

Besides, many be angry (which is a passion of the invading appetite) for things they may easily avoid, as the lady which chid her maid because the floor of her chamber was defiled with a drop of candle. Finally, we know God himself to be affected with anger, to whom nothing can be hard or ~~the~~ facile. Many things more might be said concerning this matter, as how the difference of hardly or easily obtaining a thing cannot cause such diversities of inclinations; for so we might say our seeing might be divided, for some things we see with facility, others with difficulty; some sounds we hear easily, others hardly. Moreover, the difficulty of obtaining an object rather deterreth a man from procuring it than inciteth to prosecute it, and therefore consequently it cannot be a cause of distinction. But these arguments and many more for brevity's sake I omit, pretending after another manner to explicate this division.

The other explication, and as easy to be perceived as the precedent, is this: first, as we have insinuated before, God and Nature gave men and beasts these natural instincts or inclinations to provide for themselves all those things that are profitable, and to avoid all those things which are damnable; and this inclination may be called *conspiciibilis*, coveting. Yet because that God did foresee that oftentimes there should occur impediments to hinder them from the execution of such inclinations, therefore he gave them an other inclination to help themselves to overcome or avoid those impediments, and to invade or impugne whatsoever resisteth; for the better execution whereof he hath armed all beasts either with force, craft, or flight to eschew all obstacles that may detain them from those things which they conceive as convenient; wherefore to the bull he hath imparted horns, to the boar his tusks, to the lion claws, to the hare her heels, to the fox craft, to men their hands and wit. And for this cause we see the very little children, when any would deprive them of their victuals, for lack of strength to fight they arm themselves with tears. To this explication it seemeth that the names of *inscribilis* and *conspiciibilis* more aptly agree than to the other, because here only *inscribilis* invadeth and impugneeth, and not affecteth or desireth, as in the other.

HELKIAH CROOKE

From Microscosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man

1616, 1625

In 1602, when *Truebirth Night* received its first recorded performance, knowledge of the human body was undergoing rapid revision. For nearly fifteen hundred years Europeans had thought about their bodies in the terms given to them by the second-century physician Galen. In Galen's construction, the body was conceived as a container of four basic fluids or "humors" — yellow bile, blood, phlegm, and black bile — each of them seated in a different organ but capable of circulating all over the body. They could also change into one another, depending on ingested food and drink and on stimulation of the senses. Blood, as we have seen, was associated with *eros*. By 1602 scientific anatomy was challenging Galen's pronouncements. In 1602, however, it was still fourteen years before William Harvey would argue in a lecture that what circulated in the body was not a mixture of humors but blood. It was twelve years later still before Harvey demonstrated his argument in print. Helkiah Crooke's *Microscmographia* is an encyclopedic work that attempts to collect all the recent findings of scientific anatomy for the use of physicians and the education of learned readers. The full subtitle of *Microscmographia* declares that the hefty folio volume includes not only *A Description of the Body of Man* but also *The Controversies Thereto Belonging*. What Crooke attempts to do at every turn is to reconcile the evidence of recent anatomical investigations with the received opinions of Galen. Sexual organs present a case in point.

Galen encouraged Shakespeare and his contemporaries to think of male and female sexual organs as being alike: the neck of the womb corresponded to the penis, the ovaries to the testicles. Women's sexual organs were imagined to be merely the inverse of men's, an accident of the relative differences in body heat between men and women produced by differences in humors. The greater heat and dryness of men's bodies caused the sexual organs to protrude, while the greater coolness and wetness of women's bodies caused the sexual organs to remain inside. Illustrations in Crooke's encyclopedia make this scheme graphically clear. (See Figures 15 and 16.) In effect, Galenic medicine posits *one* sex, not two.¹ Everyone starts out as a female, just as "the man right fair" does in Shakespeare's Sonnet 20:

And for a woman wert thou first created,
Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell a-doubling,
And by addition me of thee defeated,
By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.

