fig.6.1). The lower half of his/her body is covered by a flap which when lifted reveals him/her pointing to his/her double genitalia. This flap, when fully open, reconstructs the upper part of the original dressed body which it now covers, and joins up with the top of the head. On the following page an engraving is pasted into the manuscript which shows a graphically explicit depiction of hermaphroditic genitals next to the figure of a Roman head which bears the inscription 'Hermaphroditus ex Marmore antiquo'.

These three images (the dressed flap illustration, the medical/pornographic detailing of parts, and the Roman marble head) encapsulate how hermaphrodites were viewed in the early modern period. The hermaphroditic genitalia are grotesquely open and objectified whilst the antique head is in semi-profile and only half seen. In contrast to the hyper-visible genitalia, the head

Figure 6.1. 'An Hermaphrodite', James Paris Du Plessis (c.1680).

represents the smooth, contained classical body. The flap hermaphrodite, which is both open and closed, is the dominant image of the three. It invites the viewer to look as it also exactly marks the tension between veiling and revealing which is inherent in this early modern gaze.

Although flap anatomies had been produced as teaching aids from the early-sixteenth century, this type of illustration is very rare outside of medical texts and particularly unusual in a depiction of an hermaphrodite's body. Compared to the intricate and beautiful multiple layering of, for example, the flap anatomy of Remellin's Catoptrum Microcosmicum (1619), Paris's single 'now-you-see-it/now-you-don't' illustration seems rather crude. The effect of lifting the single flap, literally raising the skirts of this figure, is to replicate the pattern of Paris's text by tracing the process of discursive description to the physical action of lifting and seeing.

Paris's illustration thus perfectly embodies the ways in which the Renaissance hermaphrodite was depicted. The flap pivots between disclosure and secrecy in a negotiation of the spaces between medical, erotic and classically encoded forms of representation. Sexually ambiguous figures had been similarly represented in the semi-pornographic prints of courtesans which circulated in the streets of sixteenth-century Venice (fig.6.2). As Paula Findlen points out, the flaps attached to these prints 'allowed the viewer to undress them with their hands, revealing the male underwear which these women (scandalously) wore and leaving in doubt the gender of the sex beneath'.[9] Paris's hermaphrodite is placed in his collection of monsters and prodigies but this clothed and bewigged figure is not an example of abject otherness. S/he is rather a symbol of an enduring curiosity, a reminder that a secret might lurk beneath the skirts of any person.

Figure 6.2. Anonymous engraving of a Venetian courtesan (c.1590).

Paris's flap hermaphrodite can now be viewed in the cloistered atmosphere of the British Library's Manuscript Room. To do so, in the pursuit of research in the 1990s, is to some extent to continue the early modern project of exploration and exposure of the hermaphroditic body. These distant hermaphrodites, which are now the curiosities of cultural histories and critical scrutiny, are in this way perpetually the objects of an epistemophilic gaze which can never be satisfied. For the contemporary researcher there is a feeling of covert indecency in viewing Paris's hermaphrodite. The thrill of discovery is mediated by an attendant anxiety surrounding the handling of the now delicate flap, which could, one feels, easily come away in the hand, leaving the hermaphroditic genitals eternally exposed. By carefully lowering the flap and recording and representing what has been revealed, the researcher thus participates in the ongoing project of re/covering the hermaphroditic body.

Notes to Conclusion

1. James Parsons, A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites (London, 1741), p.lii.

2. Parsons, p.xvi.

3. We might think of the current interest in gender dysphoria which has generated critical debate and popular interest. See Judith Shapiro, 'Transsexualism: Reflections on the Persistence of Gender and the Mutability of Sex' and Sandy Stone 'The Empire Strikes Back: a Posttranssexual Manifesto', both in BodyGuards: the Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity, ed. by Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 248-279 and pp.280-304. There have also been several documentaries on British television which have focussed on sex-change surgery and hormonal intervention, most recently the Channel Four documentary The Decision (Februrary, 1996). For an historical overview of the cultural fascination with hermaphrodites see Leslie Fiedler, 'Hermaphrodites', in Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp.178-196.

4. Alexander Pope, 'To a Lady from her Brother', in The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. by George Sherburn, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), I, pp.277-279 (p.277). Further references to this letter are given after quotations in the text.

5. The early modern meaning of 'taste' was associated generally with perceptions of touching, feeling and experiencing an object, rather than its current usage which is focused more on specifically oral sensations.

6. James Du Plessis Paris, A Short History of Human Prodigies & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men., Hermaphrodites, Numerous Births and Extream Old Ages &c. (c.1680), British Library, Sloane MSS, 5246.

7. For Jackson's references to Paris on their travels see Jackson's letters to Pepys from 1699 to 1700 in, Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys 1679-1703, ed. by J.R.Turner, 2 vols (London: G.Bell and Sons, 1926), I, p.207, p.273, and II, p.19, p.97 and p.313. For a discussion of Paris's manuscript see Dudley Wilson, Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment (London: Routledge, 1993), pp.90-95. In the commercial spirit of scientific monster-mongering which characterized the age, Paris eventually sold his manuscript to the collector Sir Hans Sloane.

8. Paris's exploration of the hermaphrodite's 'underneath' recalls Jonson's puppet in Bartholemew Fair, who 'takes up his garment' in order to reveal his 'true' sex by 'plain

demonstration'. Bartholemew Fair (1614), in Three Comedies, ed. by Michael V.v.90-101.

9. Paula Findlen, 'Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy', in The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800, ed. by Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone, 1993), pp.49-108 (p.69).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

A Collection of advertisements, cuttings from periodicals, prints and drawings, ms notes, etc., relating to Bartholomew Fair (London, 1687-1849)

A Collection of 77 Advertisements relating to Dwarfs, Giants, and Other Monsters and Curiosities exhibited for Public Inspection (London, 1680-1700)

'A Relation of a Terrible Monster taken by a Fisherman neere Wollage', London, 1642, BL, TT E107 (7)

Ackroyd, Peter, The House of Doctor Dee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994)

Akrigg, G.P.V. (ed.), Letters of King James VI and I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)

Allen, Thomas, 'An Exact Narrative of an Hermaphrodite now in London', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London (1667), no. 32, p.624

Altick, Richard, The Shows of London (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978)

An Apology for a Latin Verse in Commendation of Mr. MARTEN'S Gonosologium Novum (London, 1709)

Aristotles Master-Piece or the Secrets of Generation Displayed in all the Parts Thereof (London, 1684)

Aristotle, The Complete Works of Aristotle, ed. by Jonathan Barnes, the Revised Oxford Translation, 2 vols. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984)

Artus, Thomas, L'Isle Des Hermaphrodites Nouvellement descouverte (Paris, 1605)

Averell, William, A mervailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striving in the members of mans bodie, allegoricallie representing unto us the envied state of our florishing Common wealth: wherein dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreme vices of this present time (London, 1588)

Bacon, Francis, New Atlantis, in The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1857-1861), III, pp.125-166

Bacon, Francis, The Great Instauration, in The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1857-1861), IV, pp.5-33

Bateman, Stephen, The Doome, warning all men to the Judgemente: Wherein are contayned for the most parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with divers secrete figures of Revelations tending to mannes stayed conversion towardes God: in maner of a generall Chronicon, gathered out of sundrie approved authors. (London, 1581)

Bayle, Pierre, An Historical and Critical Dictionary by Monsieur Bayle Translated into English, with many Additions and Corrections, made by the Author himself, that are not in the French Addition (London, 1710)

Bayle, Pierre, Selections from Bayles Dictionary, ed. by E.A. Beller and M.duP. Lee, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952)

Beaumont, Francis, 'Salmacis and Hermaphroditus' (1602), in Elizabethan Narrative Verse, ed. by Nigel Alexander, Stratford-upon-Avon Library, 3 (London: Arnold, 1967)

Beaumont, Francis, The Knight of the Burning Pestle, ed. by Michael Hattaway, New Mermaid (London: Ernest Benn, 1969)

Beaumont, Francis, Poems (London, 1640)

Beaumont, Francis, Poems (London, 1653)

Beaumont, Francis and John Fletcher, The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, 10 vols., ed. by A.R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909)

Beaumont, Joseph, The Complete Poems of Dr. Joseph Beaumont, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1880)

Beccadelli, Antonio, Antonio Beccadelli and the Hermaphrodite, ed. by Michael de Cassant (Liverpool: Janus Press, 1984)

Boaistuau, Pierre, Histoires Prodigieuses (Paris, 1560)

Boehme, Jacob, Mysterium Magnum Or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called GENESIS (1623), trans. by John Sparrow, (London, 1654)

Boehme, Jacob, The Way to Christ, trans. by Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1978)

Breton, Nicholas, The Good and the Badde: Or Descriptions of the Worthies and Unworthies of this Age (London, 1616)

Brooke, John, 'Unto the Christian Reader', in Of two Woonderful Popish Monsters, to wyt, of a Popish Asse which was found at Rome in the River of Tyber, and of A Moonkish Calfe, calved at Friberge in Misne, Which are the very foreshewings and tokens of Gods wrath, against

blinde, obstinate and monstrous Papists, Witnessed and declared, the one by Philip Melanchthon, the other by Martyn Luther (London, 1579)

Browne, Sir Thomas, The Major Works, ed. by C.A. Patrides (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977)

Bulwer, John, Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transformed; or, the Artificial Changeling (London, 1650)

Caulfield, James, Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons, from the Reign of Edward the Third to the Revolution (London, 1794)

Cavendish, Margaret, Poems and Fancies (London, 1653)

Cavendish, Margaret, The Blazing World (1666), An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Fiction, ed. by Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.252-253

Chavigny de la Bretonnière, Francois de, The Gallant Hermaphrodite, An Amorous Novel (London, 1688)

Cleveland, John, Poems (London, 1651)

Cleveland, John, The Poems of John Cleveland, ed. by Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)

Coke, Edward, The First part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England: Or, a Commentary upon Littleton (London, 1628)

Cooper, Thomas, Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ (London, 1565)

Cowley, Abraham, The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley (London, 1668)

Cowley, Abraham, Abraham Cowley: Poems, ed. by A.R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905)

Cowley, Abraham, The Civil War, ed. by Alan Pritchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973)

Crooke, Helkiah, Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man (London, 1615)

de Diemerbroeck, Isbrand, The Anatomy of Human Bodies, trans. by William Salmon (London, 1689)

de Foigny, Gabriel (James Sadeur), La Terre australe connue: c'est à dire, la desription de ce pays inconnue jusqu'ici (Geneva, 1676)

de Foigny, Gabriel (James Sadeur), A New Discovery of Terra Incognita Australis, or the Southern World (London, 1693)

de la Perrière, Guillaume, The Mirrour of Policie (London, 1598)

de Leon, Moses, Zohar, trans. and ed. by Daniel Chanan Matt (London: SPCK, 1983)

de Rola, Stanislas Klossowski, The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988)

Descartes, René, Descartes: Philosophical Letters, trans. and ed. by Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981),

Descartes, René, Descartes: Discourse on Method and the Meditations, trans. and ed. by F.E. Sutcliffe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.)

Donne, John, The Complete English Poems, ed. by A.J. Smith (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1971; repr. 1986)

Drayton, Michael, The Moone-Calfe (1627), in The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. by J.Williams Hebel, 5 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1932), III, pp.166-202

Du Bartas, The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur Du Bartas, trans. by Joshua Sylvester, ed. by Susan Snyder, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979)

Duval, Jacques, Traité des hermaphrodits, parties génitales, accouchemens des femmes, etc. (Rouen, 1612)

Ebreo, Leone, The Philosophy of Love (Dialoghi d'Amore), trans. by F. Friedeberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes (London: Soncino Press, 1937)

Elyot, Thomas, Dictionary (London, 1538; Scolar Press Facsimile, Menston, 1970)

Evelyn, John, The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. by E.S. de Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959)

Fenton, Geoffrey, Monophylo, drawne into english. A Philosophical discourse and division of love (London, 1572)

Fenton, Edward, Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature (London, 1569)

Ficino, Marsilio, Commentary on Plato's *Symposium* on Love, trans. by Sear Jayne (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1985)

Fletcher, Phineas, The Purple Island (Cambridge, 1633)

Foucault, Michel (ed.), Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth Century French Hermaphrodite, trans. by Richard McDougall (1978; New

York: Pantheon Books, 1980)

Fraunce, Abraham, The Third Part of the countess of Pembrokes Yuychurch: Entituled Amnintas Dale (1592), ed. by Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland, 1976)