¹ A full explanation of this proposition and its influence in European anatomy are provided by Laqueur in *Making Sex*.

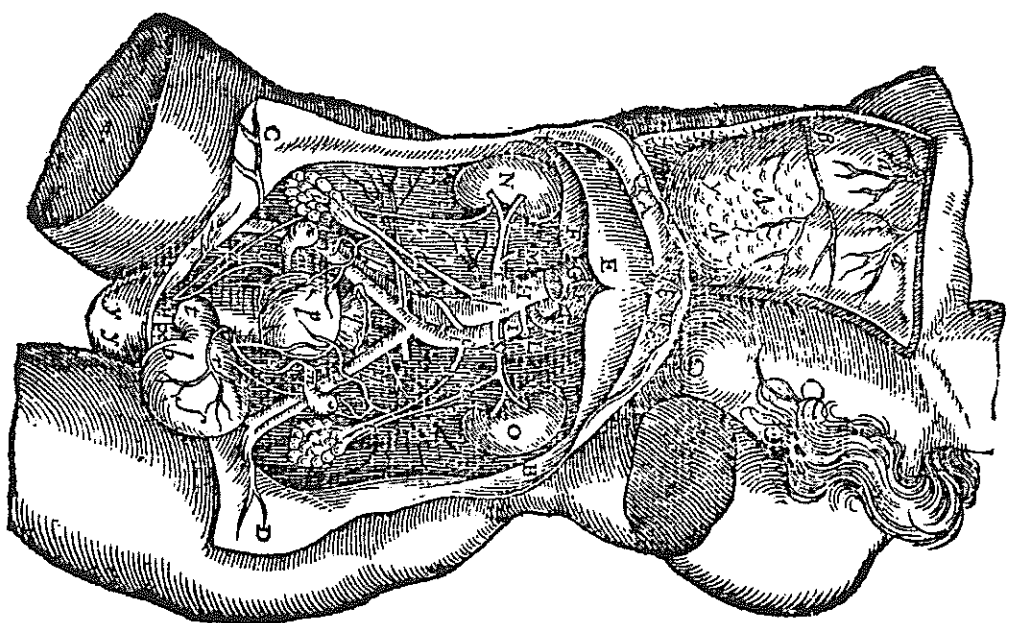


FIGURE 15 Female Reproductive Organs, from Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia*: A Description of the Body of Man (1625). The womb is designated by the letter p.

Nature's "addition" comes about through the greater heat of male bodies, an effect that is heightened at puberty, when the testicles develop, the penis becomes enlarged, and body hair begins to appear, most notably in the form of a beard. Stories circulated about how an increase in body heat could turn women into men. Montaigne, for example, on his journey from southwestern France via Germany to Italy stopped off to visit a peasant girl named Marie who, at the age