Galen, On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body, trans. by Margaret Tallmadge May, 2 vols (Ithaca and new York: Cornell University Press, 1965)

Galford, Ellen, Moll Cutpurse: Her True History (Edingburgh: Stramullion, 1984; repr.1986)

Gibson, Thomas, The Anatomy of Human Bodies Epitomiz'd (London, 1688)

Golding, Arthur, The XV bookes of P.Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis (1567), in Shakespeare's Ovid Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses, ed. by W.H.D. Rouse (London: Centaur, 1961)

Gosson, Stephen, Plays Confuted in Five Actions (London, 1582)

Greer, Germaine, Jeslyn Medoff, Melinda Sansone and Susan Hastings (eds.), Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of 17th Century Women's Verse (London: Virago, 1988)

Haec Vir: Or the Womanish-Man: Being an Answere to a Late Booke Intituled Hic-Mulier (London, 1620)

Hall, Joseph, Another World and Yet the Same (Mundus Alter et idem), trans. and ed. by John Millar Wands (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987)

Halley, Edmond, Correspondence and Papers of Edmond Halley, ed. by E.F. MacPike (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932)

Harrison, William, The Description of England (1587), ed. by Georges Edelen, Folger Shakespeare Library (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968)

Harvey, William, Anatomical Exercitations, Concerning the Generation of Living Creatures (London, 1653)

Havers, George (trans.), A General Collection of Discourses of the Virtuosi of France, upon Questions of all sorts of Philosophy, and other Natural Knowledge (London, 1664)

Head, Richard, Rare Verities: the Cabinet of Venus Unlocked, and Her Secrets Laid Open (London, 1657)

Hic Mulier: Or, The Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to Cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-

Feminines of Our Times (London, 1620)

Highmore, Nathanial, The History of Generation, (London, 1651)

Hippocratic Writings, ed. by G.E.R. Lloyd, trans. by J.Chadwick and W.N.Mann, I.M. Lonie and E.T. Withington, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983)

Hobbes, Thomas, Leviathan (1651), ed. by C.B.Macpherson (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1985)

Hofmann, Michael and James Lasdun, After Ovid: New Metamorphoses (London: Faber and Faber, 1994)

Hooke, Robert, Micrographia: Or some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses with Observations and Inquiries thereupon (London, 1665)

Hopton, Andrew (ed.), Anomalous Phenomena of the Interregnum (London: Aporia Press, 1991)

Huloet, Richard, Abecedarium Anglico-Latinum (London, 1552),

Jacob, Giles, Tractatus de Hermaphroditis: Or, a Treatise of Hermaphrodites (London, 1718)

Jonson, Ben, Volpone (1607), in Three Comedies, ed. by Michael Jamieson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966; repr.1985), pp.49-171

Jonson, Ben, Epicoene or the Silent Woman (1609), New Mermaids, ed. by R.V. Holdsworth (London: Ernest Benn, 1979).

Jonson, Ben, Bartholemew Fair (1614), in Three Comedies, ed. by Michael Jamieson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966; repr.1985), pp.331-460

Jonson, Ben, Notes of Conversation with Ben Jonson made by William Drummond of Hawthornden (1619) ed. by G.B. Harrison (London: Bodley Head, 1923)

Jonson, Ben, Poems, ed. by Ian Donaldson (London: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1975)

Knox, John, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (London, 1558)

La Primaudaye, Peter, The French Academie (London, 1618)

Lilly, Joseph, (ed.), A Collection of 79 Black Letter Ballads and Broadsides, Printed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, between the Years 1559 and 1597 (London, 1867)

Livy, The Romane Historie, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1600)

Lovelace, Richard, The Poems of Richard Lovelace, ed. by C.H. Wilkinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930)

Lucian, A True Story (Verae Historiae), trans. by A.M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library, 8 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1927), I

Lupton, Thomas, A Thousand Notable things of sundry sortes (London, 1579)

Lynche, Richard, The Fountain of Ancient Fiction (1599), ed. by Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland, 1976)

Lysons, Daniel (compiler), Collectanea: or a collection of advertisements and paragraphs from the newspapers, relating to various subjects (London, 1660-1825)

Mandeville, John, Mandevilles Travels, ed. by M.C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)

Marlowe, Christopher, Edward II, in The Complete Plays ed. by, J.B.Steane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969; repr. 1983)

Marlowe, Christopher, Hero and Leander (1598), in Elizabethan Narrative Verse, ed. by Nigel Alexander, pp. 56-77

Martial, Epigrams, trans. by Walter C.A. Ker, 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1920; repr. 1950)

Marvell, Andrew, The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. by H.M. Margoliouth, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; repr. 1951)

Marvell, Andrew, Andrew Marvell: Complete Poetry, ed. by George deF. Lord (London: Dent, 1984)

McKeown, Simon, Monstrous Births: An Illustrative Introduction to Teratology in Early Modern England (London: Indelible Inc., 1991)

McIlwaine, H.R., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia 1622-1632, 1670-1676 (Richmond, Virginia, 1924)

Meyrink, Gustav, The Golem (1915), trans. by M. Pemberton, (Cambridge: Dedalus European Classics, 1985)

Middleton, Thomas, and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, ed by. Andor Gomme, New Mermaids, (London: Ernest Benn, 1976)

Milton, John, 'Areopagitica' (1644), in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, 5 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-1971), II, pp.485-570

Milton, John, 'Eikonoklastes' (1649), in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, 5 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press,

1953-1971), III, pp.337-601

'Mistris Parliament Brought to bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation', in Mercurius Melancholicus (London, April, 1648), BL, TT E437 (24)

'Mistris Parliament Presented in her Bed, after the sore travaile and hard labour which she endured last week, in the Birth of her Monstrous Off spring, the Childe of Deformation', in Mercurius Melancholicus (London, May, 1648), BL, TT E441 (20)

Montaigne, Michel de, The Complete Essays, trans. and ed. by M.A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993)

Mulde Sacke: Or the Apologie of Hic Mulier: To the later Declamation against her (London, 1620)

Overbury, Sir Thomas, The Overburian Characters to which is added A Wife, ed. by W.J. Paylor, The Percy Reprints XIII (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1936)

Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. by Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955)

Paracelsus, Paracelsus: Essential Readings, trans. by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (Northamptonshire: Crucible, 1990)

Paré, Ambroise, The Works of that famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey, trans. by Thomas Johnson (London, 1634)

Paré, Ambroise, On Monsters and Marvels (1573), trans. by Janis L. Pallister (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1982)

Paris, James Du Plessis, A Short History of Human Prodigies & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men., Hermaphrodites, Numerous Births and Extream Old Ages &c. (c.1680), British Library, Sloane MSS, 5246

Parsons, James, A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites (London, 1741)

Parsons, James, 'A Letter to the President, concerning the Hermaphrodite Shewn in London', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London (1750), no.424, pp.142-145

Pepys, Samuel, Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys 1679-1703, ed. by J.R.Turner, 2 vols (London: G.Bell and Sons, 1926)

Pepys, Samuel, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: Bell and Hyman, 1976)

Piercy, Marge, Body of Glass (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992)

Pliny, The Historie of the Worlde, Commonly called, The Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1601)

Poole, Joshua, The English Parnassus: or, A Helpe to English Poesie (London, 1657)

Pope, Alexander, 'To a Lady from her Brother', in The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed. by George Sherburn, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), I, pp.277-279

Prerogative Anatomized (London, 1644)

Prynne, William, The Unlovelinesse of Lovelockes (London, 1628)

Prynne, William, Histrio-mastick (London, 1633)

Purchas, Samuel, Microcosmus, or the Historie of Man (London, 1619)

Rollins, Hyder Edward (ed.), The Pack of Autolycus (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927)

Ross, Alexander, An Exposition on the Fourteene first Chapters of Genesis, by way of Question and Answere (London, 1626)

Ross, Alexander, Mystagogus Poeticus, or the Muses Interpreter (1648), ed. by Stephen Orgel (New York: Garland, 1976)

Rous, Francis, Oile of Scorpions (London, 1623)

Rueff, Jacob, The Expert Midwife or an Excellent and Most Necessary Treatise of the Generation and Birth of Man (1554; trans, London, 1637)

Rump: or an Exact Collection of the choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times. By the most Eminent Wits, from Anno 1639 to anno 1661, London, 1662

S., F., 'On the Death of Annyseed-water Robbin', in Death in a New Dress: or Sportive Funeral Elegies (London, 1656)

Sandys, George, Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd and Represented in Figures (Oxford, 1632)

Shakespeare, William, Antony and Cleopatra, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, ed. by David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Shakespeare, William, Venus and Adonis (1593), in The Complete Works, pp.597-603

Sharp, Jane, The Midwives Book (London, 1671)

Sidney, Sir Philip, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (1590), ed. by Maurice Evans (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977)

Sidney, Sir Philip, 'Astrophel and Stella', in Silver Poets of the Sixteenth Century, ed. by Gerald Bullett (London: Dent, 1984), pp.173-225

'Signs and Wonders from Heaven with a True Relation of a Monster Borne in Ratcliffe Highway', London, 1645, BL, TT E295 (2)

Spencer, John, A Discourse Concerning Prodigies: Wherein the Vanity of Presages by them is reprehended, and their true and proper ends asserted and vindicated (Second edition), London, 1665

Sprat, Thomas, History of the Royal Society (London, 1667)

St Augustine, Confessions, trans. by R.S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961)

St Augustine, City of God, trans. by Henry Bettenson, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984)

'Strange Newes from Scotland', London, 1647, BL, TT E408 (14)

Strabo, The Geography of Strabo, ed. and trans. by Horace Leonard Jones, 8 vols (London: Heinemann, 1917-1932)

Stubbes, Philip, The Anatomie of Abuses (London, 1583)

Taylor, John, Superbiæ Flagellum , Or the Whip of Pride (London, 1621)

'The form and shape of a monstrous child born at Maidstone in Kent, the 24th of October, 1568', BL, Huth Collection

'The Kingdomes Monster Uncloaked from Heaven: The Popish Conspirators, Malignant Plotters, and Cruell Irish, in One Body to destroy Kingdome, Religion and Lawes', London, 1643. BL, Huth Collection

'The Most Strange and Wonderfull Apperation of Blood in a Poole at Garraton in Leicestershire', London 1645, BL, TT E303 (22).

The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights (London, 1632)

The Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith Commonly Called Mal Cutpurse (London, 1662)

'The West-Country Dialogue: Or a Pleasant Ditty between Aniseed-Robin the Miller, and his Brother Jack the Plough-man, concerning Joan, poor Robin's unkind lover'. BL, Roxburgue Ballads, II, 500 and 514

Veay, Mr, 'An Extract of a Letter written by Mr. Veay Physician at Toulouse to Mr. de St. Ussans, concerning a very extraordinary Hermaphrodite in that City', Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London (1687), no. 282, pp.282-3

Venette, Nicholas, Tableau de L'Amour Conjugal, trans. as The Mysteries of Love Reveal'd (London, 1707)

Vicars, John, Prodigies & Apparitions or Englands Warning Pieces (London, 1643)

Vitruvius, On Architecture, ed. and trans. by Frank Granger, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1931)

Ward, John, Diary (1648-1679), unpublished transcript by Sir D'Arcy Power, 5 vols (1913-1926)

Webster, John, The Duchess of Malfi, in John Webster: Three Plays, ed by. D.C.Gunby (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972)

Weldon, Sir Anthony, The Court and Character of K. James Written and taken by Sir A.W. being an Eye, and Ear witness (London, 1650)

Willet, Andrew, Hexapla in Genesis...A Sixfold Commentary upon Genesis (London, 1608)

Williams, John, A Sermon of Apparell (London, 1620)

Secondary Sources

Adelman, Janet, '"Born of Woman": Fantasies of Maternal Power in Macbeth' in Cannibals, Witches and Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance, ed. by Marjorie Garber (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp.90-122

Ajootian, Aileen, 'Ex Utroque Sexu: the Sleeping Hermaphrodite and the Myth of Agdistes', American Journal of Archaeology, 92 (1988), 275-276

Altick, Richard, The Shows of London (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978)

Anson, John, 'The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: the Origin and Development of a Motif', Viator 5 (1974), 1-32

Axton, Marie, The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977)

Bakan, R., 'Queen Elizabeth I: a Case of Testicular Feminization?', Medical Hypotheses, 17 (1985), 277-284

Bakhtin, Mikhail, Rabelais and His World, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1968)