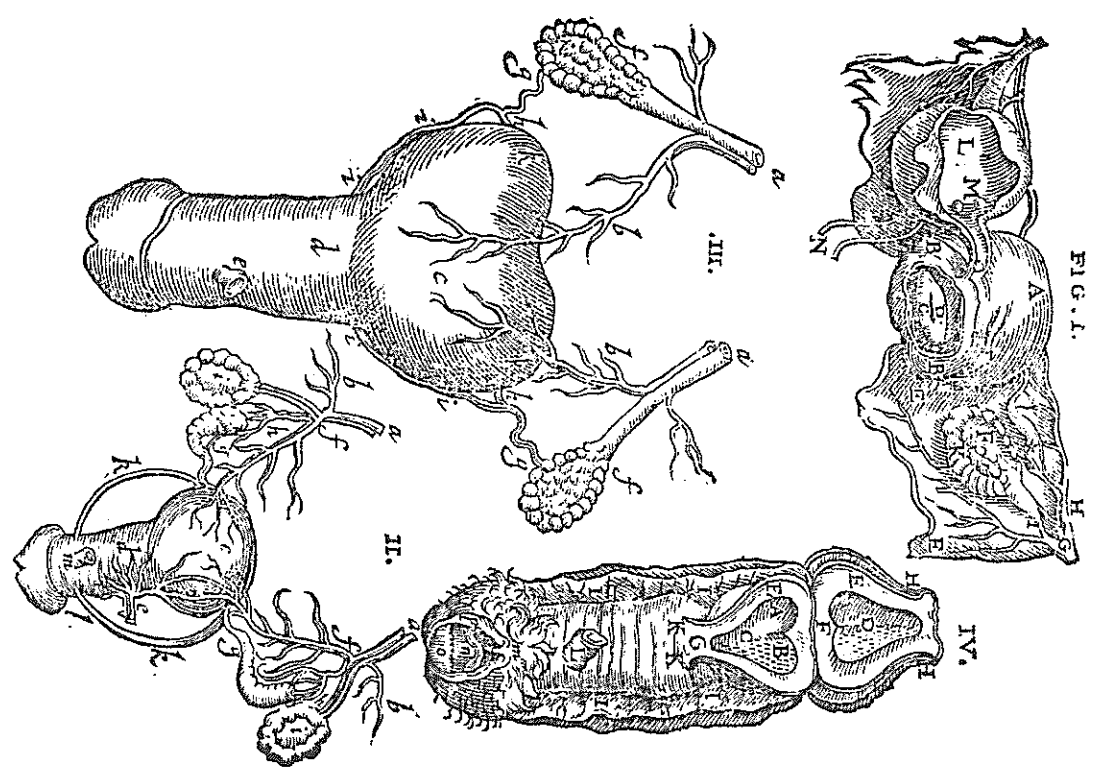


FIGURE 16 Female Reproductive Organs (Detail) from Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia*: A Description of the Body of Man (1625). Figure III (bottom left) shows "the body or bottom of the womb" (labeled c), "the neck of the womb" (labeled d), and "the testicles" (labeled f). Figure II (bottom right) represents the same organs seen from above. Figure I (top left) dissects the body of the womb, Figure IV (top right), the neck of the womb.

of fifteen, leaped over a ditch while "rather robustly" chasing some pigs, and "at that very moment the genitalia and male rod came to be developed.¹" She changed her name to German. By the time Montaigne visited her, German had served in the king's retinue and, though unmarried, sported "a big, very thick beard" (qtd. in Greenblatt 30–52).

In the fourth book of *Microcosmographia*, "Of the natural parts belonging to generation, as well in men as in women," Crooke takes up the challenges posed by modern anatomy to the Galenic model of one sex. Recent dissections and fresh looks at the evidence had brought to light parts of female anatomy — the fallopian tubes are a signal example — that did not correspond to male sexual apparatus. Crooke gives this evidence due weight. Among the questions he takes up in the fourth book is whether there is one sex or two. Although Crooke takes a conservative position on many controversies, on the question of sex he accepts the evidence of modern anatomy. The very fact that he should give such careful consideration to the one-sex model, however, suggests the hold of that model on popular conceptions of the human body.

From *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man*

HOW THE PARTS OF GENERATION IN MEN AND WOMEN DO DIFFER

Concerning the parts of generation in women, it is a great and notable question whether they differ only in situation from those of men. For the ancients have thought that a woman might become a man, but not on the contrary side a man become a woman. For they say that the parts of generation in women lie hid, because the strength of their natural heat is weaker than in men, in whom it thrusteth those parts outward. Women have spermatrical vessels, as well, preparing as leading vessels and testicles which boil the blood, and a kind of yard² also, which they say is the neck of the womb if it be inverted. Finally, the bottom of the womb, distinguished by the middle line, is the very same with the cod or scrotum. This Galen³ often urgeth in diverse of his works, as before is said. So Aegineta, Avicenn,⁴ Rhasis, and all of the Greek and Arabian families, with whom all anatomists do consent.