Bal, Mieke, 'Sexuality, Sin, and Sorrow: the Emergence of Female Character (A Reading of Genesis 1-3), in The Female Body in Western Culture, ed. by Susan Rubin Suleiman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp.317-338

Barish, Jonas, The Antitheatrical Prejudice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991)

Barkan, Leonard, Nature's Work of Art: the Human Body as Image of the World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975)

Barker, Francis, The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection (London: Methuen, 1985)

Beaune, Jean-Claude, 'The Classical Age of Automata: An Impressionistic Survey from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century', Fragments for a History of the Human Body, ed. by Michael Feher, Romonn Naddaff and Nadia Tuzi, Part One (Cambridge, MA: Zone, 1989), pp.431-475

Benedeck, Thomas G., 'Beliefs about Human Sexual Function in the Middle Ages and Renaissance', in Human Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, ed. by. Douglas Radcliffe-Umstead, pp.97-119

Bennett, H.S., English Books and Readers 1475-1640, 3 vols

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; repr.1989)

Benson, Pamela Joseph, 'Rule Virginia: Protestant Theories of Female Regiment in The Faerie Queene', English Literary Renaissance, 15 (1985), 277-292

Berry, Philippa, Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen (London: Routledge, 1989)

Bilski, Emily D., Golem! Danger Deliverance and Art (New York: the Jewish Museum, 1988)

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)

Bordo, Susan, 'The Cartesian Masculinization of Thought', Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 11 (1986), 439-456

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

Boylan, Michael, 'The Galenic and Hippocratic Challenges to Aristotle's Conception Theory', Journal of the History of Biology, 17 (1984), 83-112

Bray, Alan, Homosexuality in the Renaissance (London: The Gay Men's Press, 1982)

Bray, Alan, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', History Workshop Journal, 29 (1990), 1-19

Brink, Jean R., Maryanne C. Horovitz and Allison Courdet (eds.), Playing With Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991)

Burnett, Mark Thornton, '"Strange and woonderfull syghts': The Tempest and the Discourses of Monstrosity', unpublished paper.

Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (London: Routledge, 1990)

Bynum, Caroline Walker, Jesus as Mother: Studies in Spirituality of the High Middle Ages (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982)

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 'The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg', Renaissance Quarterly 39 (1986), 399-439

Cadden, Joan, Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Callender, Charles and Lee M. Kochens, 'The North American Berdache', in Culture and Human Sexuality, ed. by David N.Suggs and Andrew W. Miracle (California: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1993), pp.367-397

Capp, Bernard, 'Popular Literature', in Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England, ed. by Barry Reay (London and Sydney: Croom and Helm, 1985), pp.198-242

Chambers, A.B., '"Sin" and "Sign" in Paradise Lost', Huntingdon Library Quarterly, 26 (1963), 381-382

Cheney, Donald, 'Spenser's Hermaphrodite and the 1590 Faerie Queene', PMLA, 87 (1972), 192-200

Chernaik, Warren, Sexual Freedom in Restoration Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Cirillo, A.R., 'The Fair Hermaphrodite: Love-Union in the Poetry of Donne and Spenser', Studies in English Literature, 9 (1969), 81-95

Cixous, Hélène, 'Sorties', in Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, The Newly Born Woman (1975), trans. by Betsy Wing (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987)

Clark, Stuart, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', Past and Present, 87 (1980), 99-127

Crawford, Patricia, 'Sexual Knowledge in England, 1500-1750', in Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikulàs Teich, pp.82-106

Crompton, Louis, 'The Myth of Lesbian Impunity: Capital Laws from 1270 to 1791', Journal of Homosexuality, 6 (1980/81), 11-25

Darbishire, Helen (ed.), The Early Lives of Milton (London: Constable, 1932)

Darmon, Pierre, Trial By Impotence: Virility and Marriage in Pre-Revolutionary France, trans. by Paul Keegan (1979; London: Chatto & Windus, 1985)

Daston, Lorraine, and Katharine Park, 'Unnatural Conceptions: the Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century France and England', Past and Present, 92 (1981), 20-54

Daston, Lorraine and Katharine Park, 'Hermaphrodites in Renaissance France', Critical Matrix, 1, (1985), 1-19

Daston, Lorraine and Katharine Park, 'The Hermaphrodite and

the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France, Gay and Lesbian Quarterly, 1 (1995), 419-438

Davidson, Arnold, 'Sex and the Emergence of Sexuality', Critical Inquiry, 14 (1987), 16-48

Davidson, Arnold, 'The Horror of Monsters', in The Boundaries of Humanity: Humans, Animals, Machines, ed. by James J. Sheehan and Morton Sosna (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp.36-67

Davis, Natalie Zemon, 'Women on Top', in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (1965; Cambridge: Polity, 1987), pp. 124-151

Dekker, Rudolf M., and Lotte C. van de Pol, The Tradition of Female Transvesticism in Early Modern Europe (London: Macmillan, 1989)

Delcourt, Marie, Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity, trans. by Jennifer Nicholson (London: Studio Books, 1961)

Dollimore, Jonathan, 'Subjectivity, Sexuality and Transgression: the Jacobean Connection', Renaissance Drama, 17 (1986), 53-81

Donnison, Jean, Midwives and Medical Men (London: Historical Publications, 1988)

Donoghue, Emma, Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture 1668-1801 (London: Scarlet Press, 1993)

Douglas, Mary, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (1966; London: Routledge, 1991)

Duberman, Martin Bauml, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey, Jr. (eds.), Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Lesbian and Gay Past (1989; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991)

Durston, Chris, 'Signs and Wonders and the English Civil War', History Today, 38 (1987), 22-29

Epstein, Julia, 'Either/Or- Neither/Both: Sexual Ambiguity and the Ideology of Gender', Genders, 7 (1990), 99-142

Epstein, Julia and Kristina Straub (eds.) Body Guards: the Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity (New York and London: Routledge, 1991)

Ettinghausen, Henry, 'The Illustrated Spanish News: Text and Image in the Seventeenth-Century Press' in Art and Literature in Spain: 1600-1800, ed. by Charles Davis and Paul Julian Smith (London and Madrid: Tamesis, 1993), pp.117-133

Farrington, Benjamin, 'Temporis Partus Masculus: An Untranslated Writing of Francis Bacon', Centaurus, 1 (1951), 193-205

Ferguson, Margaret W., Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (eds.), Rewriting the Renaissance: the Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987)

Fiedler, Leslie, Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979)

Findlen, Paula, 'Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: the Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe', Renaissance Quarterly, 43 (1990), 292-331

Findlen, Paula, 'Humanism, Politics and Pornography in Renaissance Italy', in The Invention of Pornography, ed. by Lynn Hunt, pp.49-108

Finkelpearl, Philip J., 'The Authorship of 'Salmacis and Hermaphroditus', Notes and Queries, 214 (1969), 367-368

Foucault, Michel, 'Introduction', Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth Century French Hermaphrodite, trans. by Richard McDougall (1978; New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp.vii-xvii

Foucault, Michel, The History of Sexuality: An Introduction (1976), trans. by Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978)

Foxon, David, Libertine Literature in England 1660-1745 (Reprinted with revisions from The Book Collector, 1964)

Freud, Sigmund, 'Family Romances' (1909), in On Sexuality, ed. and trans. by James Strachey and Albert Dickson, The Penguin Freud Library, 15 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), VII, pp.221-225

Freud, Sigmund, 'Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood' (1910), in Art and Literature, ed. and trans. by Angela Richards and Albert Dickson, The Penguin Freud Library, 15 vols, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), XIV, pp.145-231

Freud, Sigmund, (1919) 'The "Uncanny"', in Art and Literature, ed. and trans. by James Strachey and Albert Dickson, The Penguin Freud Library, 15 vols (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1985) XIV, 339-376

Friedman, John Block, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1981)

Friedman, Susan Stanford, 'Creativity and the Childbirth Metaphor: Gender Difference in Literary Discourse',

Feminist Studies, 13 (1987), 49-82

Friedman, Jerome, Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution: the Battle of the Frogs and Fairford's Flies (London, UCL Press, 1993)

Gallagher, Philip J., '"Real or Allegoric": the Ontology of Sin and Death in Paradise Lost', English Literary Renaissance, 6 (1976), 317-335

Garber, Marjorie, 'The Logic of the Transvestite: The Roaring Girl', in Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama ed. by David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.221-234

Goldberg, Jonathan, James I and the Politics of Literature (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1983)

Goldberg, Jonathan, Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992)

Goldberg, Jonathan, Queering the Renaissance (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994)

Gonzalez-Crussi, F., 'Sexual Undifferentiation', in Three Forms of Sudden Death and Other Reflections on the Grandeur and Misery of the Body (London: Picador, 1987), pp.43-64

Gough, Jonathan, 'The Hermaphrodite: a Study of its Medical, Legal, and Philosophical Status, and of its Appearance in some Examples of English Renaissance Literature' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Keble College, University of Oxford, 1994

Graves, Robert, The Greek Myths, 2 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955; repr. 1984)

Greenblatt, Stephen, Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984)

Greenblatt, Stephen, 'Fiction and Friction' in Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought, ed. by Thomas Heller, Morton Sosna and David Wellbery (California: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp.30-52

Hackett, Helen, Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (London: Macmillan, 1995)

Hale, David, The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1971)

Halperin, David, One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: and Other Essays on Greek Love (London: Routledge, 1990)

Hammill, Graham, 'The Epistemology of Expurgation: Bacon and The Masculine Birth of Time', in Queering the Renaissance, ed. by Jonathan Goldberg, (1994), pp.236-252

Hammond, Paul, 'The King's Two Bodies: Representations of Charles II', in Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800, ed. by Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.13-48

Haraway, Donna, 'A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, technology, and Socialist feminism in the 1980s', in Feminism/Postmodernism, ed. by Linda J. Nicholson (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.190-233

Hardin, Richard F., Michael Drayton and the Passing of Elizabethan England (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973)

Harvey, Elizabeth D., Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts (London: Routledge, 1992)

Hayles, Nancy, 'The Ambivalent Ideal: the Concept of Androgyny in the English Literary Renaissance' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Richester, 1976)

Healy, Thomas, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island and the Poetry of Purgation', Renaissance Studies, 5 (1991), 341-352

Henderson, Katherine Usher, and Barbara F. McManus (eds.), Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985)

Henke, James T., Gutter Life and Language in the Early 'Street' Literature of England: a Glossary of Terms and Topics Chiefly of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Conneticut: Locust Hill Press, 1988)

Hill, Christopher, '"Till the Conversion of the Jews"' Collected Essays' 3 vols (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1965), II, pp.269-300

Hobby, Elaine, Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing 1649-88 (London: Virago, 1988)

Horowitz, Maryanne Cline, 'Aristotle and Woman', Journal of the History of Biology, 9 (1976), 183-213

Howard, Jean E., 'Sex and Social Conflict: the Erotics of The Roaring Girl', in Erotic Politics, ed. by Susan Zimmerman, pp.170-190

Howard, Jean E., 'Crossdressing, the Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England', Shakespeare Quarterly, 39 (1988), 418-440

Huet, Marie-Hélène, Monstrous Imagination (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993)

Hunt, Lynn (ed), The Invention of Pornography:Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800 (New York: Zone, 1993)

Hunt, Lynn, 'Introduction: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800', in The Invention of Pornography, pp.9-45

Idel, Moshe, Golem: Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions in the Artificial Antthropoid (Albany: SUNY, 1990)

Jacquart, Danielle, and Claude Thomasset, Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages, trans. by Matthew Adamson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)

Jardine, Lisa, Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare 2nd edn (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1989)

Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Peter Stallybrass, 'Fetishizing Gender: Constructing the Hermaphrodite in Renaissance Europe', in Body Guards, ed. by Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub, pp.80-111

Jones, Norman, The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993)

Jordan, Constance, 'Women's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought', Renaissance Quarterly, 40 (1987), 421-451

Jordan, Constance, 'Representing Political Androgyny: More on the Siena Portrait of Queen Elizabeth', in The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon, ed. by Anne M. Hasekorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), pp.157-176

Jowitt, Claire, 'Old Worlds and New Worlds: Renaissance Voyage Narratives' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 1996)

Jung, C.J., Psychology and Alchemy (London: Routledge, 1989)

Katz, Jonathan Ned, Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A. (1976; revised ed. Harmondsworth: Meridian, 1992)

Katz, Jonathan Ned, Gay/Lesbian Almanac: a New Documentary

(1983; repr. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1994)