² yard: penis. ³ Galen: second-century Greek physician whose writings formed the basis of European medical knowledge through the early seventeenth century. ⁴ Avicenn: Avicenna (or Ibn Sina) (980–1037 c.e.), Arabic physician whose writings also informed European medical knowledge.

Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (1616; London: William Jaggard, 1625), 249–50.

For confirmation also hereof there are many stories current among ancient and modern writers of many women turned into men, some of which we will not here think much to remember. First therefore we read that at Rome when Lucinius Crassus and Cassius Longinus were consuls, the servant of one Cassinus of a maid became a young man, and was thereupon led aside into the desert island of the sooth-sayers. Mutianus Licinius reporteth, that at Argos in Greece, he saw a maid named Arescusa, who after she was married became a man and had a beard and after married another woman by whom she had issue.

Pliny also writeth, that he saw in Africa, P. Cossitius, a citizen of Tisdera, who of a woman the day before became a man the next day. The hyena, also a cruel and subtle beast, doth every other year change her sex. Of whom, Ovid in the xv. [book] of his *Metamorphosis* sayeth:

The same hyena which we saw admit the male before,
To cover now her female mate, we can but wonder for.

Pontanus hath the same of Iphis in an elegant verse:

Iphis her vow benempt⁵ a maid,
But turned boy her vow she paid.

Of later times. Volateran, a cardinal, sayeth, that in the time of Pope Alexander the Sixth he saw at Rome a virgin, who on the day of her marriage had suddenly a virile member grown out of her body. We read also that there was at Auscis in Vasconia, a man of above sixty years of age, grey, strong, and hairy, who had been before a woman till the age of fifteen years, or till within fifteen years of threescore, yet at length by accident of a fall, the ligaments (sayeth my author) being broken, her privities came outward, and she changed her sex, before which change she had never had her courses.⁶ Pontanus witnesseth that a fisherman's wench of Caieta of fourteen years old became suddenly a young springal.⁷ The same happened to Emilia the wife of Antony Spensa, a citizen of Ebula, when she had been twelve years a married woman.

In the time of Ferdinand, the first king of Naples, Carlotta and Francisca, the daughters of Ludovick Quarna of Salernum, when they were fifteen years old changed their sex. Amatus Lusitanus testifieth in his *Cantiries* that he saw the same at Conibrica, a famous town of Portugal. There standeth upon record in the eighth section of the sixth book of Hippocrates⁸ his *Epidemica*, an elegant history of one Phaetusa, who when her husband was banished was so overgrown with sorrow, that before her time

⁵ benempt: named. ⁶ courses: menstrual periods. ⁷ springal: young man. ⁸ Hippocrates: Greek physician (c. 460–377 b.c.e.) who stressed direct observation.

her courses utterly stopped and her body became manlike and hairy all over, and she had a beard and her voice grew stronger. The same also he recordeth to have happened to Namisia, the wife of Gorgippus in Thaso.

Wherefore say they, if a woman may become a man and her parts of generation which before lay hid within may come forth and hang as men's do, then do women differ from men only in the site or position of their parts of generation.

Notwithstanding all this, against this opinion there are two mighty arguments. One is taken from the *αυτοψια* [self-evidence] in dissection, another from reason, which two are the philosopher's bloodhounds, by which they track the causes of things.

For first of all, sayeth Laurentius, these parts in men and women differ in number. The small bladders which first Herophylus found and called *varicosae adstites*, that is, the *parastatae*,⁹ women have not at all, nor the *prastatae*¹⁰ which are placed at the root of the yard and neck of the bladder, in which seed is treasured up for the necessary uses of nature, although there be some that think that women have them but so small that they are insensible, which is, sayeth he, to beg the question. Again, methinks it is very absurd to say, that the neck of the womb inverted is like the member¹¹ of a man. For the neck of the womb hath but one cavity, and that is long and large like a sheath to receive the virile member. But the member or yard of a man consisteth of two hollow nerves, a common passage for seed and urine, and four muscles. Neither is the cavity of a man's yard so large and ample as that of the neck of the womb. Add to this, that the neck of the bladder in women doth not equal in length the neck of the womb, but in men it equalleth the whole length of the member or yard. Howsoever therefore the neck of the womb shall be inverted, yet will it never make the virile member. For three hollow bodies cannot be made of one, but the yard consisteth of three hollow bodies, two ligaments arising from bones and the *υποθηρα* [urethra] we have before sufficiently showed. If any man instance in the *testigo*¹² of the ancients, or Fallopius¹³ his clitoris, bearing the shape of a man's yard, as which hath two ligaments and four muscles, yet see how these two differ. The clitoris is a small body, not continuatd at all with the bladder, but placed in the height of the lap. The clitoris hath no passage for the emission of seed, but the virile member is long and hath a passage in the midst by which it poureth seed into the neck of the womb.

Neither is there, sayeth Laurentius, any similitude between the bottom of the womb inverted, and the scrotum or cod of a man. For the cod is a

⁹ *parastatae*: epididymis, ducts emptying the testicles. ¹⁰ *prastatae*: prostate gland. ¹¹ member: penis. ¹² *testigo*: immoderate tumescence. ¹³ Fallopius: Gabriello Fallopio (1573–1562), anatomist who is credited with “discovering” the clitoris and the fallopian tubes.

rugous¹⁴ and thin skin, the bottom of the womb is a very thick and tight membrane, all fleshy within and woven with manifold fibers.

Finally, the insertion of the spermatic vessels, the different figure of the man's and woman's testicles, their magnitude, substance, and structure or composition do strongly gainsay this opinion.

But what shall we say to those so many stories of women changed into men? Truly I think, sayeth he, all of them monstrous and some not credible. But if such a thing shall happen, it may well be answered that such parties were hermaphrodites, that is, had the parts of both sexes, which because of the weakness of their heat in their nonage¹⁵ lay hid, but broke out afterward as their heat grew unto strength. Or we may safely say, that there are some women so hot by nature that their clitoris hangeth forth in the fashion of a man's member, which because it may be distended and again grow loose and flaccid, may deceive ignorant people. Again, midwives may oft be deceived because of the faulty conformation of those parts, for sometimes the member and testicles are so small and sink so deep into the body that they cannot easily be discerned.

Pinaeus writeth, that at Paris in the year 1577, in the street of S. Dennis, a woman travailed and brought forth a son, which because of the weakness of the infant was suddenly baptized for a daughter and was called Joanna. A few days after, in dressing the infant, the mother perceived it to be a man child, and so did the standers by and they named it John.

As for the authority of Hippocrates, it followeth not that all those women whose voices turn strong or have beards, and grow hairy do presently also change their parts of generation. Neither doth Hippocrates say so, but plainly the contrary. For he addeth, when we had tried all means, we could not bring down her courses, but she perished. Wherefore her parts of generation remained as those of a woman, although her body grew mannish and hairy.

¹⁴ rugous: wrinkled. ¹⁵ nonage: formative years.

Eroticism, Homoeroticism, Paneroticism

The one-sex model helps to explain the appeal of Viola/“Cesario”/Sebastian to the people in Shakespeare's story who see them, hear them speak, and fall in love with them: Orsino, Olivia, Antonio. In their prepubescent youthfulness, brother and sister present the same attractive features of lips, limbs, voice, action, and spirit. In comparison with these features, their genital differences seem, for the time of Twelfth Night at least, unimportant. Act 5 betrays, however, some anxieties about how the illusion of boy-girl can be

outmoded features of the genre by writing sonnets that are anything but the conventional complaints of a male lover to his aloof mistress. To begin with, there are three parties to the transactions in Shakespeare's sonnets, not two. As printed by Thorpe, the 154 sonnets fall into two loosely linked narrative groups: 126 sonnets concerning (and in many cases addressed to) "a man right fair" and 28 sonnets concerning (and addressed to) "a woman colored ill." Another major difference from conventional sonnets is the fact that all three parties, the woman included, don't just feel erotic desire; they act on it, each, it seems, with the other two.