Keach, William, Elizabethan Erotic Narratives: Irony and Pathos in the Ovidian Poetry of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and their Contemporaries (Brighton: Harvester, 1977)

Keller, Evelyn Fox, 'Baconian Science: A Hermaphroditic Birth', The Philosophical Forum, 3 (1980), 299-308

Keller, Evelyn Fox, Reflections on Gender and Science (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985)

Keller, Evelyn Fox, 'From Secrets of Life to Secrets of Death', in Body/Politics: Women and the Discourses of Science, ed. by Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller and Sally Shuttleworth (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 177-191

Kellog, Stuart, Review of Herculine Barbin, Journal of Homosexuality, 7 (1987), 87-94

Kristeva, Julia, Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982)

Laqueur, '"Amor Veneris, vel Dulcedo Appeletur"', Zone, 5 (1989), 91-131

Laqueur, Thomas, Making Sex:Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1990)

Lemay, Helen Rodnite, 'Masculinity and Femininity in Early Renaissance Treatises on Human Reproduction', Clio Medica, 18 (1983), 21-31

Lemmi, C. W., 'Monster-Spawning Nile-Mud in Spenser', Modern Language Notes, 41 (1926), 234-238

Lepick, Julie, 'That Faire Hermaphrodite': the Transformation of a Figure in the Literature of the English Renaissance' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Buffalo, 1976)

Levine, Laura, 'Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization from 1579 to 1642', Criticism, 28 (1986), 121-143

Levine, Laura, Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization, 1579-1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Lieb, Michael, The Dialectics of Creation: Patterns of Birth and Regeneration in *Paradise Lost* (MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970)

Lind, David, Studies in Pre-Vesalian Anatomy: Biography, Translations, Documents (Philadelphia: the American

Philosophical Society, 1975)

Lorant, Stefan (ed.), The New World: the First Pictures of America made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne and Engraved by Theodore de Bry (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945; revised ed., 1965)

Maclean, Ian, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: a Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

Marcus, Leah S., 'Shakespeare's Comic Heroines, Elizabeth I, and the Political Uses of Androgyny', in Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. by Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp.135-153

Maus, Katharine Eisaman, 'A Womb of His Own: Male Renaissance Poets in the Female Body', in Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe ed. by James Grantham Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.266-288

McFarland, Ronald E., 'Teratology in Late Renaissance English Popular Literature', English Miscellany, (1979/80), ed. by Mario Praz, 103-123

McLuskie, Kathleen, 'The Act, the Role, and the Actor: Boy Actresses on the Elizabethan Stage', New Theatre Quarterly, 30 (1987), 120-130

Mendelson, Sara Heller, The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987)

Merchant, Carolyn, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980; repr. Harper, 1990)

Montrose, Louis Adrian, '"Shaping Fantasies"; Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', Representations, 2 (1983), 61-94

Moi, Toril, 'Patriarchal Thought and the Drive for Knowledge', in Between Feminism and Psychoanalysis, ed. by Teresa Brennan (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.189-205

Morsink, Johannes, 'Was Aristotle's Biology Sexist?', Journal of the History of Biology, 12 (1979), 83-112

Mulholland, Paul, 'The Date of The Roaring Girl', Review of English Studies, 28 (1977), 18-31

Newman, Karen, Fashioning Femininity: Femininity and English Renaissance Drama (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)

Niditch, Susan, 'The Cosmic Adam: Man as Mediator in Rabbinic Literature', Journal of Jewish Studies, 35 (1983), 137-146

Ong, Walter, Ramus, Method and Decay of Dialogue (1958; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983)

Orgel, Stephen, 'Nobody's Perfect: or Why Did the English Stage Take Boys for Women?' South Atlantic Quarterly, 88 (1989) 7-29

Orgel, Stephen, 'The Subtexts of The Roaring Girl', in Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage, ed. by Susan Zimmerman, pp.12-26

Park, Katharine, and Robert A. Nye, 'Destiny is Anatomy', Review of Laqueur's Making sex, in The New Republic, 18 February, 1991, 53-57

Parker, Patricia, 'Gender Ideology, Gender Change: the Case of Marie Germain', Critical Inquiry, 19 (1993), 337-364

Parker, Patricia, 'Fantasies of "Race" and "Gender": Africa, Othello, and Bringing to Light', in Women, 'Race' and Writing in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London: Routledge, 1994), pp.84-100

Parry, Graham, The Seventeenth Century: the Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1603-1700 (London: Longman, 1989)

Paster, Gail Kern, 'Leaky Vessels: the Incontinent Women of City Comedy', Renaissance Drama, 18 (1987), 43-65

Pender, Stephen, 'No Monsters at the Resurrection': Inside Some Conjoined Twins', in Reading Monsters/Reading Culture, ed. by Jeffry Cohen (University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming)

Poirier, Guy, 'French Renaissance Travel Accounts: Images of Sin, Visions of the New World', Journal of Homosexuality, 25 (1993), 215-229

Porter, Roy and Mikulàs Teich (eds.), Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: the History of Attitudes to Sexuality, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Porter, Roy, 'The Literature of Sexual Advice before 1800', in Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science, ed. by Roy Porter and Mikulàs Teich, pp.134-157

Porter, Roy, '"The Secrets of Generation Display'd": Aristotle's Masterpiece in Eighteenth-Century England', in Unauthorized Sexual Behaviour During the Enlightenment, ed. by R.F. Macubbin (special issue of

Eighteenth-Century Life, 1985), pp.1-21

Preus, Anthony, 'Galen's Criticism of Aristotle's Conception Theory', Journal of the History of Biology, 10 (1977), 65-85

Quilligan, Maureen, Milton's Spenser: the Politics of Reading (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983)

Radcliffe-Umstead, Douglas (ed.), Human Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Publications, 1978)

Raymond, Janice, 'The Illusion of Androgyny' in Building Feminist Theory: Essays from 'Quest' a Feminist Quarterly, ed. by Charlotte Bunch (London: Longman, 1981), 59-66

Rhodes, Neil, Elizabethan Grotesque (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980)

Reid, Jane Davidson, The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Rich, Adrienne, Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution (London: Virago, 1977)

Roberts, Josephine A., 'An Unpublished Literary Quarrel Concerning the Suppression of Mary Wroth's "Urania" (1621)', Notes and Queries, 222 (1977), 532-535

Rose, Mark, 'Sidney's Womanish Man, Review of English Studies, 15 (1964), 353-363