Sonnets 135 and 136 are among the sonnets addressed to the so-called dark lady. In their erotic exuberance and arch wit, they resemble other sonnets in the group, such as 127 ("In the old age black was not counted fair"), 128 ("How oft, when thou, my music, music play'st / . . . / Do I envy those jacks"), 130 ("My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun"), and 132 ("Thine eyes I love, and they, as pitying me, / . . . / Have put on black"). The particular joke in 135 and 136 turns on the word *will*, which, depending on how the reader takes it, not only points to a head-spinning variety of referents but even defies the laws of syntax as it shifts from noun to verb and back again. As a noun, *will* in these sonnets can mean volition, lust, penis, vagina, and the author's nickname Will. As a verb, it can indicate future action. The reader faces the delightful challenge of letting the word mean all those things at once. One result of doing so is to cast doubt on how language can ever hope to pin down *erōs*.

From *Shake-spear's Sonnets, Never Before Imprinted*

135

Whoever hath her wish, thou has thy *Will*,¹
 And *Will* to boot, and *Will* in over-plus.
 More than enough am I that vex thee still,
 To thy sweet will making addition thus.
 Wilt thou whose will is large and spacious,
 Not once vouchsafe to hide my will in thine?
 Shall will in others seem right gracious,
 And in my will no fair acceptance shine?
 The sea, all water, yet receives rain still,²
 And in abundance addeth to his store.

¹ *Will*: italics and capitalization follow the 1609 printing, which italicizes and capitalizes some instances of "will" but not others. ² still: continuously.

William Shakespeare, *Shake-spear's Sonnets, Never Before Imprinted* (London: Thomas Thorpe, 1609), 1.

So thou being rich in *Will* add to thy *Will*
 One will of mine to make thy large *Will* more.
 Let no unkind, no fair beseechers³ kill;
 Think all but one, and me in that one *Will*.

136

If thy soul check⁴ thee that I come so near,
 Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy *Will*,
 And will thy soul knows is admitted there;
 Thus far for love my love-suit sweet fulfill.⁵
Will will fulfill the treasure of thy love,
 Ay, fill it full with wills, and my will one.
 In things of great receipt⁶ with ease we prove
 Among a number one is reckoned none.⁷
 Then in the number let me pass untold,⁸
 Though in thy store's account I one must be.
 For nothing⁹ hold me, so it please thee hold
 That nothing me a something sweet to thee.
 Make but my name thy love, and love that still,¹⁰
 And then thou lovest me for my name is *Will*.

³ beseechers: suitors. ⁴ check: reproach. ⁵ fulfill: grant (with pun on fill capability of receiving. ⁶ Among . . . none: alluding to the common saying "ber." ⁷ untold: uncounted. ⁸ nothing: with pun on "no thing," no penis. ⁹

Heart, Soul, and Genitalia

To understand early modern notions of erotic desire — what causes it, how it makes the desiring subject feel, what it causes do — we need to understand early modern notions about the emotions. For us, "soul" is a thoroughly spiritual concept. For and his contemporaries, it was as much physical as spiritual indeed, the entity that joined body with spirit. It was imager triple nature: not only "rational" in its capacity to know and to "sible" in its capacity to see, hear, smell, taste, and touch and "veg capacity to process food, grow, and reproduce.¹ In such a conce erotic desire begins as sense experience, as a body seen, as a voi-

¹ These multiple functions are handily summarized from ancient and Renais Bamorough, *Little World of Man*, 29–51.