Russo, Mary, 'Female Grotesques: Carnival and Theory', in Feminist Studies/Critical Studies, ed. by Teresa de Lauretis (London, Macmillan, 1988), pp.213-229

Seznec, Jean, The Survival of the Pagan Gods: the Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, trans by. Barbara F. Sessions (1940; repr. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1953)

Sanders, Julie, 'Corporeal Acts in Ben Jonson's Epicoene, unpublished paper presented at 'the Borders of the Human' colloquium at Senate House, London, February, 1995

Saslow, James M., Ganymede in The Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986)

Sawday, Jonathan, '"Mysteriously Divided": Civil War, Madness and the Divided Self', in Literature and the Civil War, ed. by Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp.127-143

Sawday, Jonathan, 'Re-Writing a Revolution: History, Symbol, and Text in the Restoration', The Seventeenth Century, 7 (1992), 171-199 (pp.181-182)

Sawday, Jonathan, The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture (London: Routledge, 1995)

Schleiner, Winifried, 'Divina virago: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon', Studies in Philology, 75 (1978), 163-180

Scholem, Gershom G., On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, trans. by Ralph Manheim (London: Routledge, 1965)

Schwartz, Regina, Remembering and Repeating: Biblical Creation in *Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Schwartz, Jerome, 'Aspects of Androgyny in the Renaissance' in Human Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, ed. by Douglas Radcliffe-Umstead, pp.122-131

Serena, Nandu, 'The Hijras of India: Cultural and Individual Dimensions of an Institutionalized Third Gender Role', in Culture and Human Sexuality, ed. by David N.Suggs and Andrew W. Miracle (California: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1993), pp.279-293

Shapiro, Judith, 'Transsexualism: Reflections on the Persistence of Gender and the Mutability of Sex', in BodyGuards, ed. by Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub, pp. 248-279

Shapiro, Susan, 'A Seventeenth century Hermaphrodite', Seventeenth Century News, 45 (1987), 12-13

Shapiro, Susan, 'Amazons, Hermaphrodites, and Plain Monsters: the "Masculine" Woman in English Satire and Social Criticism from 1580-1640', Atlantis, 13 (1987), 66-76

Sharrock, Cath, 'Hermaphroditism; or, "the Erection of a New Doctrine": Theories of Female Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century England', Paragraph, 17 (1994), 38-48

Shepherd, Simon, Amazons and Warrior Women (Brighton, Harvester, 1981)

Sherwin, Byron L., The Golem Legend: Origins and Implications (New York: University Press of America, 1985)

Silberman, Lauren, 'The Hermaphrodite and the Metamorphosis of Spensarian Allegory', English Literary Renaissance, 17 (1987), 207-223

Silberman, Lauren, 'Mythographic Transformations of Ovid's Hermaphrodite', Sixteenth Century Journal, 19 (1988),

643-652

Sinfield, Alan, Cultural Politics: Queer Reading (London: Routledge, 1994)

Smith, Hilda, 'Gynecology and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England', in Liberating women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays, ed. by Berenice A. Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp.97-114

Spufford, Margaret, Small Books and Pleasant Histories (1981: repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.22-23

Stafford, Barbara Maria, Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991)

Stallybrass, Peter, and Allon White, The Poetics and Politics of Transgression (London: Methuen, 1986)

Stallybrass, Peter, 'Transvesticism and the "body beneath": Speculating on the Boy Actor', in Erotic Politcs, ed. by Susan Zimmerman, pp.64-83

Stallybrass, Peter, 'Patriarchal Territories: the Body Enclosed', in Rewriting the Renaissance, ed. by Margaret W. Ferguson et al, pp.123-142

Starnes, DeWitt T. and Ernest William Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries: A Study of Renaissance Dictionaries in their Relation to the Classical Learning of Contemporary English Writers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955)

Stone, Sandy, 'The Empire Strikes Back: a Posttranssexual Manifesto', BodyGuards, ed. by Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub, pp.280-304.

Todd, Janet, The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing and Fiction, 1660-1800 (London: Virago, 1989)

Traub, Valerie, Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama (London: Routledge, 1992)

Trumbach, Randolph, 'London's Sapphists: From Three Sexes to Four Genders in the Making of Modern Culture', in Body Guards, ed. by Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub, pp.112-141

Turner, Victor, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press,, 1967; repr.1991)

Turner, James Grantham, One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton (Oxford: Clarendon

Press, 1987)

Turner, James Grantham (ed.), Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Waage, Frederick O., 'Meg and Moll: Two Renaissance London Heroines', Journal of Popular Culture, 20 (1986), 105-117

Waddington, Raymond B., 'The Bisexual Portrait of Francis I: Fontainbleau, Castiglione, and the Tone of Courtly Mythology' in Playing With Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit, ed. by Jean R. Brink et al, pp.99-132

Wagner, Peter, 'The Discourse on Sex - or Sex as Discourse: Eighteenth-Century Medical and Paramedical Literature', in Sexual Underworlds of the Enlightenment, ed. by G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.46-68

Wagner, Peter, Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America (London: Paladin Grafton Books, 1990)

Walker, Julia, 'John Donne's "The Extasie" as an Alchemical Process', English Language Notes, 20 (1982), 1-8

Warner, Marina, Monuments and Maidens: the Allegory of the Female Form (London: Picador, 1987), pp.38-52

Weeks, Jeffrey, Against Nature: Essays on History, Sexuality and Identity (London: River Oram Press, 1991)

Williams, Gordon, A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature, 3 vols (London: the Athlone Press, 1994)

Williams, Tamsyn, '"Magnetic Figures": Polemical Prints of the English Revolution', in Renaissance Bodies: the Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660, ed. by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), pp.86-110

Williams, Neville, All the Queen's Men (London: Cardinal, 1974)

Wilson, Dudley, Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment (London: Routledge, 1993)

Wiseman, Susan, '"She-politics" and Adamic Kings: Parliament and the Female Body', unpublished paper

Wittkower, Rudolf, 'Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942), 159-97

Woodbridge, Linda, Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620 (Brighton: Harvester, 1984)

Yavneh, Naomi, 'The Spiritual Eroticism of Leone's Hermaphrodite', in Playing with Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit, ed. by Jean R. Brink et al, pp.85-98

Zimmerman, Susan (ed.), Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage (London: Routledge, 1992)